

PART I

Gender dimensions of rural and agricultural employment: Differentiated pathways out of poverty

A global perspective

Marzia Fontana with Cristina Paciello

Introduction

This paper examines the links between gender equality and rural employment for poverty reduction by constructing a gender analytical framework to interpret differentiated patterns and conditions of work across regions, socio-economic contexts and policy environments. The main objective of the study is to identify adequate policy responses to key gender-based constraints to the achievement of decent work for all. Decent work, as defined by the International Labour Organization (ILO), is employment that takes place under conditions of freedom, equity, security and dignity, in which rights are protected and adequate remuneration and social coverage are provided (ILO, 2000).

Gender norms and patterns are rigid, and very often put women in disadvantaged positions relative to men – including limiting women’s equal access to decent work. But gender norms can and do change. Economic policies – at the macro, meso and micro levels – can be designed in ways that are transformative and that enhance gender equity.

The ability of paid employment to expand women’s range of choices – hence contributing to closing persistent gender gaps in labour markets and within households – is related to the type of jobs women have access to, the level and regularity of their earnings, the opportunities for mobilizing and organizing, and the ways in which women’s and men’s productive and reproductive roles are coordinated and protected through policies. ILO statistics (for early studies see Maijd, 2001; for recent updates ILO, 2009a) point to a large number of ‘working poor’ in many developing countries. This is worrying. The poverty reduction and empowerment potential of paid employment depends not just on the quantity of jobs that are created, but also on the quality of such jobs, including whether the rights, protection and voice of both female and male workers are respected.

Rural employment generation has been uneven across the world and in the last few decades appears to be frequently confined to irregular forms of work which do not always provide security of livelihoods and protection of labour rights. The flows of trade, capital, labour, technology and information across countries have accelerated. These processes of globalization provide a strong potential for a reduction in rural poverty, but they have risks and costs. Investments in agriculture also matter: an FAO study of investment trends in agriculture since the 1970s found that countries that reduced hunger more effectively were those with higher net investment rates per agricultural worker (FAO, 2009a: 17). The downside of globalization is most vividly illustrated during times of financial and economic crises, such as the current crisis. The costs of economic and financial liberalization are often borne disproportionately by the poor, and particularly by vulnerable women. This calls for a fuller understanding of key determinants of gender biases in rural labour markets and how the gendered structure of employment is evolving in response to the emerging trends.

The reasons for gender differences in rural employment and pay are many, and are often intertwined. Unequal access to decent work can be noted not only between women and men but also by ethnicity, age and education. Policies that can redress these inequalities include: measures to support education and training; policies to improve access to various markets (including land and credit); active labour market policies and labour legislation; policies to strengthen frameworks for rights; welfare policies; and broader macroeconomic reforms. To be effective, such policies need to be designed as a package of reinforcing measures, as emphasized in the ILO Decent Work Agenda. The decent work policy framework offers an integrated approach to pursuing the objectives of equitable and productive employment for women and men in rural areas. The approach addresses

four pillars simultaneously: (1) generating better jobs for both women and men through sustainable rural growth; (2) extending the coverage of social protection to all categories of rural workers; (3) closing the gap in labour standards for rural workers, paying particular attention to awareness of rights among government institutions, employers' and workers' organizations and individual women and men workers, and to gender bias in enforcement; and (4) fostering social dialogue by promoting rural institutions that equally represent women's and men's interests.

Importantly, any measure aiming at gender equality and poverty reduction must acknowledge that rural women do most of the work of caring for their children and families. The burden of combining productive and reproductive responsibilities inevitably affects their access to paid employment, often increases their stress levels and has an impact on power dynamics within households. These effects are not accounted for in conventional notions of decent work, which tend to focus only on paid employment outcomes. Policies need to be formulated in ways that address all dimensions of work life and do not disadvantage women because of their multiple productive and reproductive roles.

Institutional settings and economic structures vary a great deal between countries, and even between regions within a country. One of the goals of the paper is to identify under what contexts and circumstances some policy instruments are more effective than others. This will evidently vary also with the type of employment, whether waged employment or self-employment is concerned: for example, land reform is likely to be a more relevant enabling factor for own-account farmers than for waged workers, except in cases where agricultural workers themselves are beneficiaries of the land reform programme, as in Southern Africa.

1. Facts and figures: gender patterns of work and links with poverty and current trends

1.1. Gender patterns of work

Rural employment includes farming, self-employment working in trade, small enterprises providing goods and services, wage labour in these and wage labour in agriculture. Some of this work involves long hours and is not sufficiently remunerated. Women, in particular, constitute a significant proportion of unpaid family workers. For example, unpaid work on family agricultural enterprises accounts for 34 percent of women's informal employment in India (compared with 11 percent of men's informal employment) and for an astonishing 85 percent in Egypt (compared with 10 percent for men) (UNIFEM, 2005: Table 3.2).¹

Women and men working in rural settings are often involved in multiple activities and different contractual arrangements simultaneously. They may need to change jobs, depending on the season, or may remain unemployed or underemployed for periods of time.

¹ These data, from UNIFEM (2005), are calculated by one of the report's main authors, drawing on a number of national household and living standards surveys. The distinction between informal and formal self-employment is based on the size of an enterprise and whether it is registered with a government. Social protection coverage is the criterion to distinguish formal from informal wage employment. Informal employment overall is a much larger share of total employment in agriculture than in non-agriculture. The number of unpaid family workers in agricultural enterprises was preferred here as an indicator of vulnerability and precariousness of employment over the definition that includes both contributing family workers and own-account workers. This latter category can be rather heterogeneous and may comprise jobs which, in some cases, do not carry a high economic risk. The ILO does indeed provide separate data on contributing family workers but does not distinguish between rural and urban employment. At the country-level, however, most labour surveys usually allow one to disaggregate employment data by location as well as by economic activity and type of employment.

In rural contexts, the domestic sphere and market production appear to be more intertwined than in urban areas (and pressures on households to provide goods and services both for sale and for the home are stronger). Reproduction activities (such as caring for families), which are mostly on women's shoulders, constitute a heavier time burden because of poor infrastructure and lack of facilities and of institutional support. Necessity and survival are more prevalent driving factors than 'choice' in rural women's diversification strategies, as opposed to rural men's.

A wide range of data on many aspects (e.g. employment status, economic sectors, hours of paid and unpaid work, earnings, working conditions) and at many levels (e.g. household, district, region) are necessary to adequately understand the complexity of rural livelihoods and their gender patterns. Some of these data are not systematically collected or easily found in standard statistics. The researcher concerned with gender dimensions of rural work often has to patch together various sources and rely on a combination of specific case studies and anecdotal evidence. This paper is unfortunately no exception. We did undertake a thorough search of both international and country-level data sources, and are reporting some of the key findings in the next pages. We also tried to indicate areas in which data gaps are most severe.

1.2. The gender structure of rural employment by region

Table I-1 provides a breakdown of sex-disaggregated rural employment by sector and by employment status.² Agriculture continues to be the main source of rural employment for both women and men in sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia and Southeast Asia. In Latin America, rural female workers appear equally distributed between agricultural and non-agricultural sectors (with self-employment more prevalent in agriculture than in manufacturing and services), while rural men work mostly in agriculture, either as self-employed or wage workers. In the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, rural women work mostly as self-employed in agriculture and rural men work mostly as non-agricultural wage earners. Non-agricultural activities are the main source of employment for both men and women in Central Asia and Europe, where the majority of the rural population works as wage employees. In most regions, rural women seem more likely than rural men to be engaged in self-employment (and thus less likely to be wage earners).

Table I-1 was compiled by a team from the World Bank, by drawing on 66 different country-level household surveys for 2000 (World Bank, 2007a). This effort demonstrates how hard it is to find detailed and easily accessible rural employment data across countries.³ The data in Table I-1 provide a useful snapshot but should be treated with caution as it is not certain that all the national surveys consulted are comparable. The large number of rural women classified as either 'non-active or not reported' (up to 64 percent of the female population in South Asia, and above 50 percent both in Latin America and the MENA region) appears

² It is important to stress that the data described in Table I-1 refer only to what is reported by the respondents as their main job, and hence does not fully capture the range of employment activities in which individuals may be engaged.

³ The ILO indeed reports up-to-date detailed country-level employment data by status, sex and economic activity (including separate data for agriculture) but does not distinguish by rural and urban location (see <http://laborsta.ilo.org>).

TABLE I-1

Rural employment by gender and employment status, 2000

(percent of the adult population)

Employment status	Sub-Saharan Africa		South Asia		East Asia and the Pacific (excl China)		Middle East and North Africa		Europe and Central Asia		Latin America and the Caribbean	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Agriculture	54.9	60.6	24.1	54.9	44.1	56.2	39.6	34.0	12.3	18.6	25.1	59.3
Self-employed	53.5	56.6	12.7	33.1	38.4	46.8	38.6	24.6	6.9	8.5	22.8	38.4
Wage earner	1.4	4.0	11.4	21.8	5.7	9.4	1.0	9.4	5.4	10.1	2.3	20.9
Non-agriculture	9.6	15.5	5.6	27.2	19.7	28.9	6.7	39.7	19.7	38.7	23.2	26.4
Self-employed	6.8	6.9	2.9	11.8	11.3	11.5	2.8	8.8	1.6	7.4	11.7	9.2
Wage earner	2.8	8.6	2.7	15.4	8.4	17.4	3.9	30.9	18.1	31.3	11.5	17.2
Non-active or not reported	32.7	21.7	64.3	14.6	35.5	14.4	53.3	26.0	46.9	27.5	51.2	13.4
Total	97.2	97.8	94.0	96.7	99.3	99.5	99.6	99.7	78.9	84.8	99.5	99.1
Residual	2.8	2.2	6.0	3.3	0.7	0.5	0.4	0.3	21.1	15.2	0.5	0.9

Source: World Bank, 2007a, World Development Report. Last two rows calculated by the authors.

Note: Data are for 2000 or the nearest year. Based on representative household surveys for 66 countries, which account for 55 percent of the population in sub-Saharan Africa, 97 percent in South Asia, 66 percent in East Asia and the Pacific (excluding China), 47 percent in Middle East and North Africa, 74 percent in Europe and Central Asia and 85 percent in Latin America and the Caribbean. The omitted group includes individuals out of the labour force and individuals whose economic activity is not defined. Activity refers to the individual's reported principal activity. Regular updates of this type of table would be useful.

particularly dubious. It most likely reflects the fact that much of women's work in rural areas is informal or unpaid and thus still goes unrecorded. It is also quite odd that none of the figures in each column sum to 100, as one would expect.⁴

Table I-1 highlights that, in sub-Saharan Africa, where countries are still mostly agriculture-based (in the sense that agriculture contributes significantly to growth and the poor are mostly rural, as defined by the World Bank, 2007a), own-account farming is, not surprisingly, the most common form of employment for both sexes (about 56 percent and 54 percent of male and female adults, respectively, are agricultural self-employed).⁵ This is followed by non-agricultural wage work for men (9 percent) and non-agricultural self-employment for women (7 percent). African women are more likely than African men to be self-employed and to be working in the agricultural sector.

4 These limitations notwithstanding, this seemed the best data source for an overview of gender patterns of rural work differentiated by employment status and activity. Most of the ILO data publicly available (such as the Key Indicators of the Labour Markets database) do not distinguish rural employment from urban employment and are not always up to date (the latest figures we found for sex-disaggregated employment in some African countries, for instance, refer back to the mid-1990s). Most of the tables in the recent International Labour Conference Report devoted to rural employment and poverty reduction (ILC, 2008) are unfortunately not disaggregated by sex.

5 Own-account workers are usually defined as a sub-category of the self-employed, i.e. self-employed workers without employees (ILO, KILM 5th edition). The terms 'own-account workers' and 'self-employed workers' are used interchangeably throughout the text. It is not always clear whether the data and the case studies reviewed here refer to the whole category or to one sub-sample of it. It is likely that more women than men classified as self-employed are indeed own-account workers.

Gender differences in employment status appear to be more marked in South Asia, where only 13 percent of adult women are self-employed in agriculture compared with 33 percent of men, and less than 6 percent of rural women work in non-agricultural sectors compared with 27 percent of men. It is interesting to note that in South Asia, women appear somewhat equally distributed between wage work and self-employment (13 percent and 12 percent, respectively) within agriculture, whereas most men who work in agriculture are self-employed. Women in South Asia are relatively more engaged in agricultural wage employment than are women in any other region, most likely the result of women's weaker property rights in land and other assets than in most other regions, coupled with increasing landlessness.

South Asian women are also more likely to remain unpaid for work on their own family business than in any other region: ILO data for 2007 indicate that 59 percent of the total female labour force in South Asia works as contributing family workers, compared with 36 percent in Southeast Asia and the Pacific, 35 percent in sub-Saharan Africa and only 7 percent in Latin America. The corresponding shares for men are 18 percent in South Asia, 18 percent in sub-Saharan Africa and 4 percent in Latin America (ILO, 2008).⁶

Women as own-account agricultural workers are a significant 38 percent of the rural female workforce in both the MENA region and East Asia and the Pacific, while they are only about 23 percent and 7 percent in Latin America and Europe and Central Asia, respectively. In the latter two regions, on average, agriculture constitutes a small share of gross domestic product (GDP) and poverty is no longer a rural phenomenon (i.e. in these regions most countries are 'urbanized' according to the World Bank's definition).

Non-agricultural employment appears to be less relevant for women than for men in the rural areas of most regions, and particularly in the MENA region, where only 7 percent of rural women work in non-farm activities compared with 40 percent of rural men. The only exception is Latin America, where the ratio of rural women's non-agricultural employment to agricultural employment is higher than the corresponding rural men's ratio.

In sum, overall, rural men appear to be more evenly distributed across sectors and forms of employment. The relationship between the distribution of rural female and male employment and a country's economic structure seems to be one in which a larger share of women tend to work in agriculture, even when agriculture is no longer a dominant sector (such as in transforming countries). Land availability and the structure of land rights in agricultural-based countries influence the form of employment to which rural women have access: a prevalence of wage labour and unpaid family contributions exist in South Asia – a land-scarce region – and (mostly smallholder) self-employment exists in sub-Saharan Africa – a land-abundant region. Latin America, which is the most urbanized of all developing regions (and has the most equal educational levels by gender), is the only region where the ratio of rural women's non-agricultural employment to agricultural employment is higher than the corresponding rural men's ratio.

1.3. Zooming in: the gender structure of rural employment in selected countries of sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia

This section documents the gendered structure of rural employment in selected countries of sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia. While it shows how patterns in specific countries confirm regional patterns discussed earlier, it also identifies possible outliers in the broad picture.

⁶ Please note that these ILO data refer to the overall labour force, including rural and urban employment.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Table I-2 describes the gender characteristics of agriculture in three African countries. Tanzania and Mozambique are agricultural-based countries, whereas South Africa is an urbanized country in which agriculture contributes a very small share of GDP but where poverty rates are higher in rural areas than in urban areas (and inequality remains among the highest in the world). Agriculture is female-intensive in both Mozambique (60 percent of the agricultural labour force is female) and Tanzania (54 percent) but not in South Africa (34 percent). The data for Mozambique and Tanzania confirm African regional patterns

TABLE I-2

Gender structure of agriculture in selected sub-Saharan countries, 2003-2005

(percent)

	Tanzania	Mozambique	South Africa
Agriculture as share of GDP	45.8	23.1	3.1
Employment in agriculture as share of total employment	75.1	78.0	11.3
Female intensity of agriculture	53.6	59.5	34.2
Female employment in agriculture as share of total female employment	80.0	90.9	6.0
Male employment in agriculture as share of total male employment	72.7	64.3	8.6
Rural population as share of total population	76.2	66.3	41.2
Share of the rural population which is poor	38.7	71.3	--

Sources: World Bank 2007a; ILO (<http://laborsta.ilo.org>; Tables 2B and 2E); Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics, 2006, Integrated Labour Force Survey; and South Africa Department of Labour, 2006, Women in the South African Labour Market 1995–2005, Republic of South Africa.

Note: The female intensity of agriculture is calculated as the share of female agricultural employment in total agricultural employment. A share higher than 50 percent would suggest that the sector is female-intensive.

TABLE I-3

Rural employment by gender and employment status, Tanzania 2005

(percent of the adult population, 15 years or older)

Employment status	Female	Male
Agriculture	80.6	78.0
Self-employed	72.4	67.8
Wage earner	0.4	1.6
Unpaid worker	7.8	8.6
Non-agriculture	7.8	12.2
Self-employed	3.9	6.9
Wage earner	1.3	4.4
Unpaid worker	2.6	0.9
Not in the labour force or not reported	11.6	9.8
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Author's calculations from Tanzania 2006 Integrated Labour Force Survey.

in that agriculture in these countries is the main source of employment for both women and men. The productivity of agriculture is especially low in Mozambique, where agriculture contributes only 23 percent of GDP but provides employment to 78 percent of the labour force.

Table I-3 provides a further breakdown by gender and employment status for the rural adult population of Tanzania. The share of the adult population working in agriculture is higher than regional averages, more so for the female population (81 percent of the female population works in agriculture compared with 55 percent for the corresponding share for the whole of sub-Saharan Africa). The table also shows that similar proportions of women and men work as unpaid family workers in agriculture but that such share is higher for unpaid female workers than for male workers in non-agricultural activities. The category of unpaid workers was not considered in Table I-1.

South Asia

Table I-4 describes the gender characteristics of agriculture in India, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. The share of the rural population in the total population in these countries is similar to the shares in Tanzania and Mozambique, but agricultural employment is smaller even though still significant (more than 50 percent of total employment) in both India and Bangladesh. Agriculture is a female-intensive activity in both India and Bangladesh, and in Bangladesh provides employment to more than 60 percent of the total female labour force (mostly in the form of rice production and poultry rearing). In Sri Lanka, agriculture appears to be less labour- and female-intensive than in the other two South Asian countries.

TABLE I-4

Gender structure of agriculture in selected South Asian countries, 2003-2005

(percent)

	India	Bangladesh	Sri Lanka
Agriculture share of GDP	19.3	21.0	17.9
Agricultural employment as share of total employment	57.0	51.7	34.7
Female intensity of agriculture	55.5	51.5	40.1
Female agricultural employment as share of total female employment	46.0	60.9	39.9
Male agricultural employment as share of total male employment	35.5	45.1	29.6
Rural population as share of total population	71.7	75.3	84.8
Share of the rural population which is poor	21.8	53.0	22.0

Source: Author's calculations from various India National Sample Surveys (NSS) data, Bangladesh 2000 Labour Force Survey and Sri Lanka 2006 Census and Statistics. GDP and population data from World Bank, 2007a.

Table I-5 provides a further breakdown by gender and employment status for the rural adult population of India. The share of the female adult population in both agriculture and non-agriculture work is higher than regional averages, and the share of female casual agricultural labour is especially significant (about 30 percent of the total female rural workforce). This confirms that the low female participation rates recorded for South Asia in Table I-1 may likely reflect the under-reporting of informal employment, particularly for women. The male shares are more similar to regional patterns. Of note, in particular, is the high share of the rural male labour force working in non-agricultural activities relative to the high share of the rural female labour force working in agriculture, suggesting some ‘feminization of agriculture’ (as more fully documented in Srivastava and Srivastava, 2009).

TABLE I-5**Rural employment by gender and employment status, India 2005**

(percent of the adult population)

Employment status	Female	Male
Agriculture	83.2	66.5
Self-employed	53.7	42.4
Regular/salaried	0.4	0.9
Casual labour	29.1	23.2
Non-agriculture	16.8	33.5
Self-employed	10.0	15.7
Regular/salaried	3.3	8.1
Casual labour	3.5	9.7
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Adapted from Srivastava and Srivastava, 2009.

Table I-6 is taken from an interesting comparative study of four countries in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia (Horrell et al., 2008) and offers a different way of looking at employment patterns – no longer from a macro country-wide perspective as in the previous tables, but from a micro perspective.⁷ It looks at the gender division of labour by activities and tasks from the point of view of the household. It draws attention to the fact that rural households, in particular farming households, derive their livelihood from diverse sources of farm, off-farm and non-farm income and that the intensity and type of contribution of different family members are gender differentiated. Table I-6 only focuses on work in agriculture and other off-farm activities (for subsistence and sale) among male-headed households and excludes housework, which is later reported for the same household sample in Table I-10. Women contribute substantially to total productive work in male-headed households in Zimbabwe (about 40 percent of the total) but not in Ethiopia (where women’s contribution can be less than 10 percent). In Zimbabwe, the vast majority of the work involves own farming (more than 90 percent of total activities),

7 The data were collected in a few districts in each country and thus are not nationally representative.

TABLE I-6

Time spent working (excludes housework and child care) in male-headed households, Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, Uganda and India, around 2002^a

	Zimbabwe			Ethiopia		Uganda		India	
	Mutoko	Magoni	Chivi	Omo Beko	Afeta	Sironko	Bufumbo	Vepur	Guddi
Sample	81	75	75	128	106	119	144	135	120
Work hours per day:									
Total per household	15.9	19.7	21.7	10.1	10.2	16.6	16.1	23.8	23.2
Per capita	3.1	3.7	3.6	3.9 ^b	3.6 ^b	2.2	2.2	3.8	3.6
No. in household	5.2	5.2	6.1	5.1	5.8	7.4	7.2	6.3	6.4
Total work hours (percent) contributed by:									
Men	37.2	33.7	30.3	68.0	60.0	33.8	30.4	32.2	30.1
Women	42.0	35.2	31.6	3.2	13.3	30.9	29.6	23.2	25.3
Children	16.6	24.4	29.1	26.0	22.2	-	4.7	19.9	21.8
Relatives	4.3	6.6	8.3	2.8	4.3	35.3	35.0	24.8	22.9
Total work hours (percent) spent on:									
Own farm	89.3	95.3	95.4	83.5	79.0	62.0	67.4	33.6	38.9
Livestock	5.0	1.1	1.2	1.3	4.0	8.4	5.1	16.4	10.7
Waged work/ business	5.7	3.6	3.4	15.2	16.8	28.9	26.0	50.0	50.4
Farm work (percent) done by:									
Men	38.6	32.9	30.0	66.6	65.5	30.4	26.0	44.4	38.5
Women	44.9	36.1	31.7	3.9	13.2	36.2	35.1	18.3	28.2
Children	13.5	24.7	29.3	29.5	19.2	-	6.3	11.8	11.9
Relatives	3.0	6.3	8.7	-	2.1	33.4	32.6	25.5	21.5
Livestock keeping (percent) done by:									
Men	-	-	-	-	-	51.0	37.4	29.1	33.6
Women	-	38.1	-	-	24.3	5.8	19.1	0.0	2.0
Children	81.0	-	100.0	100.0	64.8	-	5.5	48.1	34.2
Relatives	-	-	-	-	10.8	43.2	38.0	22.8	30.2
Paid work (percent) done by^c:									
Men	46.2	64.8	51.7	77.5	55.8	36.6	37.1	17.0	17.4
Women	32.3	11.3	48.3	-	5.1	27.0	20.1	40.8	29.9
Children	9.7	23.9	-	-	23.5	-	-	16.5	27.8
Relatives	11.8	-	-	22.5	15.4	36.4	42.7	25.8	24.9

Source: Horrell et al., 2008, Table 3.1: p.34.

Notes:

a/ In Zimbabwe no adults reported their main activity as either housework or child care. However, these activities constituted 18 percent of women's time and 22 percent of other relatives' time in India and 42 percent of household total work time in Ethiopia, of which 77 percent was done by women, the remainder being done by children and other relatives.

b/ These figures are only given for those who reported a main activity; a number of people in Ethiopia were not recorded as having any activity.

c/ For India, this refers to local waged work on- and off-farm. Of total work hours, some 35 percent were spent as local waged work, mostly on-farm, and 10 percent as waged work away from the village, other paid work and running one's own business.

while in Uganda waged work/business constitutes between 26 percent and 29 percent of total work. The share of waged work/business in total employment is highest in Andhra Pradesh, India (more than 50 percent of the total). This could be expected, as Andhra Pradesh is a strong-performing state, classified as in between a ‘transforming’ and ‘urbanized’ economy (World Bank, 2007a: Box 1-3). Farm work is mostly provided by men (except in Zimbabwe, where women are the main contributors), while livestock keeping is almost exclusively a children’s activity in all the African countries. Children, more in general, seem to contribute significantly to household agricultural activities (up to seven hours per day in some regions). The share of paid work done by men relative to other family members is the highest across all African countries, and in particular in Ethiopia. In India, the share of paid work done by women, other relatives and children is higher than elsewhere and than the share done by men. This is a fascinating study, and more research of this kind would allow for more generalized understandings.

A few useful lessons can be drawn from this ‘zooming in’ section. First, disaggregated national-level surveys certainly allow for more nuances than international multi-country datasets, but their analysis is still significantly hampered by the lack of comprehensive and comparable statistics over time for a number of countries. Problems of definitions and irregularity in the collection of sex-disaggregated data need to be urgently addressed, particularly in least-developed countries (LDCs). Second, more innovative ways of collecting and reporting gender data need to be fostered, including by international organizations such as FAO and ILO. A gender perspective to rural livelihoods would require a better understanding of the division of tasks and complex decision making between members of the same household unit – not only between husbands and wives, but including children and other relatives of different age and social status. In other words, economists need to pay greater attention to the characteristics and circumstances of the women and men who are growing crops and producing goods, not in isolation, but in their relationship to each other. The study by Horrell *et al.*, (2008) offers a promising example in this regard. Their method could be extended to a wider range of household structures and settings.

The data presented so far offer only little hints as to the quality of employment opportunities available and the extent of gender-differentiated decent work deficits. Both farm and non-farm activities are very heterogeneous categories comprising both low- and high-return occupations with different entry requirements. For example, both land size and land quality matter for agricultural productivity, so it is essential to know whether landholding differs by gender in a country. As for wage work, we have seen, for instance, that a significant share of women in South Asia work as agricultural labourers but we do not know whether they receive similar wages and benefit from similar entitlements as male agricultural labourers. Richer evidence on the quality of employment – not simply on its quantity and distribution – is needed in order to fully understand the relationship between employment and gender equality/poverty outcomes. The next section looks at these aspects in further detail.

1.4. Gender and decent rural work deficits

Some of the factors that may push women into a disadvantaged economic position relative to men in terms of the returns to their labour are: (a) employment (occupation and task) segmentation (women are disproportionately employed in low-quality jobs, including jobs in which their rights are not adequately respected and social protection is limited);

(b) the gender gap in earnings (partly as a consequence of high segmentation; women earn less for a given type of work than do men – usually for both wage employment and self-employment); and (c) fewer hours of paid work but overall larger work burdens (due to competing demands of care responsibilities and non-market work, women spend less time on average in remunerated work, which lowers their total labour income and is likely to increase stress and fatigue).

1.4.1. Employment segmentation and working conditions

There is evidence of gender-based labour market segmentation in both agricultural and non-agricultural sectors in most rural areas. Women tend to be clustered in fewer sectors than men and, in agriculture, tend to be mostly involved in subsistence production. This segmentation suggests that it may be more difficult for women than men to switch to better jobs in new sectors when new economic opportunities arise. Many rural workers, especially in agriculture, face difficulties and gaps in protection with regard to their basic rights. Women are likely to experience these problems in more severe ways than men, but unfortunately statistics on coverage and enforcement remain sparse (ILC, 2008). Variations in patterns across regions and countries are summarized in Tables I-7 and I-8.

Sectoral differences and working conditions

As for the agricultural sectors, there seems to be a common pattern across regions in that women tend to be the main producers of food while men appear to be managing most of the commercial crops, although not without women's (often unpaid) contributions. Women also participate in commercial farming but within a rather rigid division of tasks. This rigidity in the gender division of tasks appears to be stronger in South Asia than in parts of Africa or Southeast Asia. It is important to note (previewing the discussion in the following sections) some sort of asymmetry in the dynamics regarding the gender division of crops: men may take over crops traditionally cultivated by women when these became more profitable (for example, in Zambia and the Gambia), but there seems to be no evidence of women taking over the management of crops previously controlled by men, except possibly in rare cases when the men in the household migrate (such as in Southeast Asia and China). As for agricultural wage workers, it appears that working conditions for women are harsher than for men across regions, but this aspect would need to be better documented.

In non-agricultural employment there is a similar pattern of marked concentration of the rural female labour force in only very few sectors relative to the male labour force. One of the most prevalent forms of rural non-agricultural employment for women in all regions, and particularly in Latin America, is domestic services. Domestic work, however, often pays below the agricultural wage rate (e.g. Brazil) and offers no social protection. Domestic workers are often migrants or belong to minority groups. Petty trade is a more prevalent activity for women in Africa, Latin America and some Southeast Asian countries than in South Asia. In South Asia, most female non-agricultural activities are home-based, reflecting prevailing strict norms of women's seclusion, particularly in parts of Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Pakistan. The location of their work (within private homes) makes it more difficult to enforce legislation. In sum, in most developing regions women appear to be overwhelmingly represented among the most vulnerable categories

TABLE I-7

Gender division of labour and working conditions in crop production

	Sub-Saharan Africa	Asia	Latin America
Crop types	<p>Women tend to be the main producers of food crops, such as maize, rice, cassava and other tubers, while men are more engaged in commercial farming and produce cocoa, cotton and coffee for export. However, there are several cases (e.g. Burkina Faso, Tanzania, Zambia) where male and female farmers jointly grow food and commercial crops. Men may move into activities that are considered female if these have become more productive or profitable (e.g. Gambia, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia). Women are also involved in non-traditional agricultural exports (NTAEs) in Kenya, South Africa, Uganda, Zimbabwe. Most NTAEs production is female-dominated.</p>	<p>Women produce mostly food crops, whereas men tend to diversify into commercial farming. In some countries in Southeast Asia and South Asia, women are involved in cash crops (e.g. cotton in Pakistan, peanut production in the Philippines and Thailand, poppies in Afghanistan) but the gender division of tasks remains marked. Especially in Southeast Asia, women are heavily involved in rice production, where they constitute up to 90 percent of the labour force. In Cambodia and Vietnam, female farmers also take on male tasks (such as land preparation and irrigation) when male labour is not available. In China, differences in the gender division of crops and tasks depend on agro-ecological characteristics, production systems and crop types. Where male out-migration is high, women work on both cash and food crops and perform most farming activities, including use of machinery. They become main decision makers regarding choice of crops, fertilizer use and marketing, but men retain power in public affairs at the community level (e.g. Southwestern Provinces).</p>	<p>Women farmers cultivate food crops, poultry and small livestock for domestic consumption, while men dominate large-scale cash-crop farming. Women are involved in NTAEs, particularly in Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico and most of Central America, but NTAE production is highly gender-segmented in the sense that men occupy more permanent positions and women are the vast majority of seasonal workers. Also, women are found mostly in packing houses and other related activities while the gender composition of labourers in the field is more mixed.</p>
Working conditions	<p>Women tend to manage smaller plots than men (e.g. Mozambique). In NTAEs, women tend to work in more precarious positions than men, with no social protection and only seasonal contracts (e.g. in South Africa women are 69 percent of temporary workers; in Tanzania casual workers planting, harvesting and grading in flower farms are mostly women, while men occupy a small number of managerial positions). Women are exposed to sexual and verbal abuses (e.g. Kenya, South Africa).</p>	<p>There are very high shares of unremunerated female family workers and increasing casualization of agricultural labour, both male and female (e.g. India).</p>	<p>Women tend to manage smaller plots than men (e.g. Jamaica, Mexico). In NTAEs, women form the bulk of temporary and seasonal workers, with low social protection coverage, whereas permanent jobs are generally reserved for men (e.g. Chile, Colombia, Peru). Women usually comprise only a small percentage of managers and supervisors in high-value agricultural export industries. Workers in NTAEs are exposed to high use of pesticides and other chemical and toxic substances, which are likely to be particularly damaging to women's health. Women often fall prey to verbal abuse and sexual harassment by male supervisors (e.g. Ecuador).</p>

Sources: **For sub-Saharan Africa:** Whithead and Kabeer, 2001 (Burkina Faso, Tanzania, Zambia); Von Braun, John and Puetz, 1994 (Gambia); Wold, 1997 (Zambia); World Bank, FAO and IFAD, 2009 (Kenya); Asea and Kaija 2000 (Uganda); Barrientos and Kritzing, 2002 (South Africa); REACH, 2007 (South Africa); Dolan and Sorby, 2003 (various countries); FAO, 2005a (Mozambique); ILO, 2003 (Tanzania); Barrientos et al., 2001 (Zambia). **For Asia:** FAO, 1998; FAO, 2005b; FAO, Fact Sheet Bangladesh; <http://www.fao.org/sd/Wpdirect/WPre0104.htm> (Bangladesh); World Bank, 2006 (Pakistan); Balakrishnan et al., 1998 (the Philippines and Thailand); World Bank, n.d. (Afghanistan); FAO, n.d. (Southeast Asia); FAO, Fact Sheet Cambodia, <http://www.fao.org/sd/Wpdirect/WPre0106.htm> (Cambodia); FAO, Fact Sheet Vietnam, <http://www.fao.org/sd/Wpdirect/WPre0113.htm> (Vietnam); FAO, 2005b and Song et al., 2009 (China); Jackson and Rao, 2004 (India). **For Latin America and the Caribbean:** FAO, 1998; Deere, 2005 and Garcia, 2006 (Mexico and Jamaica); Dolan and Sorby, 2003; Kabeer, 2008 and Appendini, 2002 (Mexico); Raynolds, 1998 (the Dominican Republic); Ferm, 2008 (Peru and Colombia); Katz, 1995 (Guatemala); Barrientos et al., 1999 (Chile); Mena and Proano, 2005 (Ecuador).

TABLE I-8

Gender division of labour and working conditions in non-agricultural activities

	Sub-Saharan Africa	Asia	Latin America
Sectors	Women are involved in small-scale low-returns marketing and they trade only particular commodities (e.g. perishable fresh produce for domestic markets), whereas men are more likely involved in trading for international markets (e.g. Burkina Faso, Eastern Guinea, Ghana, Tanzania, Uganda). Large shares of women work as domestic workers (e.g. Mozambique, South Africa). In Ghana and Uganda, women are clustered into wholesale/retail trade and manufacturing, while men's activities range across public administration, trade, construction, transport and mining.	In Afghanistan, regions of India (Kerala and West Bengal) and Uzbekistan, women are engaged in manufacturing (e.g. dress making) and domestic and catering services but NOT in trade. In Sri Lanka, women market local agricultural produce, prepare cooked foods for sale, especially rice and flour-based foods, run small grocery shops and make and sell handicrafts. In Southeast Asia (Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam) women are involved in small trade, particularly of agricultural goods. In China, women participate in light industry. Men are mainly involved in construction, commerce, transportation and services.	Women tend to be involved mostly in domestic services (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama) and petty trade (El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Paraguay). Men are involved mainly in mining, utilities, construction, transportation, communications and financial services.
Working conditions	Women traders are exposed to violence and harassment (e.g. Burkina Faso and Ghana). Women street vendors are unorganized and isolated, and lack health, disability, unemployment and life insurance.	There are many home-based workers in India, and very poor working conditions for women in South Asia (e.g. limited ability to organize, particularly if home-based work; no access to social protection).	Women work as domestic workers and are exposed to exploitation, very low wages (e.g. Brazil) lack of social protection and social isolation.

Sources: **For sub-Saharan Africa:** Baden, 1998 (Ghana, Tanzania); Baden et al., 1994 (Ghana); Cotula, 2002 (Burkina Faso); Kabeer, 2008 (Eastern Guinea, Zimbabwe); Dolan, 2002; Newman and Canagarajah, 2000 (Uganda and Ghana); Sender, 2002 (South Africa); Cramer et al., 2008 (Mozambique); Whithead and Kabeer, 2001 (Ghana); **For Asia:** Chen et al., 2004; Kodoth, 2004 (West Bengal and Kerala); Kandyoti, 2002 (Uzbekistan); Wanasundera, 2006 (Sri Lanka); FAO, 2005b (Thailand, Indonesia, Vietnam and the Philippines); Maletta, 2008 (Afghanistan); Rozelle et al., 2002 (China); Srivastava and Srivastava, 2009 (India). **For Latin America:** Deere, 2005; Katz, 2003; Elbers and Lanjouw, 2001 (Ecuador); Lanjouw, 2001 (El Salvador); Ruben and Van Den Berg, 2001 (Honduras); Verner, 2006 (Argentina).

of workers, with no access to social security and limited potential to organize to ensure the enforcement of both international labour standards and national laws. In some cases, women providing unpaid contributions are often not even recognized as 'workers' and hence are seen as having no entitlement to workers' rights.

Rights and social dialogue

Despite the widespread commitment of many countries to respect and promote the principle of freedom of association, the effective recognition of the right to collective bargaining, the elimination of forced labour, the abolition of child labour and the elimination of all forms of discrimination in the workplace (including through ratification of a number of ILO Conventions particularly relevant to rural workers such as convention Nos. 11, 111, 129, 138, 141, 182, 184, and others), rural workers – and especially women and children – face both legal impediments and practical challenges in asserting their rights. According to a recent report of the ILO Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations (CEACR), the problem of the exclusion of agricultural workers from relevant national laws and non-application of these in practice has been raised in 30 countries. Moreover, issues of violence, harassment, weak labour inspection mechanisms and non-recognition of trade unions concerning agricultural workers are quite common (ILC, 2008). For example, even where ILO provides technical assistance, many children

continue to work in commercial agriculture, plantations, forestry and the informal sector (ILC, 2008: 89). Also, despite the hazardous nature of the work and the high levels of risk, agriculture is often the least well-covered sector in the economy as far as national occupational safety and health regulations are concerned. There is an urgent need to document more fully whether all these problems affect rural female workers, both women and girls, more than male workers (as some evidence appears to suggest), and whether there are regional differences in the extent and intensity of these biases.

As for specific work categories where women are prevalent, the only ILO convention expressly targeted at home workers (Convention No. 177), for example, has been ratified by only a few developed countries. Legislative measures at the national level to provide basic labour rights for domestic workers remain limited to a handful of countries (e.g. South Africa) (United Nations, 2009).

A recent study by the ILO (Breneman-Pennas and Rueda Catry, 2008) shows that, globally, women's participation in institutions for social dialogue such as labour councils and advisory boards is still limited. By region, the average share of women participants is 35 percent in the Caribbean, 12 percent in Africa and 11 percent in both Asia and Latin America. The same review also finds that the institutions starting to include gender in social dialogue are about 57 percent in Asia, 33 percent in the Caribbean and in Africa, and 25 percent in Latin America (the scope of this inclusion varies considerably). However, the extent to which these institutions specifically represent the interests of rural workers is not indicated.

Trade unions in a number of countries are increasingly seeking to address the under-representation of women and their interests. The International Union of Food and Agricultural Workers (IUF), for example, has recently produced a gender-equality guide and aims to have all its committees composed of 40 percent women (Breneman-Pennas and Rueda Catry, 2008). There has also been an increase in the number of other more informal organizations promoting the rights of women workers, the best known of which is probably the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) in India. However, these encouraging initiatives are still limited. Further research and action are much needed to foster institutional arrangements conducive to the effective and comprehensive realization of labour standards in rural areas for both women and men.

1.4.2. Gender gaps in earnings

Gender-disaggregated data on earnings from agriculture are very difficult to find. Most of the available, but still limited, evidence refers to wage work either in off-farm or non-farm activities. This partly reflects the fact that calculating labour earnings for self-employment is especially problematic because it requires undertaking complex calculations to separate the proportion of total self-employment income (which is what surveys usually report) between labour income and income attributable to returns from other assets. Moreover, under-reporting is a more acute problem for self-employment earnings than for wages. This is an area where improvement in statistics is especially needed. The Rural Income Generating Activities (RIGA) dataset used in Hertz *et al.* (2009), although a promising effort, is no exception to these problems.

Table I-9 shows, not surprisingly, that women are generally paid less than men. However, what is interesting is the extent of this gender pay gap, and the variations across countries and occupations.

TABLE I-9
Gender gaps in rural wages

Region	Sector	Type of employment	Wage unit	Women's wage as % of men's
Sub-Saharan Africa				
Ghana	Agriculture	Self-employment	Hourly	65
Senegal	Agriculture (NTAEs)	Wage	Hourly	Similar to men's
Kenya	Agriculture	Wage	Hourly	93
Tanzania	Agriculture	Wage	Monthly	69
South Africa	Agriculture	Wage	Hourly	84
South Asia				
Afghanistan	Agriculture	Wage	Daily	50
	Non-agriculture	Wage	Daily	20 to 30
Bangladesh	Agriculture (fry catchers and sorters)	Wage		64
India	Agriculture	Casual wage	Daily	69
	Agriculture	Regular wage	Daily	79
	Non-agriculture	Casual wage	Daily	65
	Non-agriculture	Regular wage	Daily	57
Pakistan	Agriculture (sugar)	Wage	Daily	50
Southeast Asia				
China	Non-agriculture	Wage	Monthly	68
Vietnam	Agriculture	Wage	Hourly	73
Latin America				
Costa Rica	Agriculture	Self-employment	Hourly	53
El Salvador	Agriculture	Wage	Hourly	82
	Agriculture	Self-employment	Hourly	63
	Non-agriculture	Self-employment		70
Mexico	Agriculture (NTAEs)	Wage	Daily	88
	Avocado		Daily	99
	Mango		Daily	78
	Cucumber		Daily	97
	Flowers		Daily	80

Sources: for Kenya (2005/2006) and South Africa (2004), Heintz, 2008; for Senegal, Maertens and Swinnen, 2009; for Tanzania (2000/2001), World Bank, 2007b; for Afghanistan (2003), Maletta, 2008; for Bangladesh (n.d), Gammage et al., 2006; for India (2004/2005), Srivastava and Srivastava, 2009; for Pakistan (2001), World Bank, 2006; for China (1995), Rozelle et al., 2002; for Vietnam (1997/1998), UNDP, 2002; For Costa Rica (2003), UNIFEM, 2005; for El Salvador (1996) non-agricultural employment, Lanjouw, 2001; for El Salvador (2003) agricultural employment, Heintz, 2008; for Mexico (1994), Deere, 2005.

Notes: For Pakistan, data refer to Punjab and Sindh only. Data for Costa Rica refer to 2003; for El Salvador to 1996 and 2003; for Mexico to 1994; for Kenya to 2005/2006; for South Africa to 2004; for Tanzania to 2000/2001; for Afghanistan to 2003; for India to 2004/2005; for Pakistan to 2001; for China to 1995; for Vietnam to 1997/1998; for Bangladesh the year is not available.

Gender gaps seem to be lower in some of the NTAE activities in Mexico and Senegal. Gender wage gaps vary even within a sector in a country – for example, in Mexico, women’s daily earnings are almost the same as men’s daily earnings in avocado production, but only 78 percent of men’s earnings in mango production. Differences in daily earnings may reflect gender differences in hours worked as well as differences in remuneration, which is why information on hourly wages is usually preferable (but more rarely available). Gaps appear to be largest for earnings from agricultural self-employment both in Africa (Ghana) and Latin America (Costa Rica and El Salvador). The sharpest gender differences in all forms of earnings are found in Afghanistan and Pakistan.⁸

1.4.3. A longer working day for women

Women work longer hours than men in most developing countries when both paid and unpaid work are taken into consideration. However, much of their work remains undervalued because it is unpaid and confined to the domestic sphere. Women often spend less time on average in paid market work than men, whereas they are largely responsible for water and fuel collection, food preparation, household chores, child care and care of the sick and elderly.

Table I-10 is from Horrell *et al.* (2008) and draws on the same surveys of Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, Uganda and India as in Table I-6. It shows gender patterns of time use in male-headed households where the man’s main activity is farming. Confirming patterns found in other developing countries, men appear to be working longer hours than women as far as the UN System of National Accounts (SNA) work is concerned.⁹ The difference in time spent farming and tending to the livestock is largest in Ethiopia, where men work double the time as women (eight hours per day for men compared with about four hours for women). In Zimbabwe, women and men spend on average the same time on agricultural work (about six hours). The pattern is reversed for housework: in all countries women work much more than men. In Ethiopia, in particular, women spend on average six hours on housework each day, while men do not do any of it.

Similar patterns can be found in many other countries for which time-use surveys are available. For instance, Table I-11 shows patterns of time use among the rural population of three other African countries. Women work at least ten hours longer than men every week when both SNA and non-SNA work are considered, but work between five and ten hours less than men in SNA work. In Benin, women appear to be working longer hours not only in non-SNA work but also in SNA work, mostly because of their water-collection responsibilities, which take them on average ten hours per week.

The average time spent on agricultural work also varies by employment status. As shown in Table I-12, in Brazil, El Salvador, Kenya and South Africa, weekly hours of work in

⁸ These patterns deserve further exploration. The data collected and presented here are too sparse and diverse to permit any generalization.

⁹ The UN System of National Accounts (SNA) recognizes as productive work the following categories: employment for establishments; primary production activities not for establishments such as agriculture, animal husbandry, fishing, forestry, fetching of water and collection of fuelwood; services for income and other production of goods not for establishments such as food processing, trade, business and other services. Water and fuel collection have been added only since 1993 but they are still often not included in measures of GDP in practice. Subsistence agriculture is, of course, also considered as part of SNA work. Food preparation, household maintenance, management and shopping for own household; care for children, the sick, the elderly and disabled; community services and help to other households are still considered ‘non-productive’ activities, and hence are not recorded. Only some countries record these activities but as separate ‘satellite accounts’. It is these activities that most gender-aware literature calls non-SNA work or extended-SNA work.

TABLE I-10

**Household time use in male-headed households (where men's main activity is farming),
Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, Uganda and India, around 2002**
(average hours per day)

	Zimbabwe		Ethiopia		Uganda		India	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Sample	45	145	20	185	67	127	50	82
Hours spent on:								
Agriculture	8.9	9.1	3.9	7.3	5.0	5.2	1.9	3.6
Livestock	-	0.3	-	-	0.6	1.8	0.3	3.4
Other work	0.1	0.4	0.6	1.1	0.8	2.4	3.6	1.4
Housework	1.5	0.3	6.1	-	6.3	1.5	6.0	0.4
Relaxing	9.0	9.4	8.4	10.6	7.1	9.0	6.2	7.8
Travel					0.2	0.2	1.0	2.4
Within agriculture, hours spent on:								
Ploughing	0.9	1.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Weeding	5.6	5.4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Preparing land	0.5	0.2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Manuring	0.1	0.1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irrigating	0.1	0.1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Spraying	-	0.1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Within housework, hours spent on:								
Housework	0.6	0.1	1.7	-	5.5	1.4	2.2	0.0
Cooking	0.7	0.2	2.3	-	-	-	2.8	0.0
Fetching water	0.1	0.0	0.8	-	0.8	0.1	0.4	0.2
Fetching fuel	0.1	0.0	1.2	-	with water	with water	0.0	0.2
Collecting produce	-	0.1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Within other work, hours spent on:								
Buying/selling provisions	-	-	0.4	0.7	-	0.2	0.4	0.3
Paid work – on farm	-	-	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2	3.2	0.9
Paid work – off farm	-	-	-	-	-	0.6	-	0.2
Own business	-	-	-	-	0.7	1.4	0.2	0.1

Source: Horrell et al., 2008. Table 3.2: p.36.

agriculture tend to be lower on average for the self-employed and for contributing family workers, both females and males, than for wage workers. In Brazil and El Salvador, the gender gap in hours worked is more pronounced among the self-employed, in the sense that women in this category appear to work significantly fewer hours than men relative to other categories of workers. Unfortunately, the study from which the table is taken does not report hours spent on housework and child care by the same groups of workers, but it is likely that this larger gender gap in self-employed hours can be attributed to the fact that a large share of women in this form of employment have young children to look after and hence devote less time to paid work. Other forms of employment, such as regular wage work for an enterprise, would not allow the same time flexibility to combine reproductive and productive tasks.

In conclusion, the main objective of section I.4.3 has been to stress that a fully gendered account of decent work and rural livelihoods requires consideration of time burdens in both unpaid and paid work, and an understanding of how these interact. All rural livelihoods involve domestic labour to maintain and reproduce the household over time.

TABLE I-11

Average hours per week spent by the adult rural population on SNA and non-SNA work in Benin, Madagascar and Tanzania

(various years)

	Benin		Madagascar		Tanzania	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
SNA work*	35.6	33.3	28.0	42.0	33.1	38.8
includes water and fuel collection	9.9	2.4	4.7	3.1	4.4	1.4
Non-SNA work*	22.7	7.6	24.5	4.7	29.2	9.5
Total work	58.3	40.9	52.5	46.7	62.3	48.3

Source: Valodia and Devey, 2005 (for Benin and Madagascar); Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics, 2006 (for Tanzania).

Note: Data refer to 1998 for Benin, 2001 for Madagascar and 2005 for Tanzania. For a definition of SNA/non-SNA work, see footnote 9.

TABLE I-12

Average hours per week in informal agriculture by gender and employment status in Brazil, El Salvador, Kenya and South Africa

(about 2005)

	Brazil		El Salvador		Kenya		South Africa	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Wage work	40.5	46.2	40.8	38.0	35.1	44.6	47.9	51.9
Self-employed	29.4	45.7	31.0	37.5	30.7	31.1	22.9	26.9
Contributing family workers	28.7	34.0	33.0	36.0	29.3	23.4	-	-

Source: Heintz, 2008.

Note: Data for Brazil refer to 2005, for El Salvador to 2003, for Kenya to 2005 and for South Africa to 2004.

As a standard practice, studies should be analysing data on unpaid work alongside information on paid employment and farm production, but very few to date do so.

1.5. Rural employment, gender and poverty

Remunerative employment is one of the most important channels through which the living standards of poor women and men can be improved. Many rural workers remain poor because they receive low earnings and live and work in precarious conditions, are vulnerable to health and other shocks and have little access to risk-coping mechanisms such as insurance or social assistance; in other words, they only have access to 'indecent' work. ILO data (ILO, 2009a) show that in 2007 the overall working poverty rate was 58 percent in sub-Saharan Africa, 47 percent in South Asia, about 16 percent in Southeast Asia and 7 percent in Latin America. Rates may be even higher in rural areas but unfortunately data are not easily available to confirm this point. Working poverty rates are determined at the level of the household. Hence, it is important to complement this information with analysis of employment dynamics, which focus on the individual. A full gendered picture can only be gained by intersecting the household structure with the employment structure.

In most countries, women tend to be more vulnerable workers than men because they face many biases in both rural labour markets and within households, and therefore have fewer opportunities than male workers to diversify into better-quality employment. In some family settings, they may also have weaker claims over what they earn.

The linkages between employment, poverty and gender inequality are complex and require an understanding of how household dynamics and labour market processes interact. The relationship between poverty and women's employment runs in both directions. Poverty can push women into employment – the so-called 'distress sale of labour' (Elson, 1999) – often in informal and poorly paid jobs (a vicious circle). On the other hand, women's employment income often makes a critical difference in the poverty status of their households. However, this does not necessarily mean that the individual situation of the woman concerned improves at the same time, because household income may not be distributed according to the amount of time each member contributes to its generation. Attention should be given to separating out individual from average household well-being impacts, which may differ because of unequal distribution of rights, resources and time between women and men. Policies for rural employment and development must give due consideration to women's bargaining position in the household and in the labour market. Poverty is linked to weaker incorporation in both.

Poverty can push women into employment, often in informal jobs. In most developing countries, women often seek wage employment in response to economic crises and difficult family circumstances, such as separation and widowhood. Agricultural casual wage work often appears to be the only available employment option for poor rural women (more than for poor rural men). Being crowded in a limited number of occupations and lacking start-up assets, poor women enter the bargaining process with their employers in a weak position. Vulnerability may force them to sell their labour well below market rates. Measures to support the full enforcement of labour standards, to protect women's rights over their own financial assets and to assist them in mobilizing for a fair remuneration of their contributions, as envisaged in the Decent Work Agenda, thus become crucial.

Whitehead (2008) offers examples from West and East Africa. Evidence from Southern Africa corroborates these patterns. In Mozambique (Cramer *et al.*, 2008), a high share of female wage labourers are single heads of households. In-depth interviews indicate that women who are widows or divorced have greater difficulties in accessing decent jobs. Their weak bargaining position means that they often have to accept irregular wages and receive few, if any, benefits. In Zimbabwe, casual female wage labourers were hired for shorter periods of time than casual male labourers. They earned less than men and were more likely to be paid on a daily rather than on a monthly basis. Households headed by female casual workers were among the poorest households. Their children were more likely to be underweight (in 40 percent of the cases compared with 26 percent for other households) (Adams, 1991). Adams' study is rather dated, though, and would need to be revisited, especially in light of the crisis Zimbabwe has experienced in the last years. A study of South Africa from the mid-1990s shows that women working in the export fruit farming sector who had children were largely seasonal workers and 70 percent of them had experienced food shortages at least one time in the 12 months preceding the interviews (Barrientos *et al.*, 1999). The situation has evolved in South Africa too, in terms of both economic developments and legislation, and an update of this analysis would be very useful.

Evidence from South Asia also shows that rural women from poorer households are more likely to take up paid employment, particularly as wage workers, than women from wealthier families (Das and Desai, 2003 and Srivastava and Srivastava, 2009). For example, in Pakistan, women from landless households, or from sharecropping households, have higher levels of participation in agricultural wage labour and work longer hours than women in landowning households (Sathar and Desai, 1996 quoted in Kabeer, 2008).

Women's employment income can make a critical difference in the poverty status of their households. A much quoted study for Ghana and Uganda (Newman and Canagarajah, 2000) shows that poverty rates for female-headed households engaged in non-farm activities declined faster than poverty rates for other households. In Ghana, for instance, female-headed households combining both farm and non-farm work experienced a 37 percent decline in poverty compared with a 14 percent decline for male-headed households with similar characteristics over the 1987–1992 period. The study finds that women in Ghana are more involved in non-farm activities than in farming, while the reverse holds for Uganda. In both countries, high shares of non-farm employment performed by women are associated with higher overall household income. This would suggest that the ability of women to diversify out of agriculture may provide an effective pathway out of poverty, but these findings should be taken with caution as the time period over which changes were analysed is rather short (and the study dated).

A study of Vietnam (Kabeer and Tran Thi Van Anh, 2002) offers similar findings. Rural women's ability to diversify out of farming was more strongly associated with household well-being than that of men's. Diversification into off-farm activities, rather than diversity *per se*, explained higher levels of household income. The study also suggests that, despite women's longer hours of work in domestic and child care activities, marginal returns to their off-farm activities were similar to those of men.

All these findings are very context-specific, and sounder evidence is needed to substantiate these claims. Rural non-farm work can be very diverse and, as discussed in earlier paragraphs with regard to the case of Mozambique, female members of the poorest households may be lacking the resources to participate in the most profitable activities.

As for the impact on other household members, substantial evidence (outlined in Salazar and Quisumbing, 2009 but also in earlier anthropological literature) shows that women's access to economic resources increases the share of household expenditures devoted to collective goods benefiting all household members (in particular the well-being of children) than income earned by men, who tend to use it more often to meet personal needs (Whitehead, 1981). However, the impact of women's access to paid labour more specifically is more mixed (evidence presented in Salazar and Quisumbing, 2009) because of the presence of two opposite effects: a positive effect due to an increase in household income associated with mothers' paid work, and a negative effect due to a possible decline in the time devoted to housework and child care. These considerations suggest that attention needs to be paid to the type of employment obtained by women and the intensity of their work.

When household income increases as a result of women taking up paid employment, this does not necessarily mean that the individual situation of the woman concerned improves at the same time. For instance, a study of Kenya (Kennedy, 1994) shows that increased participation of women in sugar production brought about significant income gains in overall household income and food consumption. However, women's direct control over income from the new cash crop was much less than that of men. Increases in women's own income were associated with decreases in their body mass index, because additional work and greater energy intensity of activities exceeded the concurrent increase in their caloric intake.

1.6. Emerging trends

The flows of trade, capital, labour, technology and information across countries have accelerated in recent decades, but not all countries are benefiting in the same way. The gendered structure of employment is evolving in response to these processes of globalization. There are emerging research and policy issues, and this section reviews some of the available evidence and suggests areas for further analysis.

Some of the dynamics likely to influence rural families, their livelihood strategies and gender relations are: (a) greater economic vulnerability of smallholders to global market forces as international trade in high-value non-traditional agricultural products is increasing and increasingly dominated by large agribusiness, inputs into commercial agriculture often become more expensive and food becomes less efficient to produce; but also greater off-farm employment opportunities generated by NTAEs; (b) increased migration which, if mostly undertaken by men, would leave women in rural areas with the main responsibility of providing for their families and, if undertaken by women, may also contribute to alter conventional gender roles and responsibilities within rural communities (as documented, for example, in Thangarajah, 2003 and Parrenas, 2001); (c) the HIV/AIDS pandemic, leading to labour shortages and heavier care burdens in rural areas; (d) climate change; and (e) the recent food, fuel and financial crises, which are affecting different groups of countries in different ways and are expected to cause increases in working poverty and vulnerable employment worldwide (ILO, 2009a).

1.6.1. International trade

Trade expansion and liberalization can affect rural employment, food security and poverty in multiple ways: directly, through either agricultural export growth effects or import displacement effects (or both), and indirectly, through changes in other trade-related

activities such as processing and packaging of agricultural exports. The resulting gender-differentiated employment effects vary depending on the socio-economic structure of the country concerned – in particular on which crops women produce relative to men, and the extent of gender discrimination and segmentation of rural labour markets. Some of these dimensions are better documented than others.

Rural women and men can be involved in the production of goods traded in global markets either as farmers, wage workers or intermediaries (processing or selling products) at any node of the value chain. Commercial agriculture can include both staple crops and high value products. High-value agriculture involves a wide range of products such as vegetables, fruits, shrimps, nuts, poultry and non-food products such as cut flowers. The list continues to expand as new uses or added values are found for traditional products. A great variety of institutional arrangements characterizes production for export across regions, countries and even within a sector or value chain.

Fresh fruits and vegetables are among the fastest growing of all traded agricultural exports. Their production is heavily concentrated among a few middle-income countries in Latin America: Argentina, Chile and Mexico. Chile, Costa Rica, Ecuador and Mexico account for 43 percent of developing-country exports of fresh fruit while Argentina, Chile, Mexico and Syria provide 67 percent of fresh vegetables. Guatemala and Kenya are the main world producers of green peas (Diop and Jaffee, 2005, quoted in ILC, 2008). A growing body of research has been documenting various developments in these sectors, and some of the studies (but not many) also have paid attention to their gender implications, most notably Dolan and Sorby (2003).

Global value chains could offer in principle an opportunity for generating quality employment for rural women and men, but they can also be channels for transferring costs and risks to the weakest nodes, especially to women. As far as producers are concerned, emerging trends seem to indicate that small farmers are often not in a position to compete in overseas markets (while frequently having to compete with foreign food imports in the domestic market). They face a particular set of constraints relating to land tenure systems, poor infrastructure, lack of credit, and lack of access to technology and other resources. These constraints are gender-intensified.

Poor farmers in many developing countries are increasingly abandoning or selling farms, leading to land concentration in the hands of a few large commercial enterprises, including foreign companies. For example, in the early 2000s many small dairy farmers in Brazil abandoned the sector, while in Guatemala a farmer cooperative experienced a severe reduction of tomato producers (Reardon, 2003, quoted in Beviglia-Zampetti and Tran-Nguyen, 2004). As we have seen in section 3.2, women are over-represented among small farmers. In the Philippines, a study reports that female farmers are being pushed by large NTAE businesses into increasingly less fertile land or even being displaced to cities and tourist zones, where they may work as domestic workers or sex workers (Beviglia-Zampetti and Tran-Nguyen, 2004).

Medium-sized and large-scale commercial farms are in a better position to take advantage of the expansion of agricultural traded goods, but these are mostly owned and managed by men. In Mozambique, Samoa and other sub-Saharan African countries, further evidence can be found that independent female producers experience more constraints in accessing international markets than male producers, and that women traders are often confined to local markets (Carr, 2004).

Even if not directly involved, women often increase the amount of time they contribute to their husbands' commercial crops, leading to higher female unpaid work burdens. In spite of their significant contribution to family crops as unpaid labour, women often have no control over the income generated from their work, as studies on NTAEs in India, Kenya and Senegal show (for the Indian Punjab, Singh, 2002; for Kenya, Dolan, 1997; for Senegal, Maertens and Swinnen, 2009). The effects of the expansion of agricultural exports vary evidently also with the gender intensity of the crops involved, but this may itself be endogenous. There is evidence, for example, that even when a crop is traditionally female-intensive, commercializing it causes men to enter the sector and take over production. This was the case for groundnuts in Zambia (Wold, 1997), rice in The Gambia (von Braun *et al.*, 1994) and leafy vegetables in Uganda (Shiundu and Oniang'o, 2007).

Poor households, and particularly poor women, seem to be benefiting from incorporation into international trade more through labour markets (i.e. increased employment opportunities on estate farms or packing houses) than through product markets. Wage employment in non-traditional agro-export production has emerged as a significant source of employment for rural women, particularly in Latin America, in countries such as Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico and Peru as well as in some sub-Saharan African countries such as Kenya, South Africa, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe and, more recently, Ethiopia. However, NTAE sectors remain small and employ a relatively small share of the rural labour force. Further details are provided in Table I-13.

In NTAEs, women wage workers appear to be working in more precarious positions than men. For instance, in South Africa, women are 69 percent of temporary workers (Barrientos *et al.*, 1999), and in Tanzania, women comprise 85 percent of the casual workers planting, harvesting and grading on flower farms, while men occupy managerial positions (ILO, 2003). In Bangladesh, exporters of shrimp (mostly men) realize more profits than fry catchers. Women fry catchers and sorters earn about 64 percent of what men earn and are found in the most insecure nodes of the shrimp chain (Gammage *et al.*, 2006). Working conditions in packing plants in the lemon sector in Northern Argentina remain rather poor, particularly for women, despite increasing pressures to comply with better standards for business owners (Ortiz and Aparicio, 2007).

Women's wages in NTAEs tend to be lower than men's, but often higher than the agricultural wage they could earn in other non-export-oriented sectors. Recent studies focusing on bean and tomato production in Senegal (Maertens and Swinnen, 2009) and banana production in Ghana (Beviglia–Zampetti, 2004) show that permanent female workers employed in these sectors receive the same treatment as permanent male workers. However, a much smaller share of female workers than male workers has permanent status in these sectors. Further research on ways in which women could be included more equitably in NTAE employment is of great policy relevance.

1.6.2. Migration

Migration from rural areas is increasingly becoming an important livelihood strategy. Migration involves moving to another area of the country or another country on a long-term or short-term basis. Migration often occurs because of lack of economic opportunities, land shortages and poor infrastructure in rural areas, perceived better employment prospects elsewhere and improved communication. Although attention has focused on those who migrate, less attention has been given to those left behind, many of whom are women and children in most regions.

TABLE I-13

Employment in high-value agricultural export production by region

(data mostly from the 1990s)

Regions/countries	Sector	Total number of workers (including men and women)	Female intensity (percent)	Demographic characteristics
Sub-Saharan Africa				
Kenya	Cut flowers	40 000	75	-
	Vegetables	20 000-32 000	66	-
Senegal	French beans	-	90	-
	Cherry tomatoes	-	60	-
South Africa	Fruit	280 000	53	90% of women working in fruit production had children, most of whom were younger than five
Uganda	Cut flowers	3 000	75-85	-
Zimbabwe	Cut flowers	27 000	70-87	-
South Asia				
India, Punjab	Tomatoes	-	60	-
Latin America				
Argentina	Citrus fruit	23 557	-	Only a small percentage of labourers are female (specific to the lemon orchards in Northern Argentina).
Brazil	Fruit	-	65	-
	Poultry	-	90	-
Chile	Fruit	336 739	45	Mostly married rural women. Young single women represent 35% of women employed in the industry.
Colombia	Cut flowers	110 000	65	Four out of five households relying on the flower industry as their main source of income are headed by women.
Dominican Republic	Unspecified	-	-	More than 30% of women working in the NTAE sector are single heads of households and most of them have young children.
Ecuador	Cut flowers	30 000-50 000	50-70	-
Mexico	Cut flowers	-	70-80	Mostly young single women
	Vegetables	1.2 million	50-90	-
Peru	Vegetables	60 000	70 (field)	-
			95 (processing)	

Sources: Dolan and Sorby, 2003 for Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Kenya, South Africa, Uganda and Zimbabwe; UNRISD, 2005 for Punjab; Fern, 2008 for Peru; Ortiz and Aparicio, 2007 for Argentina.

Note: (-) means not available. Contract labour means that both males and females are hired by third-party contractors.

The effect of migration on the employment opportunities and well-being of those who stay behind is ambiguous. Out-migration of labour from agriculture might reduce crop production and undermine food security. On the other hand, remittances may facilitate on-farm investment or relieve credit constraints that prevented farmers from purchasing key inputs. An important policy question is thus whether remittances support production enough to compensate for the reduced availability of male or female labour and can improve intra-household welfare (through better education of children, a decline in women's workload and so on). For instance, does out-migration increase the incidence of female-headed households? And, as some evidence from Africa seems to suggest (Adams, 1991 for rural Zimbabwe, and Dolan, 2002 for Uganda), are these female-headed households more able to engage in decent and productive work relative to other female-headed households with no migrants among their family members? Significant gaps in knowledge remain with relation to the effects of migration on rural employment opportunities and gender roles.

Gendered employment effects – those who migrate

Although data are sparse and trends are not well documented, migration patterns seem to have gender characteristics, with men migrating more frequently than women, especially internationally. A few countries in Asia provide exceptions to this pattern. In Sri Lanka and in the Philippines, female migrants are about 74 percent and 55 percent of total outflows, respectively (UNRISD, 2005). It appears that the number of women migrating as independent workers is steadily increasing in other countries as well.

Data on rural-urban migration from the 1970s (Singelmann, 1993) show higher shares of men relative to women in most of sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia but higher shares of women relative to men in Southeast Asia (particularly in the Philippines, Thailand and Indonesia) and Latin America. These trends appear to have continued in recent decades.

Female and male migrant workers tend to cluster in different occupations. Women often work as domestic workers, nurses and sex workers, or find employment in export-oriented garment factories in urban areas (evidence of this can be found in Bangladesh [Zohir, 1998], China [Davin, 1996 and Fan, 2003], Malaysia [Kusago, 2000] and Nicaragua [Espinoza Gonzales, 2008]). In other cases, they migrate to other rural areas to take up jobs in NTAEs (Dolan and Sorby, 2003). Male migrants work in construction, transport and trading and tend to travel further away from their homes than female migrants. The experience of migration for work tends to be more short-lived for women than for men in some countries, as at times marriage brings an end to it, as documented, for example, for China (Zhang *et al.*, 2004).

Wages of female migrants appear on average to be lower than wages of male migrants. There is variation in the share of earnings that migrants send back home and in the use of remittances – these too seem to be gender-differentiated: paying for the education of younger siblings is a more important priority for female migrants, for instance, in Bangladesh (Zohir, 1998), the Philippines and Thailand (Paris *et al.*, 2009). But the evidence is mixed on this point. For example, a recent study of rural Mexico (Pfeiffer and Taylor, 2007) finds that households with female migrants spend less on education than similar households with no female migrants among their members.

Gendered employment effects – those who stay behind

Few studies document how migration affects the livelihood strategies of the household members left behind. The impact seems to vary depending on whether the family member who migrates is female or male, on the duration of migration and the type of employment. For example, rural women who migrate as seasonal casual labourers to work in agribusiness are found to be unable to contribute to improve their family's well-being and/or enhance their personal situation in India (Jackson and Rao, 2004) and Zimbabwe (Adams, 1991).

When men migrate, the household members left behind must either hire labour or substitute for male labour. Scattered evidence from sub-Saharan Africa suggests that male out-migration may intensify women's workload in agriculture and contribute to women taking up traditionally male farming tasks. In South Africa, for example, when men migrate, women must also clear the land for planting (Mtshali, 2002), and in Malawi 45 percent of the women interviewed were performing tasks once handled by men (Deshingkar, 2004). These women were already over-burdened and remittances were too low to hire labour.

A comparative study of Southeast Asia (Paris *et al.*, 2009) shows that, in Northeast Thailand, as a result of male migration, a higher proportion of family members contributed to rice production, but more labour was also hired. In the Philippines, the proportion of hired labour was higher than family labour, and hired female labourers substituted for wives' labour. In North Vietnam, rice farming was dominated by female family labour, particularly in households with migrants. In all such cases, remittances were used to pay for farm inputs and/or hiring of labour, thus maintaining productivity. In the Philippines and Thailand, the absence of principal males and sons did not increase women's workload because female household members used remittances for hiring labour for land preparation, spraying of chemicals and other heavy tasks. In Vietnam, wives appear to have taken on additional responsibilities such as fertilizer and pesticide application and land preparation, which are typically male tasks. Some of the female farmers shifted their roles from unpaid family labourers to managers.

In rural China, as agriculture becomes less important than non-farming activities as a source of income and men increasingly migrate to urban areas, women undertake most of the farming activities, including management. However, they still have less decision-making power than men within households and their community (Song *et al.*, 2009).

In areas where sociocultural gender norms are very rigid, women withdraw from agricultural work or other types of rural employment as a result of male migration, reinforcing the gender division of labour between productive and reproductive spheres. Evidence of this is found in rural Armenia and in Guatemala (Menjívar and Agadjanian, 2007) and in parts of South Asia (Kerala, India and Muslim communities in eastern Sri Lanka, [Jackson and Rao, 2004]).

In rural Mexico, male international migration, and hence higher remittances, appears to have been associated with gender-differentiated labour supply behaviour among those who stay behind. Women in families receiving remittances withdraw from paid work – mostly from poorly paid occupations in the informal sector, whereas men who remain in rural areas appear to shift from formal-sector jobs to the informal sector (Amuedo-Dorantes and Pozo, 2006). A reason for this behaviour is hard to find. A more recent study (Appendini, 2009) finds that women who stay behind appear to have ambiguous

feelings about their situation, enjoying greater independence in decision making in some instances, but also feeling further overburdened with family responsibilities.

The effects of female migration on subsistence production and food security as well as on rural labour markets are documented even less than the effects of male migration. As for the impact of women's migration on subsistence production, a recent study (Pfeiffer and Taylor, 2007) finds that neither female nor male migration has any effect on the propensity to produce staple crops in rural Mexico, but that non-staple crop production responds negatively only to male migration.

If women migrate, their husbands often find it difficult to take on responsibility for child care and household work. For example, Toltstokorova (2009) reports frequent cases of anti-social behaviour among (mainly unemployed) husbands and adult sons in Ukraine. It is usually other female household members left behind, particularly old relatives, who take on more unpaid work in addition to their own, following female international migration, as documented in studies of rural China (Luo, n.d.), Vietnam and the Philippines (Paris *et al.*, 2009). In the Philippines, some female household members were able to move from unpaid subsistence agricultural work to running small businesses (e.g. Sari-sari stores) thanks to remittances from their female relatives (IFAD and INSTRAW, 2007).

1.6.3. HIV/AIDS

In 2007, 33 million people were estimated to be living with HIV in the whole world. Sub-Saharan Africa accounts for 67 percent of people with HIV and for 75 percent of AIDS-related deaths. Countries especially affected include: South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Women account for nearly 60 percent of HIV infections in sub-Saharan Africa (UNAIDS, 2008). HIV infection rates in rural areas are hard to measure and likely to go unreported. While early outbreaks of the disease occurred predominantly in urban areas, the majority of people living with HIV/AIDS are now in rural areas, as a result of many male migrant workers with AIDS symptoms returning to their villages (see for example FAO, 2004 for Zambia and ODI, 2005).

HIV/AIDS affects rural households and rural employment in multiple ways. Many rural households appear to experience labour shortages for farm work, with serious implications for agricultural production and food security. The extent to which HIV/AIDS-affected households may diversify into non-farm jobs is not known. HIV/AIDS also has significant indirect effects on rural employment through restrictions on female labour availability, as women's productive time is diverted to taking care of the sick.

All these changes appear to be markedly gender-differentiated. Adult men may often be the first to be affected in a household and the first to die (UNAIDS, 2008; Rugalema, 1999). When men are sick, women may attempt to maintain farm production by taking over farm tasks previously performed by their husbands. In Zambia, for example, wives with sick husbands or those recently widowed took over male tasks (e.g. ploughing) while retaining responsibility for all domestic activities and nursing sick household members (FAO, 2004). Occasionally, women received help from relatives but in most cases they hired male labourers to prepare rice fields in exchange for home-produced beer. In many cases, however, cash crops are abandoned when adult males fall sick or die (Topouzis, 1994 for Uganda; Yamano and Jayne, 2003 for Kenya). Widows may come under pressure to leave the fields to their husband's family (Strickland, 2004 for Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi,

South Africa and Tanzania). This severely restricts women's ability to work as independent farmers and to meet household food needs through their own production.

When women are sick, men may not be available to take over female tasks in farm production (such as weeding). For example, in Zambia (FAO, 2004 and Waller, 1997), most male-headed households either sought help from other adult female relatives or, more frequently, relied on their children's work.

As for the impact of HIV/AIDS on the care burden, there is ample evidence that women disproportionately carry the burden (Akintola, 2008 for South Africa; Chimwaza and Watkins, 2004 for rural Malawi; Lindsey *et al.*, 2003 for three districts of Botswana; FAO, 2004, Waller, 1997 and Bangwe, 1997 for rural Zambia; Opiyo, 2001 for Western Kenya) which adds to already heavy workloads. Having to care for their sick relatives reduces women's capacity to engage in paid work, in both farm and non-farm activities. A few studies document the negative impact of increased care-giving responsibilities on women's agricultural labour supply. In Bukoba district, Tanzania, women spent 60 percent less time on agricultural activities if their husbands were ill (Rugalema, 1999). In Ethiopia, women in AIDS-affected households spend between 12 and 16 hours per week on agricultural activities. This compares with 34 hours for women in non-AIDS-affected households (Bollinger *et al.*, 1999). In Southern Zambia women had to withdraw from agricultural work altogether (Waller, 1997).

The impact of HIV/AIDS on women's and men's rural non-farm activities is little investigated. In response to HIV/AIDS and declining agricultural production, rural households may seek non-farm employment opportunities. However, because women are overburdened, they may no longer have time for non-farm activities, such as artisan crafts, market gardening and food processing, that previously contributed to the family budget (Opiyo, 2001 for Western Kenya and FAO, 2004 for Northern Zambia). They may be forced instead to enter the worst forms of paid work in order to feed their families or raise money for medicines. Sparse evidence suggests that some women in HIV/AIDS-affected households resort to commercial sex (Fleischman and Morrison, 2003; Gillespie, 2006).

The HIV/AIDS epidemic also significantly affects children's work. Some plantations in Zimbabwe hired children in place of their dead parents to help them survive (ILO, 2003). It has also been reported that bonded and forced labour of children is on the increase on South African farms, where children inherit family obligations when their parents die (*ibid.*). Moreover, AIDS-affected households often take children away from school, especially girls, so they can take care of sick family members and younger siblings (Kipp *et al.*, 2007 for rural Uganda; Grant and Palmiere, 2003 for rural Zimbabwe).

Female-headed households affected by HIV are likely to be more vulnerable to poverty than male-headed households. For example, in the northern province of Zambia, female-headed households were found to have about three times as many orphans as male-headed households, owned fewer physical assets and fewer small ruminants, had the lowest average land available per person and suffered from shortages of labour (FAO, 2004).

1.6.4. Is there a feminization of agriculture?

Since the 1990s, a number of studies on gender and rural employment have been pointing to the 'feminization of agriculture', attributing it partly to the trends described in the previous sections. The term 'feminization of agriculture' can mean different

things and should be used with care. It refers broadly to women's increasing presence (or visibility) in the agricultural labour force, whether as agricultural wage workers, independent producers or unremunerated family workers. Others use the term to indicate deterioration in the quality of agricultural work (e.g. Standing, 1999). Evidently, the forms and conditions under which women are incorporated in agricultural employment matter for gender equality and poverty outcomes – feminization of casual agricultural labour is not the same as feminization of farm management. It also matters whether an increase in the share of women in the agricultural labour force relative to men is because more women are becoming economically active in agriculture or because fewer men are working in the sector.

Extra caution should also be used in interpreting higher rural female participation rates as true 'feminization', as these higher rates may be simply a reflection of women's contribution to agriculture starting to be better counted in standard statistics. The evidence is patchy and anecdotal in most countries and regions. Statistics over time are rarely available, making the task of answering this question even harder.

It is important to understand the processes behind the numbers. As sections 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3 illustrate, asking about the factors leading to gender-differentiated changes in rural employment is a more fruitful policy question than simply quantifying the extent of such changes.¹⁰ Different contexts will require different types of interventions. What the earlier sections show is that the level of influence and strength of different drivers vary by region and sub-region and that there may be intersecting processes and tensions between offsetting effects. The HIV/AIDS epidemic has a much stronger negative impact in Southern Africa than in any other region. Migration seems a more significant phenomenon in Southeast Asia and Latin America (where the diversification of the rural economy appears more advanced, at least in some regions, and where women seem to be taking on farm management responsibilities in some cases) than in South Asia or sub-Saharan Africa. International trade seems to be affecting most regions, but each region and country in different ways, depending on the socio-economic and institutional structures of the countries concerned. For example, the increased demand for female labour in the agricultural wage labour market as a result of expanding non-traditional agricultural exports is affecting Latin America the most, and to a lesser extent some countries in India and sub-Saharan Africa.

1.6.5. New challenges

Other processes and events, such as climate change and the recent global food, fuel and financial crises, pose significant new challenges to the achievement of poverty reduction and gender equality in the rural world. These processes are not sufficiently documented yet to permit any sound assessment. Thus only a few tentative considerations can be made.

Climate change

One effect of climate change relevant to rural employment is related to the risk of declining farm yields. The resulting gender-differentiated impact will depend on multiple factors, including which crops women produce, as well as their ability to adapt and respond.

Female farmers' ability to develop effective coping strategies might be limited compared with male farmers because of their more restricted access to productive resources such

¹⁰ A rigorous and comprehensive quantification is much needed too.

as technology, knowledge and inputs. There is, however, some evidence that some women are adapting to the changing climate by shifting cultivation to flood- and drought-resistant crops, crops that can be harvested before the flood season or varieties of rice that will grow high enough to remain above the water when the floods come (BRIDGE, 2008). Climate change might worsen the conditions of wage agricultural labourers if, in response to it, large producers expand informal employment and increase the use of pesticides. Climate change might also increase women's unpaid workload, further reducing their opportunities for paid employment, in areas affected by desertification where time required for water collection might increase.

Both mitigation and adaptation policies are likely to have gender-differentiated effects on employment that need to be better understood. For instance, environmental labelling, if discouraging the purchase of fruit and vegetables from developing countries, may have negative employment effects on female-intensive non-traditional agricultural export industries. Climate policies can contribute to rising demand for educated and qualified workers through promoting environmentally sound technologies. However, because of women's lower levels of education in many countries, women are less likely to benefit from such demand unless the relevant training is made available to them.

The financial, food and fuel crises

The financial crisis, which started in 2008 in developed countries, is already having an impact on developing countries through reduced trade flows, declining commodity prices, tightening of credit markets for both private and public sectors, lower remittances flows, declining foreign direct investment and official development assistance, and, more broadly, greater uncertainty. Not all developing countries are being affected in the same way and through the same channels. It is predicted that some of the Asian countries (except China and India) and most sub-Saharan African countries will be hit the hardest, whereas Latin America seems the region best equipped institutionally to cope with the downturn (ILO, 2009a). The financial crisis arrived at a time when many people in developing countries were already facing hardship because of the food and fuel crises. While the prices of food and fuel have declined since mid-2008, they nonetheless remain higher than in 2007 and have not dropped in all locations, indicating that those crises are not over either. (The OECD–FAO, 2008; FAO, 2008a; FAO, 2009b)

The effects of the three crises are likely to offset each other in some cases but to reinforce each other in other cases. The vulnerability to food, fuel and financial shocks is likely to vary widely across developing economies, depending on the extent of their integration with the global markets through trade and capital flows, their shares of food and energy imports and their within-country inequality. Policy responses to protect and extend decent work for both women and men in these circumstances must recognize the heterogeneity of effects across and within regions.

There is no clear evidence to date as to whether employment in rural areas is being more negatively affected than employment in urban areas, as this is context-specific and depends on a range of factors and pre-conditions.¹¹ Nor is it possible to know conclusively whether rural job losses will be greater among women than among men. In a recent analysis of overall trends in developed economies, the ILO (2009b) identifies three groups

¹¹ Data from past financial crises indicate that non-agricultural sectors have declined faster than the agricultural sector in Asia and Latin America (source Heady in recent IFPRI PP presentation by Ousmane Badiane on IFPRI website: Implications of the financial crisis for developing countries, 30 April 2009).

of countries: a group in which the employment impact of the crisis does not seem to be visible as yet (e.g. the Netherlands and Poland); a group experiencing job losses but where gender effects are ambiguous (e.g. Australia and Canada); and a third group displaying a rapid deterioration of labour market conditions, with higher unemployment rates for males than for females (e.g. France and the United States).

The employment effects of the crisis in the rural developing world will be contingent on the particular economic structures of different countries and on the sectors in which women and men work. For example, in countries where export sectors are female-intensive (e.g. NTAEs), rural women will disproportionately bear the loss of jobs. There may also be differences in impact between employment related to food such as vegetables and work opportunities in sectors producing luxury goods such as flowers, the demand for which can be expected to decline faster. In countries where minerals are key exports or where the construction sector is large, men will suffer the most (these sectors are often male-dominated). Male and female migration from rural areas to the cities, or to other countries, may also be affected differently, depending on the sectors in which workers are employed (for example, depending on whether, in receiving areas, the demand for construction workers, which is mostly a male job, will decline more than the demand for domestic workers, generally a female occupation). Rural women micro-entrepreneurs could also experience negative impacts from restrictions on the availability of credit since they tend to be the majority of microfinance clients.

It is plausible to predict that in most countries women will be expected to assume the primary responsibility for acting as safety nets of last resort and for ensuring that their families will survive (Elson, 1991 and 2002). Rural women's unpaid work burdens are likely to further intensify, especially in low-income households, imposing significant costs and limiting further their ability to participate on decent terms in the paid labour market (as documented for instance in FAO, 2009b). It is possible that rural women, more than rural men, will be increasingly offered precarious employment with low prospects and that their children's health as well as their own health will deteriorate. During Mexico's 1995 crisis, for example, infant mortality rates increased most in the areas where women's work participation increased, with girls being affected the most (Cutler *et al.*, 2002). Moreover female workers, being on average less educated, may be less prepared for more remunerative employment involving the use of the new technology needed to ensure a 'green' recovery. Sound evidence for developing countries is still patchy but seems to confirm some of these predictions.

The only available accounts to date either rely mostly on newspaper reports (for example King Dejardin and Owens, 2009) or draw on small qualitative studies (for example Hossain *et al.*, 2009). In China, recent reports mention that 20 million migrant workers have already returned to their home villages and it is likely they will end up in marginal occupations in rural areas, but the gender dimension of these patterns is not fully highlighted. In India, a sample survey carried out by the Ministry of Labour and Employment shows that about a half a million workers have lost their jobs during October-December 2008 and most of them are contract workers. In Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand, jobs have been declining mostly in manufacturing, including in factories that employ large shares of female workers (e.g. toy factories in Indonesia [King Dejardin and Owens, 2009]). In Bangladesh, however, there are yet no signs of declining orders in the ready-made garments export industry and, rather, the role of this country as a producer of cheap garments using cheap labour seems to be reinforced. More jobs are said to be available

for women, but they are found in the unlicensed sweatshops that sub-contract work, pay irregularly and treat workers unfairly (Hossain *et al.*, 2009). This signals a rise in vulnerable employment rather than in open unemployment in this country, especially among female workers.

Case studies reviewed in Hossain *et al.* (2009) show instances of poor people, particularly women, finding innovative ways of supplementing household income through informal low-margin activities, but at the cost of intensified time burdens and deteriorating health. Examples include rural Muslim women in Bangladesh reported to be working publicly in restaurant kitchens and on the new 100 Days Employment Guarantee Scheme. The gathering and sale of vegetables discarded by the wholesale vegetable market is another emerging activity. In Kenya, women explained that their work burden had increased dramatically, and that now they would have to leave home earlier and seek work washing clothes or selling charcoal, vegetables and food by the roadside. Other accounts point to an increase in activities of dubious legality. In many African countries most farmers described greater uncertainty and an inability to produce more in response to higher food prices (e.g. Kenya and Zambia). Reports of food intake declining in both quantity and quality and of women eating least and last were not uncommon in rural Kenya (Hossain *et al.*, 2009).

These findings underline the importance of social protection strategies designed to especially support poor rural women in their effort to provide for their families. They also underscore the need for a stronger policy commitment to investment in agriculture and specific attention to marginal and landless female farmers so that they are not excluded from the possible benefits arising from the supply response to the current crises.

2. Interpreting women's and men's differentiated patterns of work: key constraints and policy options

2.1. Changing patterns but persisting gender inequalities?

Part I documented that women and men occupy different positions and face different working conditions in rural labour markets across the developing world. Rural women and men experience work and employment differently also by age, ethnicity, social status and roles in their households. Patterns vary across countries and socio-economic settings and are changing in response to increased international trade, migration and other emerging trends. However, some of the broad structures identified by Ester Boserup in her seminal work on women's role in economic development in the 1970s seem to still be discernible in current regional configurations.

Boserup (1970) distinguished between a 'male farming system' and a 'female farming system'. The 'male farming system' was characterized by high incidence of landlessness, high levels of agricultural wage labour, inheritance through male lines and a low presence of women in the fields due to strict norms of female seclusion resulting in women concentrating mainly on tasks within the homestead. The 'female farming system' was characterized by family farming, low levels of wage labour, bilateral inheritance practices, communal ownership of land with usufruct rights for female members and high percentages of agricultural female family labourers. Women in this latter system played a major role in food production, had greater freedom of movement and were active in trade and commerce. Patterns similar to those of the 'male system' can still be found in the MENA region, in parts of South Asia (especially Pakistan, Afghanistan and Bangladesh)

and even in some regions of Latin America. Except for Latin America, women in these countries still participate in trading in limited ways. Some characteristics of the ‘female farming system’ can be observed in sub-Saharan Africa but also in many countries of Southeast Asia.¹²

Globalization is playing a role in transforming these gender patterns of rural work. Both female and male workers are now present in larger numbers in the traded, more market-oriented sectors of the rural economy, and rural women’s contributions seem to have gained greater visibility both in policy-making and research. But the extent to which different groups of workers are incorporated into the global economy and participate in the new processes varies. Even if it is difficult to tell because of limited statistics, women seem to be participating in the general movement out of agriculture – but at a slower pace than men. Migration and involvement in profitable non-farm activities appear more prevalent among rural male workers (as noted in section 5.2 of Part 1). Smallholders, which include many female farmers, have been facing hardship and greater vulnerability. Rural wage employment in large corporate farming is emerging as an important source of employment for rural women, especially in Latin America, but the evidence about working conditions and pay in these new sectors is mixed (as described in section 5.1. of Part 1). An unchanging aspect of the gender division of labour across regions is the division of domestic responsibilities: women are taking up a larger share of agricultural production and paid work but also continue to be the main providers of well-being to their family members. There are clearly many gender-related constraints still at work in rural labour markets. These pose some challenges to the achievement of decent work for women and men in the new global environment.

2.2. Identifying gender constraints and related policy responses

Part II of this paper identifies some key gender-related constraints in the rural economy and suggests, for each constraint, a number of possible policy responses. It is by no means a comprehensive review of all factors influencing gendered rural labour market outcomes; it simply focuses on what are considered the most relevant aspects. Various forms of gender disadvantage will obviously have different relevance and will intersect with each other differently, depending on the socio-economic characteristics of the countries concerned, their institutional settings and prevailing development strategies. The required policy mix in each context will consequently vary. The ILO Decent Work Framework, combining the four dimensions of employment, protection, rights and voice, informs the discussion of policy options.

Gender-related constraints can arise out of gender relations themselves (‘gender-specific constraints’) or may reflect the asymmetric distribution of resources between different groups, which limits men’s opportunities as well as women’s, but usually bears down more heavily on women (‘gender-intensified inequalities’). They can also be the effect of biases in policy: for instance, the state may contribute to female disadvantage by failing to legislate against discrimination or by the manner in which agricultural extension or land tenure reforms are designed and implemented (‘imposed forms of gender disadvantage’) (Kabeer, 2008). Gender-aware interventions are those that reflect in their design and implementation an informed understanding of the existing gender constraints in each specific socio-economic setting.

¹² This is only a broad-brush picture. The complexity and variety of livelihood arrangements, with different degrees of control over the production process by female and male members in specific contexts, must not be overlooked.

2.2.1. The burden of unpaid work

2.2.1.a. What and why is this unpaid work?

The division of domestic labour, giving women the main responsibility for household chores, care provision and other unpaid work to support their families and communities, is one of the major examples of a gender-specific constraint. Women effectively act as a safety net of last resort to ensure their family's well-being, even in the absence of adequate social provision by state and local institutions. This unpaid work has important economic functions that are rarely recognized and valued: it is key to food security and to maintaining adequate levels of productivity among the rural labour force.

As we have seen in Part I, a disproportionate share of the unpaid work burden falls on rural women's shoulders, thus restricting the time they have available for paid activities. The responsibility for children, in particular, may also constitute a reason for employers (unwilling to share the costs of care provision) to discriminate against married female workers in their hiring. Family responsibilities may also limit women's ability to participate actively in workers' cooperatives and other organizations and to mobilize for their rights.

There are many forms of unpaid work that rural women (more than rural men) engage in, and it is useful to distinguish them for policy purposes:

- (a) Women (and children) in the rural areas of most regions spend long hours collecting water and fuel (as shown by evidence provided in section 3.3. of Part I). There is scope for addressing this constraint through well-targeted interventions in physical infrastructure, which may be achieved through public investment and a variety of interventions, including, but not only, 'gender-aware' labour-intensive public works programmes (as suggested, for example, by Antonopoulos, 2007).
- (b) Women also spend much of their day caring for their children, assisting other family members who are ill or disabled, preparing food and cleaning. This would call for public financing of child care services, support for day care centres, health clinics, strengthening of community services for the elderly and other forms of social protection. Better physical infrastructure (e.g. rural electrification) and improved food preparation tools, as well as home- or community-based cottage industry food-processing technologies, could also help in reducing the drudgery of some tasks such as cooking and cleaning.
- (c) Women often work on the family farm or help in small business enterprises without receiving remuneration as a result of unequal power relations within households that severely limit their ability to make claims over their contributions. Policies to address this problem may include strengthening women's legal rights, supporting the formation of self-help groups (SHGs) and ensuring greater visibility through participation in the public life of the rural communities where women live.

There seems to be little variation in gender imbalances in domestic responsibilities across regions – in all countries from sub-Saharan Africa, to Latin America, to Asia, women carry out the bulk of unpaid work. But there are differences between women in different stages of the life cycle (e.g. women with infants and young children usually face the heaviest burden relative to both older women and younger unmarried women), between locations (e.g. female farmers living in remote areas have to spend longer hours collecting water or processing food than women living in areas better endowed with infrastructure)

and socio-economic status (e.g. better-off women can afford to pay for housework help and, if they are involved in paid work, they are also likely to be in forms of employment that provide child support).

Water and fuel collection

The burden of water and fuel collection is likely to reduce the amount of time women can spend in paid work and to increase the probability that they will be involved in more informal forms of employment. In South African poor rural households, for example, the time that women who must fetch water and fuel spend in paid employment is only 25 percent of the time that women who do not engage in water and fuel collection spend in it (Valodia and Devey, 2005).¹³ In Tanzania, time spent fetching water and fuel appears to be a significant constraint on women's participation in off-farm self-employment (World Bank, 2007b). A simple simulation exercise using the recently released Tanzanian time-use data suggests that investing in water-related infrastructure could free up many female working hours in a year. If the freed-up hours were converted into paid employment, this would be equivalent to a million new full-time jobs for women and an increase in income corresponding to about 6 percent of the total cash earnings for the entire population in a year (Fontana and Natali, 2008). During the dryer summer months, women participating in a microenterprise project run by the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) in Gujarat, India must reduce the time they spend on paid activities because of the need to spend longer hours collecting water. Reducing water collection to one hour a day would enable these women to earn an additional US\$100 a year – a significant sum for a poor household (UNDP, 2006).

Child care

A generalization that can be made is that rural female workers with children are more likely to be self-employed (in agriculture or other sectors) or to work from home than single women. This type of work can be easily reconciled with reproductive responsibilities. Self-employment offers a more flexible work schedule (women in this category appear on average to spend fewer hours in paid work, as shown in Table I-12) and have lower barriers to entry compared with some formal wage sector employment where employers may discriminate against female workers with family responsibilities.

When women with children are very poor, though, they may lack even the most basic start-up assets and hence are forced to take up casual wage work under very disadvantageous terms. Examples of female workers with young children who engage as seasonal workers in the most insecure forms of employment, with no child care support or maternity leave, can be found in some NTAE sectors: for example, in South Africa (Barrientos and Kritzinger, 2002), where many female migrants live with their children in informal settlements close to the workplace; and in the Dominican Republic (Raynolds, 2002). In both cases, some of the children were still undernourished because their mothers' earnings were too low. In Punjab, Indian women working as wage labourers on contract farming in horticulture often bring their infants and children with them because they lack access to child care services (Gill, 2001).

¹³ The study cannot establish causality conclusively. It is possible that poor rural women in informal employment spend a significant amount of their time on water collection because, unable to access more regular employment, they have much more time at their disposal. An alternative explanation could be that these women may be unable to engage longer hours in more profitable income-generating work precisely because of their heavy unpaid work burden.

Both the age and the gender of children matter in terms of their mothers' ability to choose from alternative options of remunerated work. An interesting, if dated, study from Guatemala (Katz, 1995), for example, shows that older women are more able to engage in marketing activities that require them to be mobile and travel long distances than young women with infants. Independent agricultural activities are only undertaken by women with adult sons who can provide them with access to land.

Time constraints can be even harder to overcome for women heads of household. In Uganda, child care burdens coupled with poor infrastructure (lack of piped water and cooking stoves) significantly compromised the ability of women heads of household to expand and/or diversify production (Dolan and Sutherland, 2002). In the districts of Masindi and Mukono, when asked about the reasons for their lack of success in expanding agricultural production, men identified transport, marketing constraints and lack of credit, whereas women mentioned the time needed to look after their families, food preparation and the work on their husbands' gardens (World Bank, 2005).

Child care is also a problem for many of the women working in employment guarantee schemes, especially for mothers of infants. A recent social audit of the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) in Tamil Nadu, India (Narayanan, 2008) indicates that about 70 percent of the women interviewed had no child care facilities at the worksite despite the provision of the NREGA that 'in the event that there are at least five children under the age of six at the worksite, one of the female workers should be deputed to look after them and she should be paid the same wage as other NREGA workers'. About 50 percent of the women left their children at home and most of them were being dissuaded from bringing them to work. Women with children older than three years did not seem to face similar difficulties, and a large proportion of them reported sending their children to local child care centres (the '*anganwadis*') or to school. Further details about this case are reported in Box I-1.

The negative impact of child care on women's participation in public works – especially for women with children in the pre-school age group – was noted in other earlier studies such as Quisumbing and Yohannes (2004) for a Food for Work programme in Ethiopia, and Dejardin (1996) for a number of projects in other sub-Saharan African countries.

Caring obligations also often reduce the length of female wage workers' total years in employment, with negative consequences for their earnings and pension entitlements.

Young women with no children usually seem to have more chances than women with children to enter better paid jobs, in particular non-agricultural wage employment. Women with relatively grown-up daughters can rely on them for help with domestic chores if they take up paid employment. Evidence across countries and sectors suggests that a significant number of older children, especially girls, look after younger siblings while their mothers work (Smith *et al.*, 2004 for Kenya, Uganda and Zambia, and Katz, 1995 for Guatemala).

Unpaid family labour on farms

We have seen in Part I that the main (although not necessarily the only) occupation of a high proportion of rural women, especially in South Asia and North Africa, is that of 'unpaid agricultural family worker'. This is a very vulnerable category of work, the involvement in which often implies limited claims over what is produced and restricted access to more decent forms of employment. Evidence from West Africa reviewed in

BOX I-1**Employment guarantee, women's work and child care: Responses from 15 NREGA worksites in Tamil Nadu**

In Tamil Nadu, India, women constitute more than 80 percent of NREGA workers. A survey of crèche facilities and child care practices of working women conducted in the Viluppuram district in July 2007 indicates that child care is a significant problem for many workers, particularly so for mothers of children below the age of three years.

A total of 104 women with a least one child below the age of six years were interviewed. All of them were involved in earthwork (mainly carrying mud). The mother of the youngest child was already at the worksite despite having given birth just 17 days prior to the survey. Most of the women workers belonged to the scheduled castes and about half of them were illiterate. The main occupation of the majority was working on others' fields as agricultural labourers. As many as 41 percent declared that NREGA had been the only source of income for their household in the past few months. NREGA was perceived as giving these women a sense of independence and security. It also offered them the possibility of staying on in their village. Many women explained that without the NREGA they would migrate to Bangalore, Chennai or further-away places to work on construction sites.

Despite the beneficial role of the NREGA, these young mothers face some difficulties. Chief among them is the issue of child care. The NREGA states that in the event that there are at least five children under the age of six at the worksite, one of the female workers should be deputed to look after them and she should be paid the same wage as other NREGA workers. Yet only a few worksites seemed to have some arrangement for child care, with one or two elderly women taking care of the children brought to the worksite. Close to 65 percent of the respondents were unaware of this basic entitlement.

Almost 50 percent of the women left their children at home. When children were brought to the worksite, they were either left in the shade or kept near the spot where the mother was working. It seemed that women were being dissuaded from bringing their children to the NREGA worksite. Some were turned away from the worksite if their children accompanied them. A few women reported that whenever they brought their children to the worksite, their wages were cut. Of those who reported some form of harassment at the workplace, about 50 percent stated that such harassment was related to child care. The children who were left at home were either looked after by their siblings or left on their own. One child was tied to a table at home, with food left on a plate nearby.

Women with older children did not seem to face such difficulties. A large proportion of mothers of children over the age of three reported sending them either to the 'anganwadi' or to schools. Tamil Nadu has an impressive network of anganwadis but not all these facilities work well: their opening hours are different from those of NREGA worksites and often shorter, and they are at times located too far. About 85 percent of mothers who left their children at home said that if crèches were provided, they would certainly bring their children.

Source: Narayanan, S., 2008, 'Employment Guarantee, Women's Work and Childcare' *Economic and Political Weekly*, March.

Dey Abbas (1997) shows that women's obligation to work on their husbands' fields means they are often unable to undertake important operations on their own plots in time, with negative consequences for their own crops' productivity. Women contributing unpaid labour to their husbands' production of vegetable exports in Guatemala had to reduce their involvement in activities such as craft production, small livestock raising and storekeeping, all of which were sources of independent income for them (Dary, 1991 and Blumberg, 1994 quoted in Deere, 2005). Many other similar cases are known to exist but are not sufficiently documented in economic analyses of agricultural employment, except for specific case studies within the intra-household resource allocation literature (e.g. Quisumbing, 2003). Children, both girls and boys, also often work for no pay (or under very exploitative conditions) for their family or other plots (e.g. cotton fields in Egypt as documented in Human Rights Watch, 2001). This work exposes them to health hazards and can severely compromise their education and future employment prospects.

Effects on women's participation in training and extension services

A survey of women farmers in central Thailand found that women involved in rice production as a result of male migration lacked basic skills in pest and disease diagnosis, pesticides and application methods. Despite the negative consequences that this lack of knowledge had for their health, most of these female farmers were not willing to participate in training courses because of conflicting caring and housework commitments (Heong and Escalada, 1997). A USAID Integrated Agriculture Training Programme (IATP) in Papua New Guinea had only limited success because it failed to consider women's family responsibilities. The training courses were arranged away from the village for three full days and women found it particularly difficult to travel and arrange for alternative forms of child care (Cahn, 2008).

Emerging challenges

We have seen in Part I that the burden of unpaid care work has been increasing in rural sub-Saharan Africa because of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. For example, because of the need to nurse HIV-affected household members, women devoted less time to agricultural work and child care in Ethiopia and in Zambia (Bollinger *et al.*, 1999, and Waller, 1997) and had to switch to less labour-intensive crops in Uganda (Toupozis, 1994).

Increasing female migration is also likely to contribute to heavier housework burdens for the female household members remaining in rural areas, in particular if children are left behind. These other female members may be mothers, sisters, older daughters or grandmothers who may be negatively affected in terms of their own employment options or in their opportunities for education (see, for example, Luo n.d. for China; Paris, 1999 for Vietnam; IFAD and INSTRAW, 2007 for the Philippines). Young single women with fewer reproductive responsibilities are more likely to migrate further away from home in search of better job opportunities. This has been observed in Bangladesh, China, Malaysia and other Asian and Latin American countries.

Already weak essential public social services in most rural areas of developing countries are likely to worsen with the current economic crisis and thus increase the care-giving burden of rural women at the household level.

2.2.1.b. Policy responses

Physical infrastructure and home-based technology investment

Public investment in roads, rural electrification and improvements in water and sanitation infrastructure can significantly contribute to reducing rural women's unpaid work and generate many other benefits such as better health for women and their families. Cereal mills, other equipment for food processing, pressure cookers, refrigerators and other affordable and appropriate home-based technologies can also significantly help reduce the time and energy rural women must invest in food preparation and improve food availability and incomes from food sales off-season.

In Mali, an IFAD/UNIDO project supplied diesel-powered multifunctional platforms in 12 villages to help reduce the time spent in fuel collection. As a result, many women could shift their labour inputs to income-generating activities, leading to an average daily increase in their income of US\$0.50. Rice production and consumption also grew. One main reason for the success of this project is that women beneficiaries were involved from the beginning in its design, management and implementation (Grown and Gupta, 2005).

However, women do not always gain from improved energy services. In a mountainous village in rural China, following the introduction of electricity, some women moved part of their domestic activities to the evening and worked longer in the field during the day – the only substantial time-saving for them occurring in pig feeding. In the village there was a general increase in resting time, but this was much larger for men than for women (Network for Gender and Sustainable Energy, 2002; Institute of Development Studies, 2003). This points to the need to address the gender division of domestic labour with an integrated approach that combines improvements in physical infrastructure with awareness-generating programmes.

An example of a successful initiative in the area of water infrastructure is provided by SEWA's water campaign in Gujarat. The project was about improving access to safe and reliable drinking water and involved, among others, training women to repair hand pumps. Women's collective action was a crucial ingredient of the success. Women were initially reluctant to participate because water infrastructure was regarded as male territory and men were expressing hostility by refusing to drink water from a source built by women or to work on water structures that women managed. SEWA's district-level functionaries and village women leaders facilitated a process of mobilization through meetings, solidarity group formation and capacity building, and acted as interface between the local women and the water board. As a result, workloads from collecting water were reduced, enabling women to devote more time to remunerated employment or to rest. More reliable and safer water provision also led to a reduction of migration to nearby villages. From a general perspective, the project seems to have had a significant empowerment effect on women and on their willingness and ability to participate in the public domain, including involvement in *panchayat* (local council) meetings and formation of SHGs for savings (Mishra Panda, 2007).

Public works

More roads and better water and electricity infrastructure can also be provided through government-supported public works. Well-designed employment guarantee programmes can simultaneously fulfil the two objectives of generating jobs for both women and men, and creating assets that reduce aspects of women's domestic workloads, with important gender redistributive implications. This is more likely to happen if women and communities are directly involved in the design of public works. In Peru, for example, women's direct participation in the design of a rural roads project ensured that greater priority was given to their needs. Upgrades included roads that connected communities and also many non-motorized transport tracks that were used mostly by women and ignored by other road programmes. As a result, women started to participate to a greater extent in markets and fairs and spent less time obtaining food and fuel supplies; 43 percent of them reported earning higher incomes (World Bank, 2004a)

Public works that contribute to rural community welfare in a gender-equitable way do not have to be confined to physical infrastructure projects. As the Tamil Nadu NREGA case described in Box I-1 suggests, schemes that would allow women to look after children could be designed as a component of employment generation programmes. Care-providing public works programmes also could be an effective response to the upsurge in the need for care resulting from the HIV/AIDS pandemic, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa. A review of social fund projects in Thailand (ESCAP, 2003) highlighted several initiatives of this kind, including shelters for the elderly and HIV/AIDS patients, day-care centres and playgrounds.

Child care services

Child care support for working women in rural areas can promote the ability of mothers to participate in economic activities and indirectly support their children's well-being. The provision of child care is of most immediate relevance to wage workers but it can also support women in self-employment by possibly enhancing their chances for better paid non-agricultural waged work. The most common form of child care in rural areas is still through family members, including older siblings looking after younger ones. Other forms of child care are still rather poor and scattered. Child care can be provided through a variety of arrangements: government-funded day care centres, services by voluntary organizations or informal baby-sitting services. Publicly funded child care facilities relative to market-based child care services have the potential to reach a wider range of workers, including the most disadvantaged.

Some innovative projects appear to be available to meet the demand for child care in rural contexts, particularly in India. Mobile Crèches is a voluntary organization that offers child care to women working in the construction sector. It has more than 300 centres and reaches about 200 000 children across India. It approaches builders in urban and rural construction sites, with a view to opening a centre there. Those who agree provide basic facilities (Kabeer, 2008). SEWA also provides child care and targets groups of migrant workers. For instance, it supports women in a district of West Gujarat where many of the poorest families work in salt extraction. The salt workers have to stay in the proximity of their workplace, near the coastal desert terrains, up to eight months in a year. The children have to follow their parents, with often negative implications for their education and overall development (SEWA, 2000).

It is also important to encourage men to take on family responsibilities. An interesting project trying to achieve this objective is promoted by the Sonke Gender Justice Network in South Africa, which uses innovative methods to support men's involvement in the care of children, particularly in rural areas affected by HIV/AIDS. Sonke combines advocacy (for example, a national campaign on 'Brothers for Mothers') with participatory workshops in specific villages aimed at generating awareness on a variety of issues including health, sexuality, gender and violence (<http://www.genderjustice.org.za>).

Health insurance

Coverage of public social security schemes, including health insurance, tends to be limited in rural areas (ILO, 2008). Even where, as in many Latin American and Caribbean countries, contributory social security systems are gradually being extended to agricultural wage workers (ILO, 2003), most seasonal and migrant workers remain excluded. Lack of health insurance may aggravate the load of unpaid care at moments when families are especially vulnerable.

Health insurance schemes for informal workers implemented by civil society organizations can offer effective alternatives when public social security schemes are lacking. SEWA in India, for example, supports an innovative scheme providing about 100 000 women workers, in both urban and rural areas, with health insurance, including a maternity component and life and asset insurance (UNRISD, 2005; Chatterjee and Vyas, 2000 quoted in Chen *et al.*, 2004; ILO, 2003). However, some of SEWA's poorest members cannot afford the premiums, which have to be set at a rate that ensures financial viability (UNRISD, 2005).

Social pensions

Social pensions can partly contribute to redressing gender inequalities in employment resulting from care responsibilities, as they can offer women some financial support in their old age. As the cases of Brazil, Namibia and South Africa show, social pensions, especially if paid directly to women, have a significant positive impact on poor households (Barrientos *et al.*, 2003; Kabeer, 2008; Duflo, 2003; UNRISD, 2005; Devereux, 2001; Schatz and Ogunmefun, 2007). In South Africa, they constitute an important source of income for households affected by HIV/AIDS (Schatz and Ogunmefun 2007; Ferreira *et al.*, 2002 quoted in Kabeer, 2008).

Gender constraints and related policies: key issues related to unpaid work

Constraint	The burden of unpaid work is one of the major examples of a gender-specific constraint. Its contribution to maintaining a healthy and productive rural labour force is not sufficiently recognized and valued.
Employment aspects	Unpaid work limits rural women's participation in self-employment and wage employment, and in agricultural and non-agricultural work. It negatively affects access to self-employment opportunities in the sense of preventing women from diversifying into more profitable opportunities that involve working longer and more regular hours and/or travelling longer distances. It negatively affects wage-employment mostly by weakening women's bargaining power relative to their employers. It affects female workers' productivity more in general by increasing stress and fatigue. Women's taking up paid employment (in whatever form) may have negative intergenerational effects if the burden of unpaid work is transferred to daughters.
Geography	There seems to be no variation across regions or economic structures in the intensity of this burden. Where physical infrastructure is poor and public provision of social services weak, the problem is especially limiting.
Policy recommendations	Recommendations are for a policy mix that combines: (1) public works involving women from the design stage and fulfilling simultaneously the two objectives of generating employment (for both women and men), and creating infrastructure and food-processing technology that reduce aspects of women's domestic workloads; (2) social protection offering good-quality care provision and health services, hence encouraging a more equal sharing of responsibilities between public and private institutions; and (3) support to grassroots organizations in creating awareness around rights and entitlements, including strengthening the participation and voice of women's groups and encouraging men's greater involvement in care responsibilities.

2.2.2. Education

2.2.2.a. Gender and education: What is the situation?

Human capital gains through education can be a crucial factor in strengthening rural women's position in the labour process (sometimes labour is the main factor of production over which women have some control); can help diversify rural family incomes through non-farm earnings; may improve the stability and quality of non-farm employment by allowing access to vocational training; increase women's access to labour markets beyond their locality (such as through migration); and increase women's ability, through resources and information, to claim their rights. A crucial interrupter of female education is marriage and/or child-bearing. In turn, these can limit women's labour market access due to discriminatory practices, and therefore reduce incentives to invest in female education. Gender biases in both the demand and supply sides of education need to be addressed.

Education is likely to be positively associated with participation in high-productivity rural employment. This is, for example, suggested by a regression analysis including sub-Saharan African countries (Ghana, Malawi and Nigeria), Asian countries (Bangladesh, Indonesia, Nepal, Tajikistan and Vietnam) and Latin American countries (Ecuador, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Panama) (Winters *et al.*, 2008). The estimated effects are stronger as national incomes rise, and women appear to gain more than men from each additional year of education. A similar result is found by Abdulai and Delgado (1999) for Northern Ghana: years of schooling increase the likelihood of participation in non-farm work and of earning higher wages, more so for rural women than for rural men.

Education appears to increase women's chances to enter the formal rural labour market, particularly the wage sector, in three rural states of Mexico (Pagan and Sanchez, 2001). Unfortunately, the study does not separate agricultural from non-agricultural activities. Education is found to have a positive effect particularly on the labour market participation of married women, who generally face more barriers to employment than single women. Secondary and post-secondary education increases the chance that they are in the salaried sector relative to self-employment. Another study (Katz, 2001) on Mexican *ejidos* (agrarian reform farms) examines gender and generational differences in off-farm wage labour market participation. Men are much more likely to hold off-farm jobs than women, but mainly in unskilled positions. The few women who access off-farm employment are more likely to be in skilled or semi-skilled jobs. However, since the majority of the women in the study were single, it is unclear whether they would continue to work after marriage.

Most of the women who earned relatively high wages in stable employment on large state-run farms (including citrus plantations, coffee plantations and irrigated tomato and vegetable projects) in Mpumalanga, South Africa had completed more years of schooling than other female wage labourers interviewed, avoided early and frequent pregnancies and had more work experience (which boosted wage rates). An intergenerational effect was also found: women whose mothers attended school had completed more years of school (about nine years) than the women whose mothers had not attended school. Conversely, children whose mothers worked as child labourers (and were unable to attend school regularly) were more likely to be child labourers themselves. The majority of the workers with stable jobs were South African. By contrast, migrant female workers from Mozambique were unable to access remunerative employment on state-run farms and had uncertain legal status within South Africa (Sender, 2002).

Education can help rural women, particularly the young and single ones, to access urban wage employment. The positive effect of education on rural-urban migration propensities appears to be stronger for men than for women in some countries, for example in Ecuador (Katz, 2000), but the evidence is mixed. Still, Katz (2003) finds that in Mexico, higher levels of education are found to enhance rural women's chances of migrating to the United States but to reduce men's chances. Evidence from China suggests that the probability that women with higher levels of education will find a job by migrating to the cities has risen over time (De Brauw *et al.*, 2004).

The impact of education on women's rural labour market participation may depend on the specific sociocultural context. For example, in southern India, where increasing the opportunity of a good marriage is often the main reason for supporting girls' education, education can lead to a decline in female wage employment and reinforce women's traditional roles, as found in a village in Maharashtra (Kabeer, 2003).

Barriers to women's non-farm employment reduce the returns to women's education and dampen parental incentives to invest in girls' education. For example, the higher probability of women obtaining non-farm employment has gone hand in hand with higher educational attainment of girls in the Philippines. In contrast, Ghanaian women have more limited access to non-farm labour markets, which in turn likely discourages parents from investing in their daughters' schooling (Quisumbing *et al.*, 2003).

Returns to education are greater in non-farm employment. While education has a positive relation to farm yields, education is less relevant for agricultural family work and self-employment. However, it does have a direct effect on rural household well-being. In Africa, children of mothers who spent five years in primary education are 40 percent more likely to live beyond the age of five years.

An important issue relates to whether some kind of minimum level of achieved education is required to acquire training. A study shows that entry into technical education requires a minimum of eight or ten years of schooling in Bangladesh (Mitra and Rahman, 2002 quoted in Jackson and Rao, 2004). Very few women thus became eligible for such technical training, which could improve access to better jobs. Training may actually reinforce occupational segregation based on gender. In both formal and non-formal education, boys and girls are often channelled into different subjects. This means girls are often 'directed' into subjects that are essentially extensions of women's household and reproductive tasks, such as sewing, food processing and nutrition (ILO, 2000).

In terms of accessing agricultural technology, Quisumbing (2003) shows that education substantially improves yields, but high levels of schooling might not be the most important factor. Well-designed extension services that can be easily understood may be more, or equally, effective for women. In Kenya, women who had less education than men excelled in the uptake of soil fertility replenishment technologies as long as explanations were given in simple terms (Quisumbing and Pandolfelli, 2008). The study suggests that women in the programme understood the technologies better than men but does not provide any detail of why this was the case. In Bangladesh, a local non-governmental organization (NGO) successfully taught illiterate women how to manage fishponds by giving them notebooks with illustrated instructions (*ibid.*).

Relevant and quality extension services and training are limited for women farmers (World Bank, IFAD and FAO, 2009). In Vietnam, for example, women made up only 25 percent and 10 percent of participants in training programmes on animal husbandry and on crop cultivation, respectively (Kabeer, 2008). In Cambodia, women were only 10 percent of extension beneficiaries (Asian Development Bank, n.d.). In Senegal, according to the 1998/1999 census, male plot managers received three times more agricultural extension services than female plot managers (FAO, 2005a). Reasons include that research and extension services tend to focus on the tasks that males specialize in; access to extension services often requires travelling long distances to district centres, taking several hours away from the family; and extension services are staffed overwhelmingly by men, raising cultural difficulties in engaging in face-to-face communication with women farmers.

Are education and land correlated? Deere and León (2003), in their review of ethnographic material on gender and land inheritance in 12 Latin American countries, argue that a woman's age, education and status within her household (whether she is head of her family or not) are all positively related to greater gender equality in land inheritance. However, in contexts where land is accessed only through marriage, the education factor may play a marginal role.

A recent study (Hare *et al.*, 2007) finds no evidence of any statistical correlation between a woman's educational background and the probability of obtaining land in rural China.

2.2.2.b. Policy responses

Policies for promoting greater gender equality in education with a view to improve access to decent rural jobs must combine measures that address both the content of education and more practical problems that girls face more often than boys in accessing schools and training services. The emphasis of education policies should evidently vary depending on whether the labour market of the area concerned is dominated by agricultural activities or non-agricultural activities.

Measures could include: better design of curricula so as to be more relevant to the technical knowledge required in agriculture; encouraging girls (for example through scholarships) to include technical subjects in their study plans and boys to join 'home economics' classes; more and better designed vocational training for women; gender training for teachers, including on issues related to sexual harassment; incentives for male and especially female teachers to work and remain in rural schools; building new schools and improving physical access to them, paying particular attention to suitable locations and means of transportation which are safe and women-friendly; and adapting school times to patterns of rural life (including the need of some children to participate in aspects of rural work in particular moments of the day, or seasonally).

PROGRESA (Programa de Educación, Salud y Alimentación) is a much-cited example of a cash transfer programme implemented in rural Mexico to assist poor families in meeting the financial and opportunity costs of their children's school attendance (see, for example, Skoufias, 2005). This programme transfers cash directly to the children's mothers and provides higher stipends for girls than for boys. The assessment of whether PROGRESA has been successful in achieving its goals is mixed. While evidence points to an increase in enrolment rates, both in primary and in secondary education, especially for girls, there is concern that the programme may have reinforced existing gender inequalities within households by intensifying mothers' caring responsibilities. Mothers must spend more time taking children for regular health checks, attending workshops on health and programme co-ordinators' meetings and contributing to community work through cleaning buildings or clearing rubbish as a requirement for obtaining the cash transfer. In sum, this programme seems in practice to target women because they are an effective way of reaching children, but it does not contribute to increase their own agency and power (Molyneux, 2006).

FAO, in collaboration with the World Food Programme and other partners, has supported the creation of Junior Farmer Field and Life Schools (JFFLS) for orphaned youth and children in countries where the prevalence of HIV is highest: Cameroon, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Sudan, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe (World Bank, IFAD and FAO, 2009). The particularly valuable feature of this project is that it combines support to very vulnerable children, using innovative and holistic teaching methods.

The JFFLS training programmes target both boys and girls and help them to develop agricultural knowledge and livelihood skills they will need to sustain themselves and their families in the future. The programmes so far appear to have been successful (as described in Box I-2), but further support with access to productive assets such as land or credit is crucial to ensure that the knowledge acquired through JFFLSs will enable

BOX 1-2**Junior Farmer Field and Life Schools: empowering orphans and vulnerable youth living in a world with HIV/AIDS**

Children in JFFLS programmes learn practical agricultural skills by undertaking agricultural tasks in an allocated plot. They learn about local agro-ecological conditions, field preparation, sowing and transplanting, weeding, irrigation, integrated pest management, utilization and conservation of available resources, utilization and processing of food crops, harvesting, storage and marketing skills. There is also emphasis on 'life skills' because many of the children attending the JFFLS no longer have parents to support their socialization. The JFFLSs promotes awareness on HIV and AIDS prevention, gender equality, children's rights, nutrition and good hygiene. Efforts are made to identify the specific different needs of girls and boys. Teaching methods include participatory educational theatre. Boys and girls have equal access to learning, and school resources are distributed fairly among them. Equal distribution of school meals to boys and girls provides an alternative to local feeding practices in many communities which tend to give priority to boys.

Preliminary assessments indicate that most JFFLS programmes have managed to build women's and girls' confidence by offering new role models for girls through innovative educational methods, improved participant skills and their status and visibility within their communities.

Source: World Bank, IFAD and FAO, 2009

students to benefit from decent jobs once they complete their training programmes. More in general, integrated programmes that link skills training to creating new income-generating activities have great potential.

Emergencies and 'double discrimination'

Mobile school programmes in rural areas have the potential to benefit the most vulnerable girls within groups that have been displaced by armed conflict, or are forced by other disasters to lead a nomadic life. A successful example is provided by the Hanuniye project run by the Nomadic Health Care Programme in Wajir, Kenya. Its implementation strategy follows the so-called 'dugsi approach', which involves a mobile teacher living with the family or herding group. The attraction of this model is that it is compatible with daily mobility needs – with lessons designed to fit around household labour arrangements – as well as long-distance mobility.

The Hanuniye project reportedly enrolled 3 148 boys and 2 830 girls as pupils between 1995 and 1999 (Atchoarena and Gasperini, 2003). Assuming these figures are accurate, this is a remarkably high number, representing approximately 50 percent of the total district primary enrolment. What is even more notable is that the project appears to have successfully managed to reach both girls and boys equally. Administrative difficulties, combined with shortcomings in the design and maintenance of collapsible classrooms and the reluctance of some teachers to adapt to a nomadic lifestyle, have undermined the planned use of mobile schools in other cases, such as in Nigeria (Atchoarena and Gasperini, 2003). Mobile schools should be seen only as a temporary solution.

Female children with disabilities tend to face double discrimination based on their gender and their disability. Sensitizing and training school teachers and programme administrators to recognize and deal with disabilities is essential. Special learning materials are also needed in some cases.

Other forms of double discrimination may involve young unwed pregnant girls. Early pregnancies often result in the discontinuation of a girl's education in many rural areas (Atchoarena and Gasperini, 2003). When a young unmarried girl becomes pregnant,

especially in rural communities, she is immediately seen as an outcast whose prospects in life will be reduced. To address such a challenge, the Morocco Second Chance School Programme offers out-of-school girls a second chance at receiving an education, as described in Box I-3.

Weak enforcement of legislation is also another important problem that needs to be addressed to facilitate girls' access to education. Countries which are party to international human rights covenants have automatically signed and agreed to eliminate any form of discrimination on the basis of sex. However, these rights have not been extended to issues such as marriage, access to education and other aspects of family life in some rural communities where cultural norms are strongly gender-biased. Under sections 21 and 23 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), it is illegal for a parent to marry off his or her daughter if she is under 18 years. However, early marriages are still common in many rural communities, where people may be unaware of laws and where extreme poverty sometimes leads families to treat marrying girls at an early age as a form of insurance. Early marriages often mean the end of the educational experience for the girls involved.

School facilities

Long distances between school and home seem to be a common problem for access to education in many countries. Lack of good and safe roads appears to be a significant problem especially for girls. Girls fear being attacked and sexually harassed, and parents are equally concerned (Atchoarena and Gasperini, 2003). To remove such barriers, schools need to be placed in adequate locations, where access will not be threatening for girls. Inadequacy of school infrastructure also contributes to low enrolment of girls. Appropriate facilities, such as clean and separate latrines for girls and protected buildings and playgrounds, are an important factor in creating a friendlier learning environment (Atchoarena and Gasperini, 2003). Duflo (2001) provides an example of how construction of school buildings in sparsely populated regions of Indonesia significantly increased enrolment and attendance for primary education. The school building programme was implemented by the Indonesian government in collaboration with the World Bank

BOX I-3

The Second Chance Schools in Morocco

The Second Chance School Programme is implemented by the Ministry of Education in partnership with various government departments, NGOs and local authorities and associations. Several international partners support the programme as well. The NGOs engage young graduates as facilitators, enrol the pupils, make local arrangements for the classes, seek additional resources and generally manage the programme at the local level. Teachers and facilitators are recruited within each region. They are given training by specialized trainers. Classes take place in various facilities: rooms offered by local associations, government offices, unoccupied school classrooms and even private homes. To mobilize the various material and human resources needed for the programme, information and sensitization campaigns are carried out.

The programme has been a success in most rural areas because of its flexibility and adaptability. The weekly teaching sessions, for example, vary from 4 to 24 hours over six days, and the periods of holiday vary too, depending on the needs and the availability of each learner.

In the four years through 2000, more than 87 000 children (of whom more than 65 percent are girls) participated. Of the 48 000 'graduates', over 3 000 passed into the formal schooling system and some 45 000 were prepared for employment. Nearly 7 000 of them had apprenticeships in agriculture, crafts, services, industry and commerce. During the same period, 1 382 teachers/facilitators were trained (over half of them women).

Source: Atchoarena and Gasperini (2003)

and it is reported to be one of the fastest primary school construction programmes ever undertaken. It was designed explicitly to target children who had not previously been enrolled in schools. The number of schools to be constructed in each district was proportional to the number of children of primary school age not enrolled in school. The programme had the greatest impact in the poorest rural regions.

Gender constraints and related policies: key issues related to education

Constraint	Lack of education can be regarded as a gender-intensified constraint which can be further exacerbated by badly designed policies.
Employment aspects	<p>Higher levels of education can help diversify into non-farm employment and may improve its stability and quality.</p> <p>Secondary and post-secondary education are more relevant for access to formal wage work than to self-employment.</p> <p>Education increases women's access to labour markets beyond their locality (migration); and enhances women's resources and information to claim their rights.</p> <p>Education is less relevant for agricultural self-employment. Well-designed extension services and training are more important than education for improving productivity in agricultural work, but women's access to such services is often limited.</p> <p>Education may be less relevant as a factor influencing labour market participation than marriage/stage in life cycle/having young children.</p>
Geography	Gender gaps in educational attainment seem larger in sub-Saharan Africa than in other regions. Reducing the gender gap in primary education is a priority for improving female access to decent work in agriculture-based countries. Improvements in secondary and tertiary education are more relevant in transforming urbanized countries with large rural non-farm sectors.
Policy recommendations	Recommendations include a policy mix that combines: (1) better design of curricula so as to be more relevant to the technical knowledge required in agriculture; (2) encouraging girls to include technical subjects in their study plans and boys to join 'home economics' classes; (3) more and better designed vocational training for women; (4) gender training for teachers; (5) building new schools in ways that facilitate girls' physical access to them.

2.2.3. Land and credit

2.2.3.a. What is the situation?

Land is the prime productive asset in most rural areas of developing countries. Owning land, using land owned by others and securing waged farm work often depend on complex social and legal frameworks, many with gender dimensions. These institutional issues are key linkages to poverty and incomes because of how they govern the allocation of labour and the distribution of the products from land. The specifics vary from place to place, but globally there is a marked bias against women's control of land as a productive resource.

A key characteristic is that women seldom own the land that they cultivate. While this is perhaps widely recognized, what is noteworthy is how substantial the gender gap is. In all countries for which data are available, women are less likely to own land, and own less amounts of land when they do own it (World Bank, 2007a). In Congo and Tanzania, for example, the female share of landowners was 25 percent (Deere and Doss, 2006), and in Benin, where 11 percent of landowners are female, the average size of women's holdings is about 1 hectare, compared with 2 hectares for men's holdings. In Pakistan, women own less than 3 percent of plots, even though 67 percent of surveyed villages reported a woman's right to inherit land (World Bank, 2007a). In India, according to the 2000/2001 Agricultural Census (which provides information only on operational holdings and not on land ownership), only

12 percent of holdings covering 9 percent of the total area are operated by women (Srivastava and Srivastava, 2009). Even in Indian states that appear to have some progressive gender indicators, when it comes to land, female shares remain low: in Kerala, women operated only 21 percent of the holdings. In Latin America, the female share of landowners ranged from 11 percent in Brazil to 27 percent in Paraguay (Deere and Doss, 2006).

Women's control over land reflects deep-rooted land tenure norms and laws. These vary considerably and are difficult to generalize. Sub-Saharan Africa has the most diverse arrangements.

A major reason why generalization is difficult – and previewing the policy discussion – is the gap between social/legal norms and actual practice, which varies from place to place. An example is Muslim Africa, viz. the coastal eastern region, Northern Nigeria, Northern Sudan, Chad and the area from the Sahelian countries to Senegal. Islamic law entitles a daughter to inherit land amounting to half of what sons inherit (due to the view that a woman is provided for, whereas a man must provide). Also in some areas a woman can inherit one-eighth of her husband's land. While Muslim norms have been favourable relative to those in other parts of Africa such as the cocoa-producing regions of West Africa, many Islamic communities force women to surrender or sell inherited land to male relatives.

Under house-property systems, women have greater control of land or livestock, but formal ownership is often not given. Thus women's claims depend substantially on their status as daughters and wives, and may be weakened by claims by male relatives (see, for example, the study of Uganda by Dolan, 2002). Divorced women and widows are particularly vulnerable, especially in areas with high prevalence of HIV/AIDS (Strickland, 2004 for Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, South Africa and Tanzania; FAO, 2003 for Namibia; FAO, 2009 for Mozambique; and FAO, 2004 for Zambia).

Inheritance norms constitute the main access to land. In South Asia this has been traditionally patrilineal (Agarwal, 2003; Allendorf, 2007). The significant exception is Sri Lanka, where both sons and daughters can inherit, widows can inherit all of the deceased husband's property in the absence of descendants, and married women have the right to acquire and dispose of their individually owned property (Grown and Gupta, 2005).

Across Southeast Asia in Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos and Vietnam, under both customary and formal law, men and women have equal rights to land (World Bank, 2005). Parents usually decide which children will inherit what property. Traditionally, the youngest daughter remains home to care for elderly parents, even after marriage, and thereby inherits the family homestead. In China, too, women and men have equal rights to land, but in practice it is more difficult for rural women to exercise these rights than it is for rural men or urban women. Women in the countryside often lose their access to the family's land after marriage because they move to their husband's village. But if they divorce, or their husbands die, it is impossible for them to claim their share of land in their husbands' villages. As a result, rural women are becoming landless, especially upon divorce (Du and Knaji, 2002).

Even in Latin America, with perhaps the most favourable legal framework, inheritance has been historically skewed towards men, in part because agriculture is defined as a male activity and in part because legal headship status confers male privilege in marriage (Deere and Leon, 2003).

Lack of land significantly limits women's access to credit, water and grazing rights, and thereby constrains options for self-employment in agriculture and social protection in times of shocks. In Kenya and Senegal, for example, women are excluded from contract farming in high-value products because they lack statutory rights over land, have limited access to irrigation and infrastructure and have weaker claims over family labour (Dolan, 2001; Maertens and Swinnen, 2009). In India, the absence of land titles significantly limits women farmers' access to institutional credit (Srivastava and Srivastava, 2009).

The lack of secure tenure limits women's land use and cropping choices. In Guatemala, women's independent – but not joint – ownership of land was found to be a significant predictor of women's participation in non-traditional agro-export production (Hamilton and Fischer, 2003). Joint ownership appeared to have a less clear benefit. In Guatemala, Katz (1995) found that land ownership affected the degree of women's control over the benefits from agro-export production.

A man's control over family land strengthens his ability to command more of his wife's labour time in order to maximize his income. In Zambia, for example, men were able to increase maize production by demanding greater labour inputs from their wives, whereas women producers were not able to exert similar claims over their husbands' labour (Wold, 1997).

Women's access to land can be a critical element in diversified livelihood systems. This can be due to greater own-produce, credit and non-farm earnings (Katz and Chamorro, 2003; Deere *et al.*, 2004; Aspaas, 1998). In Peru, female land rights are positively associated with off-farm income. Most interesting is that female land rights are positively and significantly associated with higher off-farm income only in dual-headed households (where both adults are present) (Deere *et al.*, 2004).

It is important to note that land is not always the most binding constraint. Whitehead (2008) argues that while land is a constraint to women's farming in some places (for example Uganda), in other parts of sub-Saharan Africa there are other constraints that play a larger role, such as inadequate access to labour and other inputs. According to Ann Whitehead, the land constraint may be felt more heavily in places where agriculture is a more important source of livelihoods, where the gender bias in land ownership is more serious and where land scarcity is a severe problem. In India, where growing land scarcity has intensified male competition and created additional constraints to women's usufruct, trusteeship and ownership rights, women's access to land seems to have become more constrained (Jackson and Rao, 2004). In India, the land question is also crucial because, as a result of male out-migration, women remain largely confined to agriculture and they are faced with the prime responsibility for farming, but without rights to the land they cultivate (Agarwal, 2003).

Even where land constraints are binding, it should be noted that this affects mainly farm-related employment and earnings, with education as the more important determining factor in non-farm employment (as discussed in section 2.2).

While women's access to land is becoming more constrained in India, the reverse seems to be happening with regard to access to credit. The provision of microcredit in South Asia (as well as in Africa and Latin America, although perhaps with a more limited coverage in these latter regions) is often celebrated as a great achievement for women's empowerment. Credit and other financial services are basic requisites for increasing agricultural production and developing profitable enterprises, but many women small

producers remain excluded from formal sources because of lack of collateral and financial skills and institutional and cultural biases against them.

Microcredit has indeed provided some options for rural women's self employment, but cannot be regarded as producing successful female entrepreneurs broadly. Women in some rural areas may now have good credit access, but usually to small amounts; it is mostly men who continue to benefit from larger loans and formal financial services. Because of the small size of their loans and the many other economic barriers they face, rural women are often trapped in low-value activities. In Sri Lanka, for example, Quisumbing and Pandolfelli (2008) report that average returns to capital are zero among female-owned enterprises but greater than 9 percent a month for male-owned enterprises. A study of a credit programme in Egypt in which equal numbers of male and female clients were interviewed finds women to be involved in only 28 of 96 different enterprises reported by clients (Sebstadt and Cohen, 2000). This evidence stresses the importance of complementing microcredit with initiatives that promote rural women's access to higher-value sectors and non-traditional businesses as well as of developing more inclusive formal financial services.

2.2.3.b. Policy responses

Policy options to redress gender disparities in land rights may include: legal reforms and measures to ensure their implementation; joint titling programmes; and collective approaches. Policy initiatives for gender-equitable finance need to integrate credit provision with a range of other measures to protect women's rights over their own financial assets and to promote women's participation in higher-return economic activities. Measures cannot be limited to microcredit, however, but must involve the development of more inclusive and less gender-biased formal and informal financial systems.

Land legislation

Across sub-Saharan Africa (e.g. Eritrea, Kenya, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda and Zimbabwe), Asia (e.g. India, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan) and Latin America (e.g. Brazil, Colombia, Honduras and Nicaragua), governments have enacted legislation to guarantee women's property and inheritance rights (see Grown and Gupta, 2005; FAO, 2006; UNIFEM, 2005; Deere and Doss, 2006). Tanzania's 1999 Land Law, for example, provides co-ownership of land to both spouses and prohibits village councils from discriminating against women (Jacobs, 2002). Uganda's 1998 Land Action and Condominium Law recognizes women's equal right to buy and own land and housing (Grown and Gupta, 2005). Tajikistan's 2004 amendments to the Land Reform Act strengthen women's legal entitlements (UNIFEM, 2005).

Unfortunately women and men's equal access to land continues to not be realized in practice.¹⁴ Statutory laws sometimes conflict with customary laws. In Namibia, for example, the Married Person Equality Act of 1996 states that, upon the death of a spouse, both men and women are entitled to assets accumulated through marriage. However, women continue to face persistent discrimination arising from customary laws, as indicated by the numerous cases of property grabbing by family members of the husbands who had died from AIDS-related causes (FAO 2003). In South Africa, the implementation of the land reform programme has been rather weak because of a range of factors including: lack of clear

14 For further discussion of these issues in Uganda and Eritrea see Grown and Gupta, 2005; for Tanzania, see Jacobs, 2002; for Namibia, FAO, 2003; for Brazil, Deere and Doss, 2006.

lines of accountability of either policy-makers in the national government or implementers at the provincial level with regard to the enforcement of the Land Reform Gender Policy Document issued in 1997; limited authority of the Gender Unit within the Ministry and Department of Land Affairs; a rather inflexible programme design; and limited involvement of grassroots movements, which tend to be more vocal in urban areas (Walker, 2002).

Joint titling

Joint titling is another option for redressing gender imbalances in access to land. In the early 1990s, five Latin American countries (Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Honduras and Nicaragua) passed agrarian legislation for joint adjudication or titling of land to couples. Similar initiatives have been taken in Cambodia, India, Indonesia and Vietnam (Lastarria-Cornhiel, 2003). Joint titling can help to guard against capricious actions by one spouse and protects against the dispossession of women through abandonment, separation or divorce (Grown and Gupta, 2005).

Joint titling initiatives have produced mixed results. In Nicaragua, the number of women landowners has increased as a result of joint titling programmes. Law 209, which came into effect in 1995, stated that men and women had the equal right to receive land titles and established the option for couples to apply for joint title to land. The principle of joint titling was strengthened in 1997 by making it compulsory for families receiving titles for land distributed under state agrarian reforms to be issued in the names of both spouses (Law 278, Article 49). As a result of this legislation and the dissemination campaign and training initiatives accompanying it, the number of women with legal rights to land dramatically increased. This success is also due to the active lobbying of well-organized rural women (FAO, 2005a).

Similar achievements are reported for Colombia, but not for other Latin American countries. In Honduras, for example, deeply rooted sociocultural norms and the weakness of rural women's organizations appear to have been the main factors limiting the success of the joint titling reform (Lastarria-Cornhiel, 2003).

In Cambodia, a survey of 20 000 land titles issued since 2001, following new laws for joint titling, found that 78 percent were in the names of both women and men (World Bank 2004b). However, women's rights to land may be denied in practice because of cultural and social factors. In principle, when land is jointly registered, both parties must sign to transfer land titles; in practice, however, this is not enforced, and women are vulnerable to losing their portion of control over such decisions and deferring to their husbands. Men often sell land without consent from their wives, and, as a result, women may also lose access to the proceeds of the sale. Women's low literacy is an important factor limiting their access to information about land issues, sales and rights (Asian Development Bank, n.d.).

Collective approaches to land ownership

An effective policy intervention could include what Agarwal (2003) calls a "collective approach". This would involve providing groups of landless women with credit for leasing or purchasing land, and encouraging them to cultivate it jointly. While collective ownership and management can raise its own challenges, groups can help resolve many of the difficulties women face as individuals. Being part of a group helps in mobilizing funds for capital investment and exploiting economies of scale, and leads to labour sharing and cooperation in product marketing. This is a very innovative approach, examples of which can be found only on a small scale, for example in South Asia (see Box I-4). The extent to which these types of programmes have been implemented elsewhere, and could be extended successfully to other contexts, deserves further analysis.

BOX I-4**The Deccan Development Society (DDS) in Andhra Pradesh**

The main objective of DDS is to ensure food security in an environmentally friendly fashion, through organic farming, multiple cropping and wasteland development, to be achieved through collective farming. DDS helps poor, low-caste women, and particularly single women, to organize into groups to lease, purchase and cultivate land together.

Leasing land

The land-leasing programme was introduced in 1989 and currently includes 629 women cultivating 623 acres across 52 villages. Initially, women leased on a sharecropping basis but are now moving to cash rents. Some 25 percent of the rent is paid by members themselves and the rest through interest-free loans from DDS. Very poor women can substitute their labour for cash. Today, most lease groups consist of 5-15 women, but in the past many had 30-40 and one even had 60 women leasing 40 acres. After paying the rent and other costs, as well as DDS's loan and keeping aside grain for seeds, the remaining harvest is shared equally among the lease group members.

DDS also successfully lobbied the state government to allow women's groups to use the money available through the Government's poverty alleviation scheme – Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas – for leasing land, rather than for conventional uses such as tailoring, milk cattle and handicrafts.

Women's committees examine the lease proposals put forward by the women's groups, assess the land's quality, keep records of each woman's work input and ensure equitable distribution of wages and produce. In 1995, each woman participant received enough cereal and pulses to feed her whole family for a month, in addition to harvest wages.

Leasing also has disadvantages. If the crop fails, it is the landlord, and not the tenant, who receives compensation. Also, women may feel less secure and less motivated to invest in the land, depending on the length of the lease.

Land purchase

Since 1994, DDS has also been supporting land purchase by groups of women, taking advantage of a lending scheme initiated by the Scheduled Caste Development Corporation of Andhra Pradesh. Leasing serves as a precursor to purchase, enabling women to judge the land's quality and potential productivity. In some cases, good harvests have enabled women to accumulate enough funds to buy additional land. Each woman is registered as a plot owner. Today, 24 women's groups in 14 villages are cultivating 474 acres of purchased land, each woman owning about one acre but cultivating it jointly with the other women. Finding land to purchase is difficult, since the desirable plots are often bought by others.

Benefits and challenges

By working together, women acquire many useful skills. They learn to survey and measure land, hire tractors or bullocks, travel to distant towns to meet government officials, obtain inputs and market the produce. Many women also find it useful to have the flexibility in labour input that collective cultivation allows. In addition, they can pool their different skills to best effect, and share costs.

During peak seasons, when wage labour demand is high, absenteeism can negatively affect production. The sangams impose penalties (as agreed by the group), and also call defaulters to account in their weekly meetings. The fact that women are all from the same village and are co-dependent in other ways also creates peer pressure against default. A conflict of priorities may also arise if sangam women also own some family land. It may also be hard to motivate people to stay together when individual cultivation becomes more profitable.

Source: Agarwal, Bina, 2003.

Integrated approaches to credit

Credit and savings systems must be designed to address women's gender-specific constraints. Some of the most successful examples are provided by organizations that combine credit delivery with other supporting activities. For instance, Pro Mujer in Peru operates an integrated credit and microenterprise training programme. It also offers training for women's health and family planning and facilitates access to health services (Copestake *et al.*, 2005). The Land Conservation and Smallholder Rehabilitation Project in Ghana, a

poverty-targeted group-lending project sponsored by IFAD, included successful negotiations with landowners and male leaders to improve women's access to irrigated land (Mayoux, 2009). The Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee in Bangladesh combines a joint-liability approach with legal assistance, health and education services (Copestake and others, 2005). SEWA in India combines the provision of banking services with the formation of co-operatives to promote women's economic, social and political interests (Dasgupta, 2002). A good example of a design feature in savings that could facilitate women's control over their assets is offered by the case of the Opportunity International Bank in Malawi, which introduced biometric smart cards enabling illiterate customers with no official government identification to open and manage accounts by using their fingerprints. Quisumbing and Pandolfelli (2008) report that this innovative measure prevented the in-laws of a poor widow from accessing her bank account and hence protected her assets.

Gender constraints and related policies: key issues related to land and credit

Constraint	Limited access to land and credit is, like education, both a gender-intensified constraint and an imposed form of gender disadvantage (i.e. exacerbated by gender-blind policies).
Employment aspects	Land ownership is obviously most relevant to farm-related employment and earnings, with education as the more important determining factor in non-farm employment. Limited access to land also constrains access to other important productive assets such as credit. Both land and credit are crucial to enhance self-employment opportunities.
Geography	In all countries for which data are available, women are less likely to own land, and own less amounts of land when they do own it. Women's control over land reflects deep-rooted land tenure norms and laws, which vary considerably. Sub-Saharan Africa has the most diverse arrangements. The provision of microcredit is especially widespread in South Asia but also in other regions.
Policy recommendations	Policies need to focus not only on improving legislation and rights but especially on the enforcement of such rights. 'Collective approaches' focusing on integrated community-based programmes, that facilitate landless women's group formation, mobilize credit and promote environmentally friendly farming practices, are especially promising. Policy initiatives for gender-equitable finance cannot be limited to microcredit but must involve the development of more inclusive and women-friendly formal financial systems and complementary supporting services.

2.2.4. Unequal access to markets

2.2.4.a. Gender and unequal access to markets

Both domestic and international markets are gendered institutions. Unequal access to markets is another important source of gender disadvantage likely to undermine the achievement of decent rural employment. Gender-differentiated access to markets affects the ability of women and men to receive fair prices for their work and their produce, and to control the income they generate. It results from gender inequalities in access to resources such as capital, technology, information, education and land (some of these factors have been discussed in earlier sections). All these constraints interact with each other and influence the bargaining power of the various actors participating in the production, processing and sale of goods.

Women in many countries have to deal with cultural biases about what are considered appropriate modes of transportation for them (many women travel on foot and transport headloads, and their control over intermediate means of transport such as draught animals, bicycles and carts is limited) and often face harassment by market or trade officials. Their time constraints prevent them from travelling long distances and seeking the best prices for their output. Men are more likely to be approached by agricultural companies or other chain actors wanting to do business. Women may also face barriers to membership in rural organizations and cooperatives, which may further inhibit a channel to facilitate market access (Doss, 2001; Crowley *et al.*, 2006). Even in West African rural markets, despite the fame of the ‘market queens’ and despite the greater mobility of women relative to some regions in South Asia, it seems that women rarely achieve upward economic mobility. The economic resources necessary for the spatial and social mobility to amass wholesale consignments, command transport and/or own processing facilities are often in the hands of men (Harriss-White, 1998). These forms of inequality can be further exacerbated by gender-blind policies with respect to credit, land, transport, marketing schemes, training and unpaid care work.

Women increasingly supply national and international markets with both traditional and high-value produce but continue to face greater disadvantages than men. Barriers to participation in export markets are even higher because the constraints just described for domestic markets are compounded by problems of compliance with strict international food safety and phytosanitary standards. As a consequence, small-scale female producers find it especially difficult to become independently involved in international trade. As discussed in Part I, poor households, and particularly poor women, seem to be benefiting from incorporation into global value chains more through labour markets than through product markets.

Depending on the type of goods produced, the characteristics of the value chain and the institutional setting of the country, different policies are required to facilitate integration of rural women and men into national and international markets. A useful step for designing adequate interventions to promote better access of poor producers and workers to markets should involve undertaking a thorough gender-aware value-chain analysis so as to identify where measures to reduce inequalities can be taken and by whom.¹⁵

Measures to support market access will vary depending on whether the women concerned are producers or wage workers. Policies aimed at producers should mostly include: initiatives to improve market contacts and information on prices, as well as market analysis to identify high-value market opportunities; strengthening of property rights; better access to credit; technical assistance; and support for institutional strengthening of women’s groups and women’s inclusion, influence and negotiating power in farmer associations and trade unions. Policies for wage workers should involve: extending labour legislation beyond permanent workers; measures to ensure better enforcement of labour laws; measures to create greater awareness of legal rights; and more training.

15 An increasing number of value-chain interventions are being promoted by a variety of institutions, from international donors to local NGOs. There is a lot of anecdotal evidence about the benefits of value-chain interventions for the poor, but the number of thorough and independent impact assessments is very small (Humphrey and Navas-Alemann, forthcoming). For an excellent introduction to gender value-chain analysis, see Barrientos *et al.* (2003).

2.2.4.b. Policy responses

Self-employed small-scale producers

Studies show that high-value chains usually exclude asset-poor farmers (World Bank, 2007a). Entry into high-value chains may require having the ability to invest in greenhouses, irrigation and packing sheds. Dolan and Sorby (2003) find that contract farmers are more likely than non-contract farmers to own land and other assets and to have access to irrigation. Few of the contract households reviewed in their study were headed by women: 6 percent in Guatemala and less than 1 percent in Kenya. Moreover, smallholders in general, and women in particular, are likely to be in a weak position in negotiating terms and prices with powerful buyers because of limited experience and low levels of education.

An important avenue for smallholders to gain access to value chains is through involvement in producer organizations or cooperatives. Being part of an organization increases the bargaining power of farmers and may also be preferred by the large companies contracting the work because it simplifies procedures. This calls for the promotion of innovative institutional mechanisms that enable women to join groups, lead groups and remain active members. Measures to strengthen and increase knowledge of women's property rights and contractual rights, including their entitlements to land and financial skills (described in an earlier section) could also contribute to make their position relative to powerful actors in the chain stronger, and to increase their chances of obtaining loans to start cooperatives or enterprises.

Better access to information and communication technologies can be used successfully to find market contacts and information on prices – another important channel to strengthen smallholders' bargaining position. Mobile phones are increasingly used in many remote rural areas by women farmers to learn market prices for inputs and crops (e.g. Grameen Village Phone in Bangladesh and similar such initiatives in Cameroon, the Philippines, Rwanda and Uganda). In Senegal, the Grand Coast Fishing Operators Union, an organization of women who market fish, set up a website to promote their produce, monitor export markets and negotiate prices with overseas buyers before they arrive in the country (Hafkin and Taggart, 2001 quoted in World Bank, IFAD and FAO, 2009). In Samoa, a local NGO, Women in Business Development Incorporated, provided technical support to 13 cooperatives to enable them to produce organic virgin coconut oil for export markets. Market contacts in Australia and New Zealand were made with the assistance of the Internet (Cretney and Tafuna'i, 2004).

An initiative by the Mennonite Economic Development Associates (MEDA) and the Entrepreneurship Career Development Institute implemented in 2004–07 in Baluchistan, Punjab and Sindh (Pakistan) provides an interesting example of how women in conservative areas can be better linked with more lucrative markets. The project aimed at helping homebound women embroiderers in remote rural areas by strengthening their linkages with richer urban markets and adding value to their work by incorporating new designs. The project's activities were: a) recruitment and training of women sales agents to provide rural embroiderers with product development, access to quality input supplies and higher-value markets; b) linking of sales agents to buyers and designers; and c) capacity building for sales agents in product development and design. A particular strength of the project is its focus not only on inputs to the production process but also on the linkages between homebound female workers in isolated parts of the country and market outlets. According to MEDA's own evaluation, about 9 000 female rural embroiderers experienced

an increase in income from about US\$9 to US\$22 per month and also reported a greater sense of independence (MEDA, 2007).

Although data on the gender dimensions of smallholder contract farming are still sparse (an important knowledge gap that future research should aim to fill), it is known that companies usually contract with men. In Kenya, for instance, Dolan (1997) found that more than 90 percent of export contracts were issued to male household members, who controlled the household labour allocation and payment arrangements. When training and extension services are offered with contracts, it is essential that male extension agents are trained to meet the specific needs of female farmers and more female extension workers are recruited. It is also important that gender-focused agricultural development assistance does not target exclusively women heads of households, thus overlooking the vast majority of women who reside in male-headed households.

Wage workers

As described in earlier sections, women wage workers represent at least half of the employees of export-oriented high-value agriculture in many Latin American and sub-Saharan African countries. For example, women account for 79 percent of the workforce in floriculture in Zimbabwe (Dolan and Sorby, 2003) and 90 percent of the poultry workers in Brazil (Gammage *et al.*, 2006). We also noted that women predominate among the flexible and casual workforce because of a number of reasons, including employer discrimination and low levels of education.

Achieving more equitable poverty reduction through decent rural employment generation requires first of all that national labour legislations be extended beyond permanent workers. However, this is a necessary but not sufficient condition. Even when a piece of legislation is good, enforcement may be weak. Barrientos and Kritzingner (2004) suggest that an effective approach to secure decent work for women and men employed in global agriculture may involve enhancing synergy between regulatory and voluntary approaches. South Africa offers a good example of how this synergy can be achieved. It now has exemplary labour legislation, including the Employment Equity Act and the Basic Conditions of Employment Act, which also covers labour brokers. It also has a Wine Industry and Agriculture Ethical Trading Association (WIETA) which was set up to develop and monitor its own local code of labour practice based on ILO Conventions. WIETA members include trade unions, NGOs, producers, government and UK supermarkets. The inclusion of civil society organisations in WIETA has played an important role in ensuring that the conditions of casual women workers are addressed in social audits.

There are other successful cases in which labour laws have been extended to vulnerable workers, such as temporary workers in agriculture, domestic workers and HIV-affected workers. For example, a New Labour Act covering temporary workers was issued in Ghana in 2002 (Chen *et al.*, 2004). Labour relations regulations (HIV/AIDS) were adopted in Zimbabwe in 1998 (Chartier, 2005), and laws protecting women plantation workers were introduced in Brazil in the mid-1990s (World Bank, IFAD and FAO, 2009). Unfortunately the problem of enforcement of labour standards remains severe in most cases.

Codes of conduct can be useful in supporting national legislation but have more limitations than labour laws because they are voluntary, not well-monitored and apply to just a small fraction of the workforce (ILO, 2003; Barrientos and Smith, 2006). The Uganda Code of Practice for the horticulture sector appears to have led to an improvement in working

conditions for women in flower farms. All workers have a stable contract, are entitled to 60 days' paid maternity leave and have easy access to basic medical assistance (World Bank, IFAD and FAO, 2009). More research would be required to understand the success factors in this initiative.

Programmes to make female wage workers aware of their legal entitlements are also essential so that they can organize to demand them in an effective way. In Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia, for example, Women Working Worldwide, a UK-based network organization, together with local trade unions, promoted rights awareness among 6 000 permanent and casual female workers. It appears that such training increased women's confidence and their ability to negotiate with employers, leading to greater women's unionization and creation of new women's committees. In Tanzania, farm managers were also trained on women workers' rights, resulting in a general improvement in worker-management relations and greater space for gender concerns in collective bargaining agreements (Women Working Worldwide, 2007, 2008).

Although the track record of women's participation in and leadership of trade unions is mostly poor, the case of the National Union of Plantation and Agricultural Workers (NUPAWU) in Uganda suggests that existing trade unions can play a relevant role in advancing women wage workers' rights, provided women are fully integrated in management and decision making (see Box I-5).

BOX I-5

The National Union of Plantation and Agricultural Workers (NUPAWU) in Uganda

NUPAWU represents workers in tea and sugar plantations as well as general agriculture, including flower farms, rice and other agriculture-related industries where women comprise the majority of workers. It has some 15 000 women members, who represent about 32 percent of current membership. The union has supported women's concerns since the 1970s, when over 100 women workers mobilized to demand clean water in the fields where sugar plantation workers and their families were housed. In the 1980s, branch-level women's committees elected by women members were formed on two sugar plantations. These committees were further mainstreamed throughout the organization with the support, among others, of an ILO/International Federation of Plantation, Agriculture and Allied Workers initiative for strengthening women in rural workers' organizations. NUPAWU established a Women Workers' Department in 1996, headed by a full-time national coordinator paid by the union. Six women regional coordinators covering tea, sugar and general agriculture were also appointed. In 2001, NUPAWU amended its constitution to provide women members with two permanent seats in the National Executive Council and guarantee positions for women in each branch executive committee. As further commitment to the promotion of women trade union leaders, NUPAWU's policy now requires that women comprise at least 30 percent of any trade union training programme.

NUPAWU promotes national campaigns against child labour, sexual harassment and pesticide hazards and supports reproductive health, HIV/AIDS, minimum wages and decent work. These campaigns receive tremendous support through the Women's Committee, which handles specific grievances from women and submits proposals. The Women's Committee mobilizes women around issues of immunization for children, improved hygiene and environmental conditions in the fields. Women's interests are protected through provisions in the Collective Bargaining Agreement, which includes a period of 60 days' maternity leave, seven days paternity leave, one-hour nursing breaks, prohibition of sexual harassment at the workplace and prohibition of child labour.

Other activities supported by NUPAWU include the Women's Drama Group, which uses the effective tool of theatre to run awareness campaigns among the government, enterprises and plantation communities, and courses for women activists.

Source: ILO 2003, Amuko 2000.

When women face obstacles to participating in mixed (male-dominated) groups, women-based groups may be the only alternative to represent female workers and help them in mobilizing (Crowley *et al.*, 2006). SEWA in India offers the best example of organizing women in both rural and urban areas. SEWA combines different forms of organization strategies: trade union activism, cooperative formation and provision of services such as health care, child care, insurance and housing to its members (Kabeer, 2008). However, it is not clear how easily the SEWA model could be replicated elsewhere.

Opportunities for training and promotion are more common among technicians, management and administrative staff, who tend to be men (Dolan and Sorby, 2003). There are only a few examples of good practice in training. In Thailand, the Sun Valley poultry company offers an educational plan to assist (mainly female) employees to advance within the firm (Lawler and Atmiyanandana, 1999 in Dolan and Sorby, 2003). Workers are also trained to perform multiple tasks to avoid repetitive-stress injuries. Health and safety training, together with information about workers' rights, is crucial to prevent health hazards at the workplace. In Uganda, for example, flower workers are provided with the opportunity of learning about fumigation and grading and how to tackle pests and diseases (Asea and Kaija, 2000).

Gender constraints and related policies: key issues related to market access

Constraint	Restricted access to markets (both national and international) results from cultural norms and from gender inequalities in the control of resources such as capital, agricultural inputs, technology, information, education and land.
Employment aspects	Limited access to markets undermines opportunities for decent work directly for the self-employed, in both agricultural and non-agricultural sectors. Limited access to international markets affects female wage workers too.
Geography	Women face disadvantage in accessing markets in most developing countries. Even in the West African context, where women have greater freedom of movement than in parts of Asia, females are more likely to be found trading in perishable goods commanding lower prices.
Policy recommendations	Policies aimed at improving market access for independent producers should include: initiatives to improve market contacts and information on prices; strengthening of property rights; better access to credit; and technical assistance. Policies for improving wage workers' conditions related to international market access should involve: extending labour legislation beyond permanent workers; measures to ensure better enforcement of labour laws; measures to create greater awareness of legal rights; and more training.

Policy lessons

Pathways out of poverty vary for rural women and men depending on socio-economic structures and institutional settings. A different policy mix is required in each setting to generate decent jobs and facilitate women's and men's equal access to them. Some broad policies are needed across the board, but their design and implementation will have to be context-specific.

The World Bank's recent World Development Report on agriculture (World Bank, 2007a) and the FAO report on Feeding the World in 2050 (FAO, 2009a) suggest that different groups of countries may follow different poverty reduction strategies. For instance, increasing the productivity of staple food production and enabling integration of landless labourers into dynamic agricultural export sectors are strategies most relevant for agriculture-based countries. A policy approach focused on encouraging workers' shift out of the agricultural sector into off-farm activities, possibly through secondary education and training, may be more appropriate for transforming and urbanized countries. This paper emphasizes that the formulation of these broad strategies should be informed by a thorough understanding of gender constraints in rural contexts and should include a number of policies aimed at overcoming them.

Measures to generate decent jobs must be designed in such a way as to reflect the complexity of gendered rural livelihoods. Policies to address rural poverty cannot be treated in isolation and hence it is also important to implement education, land and credit measures, as well as active labour market policies and social protection, in an integrated manner, understanding their interdependencies and fostering synergies. The evidence reviewed in this paper suggests that:

- In all circumstances, countries and settings, there is an urgent need to better acknowledge the important economic functions of unpaid activities and to implement measures for reducing and redistributing the burden of housework. This would be an essential step for promoting gender-equitable poverty reduction in rural areas, since the burden of this work falls disproportionately on women. Unpaid work limits women's access to all forms of paid rural employment. A combined approach that addresses weaknesses in physical and social infrastructure and that strengthens women's ability to make claims over their contributions is required.
- Public works programmes can be effectively used to support gender equality in rural employment, especially if genuine efforts are made to involve beneficiaries in the design of programmes from the outset. A truly gender-aware employment guarantee scheme (EGS) is one that fulfils the two objectives of: (1) making it easier for women to participate on equal terms as men (e.g. by providing child care on-site); and (2) creating useful assets that reduce aspects of women's domestic workloads (e.g. piped water). Public works do not have to be confined to physical infrastructure projects but can also offer social services and care for the community. However, if care services are provided through EGSs, special attention should be paid to ensure the quality and regularity of such services. Some of the most promising public works initiatives (from a gender perspective) can be found in Argentina, India and South Africa. A better understanding of the key determinants of success is required. Participation in an EGS can be an effective first step out of poverty for rural women only if their employability effectively improves once the scheme ends. To date, the record on this aspect appears rather weak across countries. There may be the risk that EGSs reinforce women's

subordinate position in the rural labour market. Finding ways to strengthen the skills-training component of these programmes and linkages with other segments of the labour market should therefore be a policy priority.

- Promoting female education in rural areas and trying to reduce gender educational gaps at primary and secondary levels is obviously important for a number of reasons in addition to the objective of improving access to decent employment. Greater attention should be paid to the type and quality of education, rather than to education per se. Formal education appears to be a more significant pathway out of poverty in transforming and urbanized countries (such as some Latin American and Southeast Asian countries), and in relation to non-agricultural work. Appropriately designed gender-aware extension services are more important determinants of labour productivity in agriculture-based contexts, especially in Africa. In both formal and non-formal education, rural girls and boys are treated differently and often channelled into different subject areas, reinforcing gender labour-market segregation. This is another important bias that needs to be challenged through innovative teaching methods, training of teachers and similar initiatives.
- Rural non-agricultural employment is a potential income source and a possible pathway out of rural poverty, but it is important to understand better under what circumstances it can lead to greater gender equality. Rural non-agricultural employment on average pays better than agriculture. It tends to be dominated by small-scale manufacturing (such as processing of food and other agricultural products), commerce and various forms of services (Haggblade et al., 2007). In the urbanized countries of Latin America, rural non-agricultural employment appears to be more prevalent among women than men, but women tend to be in the lowest-paid and most vulnerable forms of work, such as domestic services (domestic services in Brazil, for example, usually pay below the agricultural wage rate). When this is the case, non-agricultural employment is evidently not a route out of rural poverty but rather can contribute to reinforcing gender inequalities and stereotypes. Policies must avoid simply shifting low-productive agricultural employment into low-productive non-agricultural employment. Education is a key determinant of access to high-productivity rural non-agricultural employment, especially for female workers. Promotion of rural non-agricultural employment is a more viable option in countries with well-developed markets for non-agricultural goods and services.
- Constraints in access to land, credit and technology are mutually interdependent. Lack of access to land is an important obstacle but not necessarily the most binding constraint for women's agricultural productivity, especially in land-abundant countries. In land-scarce countries, such as India, innovative approaches involving small integrated programmes that support landless women's collective purchase of land, together with credit mobilization and environmentally friendly farming practices, appear especially promising but implementation is still limited to a few cases (e.g. the Deccan Development Society in Andhra Pradesh).
- Non-traditional agricultural exports offer an opportunity for generating quality employment for rural women and men, but there are also risks, especially for women, who are often the weakest nodes in the supply value chain. NTAEs are mostly developing in Latin America. Some NTAE production can be found in sub-Saharan Africa too, but it usually involves only a small share of the rural labour force. Rural women, and most smallholders in general, seem able to benefit from increased international trade more

through the labour market than through the product market. The formation of farmers' organizations, trade unions and cooperatives should be encouraged among smallholders, and women's participation (still rather limited) in them must be supported. Promoting synergies between labour legislation and voluntary codes of conduct appears to be a promising approach for maximizing women's employment gains from wage work in non-traditional agricultural exports. South Africa offers a good example of how this can be successfully accomplished, but enforcement of labour standards, especially among female workers and migrant workers, appears to be very weak in most countries. It remains a serious obstacle to the achievement of decent work.

- The introduction of new technology, either in NTAE plants or in other rural sectors, including in response to the need to protect the environment, may constitute a potential risk for the job security of rural women unless concerted efforts are made to provide skill upgrading and to ensure that employers retain their female labour force and remain committed to investing in their training.

The cases analysed in this paper make it clear that measures to create more gender-equitable employment must go hand in hand with interventions to protect and enforce rural women's and men's rights and policies to strengthen processes of organization, voice and representation, in the spirit of the ILO Decent Work Agenda.

More specifically, it is essential that countries continue to ratify fundamental ILO Conventions and, even more vitally, that the gender-equitable implementation of relevant labour standards, including those related to social security, safety and health, is ensured. Rural workers, and in particular women workers, must be covered more fully under national laws and regulations as well as in practice. Further research and action are much needed to foster innovative approaches for the effective and comprehensive representation of rural women's interests in the institutions of social dialogue. Rural organizations that mobilize and represent women are essential to create awareness around rights and to give women greater voice and bargaining power relative to their employers and their family members. A range of organization strategies exist, but it is difficult to say what works best in each particular context.

References

- Abdulai, A., Delgado, C.L. 1999. "Determinants of non-farm earnings of farm-based husbands and wives in Northern Ghana." *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 81(1): 117-130.
- Adams, J.M. 1991. "The rural labour market in Zimbabwe." *Development and Change* 22: 297-320.
- Adelman, S.W., Gilligan, D.O., Lehrer, K. (2008). "How effective are food for education programmes?" *Food Policy Review*, No. 9. IFPRI, Washington DC.
- Agarwal, B. 2003. "Gender and land rights revisited: Exploring new prospects via the state, family and market." *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 3(1&2): 184-224.
- Akintola, O. 2008. "Unpaid HIV/AIDS care in Southern Africa: Forms, context, and implications." *Feminist Economics*, 14(4): 117-147.
- Allendorf, K. 2007. "Do women's land rights promote empowerment and child health in Nepal?" *World Development*, 35(11): 1975-1988.
- Amuedo-Dorantes, C., Pozo, S. 2006. "Migration, human capital, employment, and earnings – Migration, remittances, and male and female employment patterns." *American Economic Review*, 96(2): 222-226.
- Amuko, O. 2000. "Uganda: Training, education and information on health, safety and environment. National Union of Plantation and Agricultural Workers (NUPAW)." *Labour Education*, 1-2(188/119): 46-56.
- Antonopoulos, R. 2007. "The right to a job, the right types of projects: employment guarantee policies from a gender perspective." *Working Paper 516*. The Levy Economics Institute of Bard College. New York.
- Appendini, K. 2002. "From where have all the flowers come? Women workers in Mexico's non-traditional markets." In S. Razavi, *Gendered pathways of agrarian change*. UNRISD, Geneva.
- Appendini, K. 2009. *Gender dimensions of change: livelihood strategies in rural Mexico*. Paper for the FAO-IFAD-ILO Workshop on Gaps, trends and current research in gender dimensions of agricultural and rural employment: differentiated pathways out of poverty. Rome. 31 March-2 April 2009.
- Asea, P. A., D. Kaija. 2000. "Impact of the flower industry in Uganda." *ILO Working Paper*, No. 148. Geneva, ILO. (also available at <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/dialogue/sector/papers/uganflow/index.htm>).
- Asian Development Bank. n.d.. *A fair share for women. Cambodia gender assessment*. Phnom Penh. (also available at <http://www.adb.org/Documents/Reports/Country-Gender-Assessments/cga-cam.pdf>).
- Aspaas, H.R. 1998. "Heading households and heading businesses: Rural Kenyan women in the informal sector." *The Professional Geographer*, 50(2): 192-204.
- Atchoarena, D., Gasperini, L., eds. 2003. *Education for rural development: towards new policy responses*. FAO and UNESCO.
- Baden S., Green, C., Otoo-Oyortey N., Peasgood, T. 1994. "Background paper on gender issues in Ghana." Report No. 19. DFID, UK. (also available at <http://www.bridge.ids.ac.uk/reports/re19c.pdf>).
- Baden, S. 1998. "Gender issues in agricultural liberalisation." Report No. 41. BRIDGE, UK (also available at <http://www.bridge.ids.ac.uk/reports/re41c.pdf>).
- Balakrishnan, R., Chombreda, P., Rimkere, H. 1998. *Gender roles in peanut sector for household food security*. FAO, Rome (also available at <http://www.fao.org/docrep/005/ac794e/AC794E00.HTM>).
- Bangwe, L. 1997. *Agricultural change under structural adjustment and other shocks in Monze District, Zambia*. University of Bath, Centre for Development Studies, December (also available at <http://2www.bath.ac.uk/~hssjgc/lewis1.html>).
- Barrientos, A., Ferreira, M., Goman, M., Heslop, A., Legido-Quigley, H., Lloyd-Sherlock, P., Møller, V., Saboia, J., Teixeira Werneck Vianna, M.L. 2003. *Non-contributory pensions and poverty prevention. A comparative study of Brazil and South Africa*. Institute of Development and Policy Management and Help Age International, UK.
- Barrientos, S., Bee, A., Matear, A., Vogel, I. 1999. *Women and agribusiness: Working miracles in the Chilean fruit export sector*. Macmillan, London.
- Barrientos, S., Dolan, C. 2003. "Labour flexibility in African horticulture." *ID21 Insights*, No. 47. Institute of Development Studies, Brighton, UK.
- Barrientos, S., Dolan, C., A.Tallontire. 2003. "A Gendered Value Chain Approach to Codes of Conduct in African Horticulture." *World Development* 31(9): 1511-1526.
- Barrientos, S., Kritzinger, A. 2002. "Global value chains and poverty: The case of contract labour in South Africa fruit." Paper presented at Conference on Globalisation, Growth and (In)equality, 15–17 March, University of Warwick.

- Barrientos, S., Kritzinger, A. 2004. "Squaring the circle: global production and the informalization of work in South African fruit exports." *Journal of International Development*, 16(1): 81-92.
- Barrientos, S., Smith, S. 2006. *The ETI code of labour practice: Do workers really benefit?* IDS, University of Sussex (also available at <http://www.eti2.org.uk/Z/lib/2006/09/impact-report/ETI-impact-summary.get.pdf>).
- Beviglia-Zampetti, A., Tran-Nguyen, A.N. 2004. *Trade and gender: Opportunities and challenges for developing countries*, UNCTAD, Geneva.
- Blumberg, R. L. 1994. "Women's work, wealth and family survival strategy: The impact of Guatemala's ALCOSA agribusiness project." In Ngan-ling Chow, E., White Berheide, C. (eds.), *Women, the family and policy: A Global perspective*. State University of New York Press, Albany, NY.
- Bollinger, L., Stover, J., Seyoum, E. 1999. *The Economic impact of AIDS in Ethiopia*. The Policy Project: The Futures Group International in collaboration with Research Triangle Institute (RTI), Centre for Development and Population Activities (CEDPA) (also available at <http://www.policyproject.com/pubs/SEImpact/ethiopia.pdf>).
- Boserup, E. 1970. *Woman's role in economic development*, St. Martin's Press, New York.
- Breneman-Pennas, T., Rueda Catry, M. 2008. Women's participation in social dialogue institutions at the national level. *ILO Social Dialogue, Labour Law and Labour Administration Division Paper*. 16. Geneva, ILO.
- BRIDGE. 2008. *Gender and climate change: Mapping the linkages*. Institute of Development Studies, UK.
- Cahn, M. 2008. "Women and rural livelihood training: a case study from Papua New Guinea." *Gender & Development*, 16(1): 133-146.
- Carr, M. (ed.). 2004. *Chains of Fortune*. Commonwealth Secretariat.
- Chartier, M.C. 2005. *Legal initiatives to address HIV/AIDS in the world of work*. ILO, Geneva. (also available at <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/protection/trav/aids/publ/rpa1.pdf>).
- Chatterjee, M., Vyas, J. 2000. "Organising insurance for women workers." In Jhabvala, R., Subrahmanya, R.K.A. *The Unorganised sector: Work security and social protection*. New Delhi, Sage Publications.
- Chen, M.A., Vanek, J., Carr, M. 2004. *Mainstreaming informal employment and gender in poverty reduction. A handbook for policy-makers and other stakeholders*. The International Development Research Centre IDRC. (also available at http://www.idrc.ca/en/ev-66028-201-1-DO_TOPIC.html).
- Chimwaza, A., Watkins, S. 2004. "Giving care to people with symptoms of AIDS in rural Sub-Saharan Africa." *AIDS Care*, 16(7): 795-807.
- Copestake, J. et al. 2005. *Money with a mission: microfinance and poverty reduction*. ITDG publishing.
- Cotula, L. 2002. *Gender and law. Women's rights in agriculture*. FAO, Rome (also available at <http://www.fao.org/docrep/005/y4311e/y4311e/y4311e00.htm>).
- Cramer, C., Oya, C., Sender, J. 2008. "Rural labour markets in Sub-Saharan Africa: A new view of poverty, power and policy." *SOAS, Policy Brief*, November (also available at <http://www.soas.ac.uk/cdpr/publications/pb/48088.pdf>).
- Crowley, E., Baas, S. Termine, P. et al. 2006. "Organizations of the poor: Conditions for success" in *Membership-based organizations of the poor*. (Chen, M., Jhabvala, R., Kanbur, R., Richards, C. (eds.). Routledge, London.
- Cretny & Tafuna'i. 2004. "Samoa case study." In M. Carr, 2004, *Chains of Fortune*. Commonwealth Secretariat.
- Cutler, D.M., Knaul, F., Lozano, R., Mendez, O. and B. Zurita. 2002. "Financial crisis, health outcomes and ageing: Mexico in the 1980s and 1990s." *Journal of Public Economics*, 84(2): 279-303.
- Dary, F.C. 1991. *Mujeres Tradicionales y Nuevos Cultivos*, Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLAC- SO), Guatemala City.
- Das, M.B., Desai, S. 2003. "Why are educated women less likely to be employed in India? Testing competing hypotheses." *Social Protection Discussion Paper Series*, No. 0313. World Bank, Washington DC.
- Dasgupta, S. 2002. *Organising for socio-economic security in India*. ILO.
- Davin, D. 1996. "Gender and rural-urban migration in China." *Gender and Development*, 4(1): 24-30.
- De Brauw, A., Rozelle, S., De Brauw, L. 2004. "China's rural labor market development and its gender implications." *China Economic Review*, 15:230-247.
- Deere, C.D. 2005. "The feminization of agriculture? Economic restructuring in rural Latin America." *UNRISD Occasional Paper 1*, UNRISD, Geneva (also available at <http://www.unrisd.org/publications/opgp1>).
- Deere, C.D., Doss, C. 2006. "Gender and the distribution of wealth in developing countries." *UNU WIDER Research Paper* No. 2006/115.

- Deere, C.D., Durán, R.L., Mardon, M., Masterson, T. 2004. *Female land rights and rural household incomes in Brazil, Paraguay and Peru*. University of Massachusetts Amherst. Department of Economics (also available at <http://www.umass.edu/economics/publications/2004-08.pdf>).
- Deere, C., León, M. 2003. "The gender asset gap: Land in Latin America." *World Development*, 31(6):925-947.
- Deshingkar, P. 2004. *Understanding the implications of migration for pro-poor agricultural growth*. Programme of Advisory and Support Services, DFID, UK (also available at <http://www.eldis.org/assets/Docs/18875.html>).
- Devereux, S. 2001. *Social pensions in Namibia and South Africa*. IDS, Brighton (also available at <http://www.ids.ac.uk/ids/bookshop/dp/dp379.pdf>).
- Dey Abbas, J. 1997. "Gender asymmetries in intrahousehold resource allocation in Sub-Saharan Africa: Some policy implication for land and labor productivity." In Haddad, L., Hoddinost, J. Alderman, H. (eds.) *Intrahousehold Resource Allocation in Developing Countries: Models, Methods and Policy*. pp. 249-262. John Hopkins P., Baltimore, International Food Policy Research Institute.
- Diop, N., Jaffee, S.M. 2005. "Fruit and vegetables: Global trade and competition in fresh and processed product markets." In Askoy, A., Beghin, J.C. (eds): *Global agricultural trade and developing countries*. Washington, World Bank. J.C.
- Dolan, C. 1997. *Tesco is king: Gender and labor dynamics in horticultural exporting, Meru District, Kenya*. State University of New York at Binghamton. (PhD thesis).
- Dolan, C. 2002. "Gender and Diverse Livelihoods in Uganda." *UEA, LADDER Working Paper 10*, Norwich (also available at http://www.uea.ac.uk/polopoly_fs/1.1004/wp10.pdf).
- Dolan, C. 2001. "The Good Wife's Struggle over Resources in the Kenyan Horticulture Sector." *The Journal of Development Studies*, 37(3): 39-70.
- Dolan, C., Sutherland, K. 2002. "Gender and employment in the Kenya horticulture value chain. globalisation and poverty." *Overseas Development Group Working Paper.*, ODG, University of East Anglia, Norwich, UK (also available at <http://www.gapresearch.org/production/FinalDraft.pdf>).
- Dolan, C., Sorby, K. 2003. "Gender and Employment in High-Value Agriculture Industries." *Agriculture and Rural Development Working Paper*, No. 7. World Bank. Washington, DC.
- Doss, C.R. 2001. "Designing agricultural technology for African women farmers." *World Development*, 29(12): 2075-2092.
- Du, J. & Kanji, N. 2002. *Gender Equality and Poverty Reduction in China: Issues for Development Policy and Practice*. DFID, Beijing (also available at <http://www.dfid.gov.uk/pubs/files/gender-equality-china.pdf>).
- Duflo, E. 2001. "Schooling and Labour Market Consequences of School Construction in Indonesia: Evidence from an Unusual Policy Experiment." *The American Economic Review*, 91(4): 795-813.
- Duflo, E. 2003. "Grandmothers and granddaughters: Old age pension and intra-household allocation in South Africa." *World Bank Economic Review*, 17(1): 1-25.
- Elbers, C., Lanjouw, P. 2001. "Intersectoral transfer, growth and inequality in rural Ecuador." *World Development*, 29(3): 481-496.
- Elson, D., 1991. "Male bias in macroeconomics: the case of structural adjustment." in Elson, D., (Ed.). 1991, *Male Bias in the Development Process*, Manchester University Press.
- Elson, D. 1999. "Labour markets as gendered institutions: equality, efficiency and empowerment." *World Development*, 27(3): 611-627.
- Elson, D. 2002. "The International Financial Architecture – A View from the Kitchen." *Femina Politica – Zeitschrift für feministische Politik-Wissenschaft*, 11 Jg, Heft1: 26-37.
- ESCAP, 2003. *Social safety nets for women*. Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, United Nations, New York.
- Espinoza Gonzalez, I. 2008. *Nicaragua Research Report 2 for the Political and Social Economy of the Care Project*. UNRISD, Geneva.
- Fan, 2003. "Rural-urban migration and gender division of labour in transitional China." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. 2 (1): 24-47.
- FAO. Factsheet. Available at <http://www.fao.org/sd/Wpdirect/WPre0106.htm>.
- FAO. 1998. *Agricultural Cooperative Development: A Manual for Trainers*. FAO, Rome (also available at <ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/005/X0475E/X0475E00.pdf>).
- FAO. 2003. *HIV/AIDS and agriculture: impacts and responses*. FAO, Rome (also available at <ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/006/Y5145E/Y5145E00.pdf>).
- FAO. 2004. *The Impact of HIV/AIDS on Rural Livelihoods in Northern Zambia*. FAO, Rome (also available at http://www.fao.org/sd/ip/resources/publications/zambia_ireland_report2004.pdf).
- FAO. 2005a. *Agricultural Censuses and Gender: Lessons Learned in Africa*. FAO, Rome.
- FAO. 2005b. *Rural women and food security in Asia and the Pacific: Prospects and paradoxes*. FAO, Rome (also available at <http://www.fao.org/docrep/008/af348e/af348e00.htm>).

- FAO. 2006. *Improving gender equity in access to land 2006*. FAO Land Tenure Studies, FAO, Rome (also available at <http://www.fao.org/docrep/010/a0664e/a0664e00.htm>).
- FAO 2008a. *The state of agricultural commodity markets. High food prices and the food crisis – experiences and lessons learned*. FAO, Rome (also available at <ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/012/i0854e/i0854e.pdf>).
- FAO. 2008b. *The state of food insecurity 2008. High food prices and food insecurity – threats and opportunities*. FAO, Rome (also available at <http://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/011/i0291e/i0291e00.pdf>).
- FAO. 2009a. *How to feed the world in 2050*. FAO, Rome (also available at http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/templates/wsfs/docs/expert_paper/How_to_Feed_the_World_in_2050.pdf).
- FAO. 2009b. *The state of food insecurity 2009. Economic crises – impacts and lessons learned*. FAO, Rome.
- Ferm, N. 2008. “Non-traditional agricultural export industries: conditions for women workers in Colombia and Peru.” *Gender & Development*. 16(1): 13-26.
- Ferreira, M.S, Rutstein, S., Johnson, K. 2002. *Older women as carers for children affected by AIDS: A study towards supporting the carers*. University of Cape Town and Institute of Ageing in Africa Cape Town.
- Fleischman, J., Morrison, J.S. 2003. *Fatal Vulnerabilities: Reducing the Acute Risk of HIV/AIDS among Women and Girls*. ICRW, Washington DC (also available at <http://www.fao.org/wairdocs/ad696e/ad696e06.htm#bm6.2>).
- Fontana, M., Natali, L. 2008. *Gendered patterns of time use in Tanzania: public investment in infrastructure can help*. Paper prepared for the IFPRI Project on “Evaluating the long-term impact of gender-focused policy interventions”. Mimeo.
- Gammage, S., Swanberg, K., Khandkar, M., Hassan Md. Z., Zobair, Md., Muzareba, A.M. 2006. *A pro-poor analysis of the shrimp sector in Bangladesh*. USAID (also available at http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/cross-cutting_programs/wid/pubs/Bangladesh_Shrimp_Value_Chain_Feb_2006.pdf).
- Garcia, Z. 2006. *Agriculture, trade negotiations and gender*. FAO, Rome.
- Gill, K.K. 2001. “Diversification of agriculture and women’s employment in Punjab.” *Indian Journal of Labour Economics*, 44(2): 259-267.
- Gillespie, S. 2006. Understanding the links between agriculture and HIV/AIDS. *Focus 13*, Brief 7 of 16, IFPRI. Washington DC (also available at http://www.ifpri.org/2020/focus/focus13/focus13_07.pdf).
- Grant, M.R., Palmiere, A.D. 2003. When Tea is a Luxury: The Economic Impact of HIV/AIDS in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe. *African Studies*, 62(2): 213-241.
- Grown, C., Gupta, G.R. 2005. *UN Millennium Project Task Force on Education and Gender Equality*. Earthscan.
- Hafkin, N., Taggart, N. 2001. *Gender, information technology and developing countries*. Academy for Education Development, Washington, DC.
- Haggblade, H., Hazell, P.B.R., Reardon, T. (eds.) 2007. *Transforming the rural non-farm economy opportunities and threats in the developing world*. John Hopkins University Press (also available at http://swopec.hhs.se/lunewp/abs/lunewp2008_003.htm).
- Hamilton, S., Fischer, E. 2003. “Non-traditional agricultural exports in highland Guatemala: Understandings of risk and perceptions of change.” *Latin American Research Review*, 38(3): 82-110.
- Hare, D., Yang, L., Englander, D. 2007. “Land management in rural China and its gender implications.” *Feminist Economics*, 13(3-4): 35-61.
- Harriss-White, B. 1998. “Female and male grain marketing systems: analytical and policy issues for West Africa and India.” In Jackson & Pearson (eds.) *Feminist Visions of Development*. Routledge.
- Heintz, J. 2008. *Employment, Informality and Poverty – An Empirical Overview of Six Countries with a Focus on Gender and Race*. UNRISD, Geneva.
- Heong, K.L., Escalada, M.M. 1997. *Pest management of rice farmers in Asia*. International Rice Research Institute.
- Hertz, T., Winters, P., De la O-Campos, A. P., Quiñones, E., Davis, B., Zezza, A, Azzarri, C. 2009. *Gender wage gaps in rural versus urban areas*. FAO (Italy).
- Horrell, S., Johnson, H., Mosley, P. 2008. *Work, Female Empowerment and Economic Development*. Routledge, London.
- Hossain, N., Eyben, R. et al. 2009. *Accounts of Crisis: Poor People’s Experiences of the Food, Fuel and Financial Crises in Five Countries*. Report on a pilot study January-March 2009. Institute of Development Studies, Brighton. Mimeo.
- Human Rights Watch. 2001. *Underage and Unprotected: Child Labour in Egypt’s Cotton Fields*. January 2001 (also available at <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2001/egypt>).

- Humphrey, J., Navas-Alemann, L. Forthcoming. *Small and medium enterprises, multinational value chains, and "pro-poor policies: A review"*. Report to the FORD Foundation Affinity Group on Development Finance, IDS, Brighton.
- IFAD. n.d. *Nepal: Factors that increase women's workloads*. IFAD, Rome (also available at <http://www.ifad.org/gender/learning/role/workload/24.htm>).
- IFAD. n.d. *Uganda: Division of labour in agriculture*, IFAD, Rome (also available at <http://www.ifad.org/gender/learning/role/labour/54.htm>).
- IFAD. 1998. *Agricultural Implements used by women farmers in Africa*. IFAD, Rome (also available at <http://www.ifad.org/pub/other/lifadafr.pdf>).
- IFAD and INSTRAW. 2007. *Gender, Remittances and Development. The Case of Filipino Migration to Italy*. Rome (also available at <http://www.aer.ph/pdf/papers/GenderRemittances&Devt-OFWsinItaly.pdf>).
- ILC. 2008. *Report IV: Promotion of rural employment for poverty reduction*. International Labour Conference, 97th Session, 2008. ILO, Geneva.
- ILO. 2000. *Modular package on gender, poverty and employment. Investing in human capital: Focus on training*. ILO, Geneva (also available at <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/employment/skills/informal/gpe/informa/pack/english.htm>).
- ILO. 2003. *Decent work in agriculture*. ILO, Geneva. (also available at <http://www.oit.org/public/english/dialogue/actrav/publ/131/131.pdf>).
- ILO. 2008. *Fourth item on the agenda: Promotion of rural employment for poverty reduction (general discussion based on an integrated approach)*. 97th Session, ILO, Geneva.
- ILO. 2009 a. *Global employment trends report 2009*. ILO, Geneva.
- ILO. 2009 b. *Global employment trends for women*. March 2009. ILO, Geneva.
- Institute of Development Studies. 2003. "Energy, poverty and gender: a review of the evidence and case studies in rural China." *Report for the World Bank*. IDS (available at <http://www.ids.ac.uk/index.cfm?objectId=451FF40B-F691-7164-0D3B1FA7B01ED442>).
- Islam, R., Buckley, G. 2009. "Rising food prices and their implications for employment, decent work and poverty reduction." *Employment Working Paper 30*. ILO.
- Jackson, C., Rao, N. 2004. *Understanding gender and agrarian change under liberalisation: The case of India*. UNRISD, Geneva (also available at <http://www.unrisd.org>).
- Jacobs, S. 2002. "Land Reform: still a goal worth pursuing for Rural Women?" *Journal of International Development*, 14: 887-98.
- Kabeer, N. 2003. *Gender mainstreaming in poverty eradication and the millennium development goals. A Handbook for Policy-makers and Other Stakeholders*. Commonwealth Secretariat, London.
- Kabeer, N. 2008. *Mainstreaming gender in social protection for the informal economy*. Commonwealth Secretariat, London.
- Kabeer, N., Van Anh, T.T. 2002. "Leaving the rice fields but not the countryside: Gender, livelihoods and pro-poor growth in rural Vietnam." In Razavi S. (ed.) *Shifting Burdens: Gender and agrarian change under neo-liberalism*. Kumarian Press. Bloomfield, CT.
- Kandyoti, D. 2002. "The cry for land: Agrarian reform, gender and land rights in Uzbekistan." *Journal of Agrarian Change*, Vol. 3 (1/2): 225-257.
- Katz, E. 1995. "Gender and trade within the household: Observations from rural Guatemala." *World Development*, 23 (2): 327-342.
- Katz, E. 2000. *Individual, household and community-level determinants of migration in Ecuador: Are there gender differences?* Paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America, 23-25 March 2000, Los Angeles, CA.
- Katz, E. 2001. "Gender Generation and off-farm employment on the Mexican Ejido." In Katz, E.G., Correia, C. (eds). *The Economics of gender in Mexico: work, family, state and market*, 227-246. World Bank, Washington, DC.
- Katz, E. 2003. "The changing role of women in the rural economies of Latin America." *CUREMIS II: Volume 1 – Latin America and the Caribbean*. FAO, Rome (also available at <http://www.fao.org/docrep/006/y4940e/y4940e06.htm#bm06>).
- Katz, E., Chamorro, J.S. 2003. *Gender, land rights and the household economy in rural Nicaragua and Honduras*. Paper presented to the Latin American and Caribbean Economics Association Conference, Puebla, Mexico, October.
- Kennedy, E. 1994. "Effects of sugarcane production in Southwestern Kenya on income and nutrition." In von Braun J., Kennedy, E. (eds.) *Agricultural commercialisation, economic development and nutrition*. Baltimore, MD, Johns Hopkins University Press for the International Food Policy Research Institute, pp. 252-263.

- King Dejardin, A. 1996. *ILO strategy for poverty alleviation: The gender dimension of public works*, ILO, Geneva (also available at http://209.85.135.104/search?q=cache:qCcRryYT_3MJ:www.ilo.org/public/english/employment/strat/download/iddp10.pdf+public+works+and+gender&hl=it&ct=clnk&cd=4&client=safari).
- King Dejardin, A., Owens. 2009. "Responding to the Economic Crisis – Coherent Policies for Growth, Employment and Decent Work in Asia and Pacific." *Asia in the Global Economic Crisis: Impacts and Responses from a Gender Perspective*. Manila, Philippines (ILO Technical Note available at http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---asia/---ro-bangkok/documents/meetingdocument/wcms_101737.pdf).
- Kipp, W., Tindyebwa, D., Rubaale, T., Karamagi, E., Bajenja, E. 2007. "Family caregivers in rural Uganda: The hidden reality." *Health Care for Women International*, 28 (10): 856-871.
- Kodoth, P. 2004. *Fostering insecure livelihoods: Dowry and female seclusion under left developmental contexts, West Bengala and Kerala*. Paper presented at the Seminar on Gender concerns and food security. Issues in Rice livelihood systems in India. Challenges and Prospects. September 2-4, 2004, at MSSRF, Chennai.
- Kusago, T. 2000. "Why did rural households permit their daughters to be urban factory workers? A case from rural Malay Villages." *Labour and Management in Development Journal*, 1(2): 1-24 (also available at <http://www.nla.gov.au/openpublish/index.php/lmd/article/view/1129/1395>).
- Lanjouw, P. 2001. "Nonfarm employment and poverty in rural El Salvador." *World Development*, 29(3): 529-547.
- Lindsey, E., Hirschfeld, M., Tlou, S. 2003. "Home-based care in Botswana: Experiences of older women and young girls." *Health Care for Women International*, 24(6): 486-501.
- Lastarria-Cornhiel, L. 2003. *Joint titling in Nicaragua, Indonesia, and Honduras: Rapid appraisal synthesis*. University of Wisconsin-Madison (also available at <http://www.nelson.wisc.edu/lrc/publications/2003/sl0301joi.pdf>).
- Lastarria-Cornhiel, L. 2006. "Feminization of agriculture: Trends and driving forces." Contribution to the preparation of the *World Development Report 2008*. (also available at <http://www.rimisp.org/getdoc.php?docid=6489>).
- Lawler, J., V. Atmiyanandana. 1999. *Gender and agribusiness (GAP): Case study of Cargill Sun Valley Thailand*. International Programs and Studies, University of Illinois.
- Luo, n.d. *China's Family Support System: Challenges and Solutions under the Circumstances of Rural-Urban Female Labour Migration*. UNRISD, Geneva.
- Maertens, M., Swinnen, Johan F.M. 2009. *Are modern supply chains bearers of gender inequality?* Paper for the FAO-IFAD-ILO Workshop on Gaps, trends and current research in gender dimensions of agricultural and rural employment: differentiated pathways out of poverty. Rome, 31 March-2 April 2009.
- Majid, N. 2001. "The size of the working poor population in developing countries." *ILO Employment Working Paper No. 2001/16* (also available at <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/employment/strat/download/ep16.pdf>).
- Maletta, H. 2008. "Gender and Employment in Rural Afghanistan." 2003-5. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 43(2): 173-196.
- Mayoux, L. 2009. *Reaching and empowering women: gender mainstreaming in rural micro-finance*. IFAD, Rome.
- MEDA. 2007. *From Behind the Veil: Access to Contemporary Markets for Homebound Women Embroiderers in Pakistan*. Progress Note. (also available at <http://www.meda.org/WhatWeDo/ProductionMarketingLinkages/Resources/Publications/VC%20Development%20and%20the%20Poor.pdf>).
- Mena No., Proano, S. 2005. *Sexual harassment in the workplace: The cut flower industry (Case Study in Ecuador)*. International Labor Rights Fund. (also available at <http://www.laborrights.org/publications/Sexual%20harassment%20Ecuador.pdf>).
- Menjívar, C. & Agadjanian, V. 2007. Men's migration and women's lives: views from rural Armenia and Guatemala. *Social Science Quarterly*, 88(5): 1243-1262.
- Mishra Panda, S. 2007. *Women's collective action and sustainable water management: Case of SEWA's water campaign in Gujarat, India*. Paper presented to the International Research Workshop on Gender and Collective Action, October 17-21, 2005, Chiang Mai, Thailand (also available at <http://www.capri.cgiar.org/pdf/capriwp61.pdf>).
- Mitra, A., Rahman, R. S. 2002. *Mapping the profile of learners: an exploratory study in three districts of Bangladesh*. Unpublished report for DFID-Bangladesh, Dhaka.
- Molyneux, M. 2006. "Mothers at the service of the new poverty agenda: The "Oportunidades" programme in Mexico." In Razavi, S., Hassim S. (eds.) *Gender and Social Policy in a Global Context: Uncovering the Gendered Structure of 'the Social'*. Basingstoke, Palgrave/UNRISD.
- Mtshali, S. M. 2002. *Household livelihood security in rural KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa*. Wageningen: Wageningen Universiteit.

- Narayanan, S. 2008. "Employment guarantee, women's work and childcare." *Economic Political Weekly*, 43 (9): 10-12.
- Network for Gender and Sustainable Energy, 2002. "Operationalising gender and poverty approaches in energy." *Energia News*, 5(3) (also available at http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTEAPASTAE/Resources/enpogen_energia.pdf).
- Newman, C., Canagarajah, S. 2000. "Gender, poverty, and nonfarm employment in Ghana and Uganda." *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper Series*, No. 2367.
- ODI. 2005. *Responding to HIV/AIDS in agriculture and related activities*. Natural Resource perspectives, No. 98 (also available at <http://www.odi.org.uk/nrp/98.pdf>).
- OECD-FAO 2008. *The OECD-FAO Agriculture Outlook 2008-2017*. Paris, OECD Publications (Highlights available at http://www.fao.org/es/ESC/en/2/3/highlight_550.html).
- Opiyo, P. 2001. *HIV/AIDS, gender and livelihood in Siaya District, Kenya: An analysis of AIDS impact on rural households*. MSc. Thesis, Wageningen University.
- Ortiz, S., Aparicio, S. 2007. "How labourers fare in fresh fruit export industries: lemon production in Northern Argentina." *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 7(3): 382-404.
- Pagan, J.A., Sanchez, S. 2001. "Gender issues in workforce participation and self-employment in rural Mexico." In Katz, E.G., Correia, C. (eds.) *The Economics of gender in Mexico: work, family, state and market*. World Bank.
- Paris, T.R., Rola-Rubzen, M.F., Luis, J., Thi Ngoc Chi, T., Wongsanum, C., Villanueva, D. 2009. *The impact of labor out migration on rice farming households and gender roles: Synthesis of findings in Thailand, Philippines and Vietnam*. Paper for the FAO-IFAD-ILO Workshop on Gaps, trends and current research in gender dimensions of agricultural and rural employment: differentiated pathways out of poverty. Rome, 31 March-2 April 2009.
- Parrenas, R.S. 2001. *Servants of globalization: women, migration and domestic work*. Stanford University Press.
- Pfeiffer, L., Taylor, J. E. 2007. *Gender and the Impacts of International Migration: Evidence from Rural Mexico*. World Bank. (also available at http://www.agecon.ucdavis.edu/people/grad_students/papers/WB-Gender-International-Migration.pdf).
- Quisumbing, A.R. 2003. *Household decisions, gender and development*. IFPRI, Washington DC.
- Quisumbing, A.R., Estudillo, J.P., Otsuka, K. 2003. "Investment in women and its implications for lifetime incomes." In A.R. Quisumbing." *Household decisions, gender and development*. IFPRI, Washington DC.
- Quisumbing, A.R., Yohannes, Y. 2004. "How fair is workfare? Gender, public works, and employment in rural Ethiopia." *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper* No. 3492 (also available at <http://ssrn.com/abstract=650201>).
- Quisumbing, A., Pandolfelli, L. 2008. "Promising approaches to address the needs of poor female farmers." *IFPRI Note* No. 13 (also available at <http://www.ifpri.org/pubs/ib/in13.pdf>).
- Raynolds, L.T. 1998. "Harnessing women's work: Restructuring agricultural and industrial labour forces in the Dominican Republic." *Economic Geography*, 74(2): 149-169.
- Raynolds, L.T. 2002. "Wages for wives: Renegotiating gender and production relations in contract farming in the Dominican Republic." *World Development*, 30 (2): 783-798.
- REACH. 2007. *Sexual Harassment: Is it Really a Problem on Farms?* Rural Education, Awareness and Community Health. REACH (also available at http://laborrights.org/projects/women/REACH_farmworkerreport_07.pdf).
- Reardon, T. 2003. *Comments on US AID program steps to help small farmers and firms sell to supermarkets in developing regions*, 2003.
- Rozelle, S., Dong, Xiao-Yuan, Zhang, L., Mason, A. 2002. *Gender wage gaps in post-reform rural China*. World Bank (also available at <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTGENDER/Resources/wp22.pdf>).
- Ruben, R., Van Den Berg, M. 2001. "Nonfarm employment and poverty alleviation of rural farm households in Honduras." *World Development*, 29(3): 549-560.
- Rugalema G, 1999. "Consequences of loss of labour due to HIV/AIDS in smallholder households in a Buhaya Village, Bukoba District, Tanzania." In Mutangadura, G., Jackson, H., Mukurazita, D. *AIDS and African Smallholder Agriculture*.
- Salazar, L., Quisumbing, A. 2009. *Assessing the impact of gendered labor markets in the rural Philippines*. Paper for the FAO-IFAD-ILO Workshop on Gaps, trends and current research in gender dimensions of agricultural and rural employment: differentiated pathways out of poverty. Rome, 31 March-2 April 2009.
- Sathar, Z., Desai, S. 1996. "Work patterns in rural Pakistan: Intersections between gender, family and class." *Research Division Working Papers* No. 90. Population Council, New York.
- Schatz, E., Ogunmefun, C. 2007. "Caring and contributing: The role of older women in rural South African multi-generational households in the HIV/AIDS Era." *World Development*, 35(8): 1390-1403.

- Sebstad, J, Cohen, M. 2000. *Microfinance, Risk Management and Poverty*. Washington DC. AIMS.
- Sender, J. 2002. "Women's struggle to escape rural poverty in South Africa." *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 2(1): 1-49.
- SEWA. 2000. *Reclaiming childhood: A case study of child-care centres for the children of salt pan workers*. SEWA, India
(also available at http://www.sewaresearch.org/pdf/researches/reclaiming_childhood.pdf).
- Shiundu, K.M., Oniang'o, R. 2007. "Marketing African Leafy Vegetables: Challenges and Opportunities in the Kenyan context." *African Journal of Food, Agriculture Nutrition and Development*, 7 (4).
- Singh, S. 2002. *Contract farming in India: Impacts on women and child workers*. International Institute for Environment and Development.
- Singlemann, J., 1993. Levels and Trends of Female Internal Migration in Developing Countries, 1960-1980 in United Nations (ed.), *Internal Migration of Women in Developing Countries*. United Nations, New York, 77-93.
- Skoufias, E. 2005. "PROGRESA and its impacts on the welfare of rural households in Mexico." *Research Report*, 139. International Food Policy Research Institute. Washington DC.
- Smith, S., Auret, D., Barrientos, S., Dolan, C. 2004. "Ethical trade in African horticulture: gender, rights and participation." *IDS Working Paper* No. 223. Institute of Development Studies, Brighton, Sussex.
- Song, Y., Zhang L., Sun, D., Jiggins, J. 2009. *Feminisation of agriculture in rapid changing rural China: Policy implication and alternatives for an equitable growth and sustainable development*. Paper for the FAO-IFAD-ILO Workshop on Gaps, trends and current research in gender dimensions of agricultural and rural employment: differentiated pathways out of poverty. Rome, 31 March-2 April 2009.
- Srivastava, N., Srivastava, R. 2009. *Women, work, and poverty interlinks in rural India*. Paper for the FAO-IFAD-ILO Workshop on Gaps, trends and current research in gender dimensions of agricultural and rural employment: differentiated pathways out of poverty. Rome, 31 March-2 April 2009.
- Strickland, R.S. 2004. *To have and to hold: Women's property and inheritance rights in the context of HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa*. International Center for Research on Women: Washington DC.
- Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics. 2006. *Intergrated Labour Force Survey*.
- Toltstokorova, A. 2009. *Multiple marginalities: Gender dimension of rural poverty, unemployment and labour migration in Ukraine*. Paper for the FAO-IFAD-ILO Workshop on Gaps, trends and current research in gender dimensions of agricultural and rural employment: differentiated pathways out of poverty. Rome, 31 March-2 April 2009.
- Thangarajah, Y. 2003. Veiled constructions: conflict, migration and modernity in East Sri Lanka. *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 37 (1).
- Topouzis, D. 1994. *Uganda - The socio-economic impact of HIV/AIDS on rural families with an emphasis on youth*. FAO. Rome
(also available at <http://www.fao.org/docrep/t2942e/t2942e00.HTM>).
- UNAIDS. 2008. *Report on the global AIDS epidemic*. UNAIDS (also available at http://www.unaids.org/en/KnowledgeCentre/HIVData/GlobalReport/2008/2008_Global_report.asp).
- UNDP. 2002. *Gender differences in the transitional economy of Vietnam*. UNDP, Ha Noi (also available at <ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/005/ac685e/ac685e00.pdf>).
- UNDP. 2006. *Human Development Report 2006*. UNDP. New York.
- UNDP. 2006. *Evaluation of Gender Mainstreaming 2006*. UNDP. New York.
- UNIFEM. 2005. *Progress of the World's Women 2005*. UNIFEM.
- UNRISD. 2005. *Gender equality: striving for justice an unequal world*. UNRISD/UN Publications, Geneva.
- Valodia, I., Devey, R. 2005. *Gender, employment and time use: Some issues in South Africa*. Paper prepared for the Conference on Unpaid Work, Poverty and the Millennium Development Goals, Bureau for Development Policy, UNDP and Levy Economics Institute of Bard College, Bard College, October 1-3, 2005
- Verner, R. 2006. Labor markets and income generation in rural Argentina. *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper* No. 4095, World Bank, Washington, DC
(also available at <http://econ.worldbank.org>).
- Von Braun, J., John, K., Puetz, D. 1994. Nutritional effects of commercialisation of a woman's crop: irrigated rice in The Gambia. In von Braun, J., Kennedy, E. (eds.) 1994. *Agricultural commercialisation, economic development and nutrition*, Baltimore. The Johns Hopkins University Press for IFPRI, Washington DC.

- Walker, C. 2002. *Agrarian change, gender and land reform: A South African case study*. UNRISD, Geneva.
- Waller, K. 1997. *The impact of HIV/AIDS on farming households in the Monze District of Zambia*. Centre of Development Studies, University of Bath, UK.
- Wanasundera, L. 2006. *Rural women in Sri Lanka in post-conflict rural economy*. FAO, Rome (also available at <http://www.fao.org/docrep/009/ag114e/AG114E00.htm#Contents>).
- Whitehead, A. 1981. 'I am hungry, mum' in Young, K., Wolkowitz, C., and McCullagh, R. *Of Marriage and the Market*, CSE Books: 1981.
- Whitehead, A. 2008. "The gendered impacts of liberalization policies on African agricultural economies and rural livelihoods." In S. Razavi (ed.) *The gendered impacts of liberalization: towards embedded liberalism?* Routledge/UNRISD, New York.
- Whitehead A., Kabeer N. 2001. "Living with uncertainty: Gender, livelihoods and pro-poor growth in rural Sub-Saharan Africa." *IDS Working Paper* No. 134 (also available at <http://www.ntd.co.uk/idsbookshop/details.asp?id=646>).
- Winters, P., de la O, A.P., Quiñones, E.J., Hertz, T., Davis, B., Zezza, A., Covarrubias, K., Stamoulis, K. 2008. *Rural wage employment in developing countries*. FAO (also available at <http://www.fao.org/>).
- Wold, B. K. 1997. *Supply response in a gender-perspective: the case of structural adjustment in Zambia*. Report No. 97/23, Statistics Norway, Oslo.
- Women Working Worldwide. 2007. *Promoting women workers' rights in African horticulture. Overview of research into conditions on horticulture farms in Kenya, Zambia, Tanzania and Uganda*. (also available at http://www.poptel.org.uk/women-ww/WWW_Research_Overview_FINAL.pdf).
- Women Working Worldwide. 2008. "Promoting women workers' rights in African horticulture." *End of Project Bulletin*. January. (also available at <http://www.women-ww.org/bulletin3.pdf>).
- World Bank. n.d. *Afghanistan. Role of women in Afghanistan's Future*. World Bank, Washington, DC (also available at <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/SOUTHASIAEXT/Resources/223546-1151200256097/chap4.pdf>).
- World Bank. 2004a. *Promising approaches to development series: Making rural roads work for both women and men: The example of Peru*. World Bank, Washington, DC (also available at <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTGENDER/Resources/PeruRRPFINAL.pdf>).
- World Bank. 2004b. *Cambodia gender assessment*. World Bank, Washington, DC (also available at <http://go.worldbank.org/IVGO944NY0>).
- World Bank. 2005. *Gender issues and best practices in land administration projects. A synthesis report*. World Bank, Washington, DC. (also available at http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTARD/Resources/Gender_land_fulltxt.pdf).
- World Bank. 2006. *Women's work and movement into the public sphere in Pakistan*. World Bank, Washington DC (also available at <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/PAKISTANEXTN/Resources/293051-1146639350561/CGA-Chapter-5.pdf>).
- World Bank. 2007a. *World Development Report 2008: Agriculture for Development*. World Bank, Washington DC.
- World Bank. 2007b. *Tanzania gender and assessment report*. World Bank, Washington DC. (also available at http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2007/09/14/000310607_20070914155507/Rendered/PDF/408580TZ0Gender01PUBLIC1.pdf).
- World Bank, IFAD, FAO. 2009. *Gender in agriculture sourcebook*. World Bank, Washington DC (also available at <http://worldbank.org/genderinag>).
- Yamano T., Jayne, T. S. 2003. *Working age adult mortality and primary school. Attendance in Kenya*. Department of Agricultural Economics, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI.
- Zohir, S.C. 1998. *Gender implications of industrial reforms and adjustment in the manufacturing sector of Bangladesh*. Economics and Social Studies, University of Manchester, Manchester. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis.

