UNCTAD/LDC/2015

UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT

UNCTAD

THE LEAST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES REPORT 2015

Transforming Rural Economies

CHAPTER 4

GENDER-BASED PATTERNS AND CONSTRAINTS IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT

UNITED NATIONS
New York and Geneva, 2015

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Gender-based Patterns and Constraints in Rural Development

A. Introduction

Women can be important agents of rural economic diversification, and key players in vibrant micro-entrepreneurial activities...

As noted in Chapter 1, women make up around half of the agricultural labour force of the least developed countries (LDCs), a proportion that has increased progressively over time in all three geographical subgroups. Rural women play a pivotal role in ensuring household food security and nutrition, particularly through cultivation of home gardens, and can increase production and food security through improved agroecological practices and crop diversification. They can also be important agents of rural economic diversification, and key players in vibrant micro-entrepreneurial activities such as artisanal agroprocessing, which have significant potential to be developed into viable enterprises. Their economic and social empowerment also yields critical intergenerational benefits, helping to make the next generation better fed, healthier and better educated, and thus better equipped to contribute to the economy and society (FAO, 2011; World Bank and ONE, 2014).

... but face multiple constraints on their access to land, credit, agricultural inputs, extension services, labour, markets and education.

However, rural women in LDCs continue to face multiple constraints on their access to land, credit, agricultural inputs, extension services, labour, markets and education. Together, these constraints hinder women's ability to engage productively in both farm and non-farm activities, and impede their development of commercial agricultural production. This pattern is reinforced by time and mobility constraints arising from sociocultural gender-based norms that impose a double burden in terms of unpaid care work and productive activities. It is also reinforced by gender segregation in the labour market, which confines women largely to relatively low-income activities, and by intra-household decision-making dynamics that limit their control over household income and their influence on spending priorities.

Problems of data availability, quality and interpretation are particularly acute in the context of the gender dimensions of rural development.

The problems of data availability, quality and interpretation that pervade rural development (as discussed in Chapter 3) arise even more starkly in the context of the gender dimensions of rural development, particularly as some gender biases are ingrained in the data. Such biases are especially evident in gender-disaggregated household-level data based on "male-headed" and "female-headed" households.

Differences between male- and female-headed households partly reflect the social and economic challenges associated with single parenthood.

Since the household head is often assumed to be the oldest man in the household, irrespective of the role of women, households considered to be female-headed are generally those headed by unmarried, widowed or divorced women. Thus, observed differences partly reflect the social and economic challenges associated with single parenthood, and not only gender differences as such (UNCTAD, 2014; UNECE and World Bank Institute, 2010). Equally, differences between male- and female-headed households represent only one aspect of gender in rural communities: The position of female members within households (regardless of headship) raises significantly different issues, and affects much more of the female population.

In light of the limited availability of reliable and consistent data, this chapter draws primarily on data (including individual-level data wherever possible) for individual LDCs to illustrate general patterns. However, it is important to emphasize that gender roles in agriculture (and gender norms more broadly) are highly context-specific. The scope for generalization or wider extrapolation of patterns from a small number of countries is therefore limited, especially among a group of countries as geographically, economically and culturally diverse as LDCs: The country examples provided highlight the diversity of national experiences as much as their commonalities. Particularly in rural areas, gender issues need to be assessed in each specific geographic and cultural context, which vary widely both between and within countries.

It should also be noted that gender-based inequalities are part of a wider pattern of multiple intersecting inequalities and should be assessed in this wider context, taking account both of vertical inequalities in the size distribution of income and of other horizontal inequalities rooted in race, ethnicity, caste and location. Many of the symptoms and consequences of gender inequality experienced by women closely reflect those of poverty across the population as a whole: landlessness, limited educational attainment, lack of access to credit, inputs and markets, etc. As discussed at the end of this chapter, this has major implications for policy approaches to gender inequality.

Gender-based inequalities are part of a wider pattern of multiple intersecting inequalities.

B. Gender divisions of labour and employment patterns

While the roles of men and women in agriculture are extremely context-specific, some overall patterns can be observed across most LDCs (and developing countries more generally). These relate particularly to women's double burden of productive and "care" work; gender-based cropping and marketing patterns; and gender-specific patterns of employment and discrimination in rural labour markets.

1. Women's roles in the home and on the farm

Rural women's ***double burden of productive and "reproductive" or "care" work*** involves a wide spectrum of activities. Although not defined as "economically active employment" in national accounts, such household tasks as food preparation, childcare, and fetching water and fuel wood are essential to household well-being. They are also central to understanding the critical constraints women face in engaging in productive work, notably in terms of time allocation and mobility.

Household tasks such as food preparation, childcare, and fetching water and fuel wood are central to understanding the critical constraints women face in engaging in productive work.

Taking such tasks into account, rural women tend to work more than men, largely reflecting a division of household responsibilities along gender lines (table 4.1), in which women combine agricultural and non-farm activities with household chores, many of which are very time-intensive. This combination of

Table 4.1. Time allocation by country, sex and activity in selected LDCs
(Average hours/day)

Activities	Ethiopia		Malawi		Lao Poeple's Dem. Rep.	
	Rural population, 2013		2010/2011		Rural population by head of household, 2010	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Agricultural, livestock or fishing activities	7.9	5.2	2.3	2.2	3.4	2.6
Collection of firewood/fuel	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.1	0.2
Collection of water	0.1	0.5	0.5	0.8	0.1	0.3
Wage work, professional activities and non-farm business	2.2	1.5	9.8	8.2	0.6	0.3
Personal care and rest (including sleep)	13.7	13.3		n/a	15.4	14.7
Unpaid care work and domestic work	1.8	4.8		n/a	0.6	2.3

Sources:Aggregation by UNCTAD secretariat based on data from FAO/SIDA (http://faostat3.fao.org/home/E) (2010b); Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia and World Bank (2013); Republic of Malawi (2012).
Note: Values may not add up to 24 hours due to the overlapping nature of some activities.

productive activities and care work means that rural women are generally more time-constrained than men, hampering their ability to engage fully in income-generating activities. It also limits women's mobility and the time they can allocate to training and upgrading their skills.

Men's and women's roles in agricultural production are socially constructed and evolving, and vary widely between local contexts.

Women work in ***agriculture*** as farmers on their own account, as unpaid family workers, and as paid or unpaid labourers on other farms and in agro-enterprises (FAO, 2011), and they face gender-specific challenges and disadvantages in all these roles. However, men's and women's roles in agricultural production are socially constructed and evolving, and vary widely between local contexts, reflecting cultural and other differences between and within countries. While the lines between men's and women's roles is thus generally blurred, and a full analysis taking these factors into account is beyond the scope of this Report, some general gender-specific patterns can be found across many LDCs.

In all LDC regions, a much greater proportion of women workers than of men are classified as (unpaid) "contributing family workers".

As discussed in Chapter 3, rural households in LDCs generally pursue multiple livelihood strategies to diversify their income sources. For women, this typically entails some combination of producing crops, tending animals, processing food, pursuing other non-farm activities and occasionally working for wages in rural-based agroprocessing (FAO, 2011). While men also tend to engage in mixed (crop and livestock) farming, this pattern is more pronounced for women, who typically take care of kitchen gardens, work as unpaid family workers on land managed by their husbands or partners, and manage individually assigned plots, as well as attending to household chores.

Rural women perform a disproportionate share of ***unpaid agricultural work***. In all LDC regions, a much greater proportion of women workers than of men are classified as (unpaid) "contributing family workers", the proportion being more than twice as high in Asian LDCs and in African LDCs and Haiti.[1] While these data are for the national level (including urban areas), unpaid contributing family workers are generally found mainly in the agricultural sector (ILO, 2008).

While women tend to predominate in small-scale marketing of staple crops in local markets, it is generally men who market export crops.

While there is some validity to the widely held perception of export and other cash ***crops*** as "male crops", and of subsistence and staple foods as "female crops", this is an oversimplification (FAO, 2011; USAID, 2015a). Women are generally as active as men in cash crop production, often providing the bulk of labour on contracted farms. There are, however, important gender differences in *control over the commercial proceeds* (men are contracted, while women supply unpaid family labour) and in the scale of operations (due to the constraints women face on increasing sales of their produce).

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Table 4.2. Status in total employment in LDCs, by sex, 2014
(Per cent)

Employment status	African LDCs and Haiti		Asian LDCs		Island LDCs	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
a. Wage and salaried workers	22.9	10	23.7	15.5	20.6	15.5
b. Employers	2.2	0.7	1.0	0.7	1.4	0.3
c. Own-account workers	57.4	49.5	62.8	38.7	50.8	39.0
d. Contributing family workers	17.5	39.7	12.5	45.2	27.2	45.2
Vulnerable employment (c+d)	74.9	89.2	75.3	83.9	78.0	84.2

Source: UNCTAD secretariat calculations, based on data from ILO, *Global Employment Trends 2014*: supporting data sets: Employment by status and sex (http://www.ilo.org/legacy/english/get/2014/GET_sector_share.xlsx) (accessed July 2015).
Note: Data for the following countries are unavailable: Djibouti, Kiribati, Sao Tome and Principe, South Sudan, Sudan (Former), Timor-Leste, Tuvalu and Vanuatu.

contracts and controlling the proceeds of sales (World Bank, FAO and IFAD, 2009; Croppenstedt, Goldstein and Rosas, 2013). Evidence from a number of studies points to similar dynamics in both traditional export sectors (e.g. cocoa, coffee and tea) and non-traditional exports (e.g. fruit, horticulture and flowers). In Rwanda, for example, while women are as active as men in growing coffee, and deliver it to washing stations on other days, it is generally men who do so on the day when payment is made (IFAD, 2010).

The pattern of "male" and "female" crops varies widely between and within LDCs.

Based on the gender of the primary owner or manager of plots, the pattern of "male" and "female" crops varies widely between and within LDCs (table 4.3). Survey data for Rwanda show remarkably similar cropping patterns between plots owned or cultivated by women and by men. There are also relatively limited differences in Malawi, although tobacco is grown on 10.4 per cent of male-managed plots, compared with 3.3 per cent of female-managed plots. In Lao People's Democratic Republic, however, cropping on male-managed plots is more diversified, 23.6 per cent of the cultivated area being dedicated to non-rice cultivation, compared with 10.9 per cent on female-managed plots.

Some agricultural tasks tend to be predominantly female activities.

Available time-use surveys show that some ***agricultural tasks*** (e.g. weeding, planting and harvesting) tend to be predominantly female activities, while others (e.g. ploughing, spraying, and loading and unloading produce) are typically undertaken by men. In the Ugandan coffee sector, for example, women are typically engaged in tending coffee plants, picking and drying coffee, and men in planting, pruning and marketing (Verhart and Pyburn, 2012). In Lao People's Democratic Republic, women are more engaged in transplanting rice, weeding, harvesting, post-harvest operations and marketing, and men in land preparation, ploughing and fencing (FAO/SIDA, 2010b).

Livestock activities tend to be characterized by specialization along gender lines.

Pastoralist and mixed farming systems are also by and large characterized by specialization of ***livestock activities*** along gender lines, including within households. Women tend to raise poultry and dairy animals, as well as rabbits and other animals housed within the homestead (FAO, 2011; Guèye, 2000; Okali and Mims, 1998; Tangka, Jabbar and Shapiro, 2000), and are also typically

Table 4.3. Crops grown by sex of primary owner/manager

Crop type	Malawi		Rwanda		Lao People's Dem. Republic	
	2010/2011		2010		2010	
	Per cent of plots		Per cent of crop production		Per cent of area cultivated	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Maize	64	75	8.1	8	8.9	2.7
Pigeon peas	14.7	21.3	-	-	-	-
Groundnuts	15.1	17	-	-	-	-
Tobacco	10.4	3.3	-	-	0.1	-
Beans	5.5	6.2	15.7	17.1	-	-
Sorghum	4.3	6.4	4.2	4.1	-	-
Rice	2.7	3.1	0.6	0.4	76.4	89.1
Coffee	-	-	1.6	1.5	3.6	2.9
Tea	-	-	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.3
Cassava	-	-	10.2	9.6	-	-
Sweet potatoes	-	-	8.7	8.9	-	-
Potatoes	-	-	3.9	3.9	-	-

Sources: FAO/SIDA (2010b, table 5.1, p. 37); Republic of Malawi (2012, table 9.9, p. 139) and Republic of Rwanda (2011, table 4.6, p. 37).

engaged in feeding pigs and poultry, grazing and watching goats, and selling small livestock and produce in the markets (FAO/SIDA, 2010b). Eggs, milk and poultry, in particular, tend to be female-intensive sectors, while men often have a prominent role in managing cattle.

2. Non-farm activities and employment

Participation rates for both men and women are generally lower in non-farm activities than in agriculture.

Participation rates for both men and women are generally lower in non-farm activities than in agriculture. Time-use data indicate that activities such as petty trading and retailing tend to be carried out more by female than male household members, while men have greater opportunities in other non-agricultural sectors, such as construction and transport. In Ethiopia, for example, 22.2 per cent of rural women are engaged in non-farm activities, compared with 16.4 per cent of men (Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia and World Bank, 2013). In Lao People's Democratic Republic, 48 per cent of the household members involved in non-farm activities are women, the great majority (77 per cent) of them working in wholesale and retail trade (FAO/SIDA, 2010b).

As illustrated by the case of Gambia (box 4.1), sectors such as fisheries also exhibit marked differences in roles between men and women in terms of products, scale of production and markets.

Gender patterns of employment are more clearly articulated in agroprocessing than in traditional small-scale agriculture.

Gender patterns of employment are more clearly articulated in agroprocessing than in traditional small-scale agriculture. Artisanal agroprocessing is a traditionally female occupation in many countries; and agro-industrial processing of high-value products such as fish, flowers and livestock products exhibits a marked occupational pattern by gender, characterized by predominantly female employment (table 4.4) and significant occupational segregation by sex.

There are large gender gaps in formal and informal wage employment in rural areas, with wider differences in Asian than African LDCs.

Even when rural women are in wage employment, they are more likely than men to be segregated in part-time, seasonal and/or low-wage jobs (FAO, 2011). In all three countries analysed in detail in Chapter 3 (Bangladesh, Nepal and Malawi), for example, rural women are significantly more likely than men to be in part-time, seasonal or low-wage work[2] in agriculture (RIGA database/survey data; FAO, 2011). Data from the ILO and the Rural Income Generating Activities (RIGA) project also show large gender gaps in formal and informal wage employment in rural areas, with wider differences in Asian than African LDCs (chart 4.1).

While such differences in employment status and wage patterns may partly reflect differences in education, work experience and personal choices (e.g. preference for part-time or seasonal jobs because of family obligations), they also reflect cultural stereotypes and social norms (Boserup, 2007).

Box 4.1. The Gambian fisheries sector

In the Gambian fisheries sector, men and women tend to produce different products, operate on different scales and serve different markets, resulting in specific gender-based production and trade patterns throughout the supply chain. Upstream activities (catching fish or harvesting shellfish) tend to be male-dominated, although women often play a prominent role in specific market segments. For example, oyster harvesters are predominantly women, of a particular ethnic group.

Downstream activities (artisanal processing and marketing) are highly gendered. Women operate mainly on a small scale, marketing fish directly to domestic and inland urban markets, while men tend to operate in the (more capital-intensive) long-distance trade, and are the major suppliers to processing factories. This is also reflected in processing techniques and the products marketed: Women generally produce dried or smoked fish (mainly bonga and catfish) of relatively short shelf life (about three days) for urban and inland markets, while men sell smoke-dried products with a longer shelf life, and are the main suppliers of fresh higher-value species such as sole and shrimps to export-processing factories.

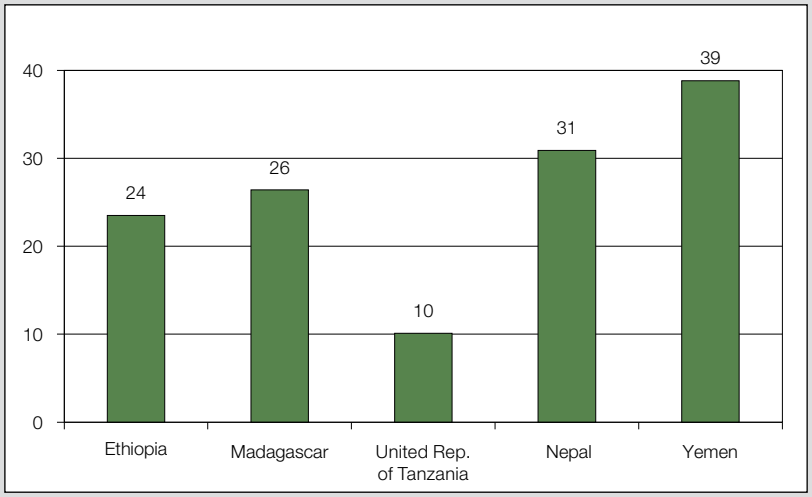
Source: UNCTAD and EIF (2014).

Table 4.4. Share of female workers in selected high-value agro-industries in selected LDCs

Country	Commodity	Year of survey	Share of female workers (Per cent)
Senegal*	French beans	2005	90
	Cherry tomatoes	2006	60
Uganda*	Flowers	1998	75
Zambia*	Vegetables	2002/03	65
Gambia**	Fish processing	2014	71
United Republic of Tanzania***	Flowers, vegetables	2008/2009	60

Sources: * FAO (2011), ** UNCTAD and EIF (2014), *** TPAWU (2011).

Chart 4.1. Gender wage gap in agriculture in selected LDCs



Sources: Ethiopia: National Labour Force Survey 2013; Madagascar: Enquête Nationale sur l'Emploi et le Secteur Informel 2012; Nepal: Nepal Labour Force Survey 1999; United Republic of Tanzania: Employment and Earnings Survey 2012; Yemen: Child Labour Survey 2010.

New forms of organization in supply chains can present new opportunities for rural women, but also new challenges (FAO, IFAD and ILO, 2010). Export-oriented agro-industries and associated high-value smallholder contract farming and estate production may provide new jobs and better employment opportunities for women; and in export-oriented agro-industries, wages tend to be higher and working conditions less burdensome than in many traditional market segments (FAO, 2011; Maertens and Swinnen, 2009; Deere, 2005). However, women workers in agroprocessing are typically segregated in unskilled labour-intensive activities such as packaging, with limited opportunities for skills development, and in some sectors (e.g. floriculture) risk exposure to pesticides and other hazardous conditions. Labour-intensive sectors exposed to strong international competition (e.g. flowers) tend to generate precarious low-wage employment, and are extremely vulnerable to demand shocks in consuming countries, which are often passed on to employees through dismissals. Similarly, while it is possible to leverage high-value smallholder contract farming to empower women, this can also be a vehicle for new dynamics of exploitation, particularly when women's involvement is as unpaid family workers.

New forms of organization in supply chains can present new opportunities for rural women, but also new challenges.

C. Obstacles to women's greater contribution to rural development

As stated earlier, rural women in LDCs face a number of gender-specific difficulties in accessing productive assets and services, including land, credit, farm inputs, extension services, labour and markets, resulting in significant gender differences in production per hectare. These multiple constraints contribute to low agricultural productivity (Chapter 2 of this Report) as well as limiting the dynamic potential of female ventures in rural areas, and thus risk inhibiting the long-term growth and diversification potential of rural economies.

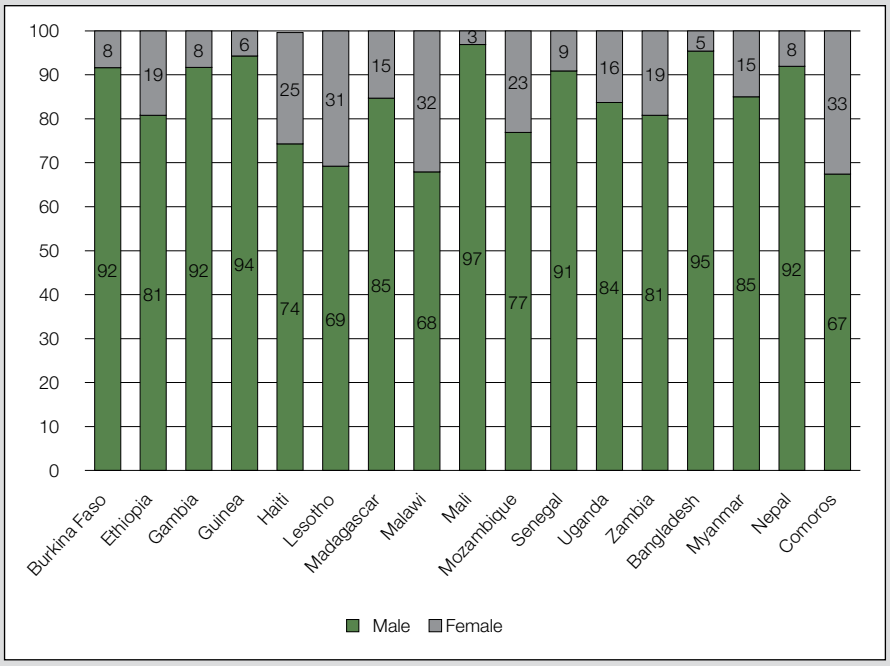
Gender inequality in control over land does not generally result from formal discrimination in land ownership or inheritance rights.

1. Gender differences in assets: land and livestock

Data from numerous LDCs across all geographical groups display a consistent pattern of gender inequality in control over ***land***, with men controlling much more land than women (chart 4.2).

Indicators based on laws and regulations for 25 African and Asian LDCs[3] suggest that this inequality does not generally result from formal discrimination in land ownership or inheritance rights. Women have land ownership rights in all these countries, and in only one (Democratic Republic of the Congo) is this affected by their marital status. However, formal discrimination persists in inheritance rights in a number of countries: Women have inheritance rights as daughters or surviving spouses in 16 cases, but not in seven others (Bangladesh, Nepal, Senegal, Sudan, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania and Yemen), and in one other (Lesotho) daughters do not have equal rights with sons. In many cases, the principle of equality between men and women is enshrined in the national Constitution and overrides any contrary customary practice.

Chart 4.2. Male and female agricultural holders in selected LDCs
(Per cent)



Sources: FAO, FAO Gender and Land Rights database, which is based on agricultural censuses (accessed May 2015).
Note: Sex of holder of agricultural holdings. As defined in agricultural censuses, the agricultural holder makes the major decisions regarding the use of resources, and exercises management control over the agricultural holding. An agricultural holding is an economic unit of agricultural production under single management. Percentages of women and men holders by country do not always sum to 100 in case of e.g. joint holdings or unreported gender.

Thus, gender differences in control over land mainly reflect sociocultural barriers enshrined in customary law and practices, rather than civil law (box 4.2), which leads to major challenges in translating legal enactments on land ownership and inheritance into effective de facto rights. Major impediments include patriarchal cultural norms embedded in customary practices, complications in the formal registration process (e.g. the need for a formal marriage certificate for joint registration of land) and lack of legal awareness (UNCTAD, 2014). Such difficulties may be greater where men and women compete for scarce land. Women who are not formally married face particular obstacles in securing equality and non-discrimination in inheritance rights. In particular, women in unregistered customary law unions, including polygamous unions, often have no legal entitlements, as do those cohabiting without formal or customary marriage.

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There are also marked gender differences in ownership of livestock, reflecting the patterns of gender specialization outlined in Section B.1 (box 4.3).

2. Human capital: education and literacy

Rural women, and female heads of household in particular, tend to have lower literacy rates and significantly fewer years of education than their male counterparts. This translates into substantial competitive disadvantages for female-headed households, for example, in accessing and using market information and extension services; applying for credit; and complying with importing countries' product standards, particularly in relation to sanitary and phytosanitary (SPS) measures (UNCTAD 2011; UNCTAD 2014).

Rural women, and female heads of household in particular, tend to have lower literacy rates and significantly fewer years of education than their male counterparts.

In Cambodia, for example, 76 per cent of male members of agricultural households have completed at least one level of schooling, compared with 66 per cent of female members. Basic literacy is also more widespread among male than female household heads, with significant differences across regions:

Box 4.2. Women's access to land in Malawi, Rwanda and Lesotho

Customary practices differ widely between regions, countries and ethnic groups. Malawi exemplifies both the resilience and the complexity of such practices. Formally, when a husband dies, the property is inherited by his wife and children. Actual practices, however, are varied and more complex. In some districts, besides the surviving wife, property can be inherited only by male children, based on an assumption that any land held by girls would be lost to outsiders after their marriage. Equally, on marriage, girls receive items considered more appropriate for women, such as kitchen utensils, rather than land. In other districts, property is shared equally between male and female children; but when girls get married and move out of the household, they leave their land behind. While they may resume use of the land once they return to their home village, they do so under their brothers' authority.

In Rwanda, progressive legal enactments have constituted significant steps towards redressing customary practices that marginalize women in land control. In particular, the 2005 land law (Organic Land Law No. 08/2005) guarantees equal ownership rights for men and women; and, under the Land Tenure Regularisation programme, legally married wives must be registered as co-owners of the land. Based on data from the Rwanda Natural Resources Authority, 26 per cent of the total registered land in Rwanda was owned by women in 2013, and 54 per cent was jointly owned by female and male spouses. Nonetheless, de facto male control of land remains deeply entrenched. Farmlands are extremely fragmented in Rwanda, with an average farm size of only 0.76 hectares (Republic of Rwanda, 2010); and provisions against the fragmentation of land tenure encroach on the principle of equal inheritance rights for children (IFAD, 2010). By law, plots not exceeding an area of 1 hectare – some 80 per cent of farms – cannot be further partitioned. Where this prevents a plot from being partitioned among children, it is held on behalf of the family in communal/familial possession by a single heir – commonly the oldest male child (UNCTAD, 2014). This shared responsibility conceals patterns of male control over the land.

In Lesotho, virtually all women in rural areas are married by custom or tradition (rather than under civil law), so that matters related to marriage, land ownership and succession are adjudicated by local customary (Basuto) courts, on the basis of customary law, rather than under civil law. In customary practice, only a male child can inherit land, while women can neither enter into contracts nor own property in their own names. It is also noteworthy that Lesotho's 1993 Constitution places respect for customary practices (cultural rights) above respect for individual civil rights.

Sources: Malawi Human Rights Commission (2006), IFAD (2010), UNCTAD (2012 and 2014).

Box 4.3. Livestock farming and sale in Cambodia, Lao People's Democratic Republic and United Republic of Tanzania

In Cambodia, all agricultural households reported being involved in livestock or poultry farming in 2008, the main livestock being chickens, cattle and pigs. Female-headed households (20 per cent of all agricultural households) had fewer livestock on average than their male-headed counterparts. Some 62 per cent of female-headed households kept chickens, compared with 65 per cent of male-headed households; 44 per cent kept cattle, compared with 54 per cent; and 20 per cent kept pigs, compared with 26 per cent. Sales patterns were also gender-differentiated: Sales of livestock and poultry by female-headed agricultural households amounted to just over half (53 per cent) of those of male-headed households, which also sold almost 20 per cent more livestock and poultry products.

In Lao People's Democratic Republic, more than half of all agricultural households were engaged in livestock and poultry production in 2007–2008, including 58 per cent of male-headed and 39 per cent of female-headed households. Pigs, buffaloes and cattle were the most common farm animals in agricultural households. Cattle were raised by 46 per cent of female-headed and 52 per cent of male-headed households, and pigs were raised by 57 per cent of female-headed and 62 per cent of male-headed households; but female-headed households kept a greater proportion of buffaloes and goats. As in the case of Cambodia, the average prices of livestock and poultry sold were higher for households headed by men than for those headed by women (47 per cent higher for turkeys and 20 per cent for ducks), as a result of differences in the types of markets and/or buyers to which female- and male-headed households have access (FAO/SIDA, 2010b).

In the United Republic of Tanzania, women own only 1.9 per cent of cattle, while men own 98.1 per cent. Nonetheless, women share responsibility for caring for cattle, typically including milking the cows twice a day, tending the herds, fetching water and cleaning shelters, as well as marketing milk.

Source: FAO/SIDA (2010b), Anderson-Saito, Dhar and Pehu, 2004.

In the coastal region, for example, 80 per cent of male household heads are able to read and write a simple message, compared with 38 per cent of female household heads (FAO/SIDA, 2010b).

In Lao People's Democratic Republic, 75 per cent of male household members and 80 per cent of male household heads are literate, compared with 57 per cent of female household members and only 49 per cent of female heads. Only 45 per cent of female heads of household, but 54 per cent of their male counterparts, have completed primary school; and three times as many female heads as male heads have never attended school. Twice as many women and girls as men and boys (over 6 years of age) have never attended school; and, among those not attending school, girls (24 per cent) are substantially more likely than boys (14 per cent) to be kept out of school because of work-related commitments (FAO/SIDA, 2010b).

Basic literacy is also more widespread among male than female household heads.

In Ethiopia as well, there are significant gender differences in rural literacy rates: 52 per cent of rural men, but only 36 per cent of rural women, are able to read and write without difficulty. However, primary school enrolment is slightly higher for girls (59 per cent) than for boys (57 per cent) (Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia and World Bank, 2013); and preliminary findings of a survey conducted in 2013 point to full gender parity in the highest grade achieved in school among 12-year-olds (Young Lives, 2014).

In Rwanda, 56.7 per cent of women and girls over six years of age are literate, compared to 61.4 per cent of men and boys nationally; and, as in Lao People's Democratic Republic, disparities between male and female heads of household in rural areas are substantially wider: 62.4 per cent of female household heads are unable to read or write, compared with only 29.8 per cent of their male counterparts (Republic of Rwanda, 2011, tables 9.7 and 9.8, pp. 42–43).

In Bhutan, the literacy rate among rural women is only 39.2 per cent, and their formal educational attainment is particularly low, as 87 per cent of female heads of households in rural areas have received no formal schooling (National Statistics Bureau, 2007).

3. Access to inputs and markets

Across many different contexts, women consistently have less access than men to agricultural resources and inputs (FAO, 2011). Where credit is available, women's access can be affected by their limited control of land, which impairs their ability to provide collateral. Lower levels of education and literacy also mean that women are less likely than men to have the skills required to apply for loans successfully or to design and articulate business plans. They may also be less aware of the credit facilities available to them.

Lower levels of education and literacy mean that women are less likely than men to have the skills required to apply for loans successfully or to design and articulate business plans.

As a result, women are consistently less likely than men to use credit, across countries and contexts. In Lao People's Democratic Republic, for example, 10 per cent of all female-headed agricultural households had outstanding loans during the reporting period (2002–2003), compared to 15 per cent of male-headed households. Among those with loans, fewer female- than male-headed households borrowed from banks (13.5 per cent, compared with 22 per cent), while more borrowed from neighbours, the main source for both groups (74 per cent, vs. 52 per cent). While all female-headed households with outstanding loans used land as collateral, male-headed households also used livestock, houses and other property (UNCTAD, 2014).

Some Governments have backed rural investment guarantee funds to facilitate women's access to credit, but they have not always been effective in reaching the intended beneficiaries. Major obstacles include target groups' lack of awareness and inability to comply with lending requirements. Cooperatives and other civil society organizations could serve as a bridge between these lending institutions and individual women; but establishment and registration procedures are often cumbersome and involve high transaction costs, and civil society organizations often lack the financial and human resources necessary to perform such a role on a large scale (UNCTAD, 2014).

Women are consistently less likely than men to use credit, across countries and contexts.

Women also face structural biases in access to ***agricultural inputs***. Survey data indicate that female farmers are less likely than men to use improved seed varieties and purchased inputs (e.g. fertilizers), reflecting their more limited resources and access to finance, as well as poor targeting and limited gender sensitivity of input subsidy schemes. In Ethiopia, Malawi, Niger and Uganda, for example, women use less fertilizer than men; and in Malawi, lower input use accounts for more than 80 per cent of the gap between women's productivity and men's (World Bank and ONE, 2014). In some contexts, this gives rise to gender differences in the ***crop varieties*** cultivated, with women tending to farm conventional varieties and men, hybrid varieties. In rural Malawi, for example, 45 per cent of all plots owned or managed by women are cultivated with (drought-resistant) local maize and 30 per cent with hybrid varieties, while male-managed plots are equally divided, 32 per cent being planted with each (Republic of Malawi, 2012).

Female farmers are less likely than men to use improved seed varieties and purchased inputs (e.g. fertilizers).

Although some Governments operate input subsidy schemes to promote input use, they are often not gender-neutral. In the case of fertilizer voucher systems, for example, vouchers are typically issued to one person on behalf of the others on communal properties; beneficiaries are required to present the voucher to accredited outlets; they need to cover the unsubsidized portion of the market price; and they must transport the fertilizer (typically sold in sealed and certified 50-kg bags) from the dealer to the farm. Women's access is thus impaired by their more limited access to cash income, credit and transport, their smaller plot sizes, and the dynamics of communal household ownership (UNCTAD, 2014; World Bank and ONE, 2014).

When women do have access to fertilizers, there may also be gender differences in returns from their use.

When women do have access to fertilizers, there may also be gender differences in returns from their use. In Ethiopia and United Republic of Tanzania,

for example, the fact that there are lower productivity gains with fertilizer use on women's farms than on men's suggests that female farmers use fertilizer of lower quality or use it less effectively (World Bank and ONE, 2014).

Extension services tend to be male-dominated, and are not designed to respond to the practical needs of women.

This may in part reflect gender differences in access to or effectiveness of ***extension services***, which are often more "attuned" to the needs of male than of female farmers (IFAD, 2010; UNCTAD, 2014; World Bank and ONE, 2014). Extension services tend to be male-dominated, and are not designed to respond to the practical needs of women, particularly with respect to the time constraints on their participation in training activities. Power dynamics at the community and household level also tend to limit access of women (and youths) to training opportunities (UNCTAD, 2014).

Women are prevented by household responsibilities from engaging full-time on their plots.

Agriculture in LDCs is heavily dependent on manual ***labour***, and women who work as farmers on their own account face many difficulties in mobilizing additional labour to work on their farms. Women themselves are prevented by household responsibilities from engaging full-time on their plots; and their ability to hire non-family labour is often restricted by financial and cultural factors. In Ethiopia, Malawi, Uganda and United Republic of Tanzania, for example, female farmers deploy fewer male household labourers than do male-managed farms (World Bank and ONE, 2014).

Women's access to markets and market information is impaired by their more limited access than men to durable goods such as radios and cell phones, and to means of transport.

Women's access to markets and market information is impaired by their more limited access than men to durable goods such as radios and cell phones, and to means of transport such as bicycles. They are less likely to own cell phones than men, and are at a particular disadvantage in accessing ICTs where they are available; they may be prevented by cultural attitudes from using rural access points frequented by men; and their ability to upgrade their skills is impaired by more limited literacy and educational attainment, as well as time and mobility constraints. These gender differences may reduce female farmers' access to more lucrative markets, by limiting their access to market information or their ability to transport inputs and farm produce.

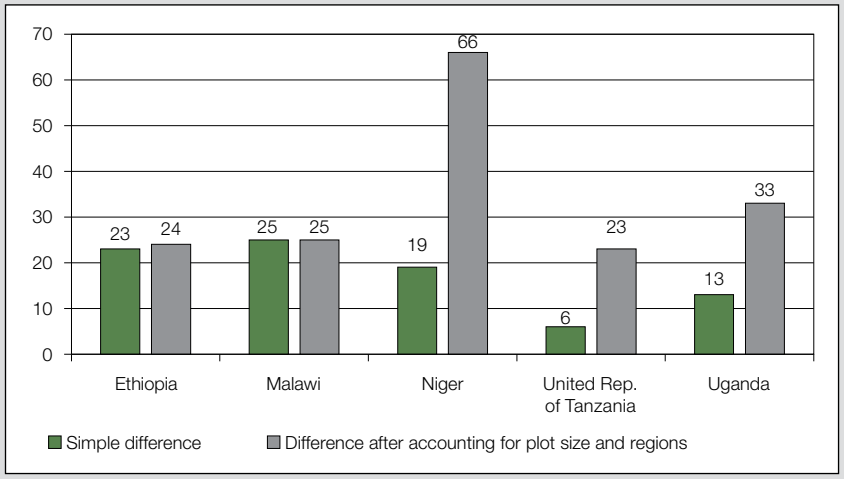
4. The rural productivity gap

The gender-specific constraints outlined above reduce the productive potential of rural women in both farm and non-farm activities, resulting in lower average productivity on farms managed by women than by men. A comprehensive assessment of survey data from five African LDCs (Ethiopia, Niger, Malawi, Uganda and United Republic of Tanzania) points to a consistent gender gap in agricultural yields per hectare (World Bank and ONE, 2014). In Niger, Uganda and United Republic of Tanzania, these productivity gaps are much more pronounced when differences in plot size and region are taken into account (chart 4.3). In Lao People's Democratic Republic, however, yields do not differ significantly between male- and female-headed households, except for maize, whose productivity is 20 per cent higher in the former (FAO/SIDA, 2010b).

A comprehensive assessment of survey data from five African LDCs points to a consistent gender gap in agricultural yields per hectare.

Households headed by women also tend to experience substantially greater ***crop losses***, typically as a result of robbery, pests, floods or droughts: In Cambodia, female-headed households' losses in 2008 amounted to 10 per cent for leguminous plants (compared with 3 per cent for male-headed households), 6 per cent for vegetables (vs. 0.6 per cent) and 11 per cent for other crops for industrial purposes (vs. 0.3 per cent) (FAO/SIDA, 2010a). Crop losses are also higher for female-headed households in Lao People's Democratic Republic, amounting to 10 per cent of total rice production, compared with 4 per cent for male-headed households (FAO/SIDA, 2010b).

Chart 4.3. Gender gap in land productivity, selected African LDCs
(Per cent)



Source: World Bank and ONE (2014).

The costs of gender constraints are thus considerable. Globally, FAO (2011) estimates suggest that providing women with the same access to productive resources as men could increase yields on their farms by 20–30 per cent, raising total agricultural output by 2.5–4 per cent.

The costs of gender constraints are considerable.

D. Differentiating causes and symptoms of gender inequality

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, there is a close relationship between the disadvantages women face as a result of gender inequality and those faced by the population as a whole as a result of income inequality and poverty. This suggests an important distinction between gender inequalities that arise directly from gender norms and what might be called contingent inequalities — those which arise indirectly from the interaction between the resulting disadvantages and those due to poverty.

There is an important distinction between gender inequalities and what might be called contingent inequalities.

As noted above, women face greater time and mobility constraints than men because of the double burden of care and productive work resulting from cultural norms. They may, on average, have more limited educational opportunities because of gender biases in household decision-making and/or differential provision. They are more likely to be landless because of discriminatory conventions and practices in land ownership and inheritance. Their employment opportunities may be limited by gender segregation in employment markets, and their self-employment opportunities by cultural norms regarding "appropriate" activities for women. All these constraints arise directly from gendered social structures and norms; and addressing them effectively requires direct, gender-specific action to correct or compensate for structural gender biases.

Many constraints arise directly from gendered social structures and norms.

However, the ingrained nature of cultural norms, especially in rural areas, makes this a slow (and very sensitive) process. It is therefore necessary also to address the consequences of the resulting disadvantages to women — their limited time and mobility, lack of access to land, limited education and opportunities, etc. — and the contingent inequalities that stem from them.

The inequalities arising *directly* from gender norms contribute *indirectly* to further disadvantages — low incomes, limited savings and assets, lack of access to inputs, markets and/or credit, etc. — all of which are themselves interlinked. However, neither symptoms of gender inequality such as lack of education and landlessness, nor these indirect disadvantages, are limited exclusively to women, although women are likely to be disproportionately affected. Men, particularly at lower income levels, may also be landless and have limited education. They also share the consequences of these disadvantages, such as limited access to credit, inputs and markets (although these may be more acute for women where they interact with other social norms). While the double burden of care and productive work is not generally applicable to men, chronic illness or disability may have similar consequences; and in some contexts, men may also face some degree of segregation in labour markets, for example on the basis of ethnicity.

The inequalities arising directly from gender norms contribute indirectly to further disadvantages.

Thus, while the root causes of gender inequality must by their nature be addressed by *gender-specific* approaches targeting women explicitly, these indirect disadvantages are more appropriately addressed through more inclusive but *gender-sensitive* approaches, directed both at women and at equally disadvantaged men. Directing support to women while arbitrarily excluding similarly disadvantaged men, particularly in a context of strongly patriarchal traditional cultures, could risk giving rise to alienation, potentially undermining longer-term efforts to tackle the underlying causes of gender inequality.

E. Summary and conclusions

In summary:

While the root causes of gender inequality require gender-specific approaches, indirect disadvantages require inclusive but gender-sensitive approaches.

- Women represent half the rural and agricultural workforce of LDCs, but face serious constraints on realizing their productive potential as a result of numerous cultural and institutional factors.
- The double burden of care and productive work, together with a disproportionate share of unpaid agricultural work, imposes constraints on women's time use and mobility, and limits their ability to upgrade their skills.
- Despite a major role in agricultural production, women have limited control over the income it generates.
- In rural labour markets, women are more likely than men to be segregated in part-time, seasonal and/or low-paid work, as well as providing a disproportionate amount of unpaid family work.
- Women's access to land is constrained by customary law and practices, impeding change through formal law.
- Women, and especially female household heads, generally have lower literacy rates and educational attainment.
- Rural women also face constraints on their access to credit, productive inputs, extension services, markets and market information.
- These constraints limit the productivity of plots managed by women, which in some cases also have greater crop losses.
- While gender-specific measures are needed to overcome disadvantages arising directly from gender norms, more inclusive but gender-sensitive

approaches are more appropriate in dealing with their consequences, which are closely related to those arising from poverty.

These gender-based obstacles compound and interact with other market imperfections in rural areas to diminish women's productivity and entrepreneurial potential, reducing the dynamic potential of rural economies and slowing their transformation. Unless such constraints are addressed, the supply response to incentives aimed at increasing production and marketed surpluses will remain sluggish, as half of the labour force will still be unable to respond effectively. Increasing rural productivity and accelerating rural economic diversification thus requires effective action to remove these obstacles, so as to address the low-productivity equilibria that trap rural women in poverty, while stimulating non-farm activities upstream and downstream from agriculture.

Gender-based obstacles compound and interact with other market imperfections to diminish women's productivity and entrepreneurial potential and slow rural transformation.

Notes

1 Such estimates should, however, be treated with caution, due to systematic underreporting of rural wage labour in national statistics (USAID, 2015b).

2 Defined as paying less than the median agricultural wage.

3 Angola, Bangladesh, Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cambodia, Chad, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique, Nepal, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sudan, United Republic of Tanzania, Togo, Uganda, Yemen, Zambia. Data from the World Bank, Women, Business and the Law 2014 database (available from http://wbl.worldbank.org/). Land ownership rights refer to ownership rights to property of unmarried/married women; inheritance rights refer to inheritance rights to property of sons and daughters, and of women who survive their spouses.

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Annex table 4.1. Labour force, agricultural labour force and female share in LDCs, 1980–2014, selected years

	Total (Thousands)				Agricultural share (Per cent)				Female share of agricultural labour force (Per cent)			
	1980	*1995*	*2010*	*2014*	*1980*	*1995*	*2010*	*2014*	*1980*	*1995*	*2010*	*2014*
Afghanistan	4 255	5 421	9 059	10 156	71	66	60	58	30	29	33	34
Angola	3 326	5 210	8 697	9 930	76	73	69	68	52	53	55	56
Bangladesh	35 039	53 002	71 961	76 908	72	60	45	42	42	44	51	53
Benin	1 217	2 335	3 890	4 399	67	59	44	41	35	42	40	40
Bhutan	143	151	332	370	94	93	93	93	26	19	34	34
Burkina Faso	2 970	4 403	7 082	8 083	92	92	92	92	47	49	48	48
Burundi	1 975	2 998	4 617	5 123	93	91	89	89	56	56	56	56
Cambodia	3 185	4 665	7 660	8 399	75	72	66	64	57	54	52	51
Central African Republic	1 020	1 450	1 959	2 168	85	77	63	59	50	50	50	50
Chad	1 516	2 733	4 710	5 381	86	80	66	61	29	51	57	58
Comoros	124	189	297	337	80	76	69	68	51	50	52	52
Democratic Rep.of the Congo	10 245	16 035	23 381	26 016	71	65	57	55	51	49	49	49
Djibouti	141	265	361	397	84	80	74	72	45	46	46	46
Equatorial Guinea	87	172	272	307	77	72	64	62	40	39	42	43
Eritrea	-	1 279	2 298	2 641		79	74	72		44	43	43
Ethiopia*	14 756	24 339	42 985	49 277	89	84	77	75	41	43	45	45
Gambia	268	475	774	899	85	80	76	75	50	51	53	54
Guinea	2 144	3 701	5 231	5 862	91	86	80	78	51	50	50	50
Guinea-Bissau	324	441	591	652	87	84	79	78	44	46	45	46
Haiti	2 344	2 684	3 828	4 144	71	67	59	57	38	27	25	24
Kiribati	22	35	48	52	36	29	23	21	25	30	27	27
Lao People's Dem. Rep.	1 469	2 200	3 260	3 673	80	78	75	74	51	52	53	52
Lesotho	543	733	863	920	45	43	39	38	71	66	66	65
Liberia	706	770	1 459	1 626	77	70	62	60	46	45	44	44
Madagascar	3 944	6 116	10 526	12 269	82	77	70	68	55	54	53	53
Malawi	2 886	4 225	6 260	7 163	87	85	79	77	57	56	59	60
Mali	1 837	2 363	3 710	4 242	88	83	75	72	37	36	37	36
Mauritania	606	938	1 544	1 746	71	54	50	49	48	50	54	56
Mozambique	5 952	7 564	11 036	12 314	85	84	81	79	59	63	65	65
Myanmar	16 386	23 509	30 284	32 126	76	72	67	66	48	48	49	49
Nepal	5 564	7 729	11 615	12 678	93	93	93	93	36	40	49	50
Niger	1 931	2 998	5 237	6 151	90	87	83	82	37	36	36	37
Rwanda	2 302	2 422	4 978	5 575	93	91	89	89	54	55	57	57
Sao Tome and Principe	30	40	61	71	70	65	57	55	38	42	49	51
Senegal	2 349	3 609	5 656	6 554	80	75	70	69	45	46	48	49
Sierra Leone	1 233	1 523	2 166	2 343	73	68	60	58	59	58	61	62
Solomon Islands	85	143	217	242	79	74	68	67	45	46	47	48
Somalia	2 307	2 498	3 843	4 395	77	72	66	64	44	45	46	46
South Sudan	-	-	-	3 868				48				41
Sudan	-	-	-	12 785				48				41
Sudan (Former)	6 151	8 786	14 446	-	72	65	52		33	33	40	
Timor-Leste	242	339	425	463	84	82	80	79	45	43	45	45
Togo	1 038	1 628	2 520	2 866	69	63	53	51	39	39	42	42
Tuvalu	3	4	4	4	33	25	25	25	0	0	0	0
Uganda	5 631	9 132	14 981	17 335	87	82	75	72	49	50	49	49
United Republic of Tanzania	9 096	14 842	22 306	25 555	86	83	76	74	54	54	55	55
Vanuatu	53	79	124	140	49	41	31	28	50	50	47	46
Yemen	1 578	3 259	5 645	6 380	68	52	39	35	30	32	40	41
Zambia	2 009	3 379	5 130	5 998	75	72	63	61	41	48	47	46
LDCs (total)	**161 032**	**242 811**	**368 329**	**410 983**	**79**	**73**	**66**	**64**	**46**	**47**	**49**	**50**
African LDCs and Haiti	92 854	142 046	227 337	258 984	82	78	71	69	47	48	49	50
Asian LDCs	67 619	99 936	139 816	150 690	75	66	57	54	43	44	48	49
Island LDCs	559	829	1 176	1 309	76	72	66	64	46	45	47	48

Source: FAO, FAOSTAT database (http://faostat3.fao.org/home/E) (accessed May 2015).
Notes: The female share of the agricultural labour force is calculated as the total number of women economically active in agriculture divided by the total population economically active in agriculture.
* Figure for 1980 is for former Eritrea.

Annex table 4.2. Share of male and female employment in LDCs, by sector, 2000 and 2014
(Per cent)

	Agriculture				Industry				Services			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	2000	2014p	2000	2014p	2000	2014p	2000	2014p	2000	2014p	2000	2014p
Afghanistan	56.9	51.1	77.3	71.6	11.2	13.6	9.2	11.1	31.8	35.3	13.6	17.3
Angola	52.9	38.7	49.8	32.6	11.6	15.1	4.8	5.9	35.5	46.2	45.4	61.4
Bangladesh	56.3	33.2	78.4	85.4	11.6	19.3	9.2	5.7	32.0	47.5	12.4	9.0
Benin	54.9	54.6	34.0	29.0	10.3	9.0	9.6	7.4	34.9	36.4	56.3	63.5
Bhutan	75.0	44.4	91.3	80.4	3.2	11.4	0.9	6.4	21.8	44.2	7.7	13.3
Burkina Faso	84.4	80.5	88.8	87.9	4.6	3.4	2.2	2.1	11.1	16.0	8.9	10.0
Burundi	87.1	87.1	96.6	96.3	3.8	3.7	0.7	0.6	9.1	9.2	2.7	3.1
Cambodia	72.4	45.2	74.9	49.4	7.1	20.9	9.6	19.0	20.4	33.9	15.5	31.6
Central African Republic	72.5	76.1	70.7	72.2	6.3	4.6	2.6	1.8	21.1	19.3	26.7	26.0
Chad	80.8	73.0	86.0	82.3	3.3	5.7	0.7	1.3	15.8	21.4	13.3	16.4
Comoros	62.1	62.9	69.9	70.2	11.8	11.5	6.3	6.0	26.1	25.6	23.8	23.8
Dem. Rep. of the Congo	84.2	81.7	83.3	78.1	3.3	3.8	1.3	1.5	12.5	14.5	15.4	20.4
Equatorial Guinea	39.0	28.8	48.0	38.3	20.2	25.7	11.6	17.2	40.7	45.5	40.5	44.5
Eritrea	70.5	75.6	79.8	80.5	9.4	7.2	5.5	3.6	20.1	17.3	14.7	15.9
Ethiopia	89.4	78.9	80.9	74.5	2.7	8.0	5.4	11.3	7.9	13.1	13.7	14.2
Gambia	56.0	57.7	74.7	69.1	8.8	6.9	0.9	0.7	35.2	35.4	24.3	30.2
Guinea	72.0	72.1	77.5	74.4	9.3	8.4	2.9	2.5	18.8	19.4	19.6	23.1
Guinea-Bissau	67.3	69.3	68.3	62.8	8.7	6.5	3.8	2.6	24.1	24.2	27.9	34.7
Haiti	60.6	54.2	35.6	29.9	15.9	18.7	5.6	5.1	23.5	27.1	58.7	65.0
Lao People's Dem. Rep.	78.9	67.8	87.6	77.2	5.0	8.4	3.1	5.7	16.1	23.8	9.3	17.2
Lesotho	77.8	73.9	64.0	54.2	9.2	9.9	10.0	9.7	12.9	16.1	26.0	36.0
Liberia	56.5	45.2	55.3	44.6	11.1	15.2	3.9	5.6	32.4	39.6	40.8	49.8
Madagascar	74.0	82.7	78.2	78.7	8.6	4.5	8.8	1.0	17.4	12.9	13.0	20.3
Malawi	67.4	64.0	78.8	76.3	11.8	13.4	7.2	8.1	20.8	22.6	14.0	15.6
Mali	70.2	67.9	68.2	60.5	7.4	7.4	2.6	2.4	22.4	24.7	29.2	37.1
Mauritania	57.4	50.8	59.3	53.5	11.6	14.1	5.3	6.6	31.1	35.1	35.3	39.9
Mozambique	71.8	61.0	90.6	87.2	6.1	9.7	0.4	0.6	22.1	29.4	9.0	12.2
Myanmar	53.5	53.6	69.1	65.2	15.9	16.6	9.5	11.0	30.5	29.8	21.3	23.7
Nepal	66.1	60.3	84.4	80.6	14.9	17.3	5.4	6.7	19.0	22.3	10.2	12.8
Niger	64.7	65.4	38.8	37.8	8.1	7.9	18.6	17.0	27.2	26.8	42.6	45.2
Rwanda	80.1	71.0	84.9	77.7	4.9	7.2	2.0	3.0	15.1	21.8	13.1	19.3
Senegal	51.6	33.7	48.0	37.0	15.7	26.3	8.5	5.2	32.6	39.9	43.5	57.8
Sierra Leone	65.4	54.3	71.6	63.0	9.9	14.4	0.9	1.5	24.6	31.2	27.4	35.5
Solomon Islands	52.2	48.3	54.7	49.2	14.5	16.6	6.8	9.2	33.2	35.2	38.5	41.6
Somalia	76.9	76.0	76.3	72.1	5.4	5.2	2.2	2.0	17.7	18.8	21.5	25.8
Sudan	53.3	50.3	60.0	56.6	7.0	8.4	8.4	9.2	39.7	41.3	31.7	34.3
United Rep. of Tanzania	80.1	67.7	84.8	76.4	4.2	8.5	1.2	2.8	15.7	23.9	14.0	20.8
Togo	58.9	60.2	49.5	45.5	10.8	9.6	5.5	4.3	30.2	30.2	45.0	50.2
Uganda	64.8	58.6	77.6	68.0	7.1	10.9	3.7	5.7	28.0	30.6	18.8	26.3
Yemen	40.5	32.8	88.6	89.4	14.5	17.2	2.1	1.3	45.0	50.1	9.3	9.2
Zambia	65.2	64	79.6	78.5	8.8	14.8	2.0	5.2	26.0	21.2	18.4	16.3
LDCs (total)	**66.5**	**57.5**	**76.6**	**73**	**9.1**	**12.5**	**5.8**	**6.2**	**24.4**	**30.0**	**17.7**	**20.8**
African LDCs and Haiti	74.2	68.4	76.5	70.8	6.3	8.7	3.9	5.1	19.5	22.9	19.6	24.1
Asian LDCs	57.1	41.8	76.8	76.9	12.5	18.0	8.6	8.1	30.3	40.2	14.7	15.1
Island LDCs	57.7	56.3	61.1	58.6	13.0	13.8	6.6	7.8	29.3	29.9	32.3	33.6

Source: UNCTAD secretariat, based on data from ILO (2014): supporting data sets: Share of employment by sector and sex (accessed May 2015).
Notes: Data for the following countries are unavailable: Djibouti, Kiribati, Sao Tome and Principe, South Sudan, Sudan (Former), Timor-Leste, Tuvalu and Vanuatu.
p: provisional.