

# Gender and Growth in Africa: Evidence and Issues

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## I. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to address the relationship between **gender inequality and economic growth** in Africa, as a contribution to promoting “pro-poor growth.” One of the four pillars of the World Bank’s development strategy for Africa is to increase competitiveness and to diversify economies. It is estimated that Africa would need to grow by 5 percent a year just to keep the number of poor from rising.<sup>1</sup> If the number living in extreme poverty is to be halved by 2015, as called for in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), not only will economies need substantial growth, but incomes will have to be distributed more equitably. Because expanding Africa’s trade is seen as fundamental to accelerating growth, notwithstanding Africa’s continued marginalization in the process of global trade expansion (*Box 1*), addressing trade issues from a gender standpoint is also critical to “pro-poor growth.”

### *Box 1: Africa and Globalization*

- ♦ Africa’s share of world exports declined from over 3.5% in 1970 to about 1.5% by the end of the 1990s.
- ♦ Imports over the same period declined from 4.5% to 1.5 % of world imports.
- ♦ This decline in Africa’s exports over the last three decades represents an income loss of \$68 billion annually, equivalent to 21% of Regional GDP.
- ♦ G7 agricultural subsidies of \$350 billion/yr are 25 times ODA flows to Africa.

The starting points of this review are: (i) that men and women both play substantial – though different – roles in African economies; and (ii) that there is a large body of micro-economic empirical evidence, and emerging macroeconomic analysis, which show that **gender inequality directly and indirectly limits economic growth** in Africa. The principal policy implications of this analysis are that, because gender inequality acts as a powerful constraint to growth in Africa, removing gender-based barriers to growth will make a substantial contribution to realizing Africa’s growth potential. Reducing gender-inequality in access to and control of key productive resources necessary for growth is a concrete means of accelerating and diversifying growth, making growth more sustainable, and ensuring that the poor both contribute to, and benefit from, that growth, i.e., that growth is “pro-poor.”

This review paper argues that looking at growth and trade through a gender lens is an essential step in identifying how these can be shaped in a way that is beneficial to the poor. We will identify, and briefly examine, some of the key factors that determine the ways in which men and women contribute to, and benefit (or lose) from, growth in Africa.

The key factors in understanding gender and its relevance for growth and trade expansion in Africa, which will be addressed in subsequent sections of this paper, are as follows:

- ♦ Gender is an **economic** issue as well as a social issue, in fact more so in Africa than in any other Region (UNDP 1995). Both men and women play substantial economic roles,

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<sup>1</sup> World Bank data on the Africa Region website <http://www.worldbank.org/afr/overview.htm>, accessed December 2002.

notably in agriculture and in the informal sector, but they are not evenly distributed across the sectors of the economy.

- ♦ One of the key insights of gender analysis is that the **market and household economies co-exist and are interdependent**. The potential for supply response, and the impact of economic policies are affected by, and mediated through, the interactions between these two economies.
- ♦ **Gender inequality in access to and control of** a wide range of economic, human, and social capital **assets** and resources remains pervasive in Sub-Saharan Africa, and is a core dimension of poverty in the Region. Understanding the nature of these disparities, and acting forcefully to remove them, is one of the key tasks of country poverty reduction strategies (PRS), if these strategies are to be successful in effectively reducing poverty and supporting the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).
- ♦ Gender inequality **directly and indirectly limits economic growth** in Africa, and imposes substantial development costs. Evidence for this will be examined below, and is presented, *inter alia*, in World Bank 2000 and in World Bank 2001.

Awareness of the importance of gender in the development agenda has grown considerably, and has been bolstered by mounting empirical evidence of the costs of gender inequality for development, and by greater recognition of the centrality of addressing gender as integral to development effectiveness (see e.g., World Bank 2001). According to World Bank Chief Economist, Nicholas Stern, some of the key lessons of development experience are that states and markets must complement one another, that growth is the most powerful force for the reduction of income poverty, that trade is a crucial engine of growth, and that development activities function much more effectively if poor people are empowered (Stern 2002).

Policies that promote economic growth are of immense interest to policymakers all over the world. In this regard, there has been a tireless search over the years to find the drivers of economic growth. Recently, this search has been frustrating as far as Africa is concerned, as many of the measures taken to promote economic growth have not always produced the desired results. In this context, this paper argues that gender equality in SSA has great potential to stimulate and sustain growth, and policies which target girls' education and women's employment in general will support SSA in realizing its growth potential which is so necessary for achieving its poverty eradication and MDG targets.

## **II. Economic Roles of Men and Women in Africa**

The study *Can Africa Claim the 21<sup>st</sup> Century?* made the argument that Africa has enormous unexploited potential. It has hidden growth reserves in its people, including the potential of its women, who now provide more than half the Region's labor but lack equal access to education and factors of production (World Bank 2000). The study concluded that gender equality can be a potent force for accelerated poverty reduction in Africa.

A distinguishing characteristic of Sub-Saharan African economies is that both men and women play substantial economic roles. Much of African economic activity is in the hands of women. One way to capture the dynamics of the different contributions of men and women to the productive economy is in the "gender intensity of production" in different sectors, an approach developed by Elson and Evers (1997), and applied to Uganda. Building

on this methodology, and using ILO labor force data, and other country and sectoral data for 1990, Aissatou Gueye (UNECA) has calculated estimates of the gender intensity of production for each country in SSA, which are presented in *Annex 1*.

These estimates, while highly aggregated, provide some indication of the respective contributions of men and women in African economies, and suggest a high degree of variability both across countries and across sectors. The estimates suggest that men contribute nearly 2/3 and women more than 1/3 to African countries' GDP, with women's contribution ranging from a low of 26% to a high of 52%. It is probable that these estimates understate women's contribution to their economies, though they also do not take account of gender differences in productivity.

Notwithstanding the significant—and structurally different—contributions of men and women to African economies, the presence of women in economic production is largely invisible and overlooked. This invisibility in turn leads to incomplete and partial evaluation of economic outcomes, and masks critical interlinkages and complementarities among sectors of economic activity and between the paid and unpaid economies. It also limits assessment of the likely and potential supply response in the economy (Blackden and Morris-Hughes 1993).

Country-focused analysis confirms the validity of these aggregates. In Kenya, the structural roles of men and women in the agricultural cycle reveal that **women** are more active in agriculture than men, specifically in food crop production, marketing, and processing of agricultural products (90%). Women work 50 percent more hours than men on agricultural tasks. This has been discussed extensively in Bank reports (World Bank 1989, Horenstein 1989). Women provide approximately 75% of total agricultural labor but they own only 1% of the land. Building on this, the 2003 World Bank Country Economic Memorandum for Kenya confirmed that inequality, notably gender inequality, is a contributing factor in keeping Kenya's growth performance below its long-run potential. It argued that gender inequality in schooling accounts for almost a percentage point of difference in the growth potential of Kenya compared with high-performing Asian countries – amounting to one-third of the total predicted difference (World Bank 2003).

Data compiled by IFPRI indicate that African women perform about 90 percent of the work of processing food crops and providing household water and fuelwood, 80 percent of the work of food storage and transport from farm to village, 90 percent of the work of hoeing and weeding, and 60 percent of the work of harvesting and marketing (Quisumbing et al. 1995). Time allocation data throughout SSA confirm women's preponderant role in agricultural activities. In **Zambia**, the preponderance of women's labor in agriculture is illuminated by the time allocation studies. Detailed farm system surveys reveal women's greater labor contribution to crop production, including, significantly, export crop production (*Box 2*).

No discussion on the economic roles of men and women in African economies would be complete without a reference to the informal sector. The literature is unambiguous on the concentration of women in the informal sector and on its importance to economic growth and poverty reduction prospects in SSA (ILO 2002; Blunch et al. 2001). Excluding South Africa, the share of informal employment in non-agricultural employment is 78%. If agriculture is included this rises to 83%. Self employment represents 70% of informal

employment in SSA. Self employment represents 53% of total non-agricultural employment. Outside agriculture, more than 60% of women are in informal employment. In SSA more than 84% of women non-agricultural workers are informally employed compared to 63% of men. Although women's participation rates are low compared with men, they are important in street vending (90%), home-based workers (80%) and as home workers (80%).<sup>2</sup>

We do not have any estimates of the overall informal sector contribution to national product. However, based on current GDP, we can estimate how much comes from the informal sector. The share of the informal sector in non-agricultural GDP in SSA is 41%. This compares with 29% in LAC, and 41% Asia. Country data suggest that the informal sector contributes 58% to GDP in Ghana and 13% to GDP in Mexico. In Tanzania, the informal sector contribution is estimated at 43%. In Burkina Faso, of a 36% overall GDP contribution, 29% comes from women while 7% is from men. In Kenya out of the total 25%, 11% comes from women and 14% from men, and Mali 26% from women and 14% from men (Charmes 1998).

These estimates suggest that the informal sector makes an important contribution to national output, despite not being promoted by government policies. At best, policies are indifferent and sometimes adversely affect the informal sector. It is also likely that some of these estimates understate the actual contribution. Consequently, a lot more can be done to address the informal sector and women's contribution to GDP.

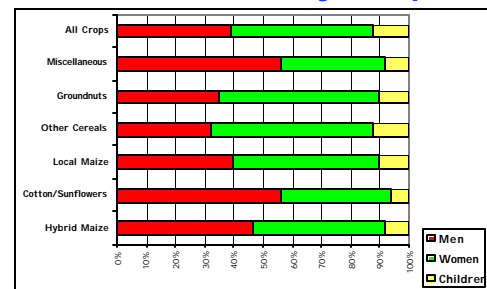
Many factors motivate households to diversify assets, incomes and activities. In SSA, in order to reduce risk, respond to diminishing returns and land constraints, and as a reaction to crisis or liquidity constraints, households diversify their activities. This has led predominantly women to diversify their activities in rural Africa and enter into what is loosely defined as "non-farm" employment (see Barret et al. 2001; Feder and Lanjouw 2000 for a definition of, and trends on, this phenomenon).

This has led many to find employment and income-earning opportunities in the non-farm sectors. However, these sectors have not always found favor with governments, resulting in limited attention and sometimes ignorance leading to adverse policies which have negative effects. Despite the neglect, there has been substantial growth in these sectors which has

*Box 2: Gender Division of Labor in Zambian Agriculture*

In Zambia, women are responsible for 49 percent of family labor allocated to crop production, while men supply 39 percent and children 12 percent. The traditional view that women specialize in food crop production and men in cash crop production is not necessarily true. Women's commitment of labor to cash crops – hybrid maize, sunflowers, and cotton, is not insignificant. Women contribute 44 percent of total family labor to hybrid maize and 338 percent to cotton and sunflowers.

**Zambia: Labor By Crop (%)**



Share: ■ 39% ■ 49% ■ 12%

Source: Kumar 1994.

Source: Kumar 1994.

<sup>2</sup> Home-based workers refers to those who carry out market work at home or adjacent premises, while home work refers to those who carry out work on a piece rate basis for businesses from home.

contributed to employment, income and poverty reduction. Hence, a greater focus on these activities will have a greater pay-off for women and will contribute to meeting the Region's growth and poverty reduction challenges.

Using household data analysis, it has been shown that non-farm employment is an important area of growth in SSA, where a large share of women find employment and incomes to grow out of poverty (Canagarajah et al. 2001). Using data from Ghana and Uganda, Canagarajah et al. show that women's labor force participation had increased substantially within a period of 5-6 years in the 1990s, leading to lower poverty rates. For instance, using poverty decompositions, they show that the contribution of growth to poverty reduction is higher than the contribution from redistribution for non-farm only and for non-farm and agriculture, in both Ghana and Uganda. Also for both countries, in non-farm subgroups, the redistribution component leads to an increase in poverty that are offset by the larger decreased caused by growth. These findings are also consistent with non-farm growth and its contribution to overall economic growth in many other countries (Barret, Reardon and Webb 2001; Cleaver and Donovan 1995).

### **III. Gender and Trade Expansion in Africa**

The different economic roles of men and women in SSA are especially significant in the area of trade expansion, given the importance of trade for Africa's growth and poverty reduction prospects. A recent review commissioned by the World Bank on the gender and trade literature confirms findings that at least three quarters of the labor force in most Export Processing Zones (EPZs) are women, who are usually in the semiskilled jobs, while the quarter who are men occupy the skilled and management positions (El Kogali & Nizalova 2002). The same review confirms that impacts are necessarily highly variable in different situations, and depend on country- and sector-specific characteristics, comparative advantage, the prevailing status of men and women, and many other factors. One consistent finding is that the impacts in Latin American countries, characterized by high levels of education, and high export focus, differ from the Africa case, where exports are largely concentrated in agriculture, and where women often do not benefit from expansion of export opportunities, as they have less access to resources, and less control over inputs into, and incomes from, export production. This is likely to be less a reflection of the gender division of labor in agriculture, as women also make substantial labor contributions to the export crop sector (see *Box 2*), and more a reflection of gender differences in control over income from different agricultural crops, as control over cash (export) crops tends to remain with men.

Data from a recent study of the garment industry in Madagascar aptly illustrate gender imbalances in employment, in job status, in poverty status, and in earnings over time (Nicita and Razzaz 2002). The garment industry in Madagascar has a majority of female employees. However, these are disproportionately among the least well paid, and the least secure occupations. The principal characteristics of the labor force, and the principal estimates of gender differences in income earned, are as indicated in *Table 1* below.

A recent study of export horticulture in Kenya (McCulloch and Ota 2002) specifically looked at its impact on poverty and addressed constraints to participation in the sector. The study found evidence that households involved in export horticulture are better off than those

which are not, particularly in rural areas. The success of Kenya's export horticulture industry is attributed not only to Kenya's favorable agro-climatic conditions, but also to the fact that production is highly intensive in the use of relatively low-skilled labor. In Nairobi, exporters employ workers in packhouses. The majority of these workers are unskilled or semi-skilled women engaged in weighing, grading, cutting, and packing vegetables. Most are employed on a casual basis or on short seasonal contracts. An interesting finding of the study is that many factors determine participation in packhouse employment. Household size and the age of the household head appear to have no significant association with employment in horticultural packhouses. Having a large number of children, especially young children has a strong negative effect on participation, while more female than male members in the household is strongly associated with participation in the sector. Education, usually a strong determinant of income, appears to be associated with not participating in packhouse employment. Packhouse employees work long hours and have few fringe benefits; consequently, people who are better off do not regard working in packhouses as a desirable option.

*Table 1: Characteristics of the Labor Force in the Madagascar Garment Sector*

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>
Total Employment (in %)	24.8	75.2
Permanent Positions (in %)	78.9	57.1
Temporary Positions (in %)	2.4	16.6
Sub-Contracted Individuals (in %)	18.7	26.3
Mean Monthly Wage (in US\$)	49.9	33.9
Workers below poverty line (in %)	25.2	43.8
Average Increase in Income after 5 years (in %)	276	190
Monthly per-capita gains of household member (in US\$)	24.5	12.2
Annual change in earnings, 2-year period, skilled workers (in %)	34	23
Annual change in earnings, 2-year period, unskilled workers (in %)	11	0

Source: Nicita and Razzaz, 2002.

#### **IV. Non-Market Roles of Men and Women**

The different structural roles of men and women in the market economy (notably agriculture and the informal sector) are coupled with their equally different—and unbalanced—roles in the household economy. A further distinguishing characteristic of African economies is that the boundary between economic and household activity is less well drawn in Africa than in other Regions (Gelb 2001). In addition to their prominence in agriculture, women bear the brunt of domestic tasks: processing food crops, providing water and firewood, and caring for the elderly and the sick. This latter task assumes particular importance in the context of the HIV/AIDS pandemic in Africa, as the impact of AIDS is not limited to the “visible” market economy, but has an equally—if not more—significant impact on the “invisible” economy. The time and effort required for these tasks, in the almost total absence of even rudimentary domestic technology, is staggering. Yet this productive work is largely invisible, unrecorded and not included in the System of National Accounts (SNA). It is estimated that 66 percent of female activities in developing countries are not captured by the SNA, compared with only 24 percent of male activities

*Table 2: Kenya: Comparison by Gender of Work Hours in SNA and non-SNA activities; shares of SNA/non-SNA in total work*

	<b>Female</b>		<b>Male</b>		<b>Total in %</b>
	<b>hr/d</b>	<b>(%)</b>	<b>hr/d</b>	<b>(%)</b>	
<b>SNA</b>	5.7	42	6.3	76	56
<b>Non-SNA</b>	6.6	58	2.0	24	44
<b>Total</b>	11.3	100	8.3	100	100

Source: Elson and Evers 1997.

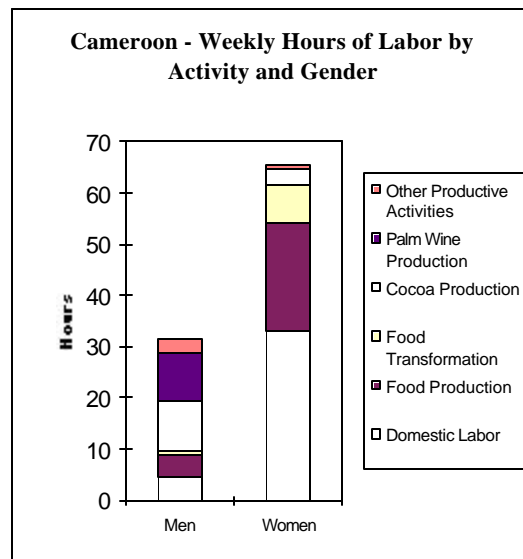
(Table 2). Since labor time is finite, this in turn differentially affects men's and women's capacity to respond to changes in economic opportunity.

Summary findings from selected country time allocation studies are presented below.<sup>3</sup>

- ✧ **Uganda:** Women have a very heavy workload: they work longer hours than men, between 12 and 18 hours per day, with a mean of 15 hours, compared with an average male working day of around 8-10 hours.
- ✧ **Kenya:** Women work 50 percent more hours than men on agricultural tasks. They work half as many hours again as men when agricultural and non-agricultural tasks are combined: 12.9 hours compared with 8.2 hours.
- ✧ **Tanzania:** Compared with the average woman's leisure time of 2 hours per day, the figure of 4.5 hours per day for men is high. In economic activities, women have a greater labor input than men—52 percent vs. 42 percent. Women are involved in almost all activities on the farm as well as housework (in which men hardly participate). Even in traditional male activities such as cash-crop farming, women were found to make significant labor contributions.
- ✧ **Cameroon:** In the Center province, men's total weekly labor averages 32 hours, while women's is over 64 hours (Figure 1). Even though much of this disparity results from differences in domestic labor hours—31 hours a week for women and 4 for men—a significant difference was also observed in agricultural labor hours: 26 a week for women and 12 for men.

Village **transport** surveys in Tanzania and Zambia show that women spend nearly three times as much time in transport activities compared with men, and they transport about four times as much in volume (Malmberg-Calvo 1994, Barwell 1996). Women's transport needs are typically more complex than those of men; adequately responding to these needs could increase women's contribution to economic productivity and qualitatively improve household welfare. Women's access to transport also determines their utilization of existing health and other services, and particularly affects the ability of girl children to attend school.

Figure 1



Source: Henn 1988.

<sup>3</sup> Most of these data and references presented in Blackden and Bhanu 1999.

## V. Linkages between Gender and Growth, Output, and Productivity in SSA

Over the years, theoretical and empirical studies have shown the linkages between gender gaps in education, employment, and earnings and economic growth. The empirical literature clearly shows that human capital stock is an important determinant of the growth prospects of an economy (Klasen 2002; Knowles et al. 2002). In an economy where there is inequality in girls' education, the average level of human capital is likely to be low, resulting in lower returns to investment and economic growth. Empirical calculations and simulations (using coefficient on human capital from Mankiew et al. (1992)) suggest that this gender inequality in girls' education could depress the *per capita* growth rate by 0.3 percentage points per year in a country characterized by levels of gender inequality similar to those observed in SSA.

Another area of growth potential, of particular importance in the trade arena, is the high human capital potential stock of females which, if developed, can have a positive effect on their employment and contribution to industrial growth. Given the low wages of female labor, if they also have high human capital potential, industries will prefer to use female labor increasingly. This was particularly the case in many Asian countries, where female education was rapidly improving, while there were sizeable wage gaps between males and females, favoring the latter's employment and development of female-intensive industries by domestic and foreign investors (Standing 1999; Seguino 2000; Tzannatos 1999; World Bank 2001).

Lower gender inequality means greater female education at each level of male education, which is then likely to have positive external effects on the quality of overall education. This would then lead to higher economic growth. As female education is believed to promote the quantity and quality of education of children (through educated mother effects), this positive externality is likely to be sustained over time (World Bank 2001). Apart from the direct result of general education improvements, it can also lead to higher rate of return of physical investment, which in turn raises the investment rates and, through the effect of investment on economic growth, also increases economic growth.

Another effect of gender equality operates through population growth. Higher education and employment lead to a lower total fertility rate, which ensures that population growth does not adversely affect economic growth. The direct effect is that the decline in the population growth rate will ensure that *per capita* growth is higher. This is also reflected through lower dependency rates and higher consumable income at the household level, and referred to as a "demographic gift" by Bloom and Williamson (1998). In fact Bloom and Williamson estimate that 1.4-1.8 percentage points of annual *per capita* growth in East Asia and 1.1-1.8 percentage points of growth in South Asia were due to this demographic gift effect. In addition, fewer children translates into greater investment in their human capital, which will lead to higher human capital stock and higher growth potential.

The 1998 SPA Status Report on Poverty in SSA examined whether gender-based asset inequality limits economic growth in SSA (Blackden and Bhanu 1999). The report compiled micro-level case studies addressing gender inequality in access to agricultural resources and

productive inputs and the impact on productivity and growth. This is particularly important in view of the substantial role women play in the sector. The report argued that gender differences in access to assets limit the options of women farmers in the sector; that gender differences in labor remuneration lead to conflict and affect labor allocation at the household level; and that gender differences in labor (and other factor) productivity limit economic efficiency and output. SSA is well endowed with analysis in these areas, some of which is summarized below.

*Box 3: Differential Incentives in Kenya*

A study of adoption of tea growing in Kenya found that female-headed households (FHH) had only half the propensity of male-headed households (MHH) to adopt tea. Since in Kenya around one-third of rural households are female-headed, this diminished capacity is, in aggregate, substantial. Because most tea-picking is done by females, the household labor endowment affects the propensity to adopt tea. Extra male labor has no effect, whereas extra female labor leads to a statistically significant increase. The tea sector is characterized by three apparently incompatible facts. Women do most of the work on tea, households with more women are more likely to adopt the crop, yet households headed by women are far less likely to do so. The implication is that FHH face constraints additional to those faced by MHH which prevent them from entering what would otherwise be a natural activity. Key among these constraints is access to sufficient female labor to carry out all the market and household tasks required. Furthermore, with the introduction of tea, the use of women's labor has become an area of negotiation and tension between the sexes.

An illustration of asymmetric rights and obligations within the household is given where women work on holdings the output of which is controlled by men. A Kenyan sample survey compared the effectiveness of weeding (a female obligation) on maize yields in MHH and FHH. In both types of household there were two weeding per season and each weeding significantly raised yields. However, in FHH these weeding raised yields by 56 percent, while in MHH the increase in yield was only 15 percent. Since other differences were controlled for, the most likely explanation is a systematic difference in effort due to different incentives. To put this in perspective, if the sample is representative of rural Kenya, the national maize loss from this disincentive effect is about equal to the maize gain from the application of phosphate and nitrogen fertilizers.

Sources: Sorensen 1990, and W. Ongaro in Demery et al. 1993.

Comparative evidence from Kenya suggests that men's gross value of output per hectare is 8 percent higher than women's. However, if women had the same human capital endowments and used the same amounts of factors and inputs as men, the value of their output would increase by some 22 percent. Their productivity is well below its potential (see also *Box 3*). Capturing this potential productivity gain by improving the circumstances of women farmers would substantially increase food production in SSA, thereby significantly reducing the level of food insecurity in the region. If these results from Kenya were to hold in SSA as a whole, simply raising the productivity of women to the same level as men could increase total production by 10 to 15 percent (Saito et al. 1994). It has been demonstrated that where women are targeted for extension services they produce higher yields (Blumberg 1992).

Just as significant is the interdependence between market and household tasks, as this leads to intergenerational and inter-sectoral trade-offs among tasks at the household level, and positive externalities through which investment in the household economy benefits the market economy in terms of increased labor efficiency, productivity, and growth. The case study evidence points to key short-term trade-offs between different productive activities, as for example in labor allocation between food and cash crop production; between market and household tasks, where rigidity in labor allocation for domestic tasks, lack of mobility, and

time constraints limit response capacity; and between meeting short-term economic and household needs and long-term investment in future capacity and human capital, where, for example, fetching water (girls) and livestock herding (boys) limit households' options for sending children to school and breaking the inter-generational transmission of poverty. These linkages greatly complicate assessments of the impact of, or benefits from, trade expansion and globalization in particular contexts. An interesting case examining the interactions between market and household tasks resulting from increasing female employment is in Ecuador's cut flower sector (*Box 4*).

*Box 4: Changes in Household Time Use Patterns in the Cut Flower Sector in Ecuador*

An interesting study on time use is by Newman (2000) who examines the cut-flower industry in Ecuador – a non-traditional export industry and finds that the employment opportunities available to women due to increased exports have led to changes in time use patterns within the household. The results of the study show no difference in the time devoted to housework by women engaged in flower production and by women living in the area remote from the industry. However, married men's participation in the housework increased by 100% (40 minute per day vs. 20 minutes in the control group) due to women's increased participation in the labor force in the treatment area. The figure is even higher (about 160%: 60 minutes vs. 18 minutes) for the couples in which the wife works in the flower industry. While the results are interesting, it is puzzling that although men's participation in housework increases significantly, women's time does not decrease, suggesting possible presence of the cultural rigidities in the division of labor within the household.

Source: El Kogali and Nizalova 2002.

## VI. Conclusions and Policy Implications

This brief review of key issues relevant for understanding the linkages between gender and growth in SSA, and with particular reference to the unexploited female labor potential in the trade agenda, leads to the following principal conclusions and policy implications for Africa:

- ✧ Both men and women play substantial roles in SSA economies, but they are not equally distributed across the productive sectors, nor are they equally remunerated for their labor. *This means, as Elson and Evers (1997) observe, that different sectoral growth and investment patterns make different demands on men's and women's labor and have different implications for the division of labor and the distribution of income.*
- ✧ The market and the household economies coexist and are interdependent, as revealed in time allocation data showing the “double workday” of women. *This means that short-term inter-sectoral and inter-generational trade-offs (and positive externalities) may be very significant for poor asset- and labor-constrained individuals and households.*
- ✧ Gender inequality in access to and control of a wide range of human, economic, and social **assets** persists in SSA, and constitutes a key dimension of poverty. *This gender-based inequality directly and indirectly limits economic growth in SSA, and diminishes the effectiveness of poverty reduction efforts.*
- ✧ The poor in general, and poor women in particular, have little or no voice in decision-making, and their different needs and constraints do not inform public policy choices

and priorities. *This means that pro-active measures are needed to ensure inclusive participation and the formulation of inclusive policies and programs.*

As African countries seek to promote pro-poor growth, including through the expansion of their trade sectors and export diversification, the following issues emerge as being relevant in order to address the gender dimensions of the growth and trade agenda. These are summarized in *Table 3* below.

*Table 3: Summary of Key Growth and Trade Issues and their Gender Dimensions*

<b>Growth and Trade Issue</b>	<b>Gender Dimension</b>
<b>Sector and Market Focus</b> <b>Export Diversification</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Structural roles of men and women in the sector (opportunities for males/females)</li> <li>◆ Control over income earned</li> </ul>
<b>Employment Expansion</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Structural roles of men and women in the sector</li> <li>◆ Household economy (time constraints)</li> <li>◆ Labor mobility</li> <li>◆ Cultural/social obstacles</li> </ul>
<b>Productivity and Competitiveness</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Education differentials</li> <li>◆ Wage/earnings discrimination</li> <li>◆ Access to/use of productive inputs</li> <li>◆ Time constraints</li> </ul>
<b>Trade Facilitation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Institutional inclusion</li> <li>◆ Infrastructure (transport) access</li> </ul>
<b>Incentive Regime</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Differences in labor remuneration</li> <li>◆ Differences in capacity/assets</li> </ul>
<b>Regulatory Framework</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Property rights (especially land)</li> <li>◆ Multiple legal systems (forum shopping)</li> </ul>
<b>Trade and Poverty Linkages</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Gender dimensions of poverty and vulnerability</li> <li>◆ Differences in assets, endowments, capacities</li> <li>◆ Skills gaps and earnings gaps</li> <li>◆ Time poverty</li> </ul>

Because men and women differ in their access to, and control over, these assets, economic capacities and incentives are strongly gender-differentiated in ways which affect supply response, resource allocation within the household, labor productivity, and welfare. These differences have implications for the flexibility, responsiveness, and dynamism of the economy, and directly limit economic growth, a point reiterated in the recent study, *Can Africa Claim the 21<sup>st</sup> Century?* (World Bank 2000).

Women occupy a central position in economic production in SSA, especially in agriculture and in the informal sector. Data from Uganda suggest that women contribute about 50 percent of the country's GDP, and that women and men are not equally distributed across the productive sectors. Different sectoral growth patterns therefore make different demands on male and female labor time and have different implications for the gender division of income and work (Elson and Evers 1997). These differences need to be integrated into policy analysis and prescription.

If men and women make approximately equal contributions to total measured economic production, the same cannot be said of their contributions to the household economy. Time allocation data reveal the markedly unequal burden on women's labor time in this area, and the interdependence between the two. Moreover, these tasks are not captured in the SNA (see

Table 2 above). Increases in women's productivity may therefore not be recorded at all, or only to an insufficient degree (Klasen 1998).

Compared with men, women operate under severe time constraints, which limit their options and their flexibility to respond to changing economic opportunities. Time constraints induce allocative inefficiency, as the cases from Kenya and Zambia illustrate. Output and household income are lower than they would otherwise be (*Box 4* below). These inefficiencies may be a key source of female poverty, as well as a contributor to the overall poverty of the household. Moreover, the low substitutability of male and female labor time in specific activities, notably in domestic tasks, reduces the ability of women to reallocate their time in accordance with changes in market and non-market opportunities (Addison et al. 1990).

The results of both the macro- and micro-level analyses of the links between gender inequality and growth portray a remarkably consistent picture of gender-based asset inequality acting as a constraint to growth and poverty reduction in SSA. Gender inequality in education seems to lower economic growth through its association with higher population growth, with lower investment rates, and the role of female education in increasing the productivity of the workforce. Gender inequality in employment seems to lower economic growth, while increases in female formal sector employment are associated with considerably higher growth.<sup>4</sup> These factors combined are estimated to have reduced SSA's *per capita* growth in the 1960-92 period by 0.8 percentage points per year. If SSA had had the lower gender inequality in education that prevailed in East Asia, and the same growth in female formal sector employment, *per capita* income levels in 1990 would have been 30 percent or some \$325 higher. Gender inequality in education and employment appears to account for about 15-20 percent of the difference in growth performance between SSA and East Asia. While this is far from the overriding factor, it is an important constituent element in accounting for SSA's poor economic performance.

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<sup>4</sup> This result should be seen as tentative, as it is very difficult to measure and compare gender inequality in employment across countries, and clear causality links are difficult to establish.

At the micro level, the analysis points to patterns of disadvantage women face, compared with men, in accessing the basic assets and resources, especially labor and capital, needed if they are to participate fully in realizing SSA's growth potential. These gender-based differences affect supply response, resource allocation within the household, and labor productivity. They have implications for the flexibility, responsiveness, and dynamism of SSA economies, and directly limit growth, as is evident across a range of country case studies (*Box 5*).

The evidence presented in this paper confirms that gender inequality is an important contributing factor in keeping SSA's growth performance below its long-run potential. In Kenya, for example, it has been estimated that gender inequality in schooling accounts for almost a percentage point of difference in the growth potential of Kenya and the High-Performing Asian Economies (HPAEs) – amounting to one-third of the total predicted difference. Actions to reduce gender-based obstacles to growth can therefore make a vital contribution to getting SSA economies growing nearer to their production potential. These actions deserve high priority in the policy agenda if SSA is to reduce poverty systematically and to accomplish the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

*Box 5: Gender and Growth: Missed Potential*

**Burkina Faso:** Shifting existing resources between men's and women's plots within the same household could increase output by 10-20 percent.

**Kenya:** Giving women farmers the same level of agricultural inputs and education as men could increase yields obtained by women by more than 20 percent.

**Tanzania:** Reducing time burdens of women could increase household cash incomes for smallholder coffee and banana growers by 10 percent, labor productivity by 15 percent, and capital productivity by 44 percent .

**Zambia:** If women enjoyed the same overall degree of capital investment in agricultural inputs, including land, as their male counterparts, output in Zambia could increase by up to 15 percent.

*Sources:* Various, in Blackden and Bhanu 1999.

*Annex I: Estimates of the Gender Intensity of Production by Country and Sector*

Country	2000	1990 GDP	1990 Structure of Economy			Agriculture		Industry		Services		Shares of GDP	
	Pop.(m)	US\$m	Agr.	Ind.	Serv.	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W
ANGOLA	12.7	10,260.3	18	41	41	46.3	53.7	88.8	11.2	64.6	35.4	71.2	28.8
BENIN	6.3	1,845.0	36	13	51	50.8	49.2	76.5	23.5	49.4	50.6	53.4	46.6
BOTSWANA	1.6	3,765.8	5	56	39	69.3	30.7	73.3	26.7	43.9	56.1	61.7	38.3
BURKINA FASO	11.3	2,764.6	33	22	45	52.2	47.8	53.0	47.0	61.2	38.8	56.4	43.6
BURUNDI	6.8	1,132.1	56	19	25	47.7	52.3	80.6	19.4	91.2	8.8	64.9	35.1
CAMEROON	15.1	11,151.7	25	29	46	56.0	44.0	87.2	12.8	76.0	24.0	74.2	25.8
CAPE VERDE	0.4	338.7	14	21	65	58.7	41.3	78.8	21.2	50.3	49.7	57.5	42.5
CAR	3.6	1,487.5	48	20	33	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
CHAD	7.7	1,738.6	29	18	53	51.9	48.2	89.9	10.1	71.8	28.2	69.3	30.7
COMOROS	0.6	250.0	41	9	50	50.0	50.0	77.5	22.5	84.1	15.9	69.6	30.4
CONGO, DEM. REP.	51.4	9,347.7	30	28	42	47.7	52.3	83.6	16.4	67.7	32.4	66.1	33.9
CONGO, REP	2.9	2,798.7	13	41	46	38.8	61.2	88.4	11.6	68.4	31.6	72.7	27.3
COTE D'IVOIRE	16.0	10,796.0	33	23	44	61.5	38.6	81.0	19.1	76.7	23.3	72.6	27.4
EQUAT. GUINEA	0.5	132.1	61	11	28	56.3	43.7	86.2	13.9	85.7	14.3	67.8	32.2
ERITREA	4.1	..	..	..	..	49.5	50.5	81.3	18.8	57.1	42.9	..	..
ETHIOPIA	64.3	6,841.7	49	13	38	59.0	41.0	59.0	41.0	56.9	43.1	58.2	41.8
GABON	1.2	5,952.3	7	43	50	49.8	50.2	72.8	27.2	56.8	43.2	63.2	36.8
GAMBIA, THE	1.3	316.9	29	13	58	49.6	50.4	88.0	12.0	74.0	26.0	68.8	31.2
GHANA	19.2	5,886.0	45	17	38	52.8	47.2	45.2	54.8	43.7	56.3	48.0	52.0
GUINEA	7.4	2,818.0	24	33	43	49.4	50.6	76.5	23.5	69.9	30.1	67.2	32.8
GUINEA-BISSAU	1.2	244.0	61	18	21	54.9	45.1	81.8	18.2	90.5	9.5	67.2	32.8
KENYA	30.1	8,533.2	29	19	52	51.5	48.5	73.0	27.0	49.7	50.3	54.6	45.4
LESOTHO	2.2	622.2	23	34	43	45.6	54.4	93.3	6.7	58.7	41.3	67.4	32.6
LIBERIA	3.1	..	..	..	..	54.8	45.2	93.4	6.6	71.8	28.2	..	..
MADAGASCAR	15.5	3,081.3	33	14	53	49.3	50.7	80.3	19.7	73.1	26.9	66.2	33.8
MALAWI	11.0	1,802.9	45	29	26	44.8	55.2	90.0	10.0	81.3	18.8	67.4	32.6
MALI	10.8	2,421.2	46	16	38	51.3	48.7	53.0	47.0	65.3	34.7	56.9	43.1
MAURITANIA	2.7	1,019.6	30	29	41	49.8	50.3	83.6	16.4	56.7	43.3	62.4	37.6
MAURITIUS	1.2	2,642.5	12	32	56	77.8	22.2	53.9	46.2	82.4	17.7	72.7	27.3
MOZAMBIQUE	17.6	2,512.1	37	18	45	44.1	55.9	94.2	5.8	84.4	15.6	71.3	28.7
NAMIBIA	1.7	2,529.6	11	35	54	50.7	49.3	72.4	27.6	70.2	29.8	68.8	31.2
NIGER	10.8	2,480.7	35	16	49	51.6	48.4	78.1	21.9	58.1	41.9	59.0	41.0
NIGERIA	126.9	28,472.5	33	41	26	64.5	35.5	84.8	15.2	63.2	36.8	72.5	27.5
RWANDA	8.5	2,584.4	33	25	42	47.7	52.3	86.2	13.8	80.6	19.4	71.2	28.8
SAO TOME PR.	0.1	57.6	28	18	55	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
SENEGAL	9.5	5,698.4	20	19	61	52.9	47.1	77.5	22.5	71.5	28.5	68.9	31.1
SEYCHELLES	0.1	368.6	5	16	79	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
SIERRA LEONE	5.0	896.8	47	20	33	56.8	43.2	90.7	9.3	66.7	33.3	66.9	33.1
SOMALIA	9.7	917.0	65	..	..	50.1	49.9	89.6	10.4	71.7	28.3	..	..
SOUTH AFRICA	42.8	111,997.0	5	40	55	73.2	26.9	82.7	17.3	48.5	51.5	63.4	36.6
SUDAN	29.7	1,316.7	..	..	..	67.3	32.7	24.4	15.6	82.5	13.5	..	..
SWAZILAND	1.0	859.9	14	43	43	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TANZANIA	33.7	4,258.7	46	18	36	46.2	53.9	80.0	20.0	66.7	33.3	59.6	40.4

Country	2000	1990 GDP	1990 Structure of Economy			Agriculture		Industry		Services		Shares of GDP	
	Pop.(m)	US\$m	Agr.	Ind.	Serv.	Men	Wmn	Men	Wmn	Men	Wmn	Men	Wmn
<b>TOGO</b>	4.7	1,628.4	34	23	43	60.4	39.6	72.0	28.0	53.2	46.8	<b>60.0</b>	<b>40.0</b>
<b>UGANDA</b>	22.1	4,304.5	57	11	32	49.9	50.1	79.1	20.9	56.5	43.5	<b>55.3</b>	<b>44.7</b>
<b>ZAMBIA</b>	10.1	3,288.4	21	49	30	49.0	51.0	83.6	16.4	61.4	38.6	<b>69.7</b>	<b>30.3</b>
<b>ZIMBABWE</b>	12.1	8,783.9	16	34	50	44.4	55.6	83.6	16.4	50.7	49.3	<b>60.9</b>	<b>39.1</b>
<b>TOTAL/AVG</b>	<b>658.3</b>	<b>282,945.9</b>	<b>19.9</b>	<b>33.7</b>	<b>46.9</b>	<b>61.9</b>	<b>38.1</b>	<b>80.3</b>	<b>19.7</b>	<b>57.8</b>	<b>42.2</b>	<b>65.0</b>	<b>35.0</b>

Source: Calculations made by Aissatou Gueye (UNECA), while on secondment with the World Bank, May 2002. The principal data source is GenderStats on the World Bank's website, accessible at <http://genderstats.worldbank.org/>.

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