Gender, Economic Productivity and Development in Uganda

Some Emerging Evidence and Policy Conclusions

Markus Goldstein











Setting the context

- There has been significant policy attention to gender in Uganda
- And some progress
 - Female to male enrollment:
 - Primary enrollment from 67 in 1975 to 101 in 2009
 - Secondary enrollment from 35 in 1975 to 83 in 2009
 - Maternal mortality 780 in 1990 to 410 in 2010
- But work remains
 - Women still produce less per hectare than men in farming
 - Young women are more likely to be unemployed than their male counterparts
 - And women in business earn less than men
 - These are a cost for gender equality, and for the economy

• Today:

How we might make progress on these issues

Three pieces of evidence

- 1. Levelling the field: Gender gaps in agricultural productivity and how to fix them
- 2. Breaking the metal ceiling: Women who break into male-dominated industries
- 3. Empowering young women:
 Benefits of life skills and livelihoods
 training

Why should we care about women farmers?

- Women farmers produce less per hectare than men
- FAO: This could have big payoffs.
 - Women with equal access to inputs would increase their output by 20-30%
 - Aggregate increases could lift 100-150 million out of hunger
- A story from Burkina Faso
 - Both men and women in the household farm
 - But the women produce less per hectare than the men
 - Equalizing resources (labor, fertilizer) would significantly boost household production - with the resources they have now
- This is inefficient. This is money on the table. Why aren't we doing something?

Not gender & agriculture again...

This time it's different!

1. New Data

Before: • National data = little on gender

Detailed data = 6 villages in Burkina Faso

Now: • Nationally representative LSMS-ISA data

- 6 countries: Ethiopia, Malawi, Niger, Nigeria, Tanzania, Uganda
- That's 40% of SSA population
- Detailed production, (gender) management data, and input data

This time, it's different

2. New methods (in this area)

Decomposition analysis. Look at contribution of levels of factors of production, but also *returns* to these factors

Kg of fertilizer (levels)

Male farmer





Yield from 1kg of fertilizer (returns)









Female farmer



after harvesting





This time it's different

2. New Methods continued

 By using comprehensive data, holding other things constant → identify what the priorities for action are

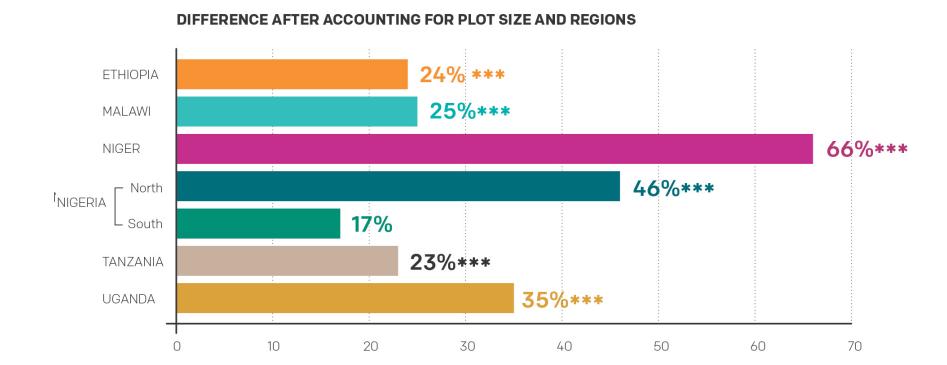
3. New Policy

- Focus on priorities
- Let's make policy based on rigorous evidence
- Still gaps, but some promising and emerging policies

WHAT ARE THE FACTS?

So how much less do they produce?

G



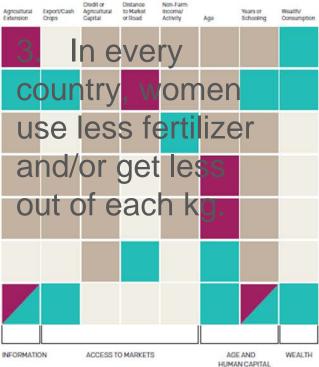
What's driving the gap?

Example of Uganda

- Women's childcare responsibilities lower their productivity relative to men
- Women are less likely to meet extension workers (gap not as big as other countries, but issue for expansion)
- Women have less hired labor.
- Women use less non-labor inputs (pesticides, herbicides, etc)
- Women are more disadvantaged than men by the distance to a major road
- (Adult) women have lower education levels

What's driving the gap across countries?







HOW DO WE LEVEL THE FIELD?

From evidence to action

- Report has 10 key policy priorities
 - Within these, 18 concrete policy options
 - We looked for rigorous, tested interventions
 - There is still a significant knowledge gap about what works
 - But we have some promising (i.e. those with rigorous impact evaluation evidence), some emerging

Key Driver		Policy Priority
LAND	1	1. Strengthen women's land rights.
LABOR	1,15	2. Improve women's access to hired labor.
	6-0	3. Enhance women's use of tools & equipment that reduce the amount of labor they require on the farm.
	İ X İ	4. Provide community-based child- care centers.
NON- LABOR INPUTS		5. Encourage women farmers to use more, & higher-quality, fertilizer.
		6. Increase women's use of improved seeds.

INFOR-MATION



7. Tailor extension services to women's needs, and leverage social networks to spread agricultural knowledge.

ACCESS TO MARKETS



8. Promote women's cultivation of high-value/cash crops.



Facilitate women's access to & effective participation in markets.

HUMAN CAPITAL



10. Raise education levels of adult female farmers.

Offer financing for farm labor

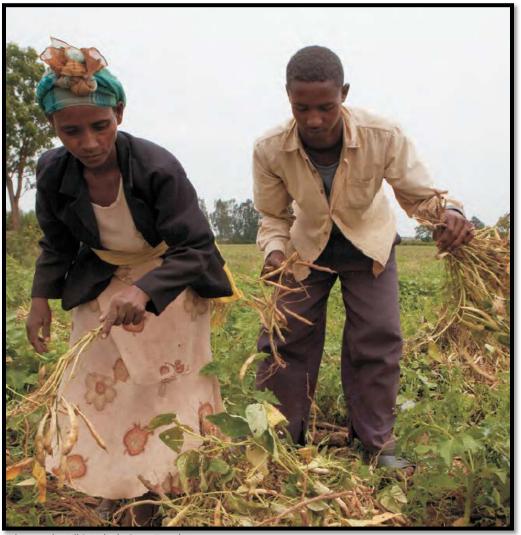


Photo credit: Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation

Provide community child care centers



Photo credit: UNICEF Uganda

Certify small bags of quality fertilizer



Photo credit: AGRA Malawi







Photo credit: IFAD Ethiopia

Three pieces of evidence

- 1. Levelling the field: gender gaps in agricultural productivity and how to fix them
- 2. Breaking the metal ceiling: Women who break into male-dominated industries
- 3. Empowering young women:
 Benefits of life skills and livelihoods
 training



Takeaways

- Gender gaps in earnings are large in Uganda and they hold back incomes and development
- There are ways to effectively reduce earnings gaps: focus on the type of jobs men and women choose
- <u>Information</u> is necessary in eliminating sector choice differences, but <u>mentorship</u> and increased <u>early</u> <u>exposure</u> are more important



About the study...

- Analyzed factors that enable or constrain women to participate in high productivity, male-dominated sectors
- Conducted follow up interviews and focus discussions with women in both male- and female-dominated sectors.
- Had focus group discussions with suppliers, creditors, customers and males working with these women.

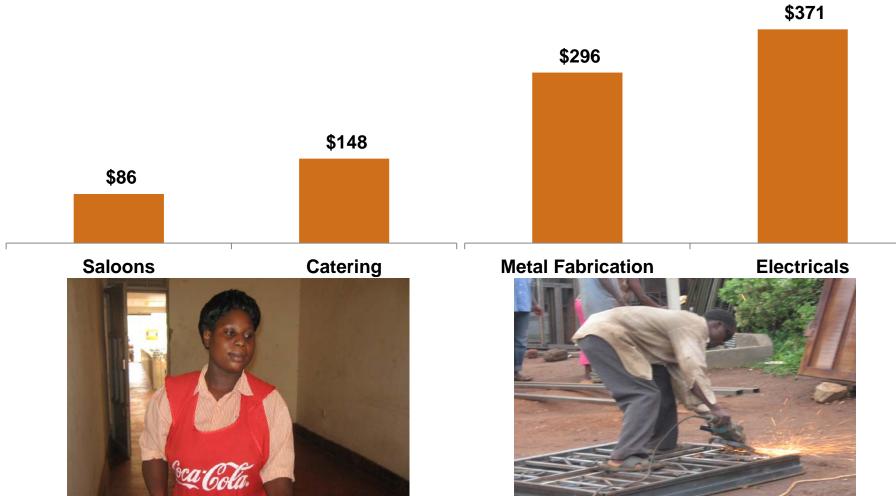


ELIMINATE DIFFERENCES IN THE TYPES OF JOBS MEN AND WOMEN CHOOSE, REDUCE THE GENDER EARNINGS GAP



Gender earnings gap is largely attributable to occupational choice

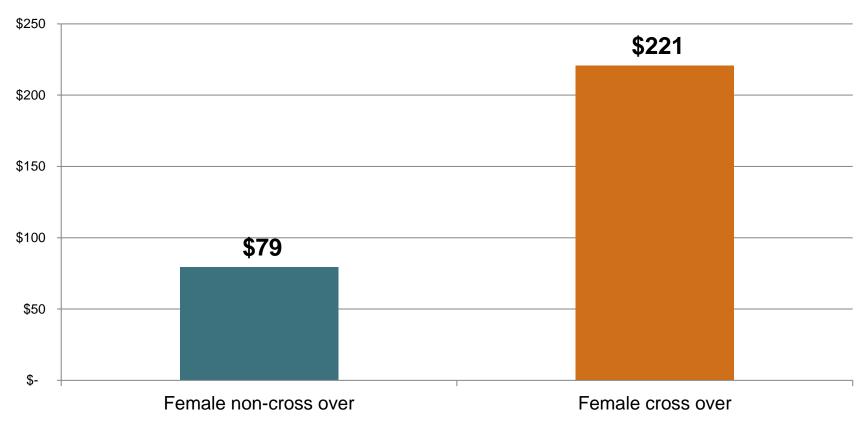
Monthly profit by sector among informal enterprises in Uganda





Females in male-dominated sectors make more...

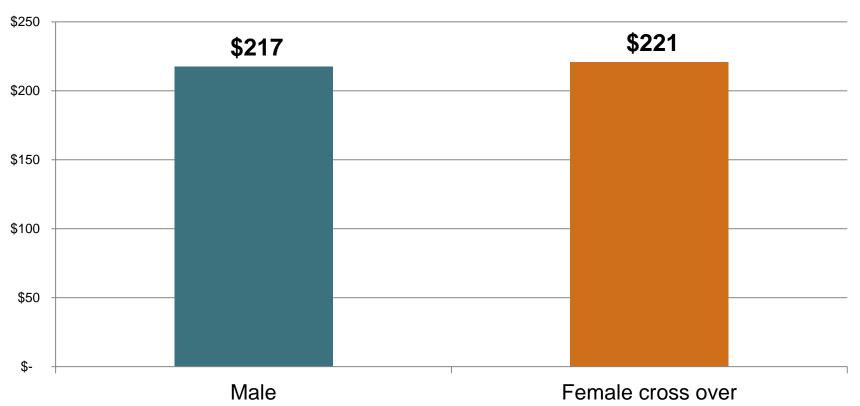
Comparison of women's monthly profits: male dominated sectors vs. female dominated sectors





Females in male dominated sectors make as much as males in those sectors...

Comparison of monthly profits in male dominated sectors: males vs. females



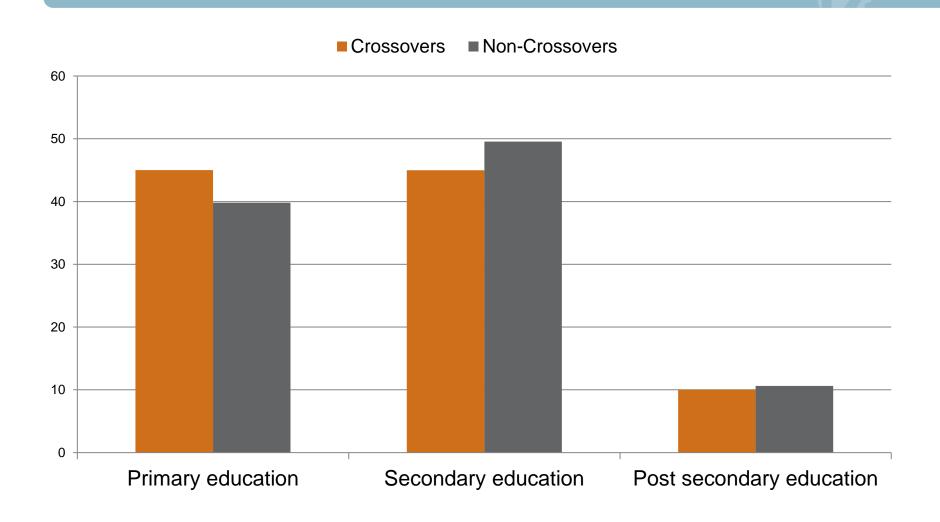




CROSSING THE GENDER SECTOR DIVIDE



It's not about the level of formal education...





And it's not about finance...

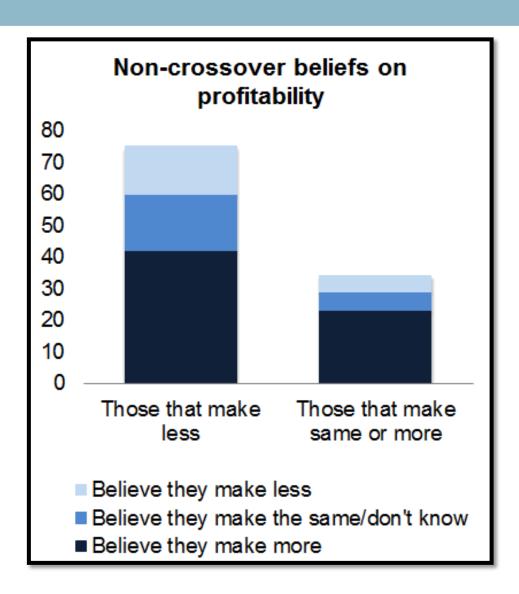
- Women did not choose their sector of employment because of capital requirements
- And those who cross over are as likely as noncrossovers to say capital was an issue when starting their business



INFORMATION PLAYS A KEY ROLE



It's sunnier on the other side...



Personality may play a role

- Crossovers score higher on self-efficacy and lower on emotional stability than non-crossovers
 - Both of these are correlated with entrepreneurial success
- But on three other measures (which are also correlated with entrepreneurial success), they are no different
- And, they score lower on a test of fluid intelligence



Psychosocial factors matter...

- Having the right type of mentorship and exposure
- There is path dependence: a woman's first job matters



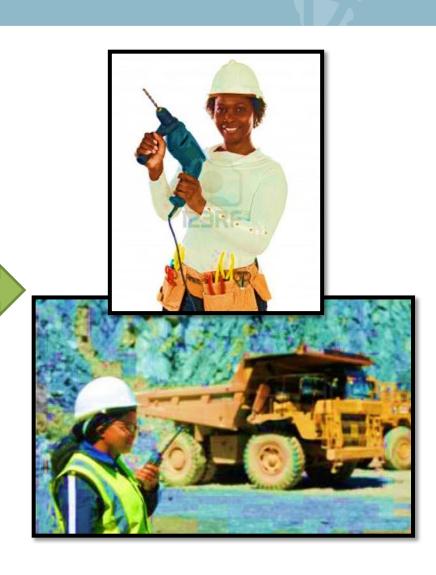
Compared to non-crossovers, crossovers are...

- 3.5 times more likely have been introduced to their sector by a male family member, 50% less likely to have been introduced to their sector by female family member
- 80% more likely to have had a male role model in youth
- 93% less likely to be introduced to the sector by their teacher



What might policies look like?







What might policies look like?

- Information (at home and school)
 - Information campaigns
 - Career guidance in school
- Direct Labor Market Interventions
 - Youth mentorship programs
 - Apprenticeship schemes targeting "job take-up in male-dominated sectors"

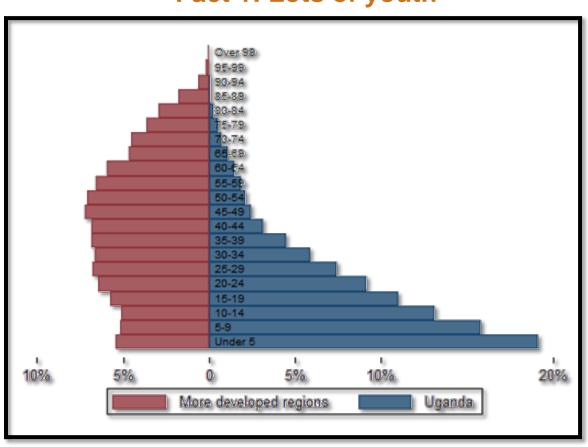
Three pieces of evidence

- 1. Levelling the field: gender gaps in agricultural productivity and how to fix them
- 2. Breaking the metal ceiling: Women who break into male-dominated industries
- 3. Empowering young women:
 Benefits of life skills and livelihoods
 training

Opportunities?

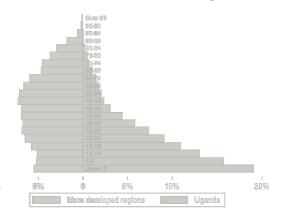


Fact 1: Lots of youth

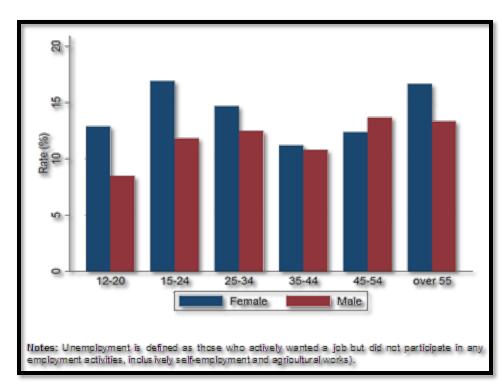


Opportunities?

Fact 1: Lots of youth

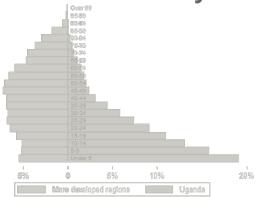


Fact 2: Girls are less likely to be working



Opportunities?

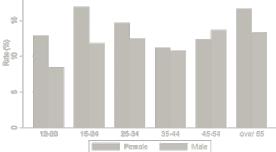
Fact 1: Lots of youth

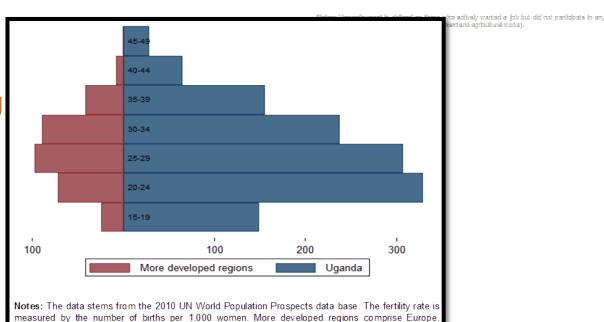


108%

Fact 3: They are having more children, younger

Fact 2: Girls are less likely to be working





Northern America, Australia/New Zealand and Japan.

For girls, adolescence is the critical time to intervene

- Risk of HIV/STI, unintended pregnancy
- Early motherhood can limit future earnings (path dependence)
- Barriers to labor market entry
 - smaller networks/access to information
 - domestic work burden
 - concurrent labor market/fertility decisions



So how about a program that targets girls?

- Think about ways to facilitate the school-to-work transition
 - Need to take into account constraints unique to girls

 Possibility of multi-dimensional intervention – not just job training, but other skills – both in their daily life (e.g. health)

and "soft skills" for jobs



ELA - Uganda

- Run by BRAC, funded by Mastercard & Nike
- Target girls 14-20 with:
 - Safe social space
 - Life skills training
 - Short livelihoods training based on local market
 - In future: microfinance



How will we know if it works?

Why evaluate?

 Girl policy space filled with lots of advocacy based on graphics, limited statistics

Our approach: randomized control trials

 100 villages in program, 50 in control (receive program later)



So, we collected lots of data

- 4888 girls, 2 interviews, 2 years apart
- Wide range of outcomes: not just employment but also: self-confidence, savings, expenditures, health, GBV, time use, etc.

Did it work?





Engagement in IGAs by 72% Mostly driven by self-employment activities



Financial independence: Girls' spending on themselves goes up by 41%



No adverse effects on schooling outcomes, e.g. enrollment or time spent on studying

Impacts beyond economics



Fertility: reported motherhood decreases by 26%



Proportion of those always using a condom increases by 27%



Incidence of sex against their will drops by 43%

Is it worth it?

- Cost per potential beneficiary is \$17.9 in year 2
- Corresponds to
 - .54% of hh income at baseline
 - 21% of a girl's self-reported annual expenditures
- Set this against:
 - 72% increase in employment
 - 26% less likely to have a child
 - 43% drop in sex against her will



Wrapping up

- Agriculture: we can increase agricultural productivity
- Crossing over: we can have more profitable enterprises
- Investing in girls: big payoffs for jobs, for reproductive health, for the next generation
- Policies that are not only the right thing to do, they're the economically smart thing to do

Thank you









