

CHAPTER 1

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Gender and Economic Growth in Tanzania

“How do we partner to build a better life for women? Empowering women by giving them financial independence should be the motto.”

—Mary Nagu,
*Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs*¹

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This chapter addresses gender roles in the Tanzanian economy and their implications for growth, productivity, and welfare. This is an important building block for understanding the relevance of gender as an economic issue in Tanzania, and for identifying key actions to tap the full productive potential of both males and females in the Tanzanian economy.

Tanzania completed its National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP, or MKUKUTA in Kiswahili) in June 2005. The MKUKUTA calls for annual GDP growth of 6–8 percent to 2009–2010. Although gender is identified as a cross-cutting issue, specific measures to address gender-based obstacles to growth and poverty reduction are not identified. This assessment will, therefore, help fill an important gap in specifying gender-inclusive measures to facilitate the MKUKUTA’s growth and poverty reduction objectives.

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Women and Men in the Tanzanian Economy

Whereas both men and women play substantial roles in Tanzania's economy, women are more active in agriculture than men, specifically in food crop production (primarily maize) and in the processing of agricultural products. Of 17.8 million economically active people, 16.9 million are considered employed, and of these, women constitute 50.6 percent (For data from Zanzibar, see box 1.1).² The unemployment rate is estimated at 5.4 percent of economically active people and, by this definition, 57.5 percent of unemployed are women. The overall labor force participation rate of women is—at 80.7 percent—slightly higher than that of men (79.6 percent).³ Since Tanzania is a largely agriculture-dominated economy, the sector absorbs 82 percent of the labor force—either as self-employed, unpaid family workers, or those working for wages (URT 2002a). By these measures, the concentration of the female labor force in agriculture (84.2 percent) is slightly higher than that of men (80.2 percent) (table 1.2).

The distribution of men and women across the sectors is uneven: Women are slightly in the majority in agriculture (52 percent versus 48 percent) and in trade (55 percent versus 45 percent), whereas men dominate in manufacturing, construction, transport, and finance. The distribution of economic activity by type of employment is uneven too,

Box 1.1

Labor in Zanzibar

Data for Zanzibar in 1996 indicate a total labor force of 393,150 (aged 15–65 years), of which 53 percent were men. Formal employment absorbed only 8 percent of the labor force, of which 30 percent were women. Female employment is concentrated in agriculture and self-employment, and in informal sector or home-based production more than in formal employment. This is partly due to inadequate education and qualifications for women, preventing them from competing for formal sector jobs and partly to the need to create an enabling environment to stimulate society as a whole. Women are also subject to cultural perspectives on the kinds of jobs “acceptable” for females. For example, the majority of female workers in the tourism industry are from the mainland, since Zanzibari women are reported to believe such work is inappropriate for them.

Source: African Development Bank (2005).

Table 1.1. Economically Active Population, by Sex, 2000–01

	<i>Economically active</i>	<i>Employed</i>	<i>Unemployed</i>
Male	8,739,708	8,351,291	388,417
Female	9,087,869	8,563,514	524,355
Total	17,827,577	16,914,805	912,772
In percent			
Male	49.02	49.37	42.55
Female	50.98	50.63	57.45

Source: United Republic of Tanzania (2002a).

showing important gender differences. Only 4.0 percent of women are in paid jobs, in either the formal or informal sector, compared with 9.8 percent of men (table 1.3).

Gender disparities are also evident in formal sector employment, where men account for 71 percent of workers. According to data from the Employment and Earnings Survey of 2001, the ratio of women to men in formal sector employment is 0.41 (URT 2004). This is high compared with other SSA countries (0.34 in 2000), but is still significantly below East Asia (0.66) for the same period (Klasen and Lamanna 2003). The private sector exhibits a somewhat smaller ratio of women to men, at 0.39, whereas the ratio is 0.48 in the public sector. Men tend to be much better represented among regular waged employees than women. Table 1.4 shows that, in the manufacturing sector where the waged employment rate is highest, only 18.6 percent of employees are women.

According to the Country Economic Memorandum (World Bank 2007), more than 80 percent of Tanzania's poor derive their livelihoods from agriculture. Between 1991 and 2000, the agriculture sector grew by an average of 3.5 percent, which suggests per capita growth of less than 1 percent. The increase in per capita expenditure by farm households was equally modest, at 7.3 percent over the period 1991–1992 to 2000–2001. Nevertheless, this explains more than half of the total decline in poverty observed during that period. Between 2000 and 2005, growth in the agriculture sector accelerated to an average of 4.8 percent annually, which is likely to have generated a further drop in rural poverty. Given Tanzania's agricultural potential, there is significant scope for reducing poverty by fostering growth in this sector, thereby increasing farming incomes.

The Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA) highlighted not only the importance of agriculture in poverty reduction, but also its critical gender dimensions. As reported in the PPA: “a remarkable 47 percent of all responses about the causes of poverty were related to being able to farm

Table 1.2. Distribution of Currently Employed Persons, by Sex and Sector, 2000–01

Sex	Agriculture, forestry, fishing	Mining and quarrying	Manufactures	Electricity and gas	Construction	Trade	Transport	Finance	Personal services	Total
Male	6,698,817	15,452	161,699	13,464	147,494	565,495	103,929	22,162	622,779	8,351,291
Female	7,191,237	13,771	83,750	1,233	4,196	697,473	7,643	4,339	559,872	8,563,514
Total	13,890,054	29,223	245,449	14,697	151,690	1,262,968	111,572	26,501	1,182,651	16,914,805
In percent (by column)										
Male	48.2%	52.9%	65.9%	91.6%	97.2%	44.8%	93.1%	83.6%	52.7%	49.4%
Female	51.8%	47.1%	34.1%	8.4%	2.8%	55.2%	6.9%	16.4%	47.3%	50.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
In percent (by row)										
Male	80.2%	0.2%	1.9%	0.2%	1.8%	6.8%	1.2%	0.3%	7.5%	100.0%
Female	84.0%	0.2%	1.0%	0.0%	0.0%	8.1%	0.1%	0.1%	6.5%	100.0%
Total	82.1%	0.2%	1.5%	0.1%	0.9%	7.5%	0.7%	0.2%	7.0%	100.0%

Source: United Republic of Tanzania (2002a).

Table 1.3. Percentage of Currently Employed Persons, by Employment Status

Employment status	Current employment %			Female (Male = 100)
	Male	Female	Total	
Paid employment	9.8	4.0	6.9	40.8
Self-employment	8.9	7.8	8.3	87.6
Unpaid helper	3.0	4.6	3.8	153.3
Agriculture (own farm/shamba)	78.2	83.6	81.0	109.6
Total	100	100	100	

Source: Data from United Republic of Tanzania (2002a), and staff calculations.

Table 1.4. Wage Employment, by Sex in Selected Sectors, 2001

Sector	Number			Share (%)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Agriculture	34,472	11,456	45,928	75.06	24.94	100
Manufacturing	65,411	14,900	80,311	81.45	18.55	100
Commerce	54,659	21,577	76,236	71.70	28.30	100
Transport and communication	46,677	9,651	56,328	82.87	17.13	100

Source: URT (2004). The data refer to persons who are regularly employed in enterprises with at least five employees. The table includes only workers aged 16 or older.

Table 1.5. Division of Labor in Agriculture

Task	%	
	F	M
General Crop Production	56	44
Food Crop Production	75	25
Land Tilling	56	44
Sowing	74	26
Weeding	70	30
Harvesting	71	29
Marketing	73	27

Source: National Sample Census of Agriculture, 1996, in Keller (1999).

productively" (Narayan 1997). Whereas men focused on the processes of farming, women focused on the consequences of poor farming—low yields, food shortage, high prices, lack of cash, migration, and hunger. Census data on men's and women's roles in agriculture show the dominant role of women in the sector, including in marketing (table 1.5).

The ILFS data indicate that almost all rural households (98 percent) are involved in agriculture. The structure of the rural labor market is summarized in table 1.6 below.

Table 1.6. Distribution of Currently Employed Persons in the Rural Labor Force, by Sex and Status

Area/employment status	By Sex				Total	
	Male		Female			
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Paid employee	362,528	2.6	101,792	0.7	464,320	3.3
Self-employed without employee	280,442	2.0	164,060	1.2	444,502	3.2
Unpaid family helper (nonagriculture)	186,604	1.3	282,835	2.0	469,439	3.4
Agriculture (own farm/shamba)	6,055,955	43.3	6,562,260	46.9	12,618,215	90.2
Total	6,885,529	49.2	7,110,946	50.8	13,996,476	100.0

Source: NBS/URT 2002. *Integrated Labour Force Survey Report*.

In its *Small and Medium Enterprise Development Policy 2000*, the government acknowledges both the importance of the small and medium enterprise (SME) sector to growth and the role of women in that sector. In terms of incomes, SME sector entrepreneurs generated 2.5–10 times the minimum income of public sector employees (1991 Informal Sector Survey, cited by IFAD 2005). The International Labour Organization (2003) estimates that the number of Tanzanian women entrepreneurs ranges from 730,000 to 1.2 million. They are particularly found in the MSME sector, where they are estimated to make up 43 percent of the total (IFAD 2005).

5adfffb624112f96d82297621139f2428 ebrary **Nonmarket Work and Time Use**

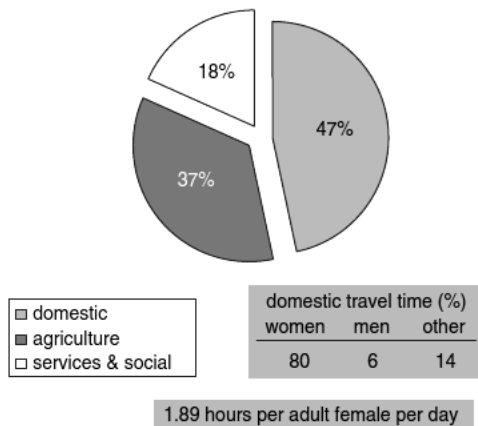
In addition to their prominence in agriculture, women bear the brunt of domestic tasks that are often arduous, time-intensive, and energy-consuming. These include processing food crops, providing water and firewood, and caring for the elderly and the sick. This last task has assumed particular importance since the HIV/AIDS pandemic in Tanzania. The time and effort required for these duties, in the almost total absence of even rudimentary domestic technology, is very high. Yet this productive work is largely invisible and, in practice, not included in the System of National Accounts (SNA).⁴

Village transport surveys in Tanzania show that women spend nearly three times as much time in transport activities—including economic and domestic activities—compared with men, and they transport about four times as much in volume. Nearly half of the total time spent on

transport tasks in villages in the Makete Region is spent on activities related to domestic tasks—fuel and water fetching and traveling to the grinding mill. Household chores are still a predominantly female task, and are a determining factor in how women use their time. Key tasks in the household economy are supplying energy through firewood collection,⁵ and fetching water. By far the greater share of this is done by women, corresponding to nearly two hours each day (figure 1.1).⁶ Women’s transport needs are typically more complex than those of men, since they are engaged in domestic transport tasks, in transport associated with accessing social and economic services, and in economic activities that require transport of goods to market; 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.

Since many factors add to the time burden of women, there are also many options to reduce that burden. For example, improving accessibility of water or investing in alternative energies has the potential to reduce substantially women’s time constraint. Studies in Tanzania address the key dynamics at work and their implications for women’s involvement in business activities (box 1.2).

Figure 1.1. Tanzania Transport Tasks



Source: Christina Malmberg-Calvo 1994, *Women in Rural Transport*, SSTEP Working Paper No. 11, World Bank and ECA.

Box 1.2

Household Tasks, Time Use, and Entrepreneurship in Tanzania

Women play an important role in generating nonfarm income. However, time spent on household chores, such as fetching water or collecting firewood, proves to be a significant constraint on their participation in the off-farm labor market. Mduma uses HBS 2000–01 data on household access to piped water and the share of fuelwood in meeting energy needs as proxies for the time burden of women. In an analysis of female labor market participation, these factors prove to be negatively correlated to the probability of women engaging in off-farm employment. Seebens (2006) employs data on time spent fetching water and collecting firewood from the Kagera DHS to analyze the impact of time constraints on female off-farm employment. The results suggest a negative relationship between time taken up by these chores and the probability of starting an off-farm business. If the 10 hours a week now spent on these tasks were reduced by one hour, the probability of women engaging in off-farm business would increase by 7 percent. These results suggest that, alongside efforts to improve the business environment for women, investments in time-saving infrastructure such as piped water and modern or more accessible household energy have the potential to increase women's capacity to participate in off-farm income-generating activities. Investigating the impact of the availability of cheap energy on household labor, Rutamu (1999) finds that since the introduction of the biodigesters in Tanga, Muheza, and Usambara, households were able to reduce their daily labor burden by five hours. Women benefited most from this improvement, since the daily need to spend four hours collecting firewood was reduced to half an hour.

Sources: Mduma (2005); Rutamu (1999); Seebens (2006).

Men and Women Differ in Access to and Control of Productive Resources

Gender differences persist across many spheres in Tanzania, including in education, health, legal status, cultural perceptions, and in the economic arena. Most of these disparities have implications for the country's growth potential—agriculture, the mainstay of the economy, is likely to remain below its productivity frontier because of women's unequal access to land

and other productive resources. This section focuses on two key discrepancies affecting women's economic capacity: earnings and education.

Gender Disparities Exist With Respect to Earnings

The ILFS 2000–01 data show that in most paid labor occupations, men have substantially higher earnings compared to women. In manufacturing, the mean monthly income paid to women is T Sh 42,413, which is almost 3.5 times less than the average income earned by men (table 1.7). It is important to examine why such gaps persist, and their nature in different sectors. Along with analysis of gender-based differences in productivity, this would provide a foundation for addressing the extent to which low wages for women, together with their current low participation rates in the manufacturing sector, constitute a competitive advantage and opportunity for expansion of the export-oriented manufacturing sector. Entrepreneurs may take advantage of the fact that women with the same level of education as men command lower wages and are therefore more cost-effective; a phenomenon that has been a driving force behind the high economic growth rates in East and Southeast Asia (Seguino 2000). Nonetheless, it is important to take into account productivity differences, which may not be captured adequately in education data, and for Tanzania to examine the implications of these differences for competitiveness more carefully.

Female employment also has implications for the welfare and education of children, and for fertility (box 1.3). As incomes are often not pooled within households, and women are responsible for purchasing food and household goods, any increase in income earned by women leads to higher household expenditure on food and education. This relationship has been empirically demonstrated by Thomas (1990) and by Haddad and Hoddinott (1994), among others. In Tanzania, women's employment has also been found to reduce child labor (ILO 2001), as the income earned by women offsets the small amounts of supplemental income generated by children.

Gender Inequality Exists in Education

Tanzanian girls have clearly benefited from the legacy of Julius Nyerere, under whose rule universal education was promoted. In 2004, girls' gross primary school enrollment achieved a rate of 98.85 percent, whereas the gross primary school enrollment of boys sat at 102.84 percent, or a ratio of 0.96.

With respect to gross secondary school enrollment, progress in reducing gender disparities has been much slower. During the period 1970–1985,

Table 1.7. Mean Monthly Income of Paid Employees, by Sex and Sector, 2000–01

Sex	Agriculture, forestry, fishing	Mining and quarrying	Manufactures	Electricity and gas	Construction	Trade	Transport	Finance	Personal services
Male	16,318	78,800	122,435	89,848	49,885	37,556	82,280	144,253	69,440
Female	11,193	27,500	42,413	46,122	44,473	23,422	145,972	135,863	49,949
Female (Male = 100)	68.6	34.9	34.6	51.3	89.2	62.4	177.4	94.2	71.9

Source: United Republic of Tanzania (2002a).

Box 1.3**Population Growth in Tanzania**

A key challenge for Tanzania will be to address demographic trends. Tanzania is one of the 35 countries in the world where the total fertility rate (TFR) is still higher than five children per woman. With a demographic growth rate currently estimated at 2.6 percent per year, the Tanzanian population of 38 million (2004 estimate) is expected to double in about 27 years. United Nations projections estimate that the country's population will reach 67 million by 2050, assuming very rapid fertility decline. In fact, it seems possible that fertility has not declined in Tanzania during the past 10 years—after an initial, although small—drop in the mid-1990s. This could mean that the fertility transition could take longer than currently projected. Rapid population growth presents a major and pressing challenge for the country, with far-reaching implications for human capital development, employment creation, and the environment, as well as for public services and resource mobilization.

the female-to-male enrollment ratio improved by 17 percentage points (from 0.40 to 0.57) and stood at 0.81 in 2000. Given that total secondary school enrollment is still very low, amounting to only 5.8 percent of the school-age population, the impact of current gender disparities in secondary education on future economic growth is likely to be low. The more important question is how to increase secondary enrollment for both boys and girls simultaneously. The government has adopted gender equity as a target for improving secondary schooling in its Secondary Education Master Plan (Mbelle and Kataro 2003).

The female-to-male enrollment ratio in tertiary education stands at 0.31. Young women tend to be enrolled in nonengineering-related studies such as education, health science, or commerce. Female enrollment at the Sokoine University of Agriculture was 27.6 percent in 2001 (SUA 2007), a matter of some concern since—as indicated above—women constitute more than half the country's agricultural workforce.

Based on estimates of the average years of schooling, Tanzania's education outcomes are fairly poor (Barro and Lee 2000). The average has fallen somewhat from 2.82 years in 1970 to 2.71 in 2000, as shown in Table 1.8—a decline of nearly 4 percent. During this same period, the female-to-male ratio in average years of schooling has improved from

Table 1.8. Net School Enrollment Ratios and Average Years of Schooling, by Gender

Year	Prim. net enrollment (%)			Sec. net enrollment (%)			Average years of schooling		
	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male
1970	33.47	26.31	40.69	2.67	1.53	3.82	2.82	2.22	3.45
1975	52.64	43.79	61.65	3.15	1.96	4.36	2.62	2.03	3.24
1980	92.51	85.85	99.37	3.30	2.32	4.30	2.68	1.97	3.43
1985	75.11	74.05	76.20	3.27	2.37	4.18	2.87	2.16	3.63
1990	69.72	69.08	70.35	4.95	4.09	5.83	2.79	2.21	3.39
1995	66.81	66.10	67.51	5.44	4.90	5.99	2.68	2.23	3.16
2000	64.05	64.12	63.98	5.81	5.22	6.41	2.71	2.33	3.09

Source: World Bank (2004e), and Barro and Lee (2000).

0.64 to 0.75, reflecting a closing of the gender gap in education. This is the result of a 10 percent decline in average years of schooling for males, only partially offset by a 5 percent improvement for females.

Gender and Growth—Macro- and Microperspectives

Recent analysis of gender and growth has established a potential relationship between gender disparities and economic advance. Gender disparities, it is argued, hinder the development of equal opportunities and free markets, to the detriment of women, their families, and society as a whole. Despite progress in many areas, Tanzania is no exception. Inequalities in the formal labor market and at the higher levels of the education system, as shown above, have economic and social costs that may slow future growth.

There is a growing body of literature showing that gender differences in education, employment, access to assets, and time burdens have significant adverse impacts on an economy. Economic theory suggests that growth depends on the accumulation of economic assets (including human capital), and the returns on these assets. These, in turn, depend on technological progress, the efficiency with which assets are used, and the institutional context.

Gender issues will naturally come into play in the way all of these factors influence growth. With respect to access to education, there may be a selection-distortion effect in gender inequality, where less able boys may be educated instead of more able girls, thereby losing out on the potential human capital level in the economy. There are also indirect positive benefits for fertility and child mortality associated with female education. Better-educated women have been found to have fewer children and child mortality is also lower. This, in turn, lowers dependency ratios and facilitates participation in the workforce.

Beyond education, gender inequalities in employment reduce the skill pool available to employers, implying higher labor costs and lower economic competitiveness. In addition, inequalities in access to productive inputs distort economic incentives, thereby lowering productivity and output.

As has been shown above, women are more “time poor” than men, given their disproportionate responsibilities for household tasks. These time constraints reduce the ability of women to engage in market work, while their total labor effort is not fully captured or valued in national accounts.

Empirically, there is a body of international evidence supporting these theoretical linkages. Empirical studies on the relationship between gender

disparities and economic growth have shown that this link is multifaceted, with direct and indirect implications. Essentially, the findings focus on three different issues: (i) the impact of limiting women's education and (formal) labor market participation; (ii) women's limited access to economically productive resources; and (iii) unequal remuneration for labor between men and women. Although these issues in part relate to conventional determinants of economic growth such as the investment rate and stocks of human capital, the analysis of the linkage between gender and growth need not be restricted to these aggregate variables. Women may face additional constraints, such as restricted access to credit, which keep them from investing in productivity-improving technologies.

So, gender disparities in access to education have been shown to have a significant adverse impact on economic growth rates (Dollar and Gatti 1999; Forbes 2000; Knowles et al. 2002; Klasen 2002; Yamarik and Ghosh 2003; Kalaitzidakis et al. 2001). Based on these empirical estimates, it is possible to determine an order of magnitude for possible growth effects in countries with gender inequalities in this area. For secondary education, using data for more than 100 countries, Dollar and Gatti (1999) estimate that an increase in one percentage point in the share of adult women with secondary education increases per capita income growth by 0.3 percentage points, on average (table 1.9). A background paper prepared for the Tanzania CEM (Utz 2005) estimated that an increase of 1.2 years in the average time spent at school leads to a one percentage point increase in growth. Using this hypothesis, the growth arising from equalizing female and male average years at school can be calculated—it would lead to an increase in growth of 0.63 percentage points.⁷ These estimates are not disaggregated by sex, but, in view of the low levels of secondary enrollments in Tanzania, they point to a significant potential contribution to future growth from increasing both male and female secondary enrollments.

Table 1.9. Estimates of the Impact on GDP Growth of Bringing Female Secondary Schooling, and Female Total Years of Schooling to the Same Level as that of Males (%)

<i>Equalization of the female to male ratio of</i>	<i>Yamarik and Ghosh</i>	<i>Dollar and Gatti</i>	<i>Klasen and Lamanna</i>	<i>CEM/easterly</i>
Secondary school enrollment		0.36		
Average years of schooling	0.15 to 0.53		0.17	0.63

Source: Authors.

Therefore, applying such international estimates to Tanzania would imply the following:

- An increase in per capita GDP growth of 0.36 percentage points if female secondary education enrollment were brought up to the level of male secondary enrollment.
- An increase in overall GDP growth of 0.15 to 0.63 percentage points if Tanzania brought total female years of schooling up to the same level as that of males, assuming no significant productivity differentials.

The calculations given in table 1.9 reinforce the importance for Tanzania of increasing total school enrollments without neglecting female schooling. And despite the many international studies concerned with the impact of gender disparity on growth, there appears to be only sporadic microlevel analysis of the costs incurred by gender inequality on economic growth in Tanzania (see box 1.4 for one example).⁸

Box 1.4

The Cost of Different Gender Roles in Agriculture—A Tanzania Case Study

A case study of banana and coffee growers in the Kagera region used a linear programming model to examine the implications of changes in the gender division of labor on productivity and output. Women are involved in almost all activities on the farm, including housework (in which the men hardly participate). Even in traditional male activities such as cash crop farming, women were found to make significant labor contributions. Surveys in the region established that women provided 52 percent of the labor for economic activity, compared with 42 percent for men. Men were estimated to have 4.5 hours of leisure time per day, compared with 2 hours per day for women. From these figures, scenarios comparing the traditional division of labor with partially and fully liberalized divisions of labor were developed. The results indicated that existing gender roles here are economically inefficient. If traditional gender roles in the farming system were to be abandoned, farm cash incomes could increase by up to 10 percent, while the productivity of labor and capital would improve by 15 and 44 percent respectively.

Source: Tibaijuka (1994).

It is important to interpret these figures with caution. They are useful in identifying orders of magnitude of possible effects, and are not intended to provide precise estimates or to imply causality. Such results are nonetheless fairly striking. Although not seeking to be definitive, they do suggest that gender inequality is a factor hampering economic growth, and that there is missed potential for accelerating growth through tackling gender-based obstacles.⁹

If Tanzania were to undertake a systematic effort to achieve gender parity in education and employment opportunities, and thereby to tap the economic potential of its women, it could make important strides in expanding economic growth. Our conservative estimates suggest that if the country were simply to bring female secondary schooling, and female total years of schooling to the same level as for males, that alone could produce up to an additional percentage point of growth. This would, in turn, make a valuable contribution to achieving or even exceeding the growth targets of the MKUKUTA. Given the small percentage of economic activity in the formal sector, encouraging entrepreneurship by promoting an efficient enabling environment for business is an important strategy for economic growth.

Notes

1. Speech at the World Bank/IFC organized workshop on the draft findings of the Tanzania Gender and Growth Assessment, February 26, 2007, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.
2. For more information on how economic activity and employment are defined here, see appendix 1.
3. The World Economic Forum, in its 2006 Gender Gap Report (WEF 2006), ranks Tanzania number 1 among 115 countries in economic participation and opportunity. However, caution is required in interpreting this ranking, as the index does not take account of the different economic opportunities accessible to men and women. It only measures gaps and not levels, and relies on labor force participation rates that are problematic in SSA. For more on this, see the appendix.
4. The gender dimensions of time poverty are addressed further in Blackden and Wodon (2006).
5. In 2003, 92 percent of total energy consumption was from “traditional” sources (World Bank 2006d).
6. For data on gender and transport tasks in Tanzania, see Malmberg-Calvo (1994) and Barwell (1996).

7. The data in table 1.9 show that the gender gap in average years of schooling in 2000 is 0.76 years (3.09 male years of schooling, less 2.33 female years of schooling). If an increase of 1.2 years of schooling on average translates into one percentage point of higher growth, an increase of 0.76 years of female schooling would translate into a 0.63 percentage point increase in growth, assuming no gender-based differences in the contribution of years of schooling to growth.
8. See Udry (1996) for further results on the productivity losses of agricultural production owing to inefficient allocation of inputs between men and women in Burkina Faso. Smith and Chavas (1999) and von Braun and Webb (1989) demonstrate that the adoption of new technologies failed because women had to work on the husbands' fields without receiving compensation for their forgone personal income.
9. This point is made forcefully in World Bank (2000).

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