Gender
Evidence Synthesis Research Award
(ESRA)

ESRC-DFID
Joint Fund for Poverty Alleviation Research

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The views expressed in this report are those of the authors and not necessarily of the ESRC or DFID.
# Table of Contents

**Executive Summary** ................................................................. 3

1. **Introduction** ........................................................................ 13
   1.1 The ESRC-DFID Joint Fund for Poverty Alleviation Research .... 14
   1.2 The gender content of the scheme phases .............................. 15
   1.3 Structure of the report ......................................................... 16

2. **Methodology** ....................................................................... 18
   2.1 Overview of the process ..................................................... 18
   2.2 Framing ‘gender’ ................................................................. 20
     2.2.1 Understandings of gender ............................................. 20
     2.2.2 The importance of gender for studies of poverty .......... 21
     2.2.3 Engendering research .................................................. 24
   2.3 Summary ............................................................................. 25

3. **Typology of gender inclusion/exclusion** .............................. 26
   3.1 Discussion of gender inclusion/exclusion ............................ 30
   3.2 Gender inclusion/exclusion over time .................................. 33
   3.3 Second stage analysis ......................................................... 36

4. **Review of outputs: Methods and context** ............................ 38
   4.1 Review process ................................................................. 38
   4.2 International policy context ............................................... 39
   4.3 Academic context ............................................................. 42
   4.4 Summary ............................................................................. 45

5. **Evidence Synthesis** ............................................................ 47
   5.1 Understandings and experiences of poverty and poverty alleviation .... 47
     5.1.1 Income poverty, education and employment ............... 48
     5.1.2 Crisis and change ......................................................... 53
     5.1.3 Poverty as well-being .................................................. 59
     5.1.4 Anti-poverty and social protection programmes .......... 65
   5.2 Education ........................................................................... 72
   5.3 Health ................................................................................ 78
   5.4 Mobilisation and organisation ............................................ 85
   5.5 Gendered experiences of well-being ................................... 91
     5.5.1 Gendered experience of work ..................................... 92
     5.5.2 Gender relations within households ......................... 99
     5.5.3 Violence, safety and mobility ..................................... 104
     5.5.4 Gender roles and relations ....................................... 112

6. **Analysis** ............................................................................. 118
   6.1 Nature of the gender perspective in the awards .................. 118
   6.2 Methodology and publishing strategy ................................. 121
   6.3 Call specification and grant holders ................................... 123

7. **Conclusions and Recommendations** .................................. 126
   7.1 Gender in the Joint Fund .................................................... 126
   7.2 New gendered knowledge generated by the Joint Fund ....... 128
7.2.1 Understandings and experiences of poverty and poverty alleviation ...... 128
7.2.2 Education ........................................................................................................... 131
7.2.3 Health .................................................................................................................. 132
7.2.4 Mobilisation and organisation ............................................................................ 134
7.2.5 Gendered experiences of well-being ................................................................ 135
7.3 Limitations of the gendered knowledge generated under the Joint Fund ...... 139
7.4 Gaps in the gender knowledge generated ......................................................... 141
7.5 Recommendations for the Joint Fund ................................................................. 143

8. Bibliography (Non-award in text references) ...................................................... 144

Appendix One Gender Annotated Bibliography ...................................................... 148

Tables
Table 1 Structure and Funding of Scheme ............................................................... 14
Table 2 Hierarchical typology of gender inclusion ................................................ 28

Boxes
Box 1 Case Study: Harris–White .............................................................................. 53
Box 2 Case Study: Carr and Duffield ....................................................................... 66
Box 3 Case Study: Herrick ........................................................................................ 69
Box 4 Case Study: Porter ......................................................................................... 78
Box 5 Case Study: Coast .......................................................................................... 86
Box 6 Case Study: Cornish ...................................................................................... 91
Box 7 Case Study: De Neve ...................................................................................... 99
Box 8 Case Study: Kantor ....................................................................................... 105
Box 9 Case Study: Brickell ...................................................................................... 112
Box 10 Case Study: Locke ....................................................................................... 117
List of Acronyms

AIDS - Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
BISP - Benazir Income Support Programme
CBO - Community Based Organisations
CfS – Case for Support
CCT - Conditional Cash Transfer programme
CSR - Corporate Social Responsibility
CSG - Child Support Grant
DFID – Department for International Development (UK)
EoAR – End of Award Review
ESRC - Economic and Social Research Council
EmONC - Emergency Obstetric and Neonatal Care
FGM – Female Genital Mutilation
GBV – Gender Based Violence
GIS - Geographical Information Systems
GPI - Gender Parity Indicator
GVCs - Global Value Chains
HE - Higher Education
HIV/AIDS - Human Immunodeficiency Virus infection and Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
HLP – High Level Panel (post-2015 development agenda)
IPV – Intimate Partner Violence
LDCs - Less Developed Countries
MDGs - Millennium Development Goals
NGO - Non-Governmental Organisation
NMR - Neonatal Mortality Rate
NREGS - National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme
OWG - Open Working Group (post-2015 development agenda)
PI - Principal Investigator
PES - Primary Education Stipend
PVA - Participatory Violence Appraisal
RCT - Randomised Controlled Trial
SDGs – Sustainable Development Goals
SES - Socio-Economic Status
SRHR – Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights
STI - Sexually Transmitted Infection
TB - Tuberculosis
VAW - Violence Against Women
VAWG - Violence Against Women and Girls
WEAI - Women’s Empowerment in Agriculture Index
WPS - Working Paper Series
Executive Summary

This evidence synthesis provides a review of the contribution to understandings of gendered poverty made by awards financed under the ESRC-DFID Joint Poverty Alleviation Fund (‘the Joint Fund’). The concept under review is ‘gender’ and the aim is to provide an overview of the evidence produced by the studies and its contribution to gendered understandings of poverty and poverty alleviation.

The Joint Fund began in 2005 and aimed to enhance both the quality and impact of social science research addressing the key international development goal of reducing poverty amongst the poorest countries and peoples of the world. It seeks to commission world-class scientific research that provides a robust conceptual and empirical basis for development and has the potential to impact on policy and practice related to poverty reduction. At the time of this review the Joint Fund had awarded 122 grants. Phase 1 funding was awarded between 2005 and 2010, and all the studies were completed by the time of the synthesis. Phase 2 funding was awarded between 2009 and 2016, and the majority of these awards have now been completed. The first Phase 3 awards were made in 2012 and many of these studies are still on-going.

The ‘what’, ‘where’ and ‘how’ new gendered knowledge has been produced via the grants is influenced by how the different phases and calls for proposals have positioned gender, and the relative importance given to gender in the call specifications. The importance of gender in poverty reduction policy has moved from one of implicit recognition and a narrow focus in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to having a central place in the post-2015 development discourse with an ambitious set of gender equality targets proposed within the new Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). So too there been a change in the centrality of gender within the Joint Fund - from implicit recognition in Phase 1, through a call to disaggregate data by sex in Phase 2, to recognition of gender as a key structural inequality and a cross cutting theme in the Phase 3 calls made to date. This suggests that more of the later, on-going studies, might be expected to have a stronger gender perspective.

Given this is a conceptual review, in methodological terms it is important to have a balance between sensitivity, finding all the studies funded by the Joint Fund that mention the terms women, female or gender for example, and specificity, finding those studies that have a theoretically or conceptually-grounded gender focus.
Where and how women (and men) are included in the studies is as important as if they are included. Often gender studies are seen to be about women however, applying a gender lens implies exploring relations between men and women. How men are or are not included in ‘gender’ studies is also important. Equally, it is important to explore the ways in which women are actively erased from mainstream studies. There is then a need to define projects by how gender is included and a typology of gender inclusion was developed as the first stage of the review process.

**Gender Typology**

A typology of how gender was included in the studies was constructed (Section 3) using the proposals or ‘Case for Support’ (CfS), which were available for all 122 awards, and where available the End of Award Report (EoAR) was also reviewed. Overall, 60% of the awards under the Joint Fund included some level of gender analysis.

### Hierarchical typology of gender inclusion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>An explicit gender focus (28% of all awards)</td>
<td>Gender mentioned in the title/main justification for the research. Mention of feminist or gendered analysis / analysis of gendered power and inequality. Gender roles, relations or identities to be explicitly explored and this approach justified through literature.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An instrumentalist gender approach (32%)</td>
<td>Studies will talk to both men and women or data will be disaggregated by sex. Women included as efficient deliverers of services and/or included as mothers not gendered beings. Women as the objects of the study but gendered nature of women is not recognised.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A non-gendered approach as an active decision (10%)</td>
<td>Gender issues highlighted in the literature review or country context but then not incorporated into the study or methodology. Includes explanation of why gender/sex disaggregation not important/significant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender blind (28% of all awards)</td>
<td>No mention of women/gender but topic could be gendered. No mention of women/gender but it is the level of study, or type of data analysis that makes this a gender neutral study, not the topic per se. Studies which take the household as the unit of analysis / no exploration of differences by gender/age within household.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender neutral (2%)</td>
<td>No mention of women/gender as the topic is non-gendered.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some 28% of all the awards had an explicit gender focus while another 32% took what could be defined as an ‘instrumentalist gender approach’ with data disaggregated by sex but little analysis of what the differences mean, with for example, women included in the studies as mothers not gendered beings. While only 2% of the awards could be considered to be ‘gender neutral’ i.e. having no potential for gendered analysis, 28% of the awards are better described as ‘gender blind’ - making no mention of gender in the CfS and EoAR despite the fact the topic did raise gender issues or a gender lens could have been applied. A further 10% were defined as ‘non-gendered’ rather than gender blind as these projects discussed gender in the literature review or methods section but did not develop this, and thus a non-gendered approach was then an active decision.
The review highlights that even when a topic might appear to be inherently gendered (given it is focussed on women or looking at an issue important for women) it cannot be taken as given that the approach will necessarily be gendered. There were a number of projects that could have provided useful insights into the experiences of men and women in different contexts but failed to do so, creating gaps in gendered knowledge. The second stage of the review process considered published outputs from all the completed or near completion awards and found that a number of studies (around 15%) that were not classified in the typology as gendered did produce gendered findings. This suggests that very few studies can actually be ‘gender neutral’. It also highlights that these findings had seemingly not been recognised by the award holder as important enough to be included in the EoAR. This raises the question of why this might be the case, and how gendered knowledge is, or is not, valued by researchers or, perhaps more importantly, perceived by them to be valued by the ESRC-DFID Joint Fund.

Encouraging gendered research via call specifications does seem to work, since comparing the earlier/completed and the later/on-going awards shows that while nearly 15% of earlier awards had no mention of gender in the CfS, this is true of only 5% of the later awards, and 40% of more recently funded projects suggest they will adopt a gender perspective. However, the absence of gender findings in some of the EoARs reviewed suggests it needs to be made clearer that gender should be discussed here also. While the increase in the number of gendered grants awarded under the Joint Fund is very positive, the balance between the projects taking an explicit gendered and an instrumentalist gendered approach needs to be considered. There is a need to balance the desire for the wide adoption of a gender perspective across social science disciplines and topics, with the need to ensure there exists adequate knowledge and skills to deliver a gendered analysis grounded in existing conceptual and theoretical thinking. Future specifications should perhaps not simply suggest or request the inclusion of gender in all awards. It should instead ask that all projects that do adopt a gender perspective demonstrate the knowledge and skills necessary to execute a gendered analysis.

*Evidence synthesis*

Given the small number of ‘gender neutral’ awards, the second stage of the ESRA included a review of all available published outputs, and included over 375 papers, chapters and reports, the majority produced from Phase 1 and some Phase 2 awards. Many of these awards had generated large numbers of multi-authored reports,
briefings, books and articles. However, where gender was not the main focus of the study the gender analysis is often reserved for one or two ‘gendered’ papers in gendered journals, rather than gender analysis being mainstreamed across all publications. Around 175 outputs contained some level of gender evidence from 50 of the 122 awards. Any gendered insights or information on the situation and position of women and girls was extracted, tabulated and synthesised, and is presented in the report in the form of an annotated bibliography (Appendix 1).

A review of emerging issues in the post-2015 international policy context, and the academic literature, suggests a number of key issues, such as sexuality, masculinity, and violence against women and girls, might be important components of any body of work on gender and poverty developed over the last 10 years (Section 4). There has also been changes in how issues are conceptualised - for example re-defining health as a rights issue and poor maternal health as a reflection of structural inequalities - and how gender is understood - with, for example, a move toward intersectionality in academia and, in policy circles, a desire to expand how poverty and well-being are measured. The extent to which such changes are also reflected in the research funded under the Joint Fund was a focus of the review.

The synthesis is presented under a number of themes (Section 5). The awards advance gender knowledge in a number of key areas, and highlight:

- Gender inequalities continue to exist and these are linked to social and cultural norms that limit women's mobility, confining them to the home and limiting access to health, education, employment, income, and markets.
- There is a continued need for policies and projects that explicitly focus on addressing gender inequalities of power and a focus on promoting women's rights more generally may be more effective than specific interventions aimed at reducing violence against women, for example.
- While establishing a legal framework to address violence against women is an important first step, legalistic solutions alone are not enough and what is needed is a change in societal attitudes toward gender based violence.
- Girls may face violence or fear of violence when travelling to school. In secondary and higher education institutions sexual harassment and sexual violence may be prevalent and university structures can perpetuate patriarchies.
- New advances in transport and technology may potentially provide opportunities to improve the safety and mobility of girls and women, yet there are limitations to
the ability to take the opportunities offered as new mobilities are linked with old fears around the sexuality and promiscuity of women and girls.

- Double standards still exist especially around sex. For example, a male migrant can still be a 'good' husband if unfaithful sexually but not economically, while women's migration is 'allowed' only if there is a guaranteed and overt fidelity.

- Traditional ideas of households are challenged by migration, and migration may bring not only a change in gender roles but also a re-negotiation of gender relations and ideas of what it means to be a 'good' mother and father.

- When gender 'barriers' are transgressed people talk. Gossip is an issue in a number of contexts including disease, leading to concealment even from close family. It may be particularly an issue for young women and impact on marriage.

- While few studies focussed explicitly on men and masculinities, the findings do highlight that gendered relations and identities are more nuanced than often suggested by the existing literature and this includes findings from large scale quantitative game and modelling studies as well as qualitative studies.

- Women are moving into 'male' areas of work but they have to find their own entry point/training pathways, their own markets, and even their own suppliers. Women still earn less than men in similar work with some employers using feminised labour to reduce their costs.

- Flexible employment options bring lower wages but also other, social benefits which mean they may be the first 'choice' for women who need to combine productive and reproductive roles.

- Women's 'return' to being housewives may accompany an increase in male earnings and represent a reassertion of male control. For many men and women motherhood remains the ideal for women, and is seen as an important 'job' by women that should be recognised as such.

- Some employment sectors, such as mining, continue to be male dominated. However, women may also migrate to these types of locations, not just for the related work opportunities, but also for the more relaxed social norms.

- While relationships formed in new and temporary contexts may be unstable, women should not be seen as victims only. Something reiterated for other 'at risk' groups such as sex workers, as they also demonstrate levels of agency and power that can be supported and promoted via women's groups and movements.

- The importance of women’s groups and movements for women might have an economic more than an ideological basis, yet the cost of participating may be high, which may exclude some women. The groups often have a practical or
reforming focus rather than a transformative focus, lacking a rights discourse and a focus on issues such as sexualities.

- Different pathways to ‘empowerment’ exist, and may come from workplace initiatives that are initially ‘top down’, or from women centred forms of working, and these suggest a pragmatic feminist approach to change is needed.

- Education may be a means to improve the situation of women, and gendered parental and teacher expectations of educational achievement are more complex than often assumed. However, economic and social returns to investment in girls may be low due to gendered norms, highlighting the (economic) inefficiency of gender relations in this case.

- Poverty is changing with the rise of the ‘new poor’ who live their poverty differently. Crisis, including environmental crisis, may have a negative impact on non-traditionally poor people, but there was little gender analysis of this.

- Household crises provoked by economic and health shocks impact girls and boys differently and the negative impact on girls is not always as expected.

- The conceptualisation of poverty is also changing and the studies make a real contribution to broadening understandings, introducing new elements such as shame and dignity.

- Dignity may be lost via public displays of welfare, such as queuing for food, but also from private displays such as ‘begging’ for help from family. Basic ‘private’ matters such as just staying clean become key concerns, while public spaces, including bars may become ‘home’ offering acceptance and belonging.

- Poverty alleviation schemes, particularly Conditional Cash Transfer programmes (CCTs), can bring loss of dignity for women, and while there are material gains, women do not benefit personally and instead it is children or the household who benefit.

- The household was the unit of analysis for a number of studies, supporting the conceptual shift to collective models and providing insights into household functioning that question established ideas, including gendered altruism.

Analysis of the outputs generated under the Joint Fund (Section 6) highlights that while much new evidence on men and women's experiences of poverty was produced, conceptually and theoretically the ‘newness’ of the knowledge produced is not as great as might have been expected. A large number of outputs limit their gender analysis to mentions of differences by sex, rather than exploring these differences, and women are often constructed as an homogenous group. There was an absence of feminist methodologies / feminist framings across even the majority of
the gendered projects, and this may explain why some key gender issues – such as sexualities - did not emerge in the research. There were gaps identified not just in what was covered, but by whom, with some prominent researchers in the field of gender and development notable by their absence. A small review of 15 such scholars, who did not appear as grant holders, showed that only 20% had applied to the scheme. Interviews with some of these scholars suggest the ESRC-DFID scheme was not seen by them to be gender-friendly, and this perception may have limited both topics and areas covered, and how knowledge has been constructed.

Although there are limitations to the knowledge generated under the Joint Fund, there are also examples of best practice in gender terms with research that presents nuanced understandings of women’s and men’s lived experiences and which interrogates gendered inequalities. The case studies highlighted in the report demonstrate how an intersectional approach can be operationalised, in order to understand the complex social relations that govern gendered experiences of a range of issues. They also highlight how a gender analysis can be applied to a ‘mainstream’ topic such as education, and how a gender lens can provide interesting insights into the daily lives of girls and boys and touch on wider issues such as mobility and sexuality and how this is understood across ages and genders. The cases studies also demonstrate that while women are not a homogenous group, the lives of men also need to be explored through an intersectional lens.

Omissions and gaps in knowledge

Some obvious, and highly important, gaps in the gender issues considered by the awards have been identified. A large number of the topics not covered by the Joint Fund are issues emerging as key within the post-2015 context. This suggests the Joint Fund may have helped inform the existing international development agenda rather than provide the basis for a new, transformative agenda. The post-2015 context highlights the importance of advancing understandings of how to measure all aspects of gendered well-being, and to better understand what initiatives best work to improve women’s position and situation in the community and the household. The omissions noted below suggest an agenda for future research post-2015:

- There was an absence of any awards that focus specifically on sexualities. When sexuality was discussed it was often in relation to young women, and perceptions of adults and their related desire to control the ‘promiscuity’ of young women, suggesting a need to focus on young women’s realities and sexual rights.
• There was limited engagement with the concept of rights across the studies and reproductive health rights were generally reduced to reproductive health services with a focus on maternal health outcomes rather than the women themselves.

• Intimate partner violence was another under studied issue and given the importance of violence against women and girls for poverty, well-being, health, education and equality outcomes this needs to be addressed.

• Harmful ‘cultural' practices such as forced and early marriage, FGM, trafficking and bonded labour were little considered.

• Transactional sex emerged as important for many women’s livelihoods, and the openness to discussing this suggests it is an important area for future research.

• Unpaid and paid care work was little discussed explicitly for adult women, but was recognised as reducing girls’ life choices and chances.

• Gendered mobility and access issues emerged as important, but technology and transport generally remain neglected areas in gendered research.

• While women’s employment was well covered, women’s entrepreneurship and barriers to this, especially in times of financial crisis, was less discussed.

• The rise of ‘new poor' was documented in a number of countries and contexts but there was little gendered analysis of this.

• Only a small number of studies looked at poverty and gender within the changing environmental context, and there was only one study on ‘disasters' and one on climate change adaptation.

• None of the studies analysed the effectiveness of international policy to improve gender equality and women’s well-being.

Recommendations
• The awards have demonstrated there is an openness to collecting disaggregated data, and this needs to be built on to promote greater gender analysis of the differences noted. Subsequent calls might make clearer what is expected in ‘good' gendered research and ensure the ability of the proposers to provide this. The inclusion of a ‘gender analysis of findings' section in the EoAR would raise the profile of gender within the Joint Fund.

• Some of the issues that are yet to be addressed by the Joint Fund highlight the need for a feminist analytical framework and also the need to ensure gender means the inclusion of both women and men in the studies.

• If a future call seeks to explicitly address the gaps in knowledge identified, it would need to promote gender from being one of the cross cutting issues to being a central overarching research question.
1. Introduction
This report is a gendered evidence synthesis of projects financed under the Joint Poverty Alleviation Fund scheme of the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and the Department for International Development (DFID). Rather than attempt to provide evidence to ‘answer’ a particular question, this is a conceptual synthesis. The report summarises the contribution to gendered knowledge made by the projects funded under the ESRC-DFID scheme, exploring how this knowledge has been produced, and highlighting insights the scheme provides around poverty and gender, as well as how it contributes to a deeper understanding of gender roles and relations in the developing world. It locates this knowledge in the wider academic and policy context and provides a critical reflection on how it contributes to this. Exploring the impact of the research on understandings of poverty is a main aim of the report, but equally, this report will look at the impact on understandings of gender, and the extent to which various projects have influenced mainstream development policy and practice.

The report also seeks to explore ‘impact’ beyond the content and scope of the awards by exploring the personal and professional impacts of awards on those involved, beyond just the Principal Investigator (PI). This is in part recognition that women in academia, across all disciplines, face a glass ceiling that prevents them from moving into higher academic/management positions in comparison to men. As such, understanding the gendered nature of the projects by examining who was included in the research processes, and how, is also relevant to understanding the gendered impact of the schemes. Furthermore, there is an understanding within feminist theory that achieving gender equality means exploring different intersections that may also hinder full gender equality – as such the report also explores the ways in which Southern Partners were included in projects, and the impact of the awards on researchers in the developing world.

While the key findings of the research funded by the scheme will be summarised and the substantive innovations and insights highlighted, the report will also focus on understanding the questions generated by the studies that remain unanswered – highlighting insights for new areas of research that the studies have produced. To ensure policy relevance, the current policy context – dominated by the post-2015 development discourse - will be used to evaluate the extent to which the projects are in-line with global gender and poverty concerns.
1.1 The ESRC-DFID Joint Fund for Poverty Alleviation Research

The ESRC-DFID Joint Fund for Poverty Alleviation Research (from here on ‘the Joint Fund’) began in 2005 and to date has funded 122 research projects. The aim of the Joint Fund is to enhance both the quality and impact of social science research addressing the key international development goal of reducing poverty amongst the poorest countries and peoples of the world. It seeks to commission world-class scientific research that provides a robust conceptual and empirical basis for development and has the potential to impact on policy and practice related to poverty reduction. The research has been funded in three phases to date, with the total funding amounting to £66.2 million, as set out in Table 1.

Table 1 Structure and Funding of the Joint Fund

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase</th>
<th>Grant Mechanisms and Call Overview</th>
<th>Award details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1: 2005-2010</td>
<td>Small/medium sized grants (£100,000-£700,000; 1-3 years) via three annual calls, with a general focus on issues with potential impact on policy/practice for poverty reduction.</td>
<td>46 (all completed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2: 2009-2016</td>
<td>Small/medium sized grants (£100,000-£500,000; 1-3 years) via three annual calls, which included but were not restricted to six themes: cities and development; development in a changing world; economic crisis, poverty and growth; inequality and development; population and development; security, conflict and development</td>
<td>55 (38 completed by end 2014; 16 due to complete in 2015 1 due to complete in 2016)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impact Maximisation Grants and Emerging Opportunities Grants: small grants (up to £100,000) for specific impact and engagement activities for existing joint fund grant holders</td>
<td>3 Impact Max &amp; 1 Emerging Opps awarded to date</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidence Synthesis Research Awards (ESRA), summarising and evaluating joint fund research on a particular theme</td>
<td>2 complete, 3 due 2014, 5 in 2015</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3: 2012-2019</td>
<td>Small/medium sized grants (£100,000-£500,000; 1-3 years) via three annual calls, must address one of three overarching questions focussed on: the factors shaping pathways into and out of poverty, and how policy can create sustained, replicable and scaleable routes out of poverty; the political and institutional conditions associated with effective poverty reduction, and how domestic and external actors can promote these; measures to reduce the risks and impact of violence and instability on the poorest, and to increase the effectiveness of development interventions in fragile and conflict-affected situations</td>
<td>14 funded through call 1 (1 due to complete 2015, 5 in 2016 and 8 in 2017). Call 2 grants have been commissioned and contracts are being finalised. Call 3 commissioning is in process.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Development Frontiers: scheme for ‘blue skies’ research on poverty alleviation, small grants (up to £100,000; 18 months) with an option for extension for a further 18 months following a stage-gating process

Research programmes: Larger programmes of work (up to 3 years) on two under-researched themes: poverty in urban spaces (up to £2 million); disability (up to £2 million).

7 funded to date (first stage), with stage two commissioning process currently underway: call 2 due early 2015
2 awarded in 2014, due to complete by 2017

Phase 1 (2005-2010) had 3 annual calls with 46 awards completed. Phase 2 (2009-2016) had 3 annual calls with 55 awards (38 completed by 2014; 16 due in 2015; 1 due in 2016). Phase 3 (2012-2019) has 3 annual calls, with 14 funded through call 1 (1 due to complete 2015, 5 in 2016 and 8 in 2017). Phase 3 Call 2 grants have, at the time of writing, been commissioned and contracts are being finalised, with Phase 3 Call 3 commissioning in process. The majority of Phase 3 projects, along with 7 ‘Development Frontiers’ projects are still at a very early stage of development.

After nearly 10 years the Joint Fund has had the potential to produce a large amount of new research and make advances in understandings of poverty and poverty alleviation. This body of work may also have produced new understandings around how women and men experience poverty, the impact of poverty on their lives, and gendered knowledge of well-being more generally. It is the contribution to gendered understandings of poverty and poverty alleviation that this report explores. It is worth noting that the extent to which new gendered knowledge has been produced may be influenced by how the calls for proposals position gender, and the relative importance given to it in the call specifications. This will now be briefly considered.

1.2 The gender content of the scheme phases
The specification for proposals has changed over the different phases and calls. Noting the importance of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) for DFID, the stated aim of Phase 1 Call 1 was to address the ‘key international development goal of reducing poverty amongst the poorest countries and peoples of the world’. While there is a stand-alone gender equality goal within the MDGs, and gender is an important cross-cutting issue on the international poverty agenda, this first call did not explicitly mention gender, even as a level of analysis. In later calls, however, there is more explicit mention of gender.
Gender is first mentioned in the Phase 2 call specifications. The first Phase 2 call notes the need for ‘gender analysis and use of disaggregated data where relevant’, while the last Phase 2 call specification notes there are clear research and evidence gaps in terms of gender knowledge of poverty, poverty alleviation and promotion of gender equality and states ‘proposals should recognise that to promote gender equality and empower girls and women is not only a goal in its own right, but is also often a means to achieving other goals’ (ESRC-DFID, 2012). Phase 3 (call 1) in 2013 notes that ‘gender inequality remains a key stumbling block to human development and poverty reduction’ and, in contrast to Phase 1, it explicitly mentions gender concerns in the MDGs. The guide to applicants stresses the need to refer to both men and women in proposals and analysis, and further notes it should not be assumed that the household is a unit in which everything is pooled and shared, and in which the household head makes optimum decisions on behalf of all household members. The most recent call (deadline of January 2015) has the strongest statement on gender yet, with gender included in the list of ‘structural inequalities’ that need to be considered by applicants as ‘cross-cutting issues’.

While gender has still not been presented as one of the ‘overarching questions’ or themes that applicants should address, over time there has been a clear move to a more explicit recognition of the importance of gender within the Joint Fund. This has seen a move from an implicit recognition of its importance as a development goal, to a call to recognise differences between men and women and for sex disaggregation of data, to highlighting gender equality as a central development goal in itself and as an area important for study. Given this, it might be expected that an analysis of the awards would reveal a greater number of later awards focus on women/gender and a greater depth of gender analysis emerging over time/over the Scheme’s phases. The extent to which this has been the case is explored in the first section of this report.

1.3 Structure of the report
The next section, Section 2, provides a discussion of the methodology used. In comparison to a standard literature review an evidence synthesis or systematic review aims to be an authoritative summary of the evidence base. To ensure this ‘objective’ approach to reviewing the awards, all available outputs for all the 122 awards were reviewed, and this included review of over 375 papers, chapters and reports. Around 175 outputs contained gender evidence (of at least some sort) from 50 of the 122 awards. Any gendered insights or information on the situation and position of women and girls was extracted and this was tabulated, before the
evidence was synthesised. While not presented here, these tables provided the basis for the annotated bibliography included here as an appendix.

In Section 3 the document presents an initial typology of how gender has, or has not been included in the studies. All awards have a research proposal – the Case for Support (CfS) - available for review. This study proposal states the justification, aims, methods and timetable for the proposed project. When a project is completed, award holders must produce an End of Award Report (EoAR) and also usually an Impact Report. The former describes the main outcomes of the award and key findings; the latter concentrates on how the award has impacted on academic and policy circles and also in terms of those that were the subjects of the research. The first level of review presented in Section 3 focuses on these core documents.

Section 4 provides a brief overview of the international policy context and some of the key issues to emerge within the gender and development literature over recent years. Section 5 then summarises the gendered evidence generated by the awards, organised under a number of themes. At the end of each theme a short summary is provided, including a discussion of the nature of the inclusion of gender issues within the theme. Awards that have been completed or are near completion will have generated published outputs, in some cases in large numbers. Outputs include books, edited collections, journal articles and academic presentations, and also reports, briefing notes and short policy pieces. While each award has a Principal Investigator (PI) and a lead organisation, most awards involve a number of institutions and a core team of researchers at various stages of their research careers, along with research assistants, interviewers and field staff. Some also have active research participation by Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and other non-university actors. Publications thus may be generated by a range of people involved in the research and not just the PI, leading to multiple authored publications as well as multiple single authored publications.

Section 6 focuses on how gender was included in the awards and draws also on interviews with a sample of award holders. It discusses the overall advances made in understandings of gendered poverty in academic and policy terms, and any limitations. The final section presents conclusions and recommendations, suggesting gaps in knowledge that might help form a future research agenda.
2. Methodology

In comparison to a standard literature review an evidence synthesis or systematic review aims to be an authoritative summary of the evidence - in this case evidence as generated by projects financed under the ESRC-DFID Joint Poverty Alleviation Fund.

2.1 Overview of the process

This systematic search focussed on a defined set of documents, which were reviewed for the evidence produced in relation to gender and gendered understandings of poverty and development. An initial scoping activity by the ESRC of the awards made under Phase 1 to Phase 3 (call 1) identified 18 of the awards made as focussed on ‘Gender and Inequalities’. However, on review a number of these did not focus exclusively or even predominantly on gender, but on other inequalities such as ethnicity or class. The synthesis was not then limited to these awards, nor only to those readily identifiable from their title/rationale as about ‘gender’. Instead, given that best practice in undertaking evidence synthesis necessitates a comprehensive approach, it began with a review of all the 122 awards made to the date of the study (that is awards made under Phase 1 to call 1 Phase 3).

While some projects have been completed and have a large number of outputs generated, others are still publishing from the findings or work has yet to go to press. The most recently awarded grants are yet to begin fieldwork and thus have no outputs. To ensure full inclusion of all the awards the first review was of the CfS. Where available the EoAR was also reviewed. While award holders might still be generating/yet to generate publications, the EoAR provides information on what they saw to be the key findings or most important evidence generated by the award.

This initial systematic review of all 122 awards (all awards up to Phase 3 call 1, including 7 Development Frontiers awards) allowed a first indication of how many addressed gender issues explicitly and under which general themes and also allowed a first hierarchical ‘typology’ of how gender was being included in the awards to be developed. This ranged from gender ‘neutral’ projects, through projects focussed on ‘women’s issues’ such as maternal health, to projects whose main focus was to better understand gender roles and relations or focussed on a key gender issue, such as violence against women.
The second level of review concentrated on the published outputs generated by the awards and sought to do a number of things. It sought to extract the new evidence generated around how women, compared to men, live in and with poverty and the extent to which poverty alleviation measures have addressed their poverty. This was extracted and tabulated for later synthesis. These tables provided the basis for the annotated bibliography, which summarises the gender knowledge extracted from the published outputs. While it sought to extract evidence of how the awards have improved conceptualisations of women’s poverty and of the situation and position of women more generally, it also considered the ways in which men’s lived experiences of poverty were explored. Finally it sought to extract evidence of how the awards have advanced gender studies of the developing world in conceptual and theoretical terms.

Given another Evidence Synthesis Research Award (ESRA) looked specifically at research methods, the methods employed are not a key consideration of the analysis here, especially in terms of defining the research by the methods used as quantitative/qualitative. Those who research gender as a topic, or through a primarily gender lens, tend to adopt a feminist epistemological position. As feminist research is generally seen to be defined by its approach rather than methods employed, it makes the oft drawn quantitative/qualitative distinction somewhat artificial (Harding 1987, 1998, Hesse-Biber et al. 2004). Feminist research is often defined as ‘on, by and for’ women and is characterised by its attention to power relations as an issue not only for study, but as an issue within the research process itself. This means that methodological issues such as how Southern partners or ‘junior’ academics were included in the research in terms of publishing, for example, are more important to explore than the methods used per se, since it is the former not the latter that defines gendered research.

Recognising that the published outputs might not adequately reflect the evidence generated by the awards, given time lags in publication and publishing priorities, a series of semi-structured interviews were also undertaken (n=10) as well as a number of more informal discussions during conferences (n=5). These not only sought to further explore the key findings of the studies, but also to understand the processes involved with conducting and disseminating the research. In particular the PIs of some projects that were not ‘gendered’ but could have employed a gender focus were contacted to discuss their understandings of adopting a gender perspective. Interviews also explored who was publishing what and when, with a
particular focus on ‘younger’ (in terms of academic experience) members of the team and/or Southern partners. As noted above, publishing strategies may reflect existing imbalances of power, thus for a gender analysis, understanding who is publishing and how is important to explore as a key characteristic of what a gendered research methodology should look like.

The interviews also explored further the ways in which some ‘non-gendered’ projects (as defined in the typology) had produced gendered outputs (this was something that was noted as the review moved from the initial review of CfS and EoARs, to a full review of available outputs); these were outputs not explicitly proposed in the CfS nor discussed in the EoAR. Thus the ways and extent to which gender emerged as important for some projects during the process of research, and for others after the process, was a topic for a number of the interviews.

Ideas of what gender means and what a gender perspective implies were then central to the review and as such, before the findings of the review are discussed, the concept under review – gender – needs to be briefly explained and explored.

2.2 Framing ‘gender’
Rather than attempt to provide evidence to ‘answer’ a particular question, this is a conceptual synthesis. The aim is to provide an overview of the evidence produced by the studies (and to some extent for the more recent awards the potential evidence to be produced), including the main ideas, models and debates. The concept under review is ‘gender’. This section will then briefly discuss the notion of gender.

2.2.1 Understandings of gender
A relatively new concept, gender has emerged as an alternative way of understanding the ways in which men and women are positioned in society, and how the roles that men and women are expected to fulfil are socially constructed. Sex is often understood as a key category of inquiry for those interested in better understanding the position and situation of women within society, and is based on biological considerations (chromosomes, hormones, along with reproductive organs), which are then used to determine who should be categorised as man or woman. However, categorising ‘men’ and ‘women’ into binary/discrete categories in relation to sex is problematic and it is more appropriate to think of sexual difference as part of a continuum, rather than a clear binary division. Sex as a concept also has little to say about how men and women are expected to act, or how their roles are defined. The
biological difference between men and women means that only women can give birth—this is the only real sexual division of labour. All other divisions of roles are based on ideas of who is better at performing certain activities and, as women are physically able to give birth, most societies construct women as the main carer of the child in terms that co-construct motherhood with ‘natural’ characteristics that position women as ‘caring’. Thus there is a societal pressure to take up caring roles, both in relation to children and to other family members. Women are seen to be better carers of others, including the old and ill, but this is presented as a ‘natural’ (based on biology) ability rather than a social construct or learnt trait. While different roles are not a problem per se, those that are seen to be ‘natural’ rather than learnt or developed are often undervalued. In capitalist societies where income generation is most highly valued the different roles and women’s (economic) dependency on men within the household create unequal gender power relations.

Gender is a social construct that challenges the static and biological nature of the differences between men and women based on biology or sex alone. It focuses on the social and cultural meanings that govern what it means to be a man or a woman. A gender perspective in research may focus on exploring notions of femininity or equally, masculinity. Usually a gender perspective addresses the different roles men and women play in society and/or the relations between them. While women are part of a gender analysis, gender should not be limited or reduced to women alone, but should focus on the unequal power relations between men and women and boys and girls. Just as with the ‘instrumentalist’ approach adopted by some policy, research that uses women as a category of analysis rather than exploring unequal gendered power relations may be critiqued as essentialising women and their roles.

This suggests that for this synthesis, which terms are included in the studies and how they are employed is perhaps as, if not more, important than if they are included. The way studies were gendered is of interest since a study with a focus on women is different from a study that seeks to take into account different gendered experiences of events, and different again from one focussed on understanding unequal gendered relations of power.

2.2.2 The importance of gender for studies of poverty

The aim of the Joint Fund is to enhance both the quality and impact of social science research addressing the key international development goal of reducing poverty amongst the poorest countries and peoples of the world. UN Women suggest that
women bear a disproportionate burden of the world’s poverty. Statistics indicate that women are more likely than men to be poor and at risk of hunger and according to some estimates, women represent 70% of the world’s poor. In part this is because women are often paid less than men for their work. It has been suggested that the world average gender pay gap is 15.6% (ITUC 2008). However, this measure uses official data sources and is thus unable to capture female participation in the informal economy, which particularly distorts the pay gap figures in countries where such economies are large. Women’s concentration in the informal sector may help to explain why they earn less than men, as may the lack of women in senior roles in the formal sector. The impact of childcare responsibilities or ‘the motherhood penalty’ reduces the amount women earn over their lifetimes but a continued reason for the gender pay gap is discrimination. The gender pay gap means that women effectively stop earning relative to men early in November - a day referred to as Equal Pay Day.

Recognition of women’s relative poverty, due to lack of income or lower earnings potential, has led to policy recognition of women’s poverty as a particular issue. The 1995 Human Development report raised the idea that poverty had a ‘woman’s face’ (UNDP 1995). The ‘feminisation of poverty’ thesis meant many poverty alleviation interventions were aimed at women and there was the assumption that women focussed poverty reduction efforts would also automatically address gender inequality. In recognition that anti-poverty programmes should not be seen to be the same as gender equality programmes, there was a call to ‘rescue gender from the poverty trap’ (Jackson 1996). Within this it was highlighted that, rather than constructing women as the poorest, there was a need to better understand poverty as a gendered experience.

There are many different levels, sites and spaces of women’s poverty, including the community, labour market, and the household. Three factors contribute to women’s relative poverty (Bradshaw 2002). First, as noted above, women have fewer possibilities to translate work into income, stemming from (i) their exclusive responsibility for reproductive work, (ii) the conceptualisation of their productive activities as ‘helping’ men, and (iii) their concentration within sectors which are either an extension of their reproductive roles (and thus lower paid) and/or within the 'informal' economy. Second, even when women have an income, societal/family structures and norms makes it difficult for them to transform this into decision making-capacity or to decide how income is used. Perceptions around contribution made to the household, social norms and self-esteem/relative autonomy, all influence
the capacity of women to have a voice in the decision-making process. Third, as a consequence of women’s socially constructed altruistic behaviour economic resources that enter the household via women are more likely to be spent on household and children’s needs. When women do make decisions then they are less likely to take decisions that improve their personal well-being, and more likely to seek to improve the well-being of others, notably children and the elderly.

Women’s well-being is then related to both access to and control over resources, and this shapes how different women experience poverty differently. Women who head their own households, for example, have less access to income than male heads, since women earn less than men and do not have access to the income of a partner. They, however, have greater control over the household income and because of this female-headed households may not be the ‘poorest of the poor’ as popularly constructed. This is because women who live with men may suffer ‘secondary poverty’, whereby the household overall is not poor but as the man withholds income for personal consumption – and studies show that men may withhold up to 50% of their income from the household - women and children within the household are poor (see Chant 2008). When women earn an income, men may withhold even more of their income from the household, leaving women and children with access to the same level of economic resources as before, but now with the woman bearing the responsibility for providing these resources (Bradshaw 2002).

It has been noted that over time the roles women subsume under their carer role has increased. It has been suggested that rather than the ‘feminisation of poverty’ there has been a ‘feminisation of poverty alleviation’, as part of a wider trend toward a ‘feminisation of responsibility and obligation’ (Chant 2008, Molyneux 2007). It is suggested that policy looking to ‘engender’ development adds to the feminisation process through targeting women as efficient deliverers of policy outcomes and as an ‘untapped’ resource in terms of economic growth potential, leading the World Bank to conclude that reducing gender inequalities is then ‘smart economics’. Thus it is suggested that policymakers may adopt an ‘instrumentalist’ approach to gender, and include women for efficiency rather than equality gains, for example supporting improvements in women’s education or health for the future gains this will bring for their families and the economy, rather than as valuing these in terms of improving women’s well-being per se.

Gender inequality has then become a key issue for policy makers, not just as an
equality issue, but also as an economic growth issue. Women's relative poverty has been accepted, but the lack of attention to poverty within, rather than between households, and the lack of adequate metrics to measure 'secondary poverty' invisibilises the poverty of many women and reduces the effectiveness of anti-poverty programmes. It highlights the continued need for better understanding of gendered experiences of poverty, if poverty overall is to be reduced.

2.2.3 Engendering research

Both gendered and non-gendered research projects can be critiqued in terms of how they include women, men and gender in their studies.

While a small number of subjects within the social sciences might be seen to be 'gender neutral' more generally studies that make no mention of gender, or fail to recognise the gendered nature of the research, are actually 'gender blind'. In particular it has been demonstrated that macro-level economic policy is not gender-neutral as it impacts on individuals and so has a potential gendered impact. Despite the fact the unitary model of household functioning has been critiqued since the 1980s (see for example Sen 1990), it remains a site of analysis that often continues to be presented as gender neutral.

While it is still not uncommon to encounter social science studies that do not recognise the sex of participants at all, more generally studies do now include the sex of the participant. However, many include sex only as a variable for analysis and can be critiqued as utilising sex as a static ‘known’ conceptualisation that seeks to compare women/men as biological difference. Often these studies use the term ‘gender’ but only as a descriptor, without looking to see how gender differences operate, or to understand gendered experiences and how people perform gender differently. In some cases, they may also assume that male experience is the norm or standard against which women's experience is to be judged. Other studies focus on women's gender-ascribed roles explicitly, that is, including women in studies as mothers and carers rather than as women per se. These can be problematised as adopting an instrumentalist approach, essentialising women, and entrenching particular constructions of 'appropriate' roles and behaviour.

On the other hand, studies that have an explicit gender focus or work from a feminist perspective also often only focus on women as they seek to understand women’s experiences of, for example, poverty. In the late 1990s there was a call to focus more
on men and on masculinities within development (Cornwall and White 2000), and while it was critiqued, it did lead to a re-statement that ‘doing’ gender was more than just about women. However, despite this, the predominant focus in most ‘gender’ studies is still women, with men often absent or included as a reference point to highlight difference or as husbands/partners rather than men per se.

2.3 Summary
In methodological terms for this review it is especially important to have a balance between sensitivity, finding all the studies funded by the Joint Fund that mention the terms women, female or gender for example, and specificity, finding those studies that have a theoretically or conceptually-grounded gender focus.

Equally, it is important to explore the ways in which women are actively erased from mainstream studies. As such studies presented as ‘gender neutral’ were also explored in the review, as analysing the ways in which gender, and women specifically, is (un)written from analysis can provide important insights into how gender is understood in mainstream development research and highlight gaps in knowledge generation within the Joint Fund.

To better understand how gender was being conceptualised across all studies a review of CfS and EoARs was undertaken to establish a typology of gender inclusion and exclusion across all studies, past and present. This will now be described in more detail.
3. Typology of gender inclusion/exclusion

Constructing a typology of how gender was being conceptualised in the awards made under the Joint Fund involved three stages:

1. An initial review of titles and abstracts was undertaken for all the projects to establish the key themes. Based on the knowledge of the team, the extent to which each study might expect to be gendered was examined, to determine if any might not be expected to include a gender perspective. This initial filter suggested only a small number of studies that may be deemed ‘gender neutral’ – being focussed on the planning of colonial transport routes, for example.

2. An initial review of the CfS for all 122 projects and the EoAR where available was undertaken using a keyword search for gender/gendered, female and women/woman. This review was to give an idea of the number of awards that were gendered and would then need to be analysed further through a review of their published outputs, where available. The initial review also highlighted that in a number of cases while the key terms were found within the documentation, women were included in the studies as mothers or as service providers, or as those that happened to undertake a particular activity or type of work, not as women per se. As such it helped establish a draft typology of how ‘gender’ has been included in the awards to be used in the further analysis.

3. A full review of CfS and, where available, EoARs was undertaken. This more in-depth analysis using well defined but expansive inclusion criteria involved: gender/gendered; women/woman; man/men; girls/boys; masculinity/ties; sex/sexualities; fathers/mothers; feminist/feminism; empowerment. The results of the searches were tabulated to provide a clear and evidenced justification for the final classification of projects.

As noted above, in this case the where and how of the inclusion of terms is as important as their actual inclusion. In terms of how gender was included, in around 15% of the studies no mention was made of any of the inclusion terms but in only a very small number of cases could the studies be defined as ‘gender neutral’ (only about 2% of the whole sample). A further group of ‘gender blind’ studies (around 15%) are those that exclude gender through the level of analysis, for example focussing on places rather than people, measurement techniques rather than the
outcomes of the measures, modelling economic processes, or taking the household as the unit of analysis rather than looking at gendered differences within households. It is then the level of analysis that makes them non-gendered, not the topic itself.

A number of projects (around 10%) could be described as ‘actively non-gendered projects’ in that they explicitly noted their lack of gender focus, through ‘holding constant’ for gender in the analysis, for example. Others mentioned gender differences in the literature review but chose not to follow this up in their own study, while others that mentioned gender as an issue in the CfS, did not discuss this in the EoAR as part of the findings. Issues such as these were explored further through analysis of the outputs and interviews with award holders.

How gender was included was also important for defining a set of gendered studies that adopted what is here defined as a more ‘instrumentalist approach’ (just over 30% in total). This included studies that mentioned women/men as objects of the research, through holding separate focus groups, for example, or disaggregating quantitative data by sex. This approach is in line with the wording of the call specifications from Phase 2 that explicitly called for the use of disaggregated data where relevant. However, the specification also called for ‘gender analysis’ but this group of studies tended to disaggregate by sex without any particular rationale presented for this, and without reflecting on the impact of these methodological decisions on the findings of the research. Such studies do provide new and interesting descriptive information on how men and how women view the same issue. However, as they fail to analyse why this is the case or what this means for gender roles and relations, there is a missed opportunity to also further gendered knowledge.

Other studies defined as adopting an ‘instrumentalist approach’ included those where women made up the majority of participants due to their occupations or other characteristics, but, while being the main subject of the research, gender analysis was not necessarily key or even included. An important subset of these focussed on women only as mothers/service providers not as gendered beings. In other studies within this category there was a gender analysis but this took an efficiency rather than an equality approach – in line with instrumentalist policy approaches. So for example, a study might note how women’s ‘coping strategies’ make them even more time-poor, but rather than exploring how this may impact on their well-being, it instead focuses on how this will reduce their productivity and the impact on the wider household and economy. Once again such studies provide interesting descriptive
data and the analysis is useful for wider audiences and policy makers, but at the same time it represents a missed opportunity for highlighting the gendered impact of the processes being studied.

Overall just under 30% of all the projects were explicitly gendered projects — that is, including gendered terms in the title of the study, mentioning gender issues throughout the documentation, or having gender as the main focus of the research. Given the Joint Fund is not a specifically gendered scheme, this might be considered a relatively high proportion.

The initial categorisation of the projects suggests the following typology as presented in Table 2.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Typology</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>An explicit gender focus (28% of all awards)</td>
<td>- Gender mentioned in the title/main justification for the research</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Mention of feminist or gendered analysis / analysis of gendered power</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and inequality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Gender roles, relations or identities to be explicitly explored and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>this approach justified through literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An instrumentalist gender approach (32% of</td>
<td>- Studies will talk to both men and women or data will be disaggregated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all awards)</td>
<td>by sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Women included as efficient deliverers of services and/or included as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mothers not gendered beings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Women as the objects of the study but gendered nature of women is not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>recognised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A non-gendered approach as an active decision</td>
<td>- Gender issues highlighted in the literature review or country context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10% of all awards)</td>
<td>but then not incorporated into the study or methodology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Includes explanation of why gender/sex disaggregation is not important/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>not significant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender blind (28% of all awards)</td>
<td>- No mention of women/gender but topic could be gendered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- No mention of women/gender but it is the level of study, or type of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>data analysis that makes this a gender neutral study, not the topic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>per se</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Studies which takes the household as the unit of analysis / no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>exploration of differences by gender/age within household</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender neutral (2% of all awards)</td>
<td>- No mention of women/gender as the topic is non-gendered</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1 Discussion of gender inclusion/exclusion

From the outset it is important to recognise that, given limited resources, all researchers have to make choices about what questions to ask, how and to whom. The decision not to include women or gender as a variable may then be based on practical considerations, it may also be based on differing epistemological and ontological understandings of social reality. However, while recognising this, what is important for this review is the recognition that very few topics in the social sciences could not, if desired, adopt a gender perspective. In the grants awarded under the Joint Fund only three might be seen to struggle to incorporate a gender perspective within the research. Yet even here it could be possible; for example issues such as design of transport routes are often seen to be ‘technical’ issues, but in general transport routes are determined by male occupation mobility or needs, not women’s, and thus there is a gender element. The fact a number of grants awarded that do not make any mention of women or gender were focussed on issues such as property rights, HIV, and education suggests a clear gender perspective could easily have been incorporated into the study design, indicating that they should be categorised as ‘gender blind’ rather than gender neutral.

While the lack of engagement with gender for some of the projects classified in the typology as gender blind has no obvious explanation (about 25%) since some of the PIs have worked from a gender perspective in the past, for other projects various explanatory factors exist. The gender blindness of the majority of the studies in this category arose due to the focus of the study rather than the topic per se, looking at processes, politics, policies and places rather than people (around 50% of these studies). This includes two studies where women and women’s groups were the object of research but the focus was on the politics not the people. Linked to this, in other studies (just over 15%) it was how concepts were understood that led to a gender blind project - with studies defining power in terms only of political or local power, for example, or exploring notions of livelihoods or capabilities but these were not understood as gendered notions. Finally a small number of studies looked at methods of evaluation or improving evaluating outcomes rather than the (potentially gendered) outcomes of the evaluations (fewer than 10%).

While the gender blind studies either did not mention gender or mentioned it only in passing, other studies are classified as ‘non-gendered’ since they implicitly recognised the possible gender dimensions of the study but through seeking to actively justify a lack of engagement with gender. This was particularly the case
within economic and econometric modelling projects that often ‘controlled’ for sex for example (making up half of this category). In particular studies focussed on the economy, for example industry and trade regulation, had no mention of gender differences, even at times when in the literature review gender differences had been recognised. Others did discuss gender in the CfS but made no mention of gender differences in the EoAR. Rather than mainstreaming they effectively ‘streamed gender away’ from the study (Mukhopadhyay 2004). Finally, spanning the gender neutral and gender blind categories were those studies that took the household as the unit of analysis. These studies, while relatively small in number, are significant conceptually speaking in that they implicitly or explicitly assume the unitary nature of the household – something that contrasts with the discourse of the later call specifications as well as with other studies funded under the Joint Fund that seek to better understand intra-household relations.

In terms of the grants that adopted what has here been described as an ‘instrumentalist’ approach to gender, the awards under the Joint Fund generated a large amount of new information on women and girls. The sheer number of studies that have produced data disaggregated by sex is to be applauded in what is after all a non-gender focussed funding scheme. This data – as summarised in the Section 5 – is a useful resource for all those working in the field. It provides a much needed evidence base to support policy advocacy work, and also a contextual basis for future research projects.

However, many studies (around half of the instrumentalist studies) that stated they would disaggregate data by ‘gender’ provided no further discussion of why, rarely grounding this in a discussion of existing literature on the topic. Similarly they showed little recognition of the complexity this approach might introduce, suggesting the use of 'gender' to signal binaries alone and disaggregating as a methodological/analytical step. In terms of findings, this often meant new evidence on women or girls was constructed rather than developing nuanced insights or understandings of gendered experiences. Recognising the importance of gender-disaggregated data stopped short of a discussion of how any differences may be accounted for, or indeed challenged. These studies then generated a large number of unanswered questions focussed on explaining the gender differences that they report, and suggest a gendered research agenda for the future.

This rather reductive approach to including gender was not limited to quantitative
studies, as some qualitative studies also did this, by including a separate focus group for women for cultural reasons, rather than including gender analytically, for example. From a gender perspective, this suggests the challenge now is to build on the seeming openness to including sex as a variable, to promote as commonplace the inclusion of a gendered analysis of the findings generated.

The other set of studies that could be defined as demonstrating an ‘instrumentalist’ approach saw women consisting the majority of the sample, but their sex was ‘incidental’ to the study – they are there because they do the job in question, for example garment manufacturing. The lack of a gender lens being applied to the analysis meant these studies, which were often qualitative studies thus providing the potential for great depth of detail, were gender descriptive rather than analytical. Within this an important category were those studies (30% of instrumentalist studies) that focussed on women only due to their traditional gendered reproductive roles or as mothers, and the majority of studies on maternal health lacked a robust gendered analysis which looked at power/identity/norms/rights. These studies do add to our knowledge of women’s maternal health, the challenges faced to provide maternal health services and by women to access them, and provide an evidence basis for policy makers. They also provide a base from which others may attempt to build a more analytical gendered model of health focussed on addressing wider gender inequalities.

Just under 30% awards under the Joint Fund have gender as the key focus and thus explore not just women and men’s roles but gender relations and explicitly address the issue of inequality and power. These include studies adopting both quantitative and qualitative methods, and/or utilising mixed methods. As studying gender does imply looking at both men and women, it is also important to think about the various ways in which projects did and might have included men. There are a range of projects that seek to understand men’s experiences and women’s experiences equally within the research context, and think through what these differences might mean in relation to outcomes for men and women in relation to poverty. However, a number do have an explicit focus on women only (around 15% of the gendered awards) and while the majority explicitly consider men and boys they often only consider them in relation to women and girls, as a reference point often to highlight women’s relative disadvantage. As one award holder noted when interviewed, in past projects she had not ‘been bothered with men’. While a focus on women only is considered to be ‘acceptable’ and is still classified as ‘doing gender’, the extent to
which projects that focus predominately on men can be considered gendered, particularly when there is not an explicit reference made to gender as a concept, is open to question.

Feminist projects that take girls/women as their primary focus with an aim to reducing women's inequality are, by their very nature, gendered. Projects with an exclusive focus on men, if explicitly seeking to explore constructions of maleness or what it means to be a man, may similarly be deemed gendered. However, while a small number of studies (only 2%) focussed on the lived realities of a specific group of men/boys the focus of the research was not exclusively on this group. Thus while a number of gendered and non-gendered studies focussed only or predominately on women, no study explicitly stated it would consider men only. Yet those studies that are gender blind or ‘non-gendered’ often implicitly take the male perspective as the lens of analysis when exploring poverty and well-being and construct knowledge from an implicit masculinist perspective.

Considering the studies in terms of poverty, while some did not seem to set out a conceptual understanding of poverty, those that conceptualised poverty solely in terms of income or assets tended to have a less nuanced version of gender, or did not mention gender at all. This was in contrast to studies with richer understandings of poverty - conceptualising poverty as a social construct, taking a multidimensional approach or considering wider notions of well-being - which tended to have a fuller understanding of gender, and often adopted an intersectional approach. It is interesting that a number of studies looked at particular forms of racial/ethnic inequality and marginalisation, but did not adopt an intersectional lens that included reflections around gender. Intersectional analysis then seems to remain a desire rather than a reality in the majority of studies.

3.2 Gender inclusion /exclusion over time
Overall, around 30% of the grants awarded under the Joint Fund are ‘gendered’ in the sense that women were the subject of analysis and there was an explicit focus on women/gender. From the older/completed/nearing completion grants under 25% have an explicit gender focus. The review of the CfS of newer projects (that is those that are still on-going) suggests 40% of them have/will adopt a gender perspective. As noted above, this may be related to the changes in the way the scheme calls were written and what was/was not highlighted as important for applicants to consider. Later calls made an explicit reference to the need to consider gender differences.
Fewer than 30% of newer awards actively adopt a non-gendered approach that is, adopting a ‘macro’ level analysis or justifying why gender is not important. However, this is roughly equal to the numbers of older/earlier awards that take a non-gendered approach. Similarly, although more older/completed awards (35%) adopted what might be defined as an ‘instrumentalist’ approach the proportions were not vastly greater than for newer awards (27%).

So the difference in the proportions of the earlier and later awards that are gendered seems to be explained by the fact that while nearly 15% of earlier awards had no mention of gender or were ‘gender blind’, this is true of only 5% of the newer awards. This would suggest that explicitly mentioning gender in the call specification leads to a greater number of awards being funded that have a gender focus.

However, the nature of the call specification seems to matter also. The first inclusions of gender in the call specification (early Phase 2 calls) sees a significant decline in the number of non-gendered projects but an increase in the proportion of proposals justifying why they will not focus on/include gender (an increase from 24% to 40%). From Phase 2 Call 3 onwards the proportion of this type of project declines once more, and the proportion of gendered projects being awarded rises to 40% overall.

Thus the numbers of gendered grants being awarded appears to be increasing as a proportion of all grants over time/calls. It is important to note that newer grants are being assessed on what they propose to do, however, and given a small but important proportion (6%) of earlier grants awarded saw gender mentioned in the CfS but no mention of gendered findings in the EoAR, caution is needed. Also a recent presentation by a ‘new’ grant holder classified by the typology, the ESRC, and by the award holder themselves as being gendered, raises issues over how and why gender is being included in newer awards. The seeming lack of gender knowledge was apparent during the presentation, and the discussion of methods also suggested a non-gendered methodological approach, both of which raised many concerns from the (gendered) audience.

While the overall number of gendered grants awarded under the Joint Fund, and the fact the number has increased over time, is very positive, it is important to ensure that gender does not become something everyone feels they must do, without thinking about why do it or thinking about what applying a gender lens means for the research process. More importantly it is important gender does not become
something everyone feels they can do. Gender studies is a recognised academic discipline in its own right informed by feminist theory and a distinct epistemological perspective. In the same way a cultural geographer would probably not suggest they could include an econometric modelling component within a project without incorporating specialist knowledge to undertake this, so gender should be seen as a learnt knowledge and a particular skills set. There is then a need to balance the desire for the wide adoption of a gender perspective across social science disciplines and topics, with the need to ensure there exists adequate knowledge and skills to deliver a gendered analysis grounded in existing conceptual and theoretical thinking. Future specifications then should perhaps not simply suggest or request the inclusion of gender in all awards. It should instead ask that all projects that do adopt a gender perspective demonstrate the knowledge and skills necessary to execute a gendered analysis. This may mean ensuring the inclusion of specialist team members with previous experience in researching on gender, or a grounded familiarity with feminist research methods. This would also increase the cross-disciplinary learning within teams, and in time increase the critical mass of gendered researchers. It would also widen the themes currently researched generating ‘gendered’ knowledge.

Although the proportion of gendered projects within the awards has increased over time and the issues covered has also widened it is striking that none of the awards have had an explicit and central focus on sexualities, none on sexual and reproductive health as rights¹, and only two an explicit focus on violence against women as the main research topic².

While there is an absence of awards under the Joint Fund focusing on these issues, of note also is the absence of some of the most well-respected gendered academics among the award holders. It seems then that while the proportion of gendered projects within the awards has increased over time, the award holders have not necessarily been the key gender and development scholars, which raises the question of why this might be the case. While this is to some extent explored further in Section 6 of this report, it remains an important and largely unanswered question. The evidence, however, points to the ESRC-DFID scheme as not being seen to be one that is very open to ‘pure’ gender projects, for example focussed on sexual and reproductive rights or violence against women. It is instead, as the call specifications

¹ Although one award did focus on abortion, it was not as a rights issue
² Plus one other study that included much rich information on violence against women but within a wider discussion of societal violence
suggest, one that is seen to be open to including gender as an element of a project focused on wider issues of education, health and technology, for example. This suggests if gender is to be a central element in the Joint Fund a future call would need to set gendered experiences of poverty and well-being as one of the overarching questions rather than a cross cutting issue.

3.3 Second stage analysis
While the typology is important in itself in that it provides a descriptive mapping of projects and how gender is being included across all awards, it was also intended to provide the basis for the selection of the awards for further review. Ultimately this selection did not occur as such, since the possibility to include gender in all but a few projects was evident, and thus for those projects completed or near completion, regardless of how they were classified, all the outputs related to the project were reviewed. A number of those that were completely devoid of any gender analysis were explored further via interviews to better understand why gender is not included and also to establish an existing ‘gap’ in knowledge generated by studies financed by the Joint Fund to date.

Those cases that appear to be gender ‘blind’ (compared to awards evaluated to be gender neutral) were not excluded from subsequent review. Rather they were explored further to see if, while gendered findings were not considered important enough to be mentioned in the EoAR, some published outputs were gendered /contained new gender knowledge.

The move to reviewing published outputs demonstrated that in some cases among a large number of published outputs there was one that included a gender disaggregated analysis, with this often confined to a paragraph or section. Just under 15% of studies originally classified as non-gendered or gender blind did generate some new knowledge around women and poverty in the related publications. They show there was the potential for them to generate much more gendered knowledge and the fact that very few studies can actually be ‘gender neutral’.

The review of outputs for around another 15% of awards classified as non-gendered or gender blind in the typology revealed some rich insights into gender relations had been one, often incidental, outcome of the project. However, it also revealed that these findings had seemingly not been recognised by the award holder as important in that there is no mention of them in the EoAR. This raises the question of why this
might be the case, and how gendered knowledge is, or is not, valued by researchers or, perhaps more importantly in this context, perceived by them to be valued by the ESRC-DFID Joint Fund. It suggests that it not only needs to be made clear in the call specification that gender issues should be considered in the CfS, but that the EoAR must report on this also.
4. Review of outputs: Methods and context

The aims of a synthesis are usually to assess the validity of the findings of individual studies and to assess the direction of findings of the pool of studies as a whole. In this instance the aim was not to evaluate the validity or robustness of the findings of each grant awarded, but rather the contribution to knowledge around gendered poverty and poverty alleviation made by the Joint Fund as a whole. Here then issues such as the ‘quality’ of the journals the award holders have published in, for example, has not been assessed. Rather the originality of the content has been highlighted and the new evidence generated noted. This has been located within the context of the trends within the wider literature and advances made within the field.

4.1 Review process

In the first instance the outputs were subject to a review process that assessed the findings in relation to the scheme’s aims and included:

- Extracting new empirical evidence around gender;
- Highlighting any specific contribution to understanding of gendered poverty;
- Highlighting any conceptual advancement;
- Highlighting any theoretical advancement;
- Highlighting any methodological advancement and innovation.

It also:

- Considered how the research subjects participated in the studies and engagement of stakeholders;
- Considered who within the team was publishing (rather than where).

Detailed tables were produced, that not only increased the transparency of the review by clearly showing what evidence had been extracted from which studies, but also provided the basis for the synthesis of contributions. For ease of reading the tables are presented in bibliographic form (see Appendix 1).

The evidence was then summarised under a number of headings: Gendered poverty, including poverty alleviation programmes; Health; Education; Political mobilisation. The review then focuses on a number of key sites of gender inequality – the household and the workplace - and some key areas of gendered concern - violence, safety and mobility, and gender relations and identities. There is here no explicit discussion of sexualities or gendered rights as none of the awards explicitly
addressed this issue and while at times there was discussion of issues related to the topic, these tended to reduce sexuality to sex.

While these headings in part emerged from the studies and reflect the academic trends in the research, they were initially aimed to be in line as much as possible with how gender is being presented within development policy at a global level. As the aim of the ESRC–DFID scheme is to fund world-class research which has the potential for impact on policy and practice for poverty reduction, both the international policy and the wider academic context are important for locating the studies, and assessing how they contribute to the scheme’s aim.

4.2 International policy context

The international development policy context is currently dominated by discussion of what will succeed the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs); the so called post-2015 development agenda.

The MDGs provided an overarching international development framework from 2000 to 2015. While the MDGs were seen as an advancement from the narrow economic development focus of the 1980s and 1990s, in gender terms they were not without their critics. The eight MDGs sought to improve access to education and health, improve infant and maternal mortality rates, included a focus on epidemics including HIV/AIDS, on the environment, North-South relations, and on gender. Goal 3 aimed to ‘promote gender equality and empower women’, yet examination of the related targets highlighted that equality and empowerment was to be measured in terms of education, seats in parliament and women’s ‘non-agricultural’ employment. This focus on education, employment and formal politics suggests more a focus on changing women’s roles and including women in development processes (a Women in Development approach) rather than challenging gender relations and addressing structural inequalities (a Gender and Development approach).

Some of the strongest critiques of the MDGs came from the women’s movements and it was suggested that ‘MDG’ was best understood as ‘Most Distracting Gimmick’ (Antrobus 2004a). Many of the concerns rested on what was seen to have been a ‘deliberate exclusion’ of women’s sexual and reproductive rights from the millennium development agenda (ibid.). Even the Task Force set up to review how to operationalise MDG 3 expressed serious concerns, and stressed the need to include issues such as gendered rights if the goal were to succeed. However, women’s
'rights', particularly sexual and reproductive rights, are far from accepted as rights (see for example Molyneux and Cornwall 2008). The other goal specifically focussed on women (Goal 5) highlights these issues. The Goal aimed to improve maternal health. While a worthy intention, rather than ensuring all women’s reproductive and sexual health rights the focus was on women as mothers. This limits services to maternal health rather than actively promoting women’s reproductive health rights to decide the timing and spacing of children or their sexual rights to enjoy a healthy sex life.

The concepts of reproductive health, reproductive rights and sexual rights became popularised during the early 1990s especially in the period of the United Nations conferences – the most important being those in Cairo in 1994 and Beijing in 1995 (Petchesky 2000). Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights (SRHR) became accepted, at least at the international policy level, as a defined concept. While it was excluded from the MDGs, not least due to the contested nature of sexual ‘rights’ in particular (see Antrobus 2004a for discussion), DFID and others reiterated their commitment to promoting SRHR. In part this is due to recognition that sexual and reproductive ill-health is both a cause and a consequence of poverty and sexual and reproductive health problems account for approximately 20% of the ill-health of women globally, due to lack of appropriate sexual and reproductive health services. It might be suggested that over the last 20 years SRHR has been less of an academic research focus, especially within a development agenda focussed on poverty, and more of an advocacy and campaigning issue. Yet, Routledge’s recent 4 volume collection of re-prints of key gender works on ‘Gender, Poverty, and Development’ (Chant and Beetham 2015) demonstrates research in the field since the late 1980s, through the 1990s and into the 2000s, with, for example, Hartman and Barajas-Román (2011), re-thinking Hartman’s work in the 1990s on reproductive rights in the context of climate change. While marginalised during the 15 years of the MDGs in policy terms, this very marginalisation should have made it an important issue for gender academics and activists alike.

SRHR is also often understood as a frame within which Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG) can be understood. VAWG has been an important focus of those seeking to promote gender equality and women’s rights over the last 20 years. Perhaps the most comprehensive text on violence in a developing world context is Pickup et al published in 2001. While similarly excluded from the MDGs, DFID has shown its commitment to addressing VAWG and this is well demonstrated by the
‘What Works To Prevent Violence’ programme which aims to build knowledge on what works to prevent violence against women and girls. Over the last 15 years VAWG has moved up the development agenda and, as the current post-2015 agenda suggests, it is now a key policy issue and looks set to be a key element of the gender focussed goal within the proposed SDGs.

Also often framed within the SRHR discourse is the more contested issue of sexualities, which relates to constructions of the body, sexual pleasure and sexual intercourse (Yuval-Davis 2006) as well as highlighting the fiction of compulsory and normalized heterosexuality. Sexuality is related to both health and violence, but it is also connected to well-being, wealth and poverty, integration and marginalisation. Sexuality can lead to poverty since in many places marriage is vital to economic survival, particularly for women and failure to marry may limit their access to land, housing, inheritance and social networks (see Ilkkaracan and Jolly 2007). While still little discussed in international policy circles, sexuality can be an issue of survival, connected with HIV/AIDS and complications around Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) – an issue of heightened policy importance in the post-2015 context. A key area of concern for many women’s groups and movements across the globe, it has also been a growing area of feminist and gender scholarship since the end of the 1990s (see for example Lancaster and di Leonardo 1997, Bhattacharyya 2002, Fraser and Greco 2004, Seidman et al. 2011).

The ESRC-DFID Joint Fund scheme began in 2005; five years after the MDGs were initiated. The projects then might be expected not only to reflect the existing MDG agenda, but also reflect the critiques of that agenda, seeking to better understand those gender issues absent from the Goals as much as those included. It might also be assumed that the projects would have produced new knowledge that advanced the agenda and helped shape the new set of Goals for the post-2015 era, the general shape of which is now largely set.

The proposals around the post-2015 development agenda and accompanying new set of goals does look to expand the issues covered from the rather narrow focus of the MDGs, with proposals for the inclusion of a new urban goal, for example. These more ambitious Goals have more ambitious targets also, and this poses new challenges in terms of how social change is understood and measured. It is proposed that gender be mainstreamed throughout the Goals via a call (in Open Working Group Goal 17) for the majority of indicators to be disaggregated by sex, highlighting
its increasing importance in policy terms. The fact that data should also be disaggregated by sex, ethnicity and other factors also seems to suggest an increasing acceptance that sex interacts with other characteristics – the notion of intersectionality – or that women are not a homogenous group.

In gender terms, continuing on from the MDGs, education and maternal health are still prominent ‘gendered’ elements of the proposed new Goals. However, the process to date at least suggests violence against women and girls and other harmful gendered practices, including forced and early marriage, will be a key target within the proposed standalone gender goal. Although, at the time of writing, the inclusion of sexual rights within the new goals has not been achieved, reproductive health rights might still figure in the goals. The distribution of unpaid care work within the household is also a new element being proposed for the first time in a set of mainstream goals such as these. Again, this poses methodological challenges for designing indicators, and there may be lessons to be learned from academic studies around how best to do this.

A strong supporter of the MDG and the SDG processes, DFID has, since the late 1990s, been promoting issues such as every woman’s right to live free from violence and promoting sexual and reproductive rights. More recently there has been high profile support for promotion of the right to live free from harmful processes including FGM. This, and the current national and international policy agendas means it might be expected any gender research under the ESRC-DFID scheme would address key policy issues such as VAWG, gendered roles and relations particularly within intimate relations and within households, and gendered rights, including sexual and reproductive rights. Equally ideas around how to better measure gendered poverty and well-being, which will be so important in the new more ambitious targets, might be assumed to have been informed by academic knowledge generated under the scheme.

4.3 Academic context
To present a review of how knowledge within the area of gender and development has evolved during the 10 years of the ESCR-DFID scheme is beyond the scope of this study. However, it is possible to provide a short overview of the state of knowledge around gender and poverty that can provide a context for the discussion to follow. In 2010 an edited collection consisting of more than 100 chapters by some of the best-known gender scholars was published as ‘The International Handbook of
Gender and Poverty' (Chant 2010). As the name suggests, it provides a good overview of the key issues for discussion in the field, as well as how these are being discussed. It also suggests some ‘new frontiers’ in gendered poverty research and analysis.

A number of the sections in the book are also themes of the analysis to follow\(^3\). The first section of the book looks at how gendered poverty is being conceptualised and measured, which is continued in the second section with consideration of how gendered poverty is lived, while a later section looks at policy interventions. Chant (2010: 3), reflecting major doubts in the feminist literature around whether income should be “pre-eminent in gender sensitive conceptions of well-being”, highlights the need to move past a focus on gender differences in access to economic resources. Instead there is a need to consider the different forms of privations experienced by women and men as they intersect with a host of social, economic, demographic and other cleavages. There is a need also to recognise the ‘trade-offs’ between different aspects of poverty such as time poverty and overwork, dependency and powerlessness. This reflects a significant shift in the discourse to focus on issues such as rights within the family, agency in decision-making, vulnerability to violence, and self-respect and dignity rather than solely on income per se as key for ‘poverty’ alleviation. This focus on understandings and experiences of poverty and poverty alleviation constitutes the first, and largest, section of the synthesis review.

The edited collection also has sections focussed on health, and on work and the workplace. In terms of health there are a number of chapters focussed on HIV – a key issue for the MDGs also. Interestingly one chapter considers explicitly male experiences – here, as in a number of other chapters specifically positioning men as the subjects of gendered research. The chapters also re-define health in terms of presenting this as a rights issue, or in terms of noting how inequalities in women’s access to services related to poverty and ethnicity are “tantamount to a form of gender violence against, poor, minority mothers” (ibid: 12; Coates 2010).

While the health section seeks to re-define how health is understood, the sections on work re-visit some key conceptualisations from the 1970s such as pay gaps, informality and the favouring of women workers for their ‘nimble fingers’, for example.

\(^3\) The only dedicated section of the book not also considered in the review as a dedicated section is what is entitled ‘Gender, ‘race’ and migration’. While there are a number of studies considering migration financed under the scheme, their gendered findings are more around the impact on household relations or employment and thus here presented under these themes. Race is still not a well explored concept within the scheme, and certainly not as it intersects with gender.
It also considers newer phenomenon such as ethical trade. More generally there is a focus on gender (in)equality and the quality of jobs, rather than wages per se. This is something echoed in the post-2015 call to focus on ‘decent’ work and notions of dignity. The sections in this evidence synthesis focussed on health and work similarly might expect to see new conceptualisations emerge and the broadening of issues covered within established fields of enquiry to include new themes and take account of new processes.

Notably absent from this handbook is a section on education, despite the prominence of education in the MDG frameworks. Experts have emphasised the potential of education to alleviate poverty and contribute to gender equality through securing substantial benefits for health, productivity and democratic participation, for example. Since the 1990s there has been huge emphasis upon broadening global access to education, which has partly been achieved through improvements in girls’ access to school. However, girls still make up 54% of the out-of-school population, and the enrolment rates for poor, rural girls have actually fallen, bucking global trends (GMR 2014: 2). Increasingly, therefore, the salience of the intersection of poverty and gender has been recognised in keeping poor girls out of school, and from learning and achieving while they are there, with increasing emphasis upon research and policy that goes beyond access and into more nuanced understandings of gender. The importance of learning outcomes and quality education for poverty alleviation and a range of other social goods has also played a key role in the post-2015 agenda (Adams 2012), while the complexity of educational contexts, in which girls can experience multiple forms of gendered discrimination, including gender-based violence, continues to be emphasised (Parkes and Chege 2010). Analysis of the level of engagement of awards under the Joint Fund with some of these broader educational debates, specifically as they relate to gender and poverty, will form a key part of this review.

Households feature heavily throughout the collection edited by Chant. Echoing the concept of the household presented in the later ESRC-DFID call specification, gender researchers do not take the household as a unit of analysis but instead see households as a site of inequality and gendered power relations, and look inside households to explain relative deprivations and well-being. In the Chant collection there is a specific focus on female headed households, echoing the fact that female headship has been an important area for gender research since the mid-1980s, and something that remains important today in terms of understandings of gendered
experiences of poverty and anti-poverty policies. The extent to which awards under the Joint Fund have explored the household as a site of unequal gender power relations and offer new insights into the functioning of different household types will be explored in this review.

The collection also demonstrates a broadening since the 1980s of what is studied when considering households, families and intimate relations. Importantly there are a number of chapters that focus explicitly on sexuality. They move beyond considering sexuality only as sexual acts to understanding this as a lived identity. They also look beyond adult fear of, and desire to have control over, young women’s sexuality and mobility, and look instead at the young women themselves. Similarly a number of chapters consider older women and ageing as an important but under-researched area. This intersection, here of gender and age, is a feature of a large number of the chapters demonstrating the move toward adopting an ‘intersectional’ approach, a trend seen more generally across gender and feminist studies. This evidences both new areas for research and new ways of approaching research within the analysis of gender and poverty. The synthesis will seek to highlight the extent to which the awards follow this trend toward intersectionality.

The final section of the Chant collection on ‘new frontiers’ of gender research sees chapters focus on key issues such as sexuality and masculinity, and on specific contexts such as disasters and climate change, suggesting these to be cutting edge issues for the gender and poverty research agenda. None of these issues are particularly well addressed within the Joint Fund and there are too few studies to allow for a specific analysis of the contribution of the Joint Fund to knowledge of these areas. The ‘new frontiers’ section also discusses women’s community and ‘political’ roles and how they play out in the neo-liberal context. This composes a separate section in this evidence synthesis review, given participation and mobilisation, particularly as it seeks to affect policy, might be seen to be important for a scheme jointly funded by the ESRC and DFID.

4.4 Summary
This short review of the post-2015 policy context and the issues seen to be key in terms of academic work in gender and poverty has highlighted a number of issues that might be seen to be important components of any body of work developed over the last 10 years – such as sexuality, masculinity, violence against women. It highlights also a move in how issues are conceptualised – for example re-defining
health as a rights issue and poor maternal health as a reflection of structural inequalities - and how gender is understood – with, for example, a move toward intersectionality in academia and a desire to expand how poverty and well-being is measured in policy circles. The extent to which such moves are also reflected in the research funded under the ESRC-DFID scheme will now be considered.
5. Evidence Synthesis

The review of evidence will be a thematic review with information generated by the grants awarded under the Joint Fund synthesised. Every grant that generated new gendered knowledge is discussed in the synthesis review. Each grant awarded that is discussed will be identified by the name of the Principal Investigator (in bold) and where the review refers to a specific output generated under the award, this will be referenced with author name and date. Each theme will be briefly contextualised with reference to key trends in the literature and/or policy. The main contribution of the Joint Fund to each theme will then be summarised. An analysis of the overall contribution of the Joint Fund (not individual awards) will then follow and will highlight any omissions in gender terms – not just in terms of information or area covered but also in terms of the level of gender analysis provided.

The synthesis begins by considering the notion of gendered poverty, including poverty alleviation programmes. It then considers the new evidence generated around gendered understandings of health and education. Awards focussed on better understanding political mobilisation are then reviewed. The review then focuses on a number of key sites of gender inequality – the household and the workplace - and some key areas of gendered concern - violence, safety and mobility, and gender relations and identities. There is here no explicit discussion of sexualities or gendered rights as none of the awards explicitly addressed this issue and while at times there was discussion of issues related to the topic, these tended to reduce sexuality to sex.

5.1 Understandings and experiences of poverty and poverty alleviation

Bebbington (2007 citing Green and Hulme 2005: 872) reminds us that the question around poverty should not be why people are poor, but why poverty is tolerated as an outcome and for whom. This section considers poverty as an ‘outcome’ for women in particular. It presents a synthesis of the contribution to knowledge around gendered poverty and how men and women experience poverty differently generated by a large number of diverse grants awarded under the scheme. It begins with a review of a number of studies that add to understandings of gendered income poverty and particularly how this relates to employment. It then considers crisis and change, before looking at studies that focus more on well-being. It ends by considering poverty alleviation programmes.
5.1.1 Income poverty, education and employment

Despite calls to widen how poverty is understood and the recognition of the multi-dimensional nature of poverty, income poverty remains an important element of the poverty policy context. The new SDGs look set to still position reducing income poverty as a key measure of ‘success’, with the Open Working Group (OWG) proposing it to be Target 1 in Goal 1. Calls to disaggregate key SDG indicators by gender (in OWG SDG 17.18) suggest that understanding the gender dimensions of income poverty will also be a key policy concern. A number of awards under the Joint Fund provide new evidence on women’s income poverty and in particular consider how employment and education may, or may not, reduce that poverty. Despite the ‘economic’ focus the majority of the studies here provide a gendered reading of women’s income poverty and many also at least seek to provide a comparison with men.

As a starting point Harriss-White’s study demonstrates how women’s relative poverty may be related to the historical adverse gender wage differential, which has persisted into the 21st century. Her study of the food grains economy in India finds women’s wages to be 30-40% lower than men’s wages (Harriss-White 2012). However, White’s study in Zambia highlights women are not an homogenous group, noting that although married and single women have similar levels of employment, single women are more likely to experience hunger, to live in sub-standard accommodation and experience greater health problems (White et al. 2012). Similarly for older women, age may be more important than gender in explaining their position with Falkingham’s study on Tajikstan suggesting that roughly equal numbers of older men and women are found below the poverty line (Ablezova 2008). These studies highlight that women are not an homogenous group and the need to view findings through an intersectional lens.

While accepting women are not a homogenous group, the grants awarded under the Joint Fund highlight the continued difference in earning power between women and men. For example, Harriss-White when considering the impact of male migration on the Dalit women left behind (Harriss-White 2012) highlights that even when the women entered into traditionally male occupations the relative earnings gap did not necessarily improve. Teal’s study shows a significant difference in the rate of rise of earnings in time for men (more) than women, a difference which persisted even if education levels were controlled for (60% compared to 45%) (Nsowah-Nuamah 2010). That is, even if there is investment in education the rate of return is lower for
women in terms of earnings. Overall Harriss-White from her study of women in paddy-rice business families concludes that women experience what Ester Boserup in the 1970s termed ‘productive deprivation’. That is, their education was a status good and led neither to economic participation, nor control over assets or control over major economic decisions. The study concluded that higher education of some women is a good example of the economic inefficiency of gender relations.

Cousins’ award highlights that gender intersects with other characteristics to produce a bias that favours those who possess better-than-average resources, education and social networks, which generally means men (Aliber and Cousins 2013). This in part explains why in the South African context of the study, the large proportion of black farmers who are women have derived little benefit from land redistribution - not because of being women per se, but from characteristics associated with being a woman.

The changing nature of women’s employment is noted in a number of studies, for example women becoming specialist tailors in the Harriss-White study. Despite the increased diversity of occupations for women she notes no woman was mentioned in interviews as being an entrepreneur, assuming this to mean that this was not something women achieved, or perhaps aspired to. Educated girls and women in the study instead aspired to salaried jobs, an educated groom and reduced dowries (Mani et al. 2013). The Ansell study further suggests that not only may it be more difficult for women to access capital to start a business but that they may also lack the confidence to do so, due to lack of a secure income and fear of not being able to pay back the loan if the business failed (Hajdu et al. 2011). Providing capital via female only micro-finance schemes has been a popular development policy. However, Fafchamps’ study highlights there is less gender assorting (sexes self-selecting to work with the same sex) when trust matters more, and concludes that microfinance providers should thus be careful in their practice of working with single-sex groups (Barr et al. 2012).

The Timaeus study looking at receipt of a Child Support Grant in South Africa suggests this to be an alternative source of security that enables employment options to be explored by non-working women. It notes it is associated with quite large effects on employment, which are larger in low income households, with a higher probability for those in receipt of grants of being in the labour force, lower unemployment probability, and higher probability of being employed. It found that
younger women respond much more to receipt of the grant, which may be due to their lack of funds to overcome the fixed costs of working (Eyal and Woolardyz 2010). That is, it suggests lack of economic resources keeps young women from being able to enter paid work.

How women acquire the skills for work may also be different than for men. In the Harriss-White study, women who became tailors learnt not through apprenticeships, as was usual for young men, but in informal training organisations (Harriss-White and Rodrigo 2013). Kantor in Afghanistan also considered tailoring, and noted that while women struggle against a wide range of obstacles to work as tailors, it provides them with some degree of independence, and can be key if the male breadwinner is incapacitated / underemployed. The study notes the numerous hurdles that arise from conservative social norms that mean entry to this world can be risky for women, but suggests that for women who can engage in tailoring work on good terms it has both positive material and relational dimensions (Pain and Mallett 2014). This suggests that women's entry into the labour market can shape household dynamics, relations and attitudes for the better (Kantor and Pain 2011). They suggest that empowering women and finding ways to shift gender norms are the best way of encouraging women’s participation in training and the labour market.

The ‘where’ of women’s work is also important in both Harriss-White’s and Kantor’s studies as they highlight the confinement of women to the home. The resultant lack of engagement in public spaces might contribute to a lack of knowledge of markets, further reducing income generating opportunities. In Afghanistan, Kantor’s study noted that there were few ways for women to move beyond the conscripted roles that confined them to the private sphere (Kantor and Pain 2011). In India, Harriss-White’s study noted that social norms around women’s mobility led to a large increase in outsourcing and homeworking for women, leading the authors to conclude that ‘the genders are integrated into the market, then subject to a change in industrial structure and then segregated’ (Harriss-White and Rodrigo 2013).

The increase in women involved in work, albeit in home-based activities, may have an impact on children as evidenced by Bhalotra’s award, which also focussed on India. The study threw up a puzzle as to why there were higher child mortality rates among Hindus compared to Muslims, given the former have an educational advantage. They found that in part this was explained by the fact that Hindu women are more likely to work and suggest children of working mothers exhibit higher
mortality rates (Bhalotra et al. 2009). In order to explore female autonomy the study also asked questions about who controls money in the household, if women earn or have money of their own, women’s ability to seek healthcare, and attitudes to violence. Interestingly the study notes, despite differences in education and employment, differences in wealth and in female autonomy are not large and appear to have little influence on the religion mortality differential. This is interesting in that other research has suggested that women’s paid employment is linked to ‘female autonomy’ indicators, including ESRC-DFID research funded under the Joint Fund.

Indeed one output under the Alkire award (Vaz et al. 2013) seeks to develop a Relative Autonomy Index (RAI). It is based on questionnaire responses from a Bangladesh household survey and covering 18 domains of decision making, it seeks to measure motivational autonomy. It suggests women’s autonomy is related to their occupation, while men’s is largely determined by income of the household in the study. However, other studies in the Joint Fund note that while autonomy is linked to paid work, paid work can also reduce dignity, and several participants in Noble’s study in South Africa described ways in which their dignity felt so compromised at work that they decided to leave their jobs (Wright et al. 2014).

Hulme’s award for research on Bangladesh suggests that women enter into income generating activities as a need not a choice (Banks 2013). This is something also noted by Kantor in Afghanistan, suggesting, despite religious and social pressure to keep women at home, women are able to play a more active role in economic downturns. While there was some evidence that hardship is changing gender norms to allow women entry into work and public space, there was also evidence to suggest that hardship also meant that while men get married later, brides are ‘sold’ earlier. This suggests economic crisis (as will be considered in more depth below) brings mixed outcomes for women.

Summary:
- The studies suggest an earnings gap persists even when women move into traditionally male areas or diversify their occupations, and markets remain segregated.
- Women’s opportunities and earning capacity may still be bounded by their relative lack of mobility in, and knowledge of, the public sphere, while their lack of access to economic resources limits their ability to invest in business or even, especially in the case of young women, enter employment.
• It suggests that local cultural and social norms about what is acceptable for women, in terms of their ability to move into public spaces, governs to what extent they can enter training/employment successfully.

• Education is often seen to be an important route to economic empowerment but if returns to education are low for women then it is a good example of the economic inefficiency of gender relations.

• Forty years after the term was first coined, women may still experience ‘productive deprivation’ and the evidence seems to suggest unless combined with other structural changes that address broader gender inequities, an education may not be sufficient alone for women to escape the poverty trap.

Limitations of the studies:

➢ While exploring what diversifying occupations means for women, there is little explicit discussion of power issues and how men in particular feel about women moving into traditionally male areas of work.

➢ The studies highlight that women are not a homogenous group, and young women in particular may face specific constraints. Yet while this suggests the need for an intersectional lens, for example taking into account how gender intersects with other characteristics such as age, class, ethnicity and sexuality, few studies explicitly apply such a lens.
Harris – White’s study in India spans a large number of years and sectors, taking an historical view and looking across new and old sectors of employment. It covers the changing nature of employment/production in the food grains economy and explicitly explores women’s roles and the restrictions on their activities, and the implications for their access to markets and incomes. This gendered analysis highlights how ‘progress’ is gendered and does not bring benefits to all equally. For example, changes in post-harvest processing and rice mill automation generate not only massive labour displacement but also a masculinisation of the work force. The study reveals what seems to be employers’ active dislike of low-caste unskilled and female labour. This is in contrast to other sectors where employers understand that the feminisation of labour enables them to reduce compliance with the formal regulation of employment relations and also allows them to keep wages low.

The study then highlights the complexity of understanding the causes of women’s income poverty as it relates to employment. It also pays attention to the intersections of gender and caste in an Indian context, and provides interesting conclusions about the ways in which Dalit women engage with different industries.

In methodological terms the element of the project looking at retail supermarkets engaged with the women’s worker union from the start of the project and trained two women workers/unionists to undertake the survey. However, despite this, in the large retail stores women still did not want to be interviewed, suggesting that what might not be assumed to be ‘hard to reach’ participants can become so in situations of relative powerlessness.

The study illustrates that women are not a homogenous group and have differing experiences of poverty that have different root causes. It also highlights that power issues are important to consider within the research findings and also in the research process.
5.1.2 Crisis and change

During the recent financial crisis, measures to protect ‘the poor’ have often not considered the gendered dimensions of crisis, making women invisible. Yet women may have been more severely affected than men and in more diverse ways. Women may also face particular risks during conflict and disaster, and climate change may increase these risks. The Association for Women’s Rights in Development (AWID) recently highlighted that crises cannot be seen as isolated events, and in particular that economic and financial crises cannot be seen in isolation from food, fuel, water, environment, human rights, and care crises (AWID 2012). A number of the awards discussed here seek to explore the differentiated household impact of crisis including health crises, ‘disaster’ and environmental change, as well as economic crisis and the rise of the ‘new poor’.

Wu’s award highlights that an increasing number of younger people in China cannot find jobs, which contributes to them being an important group among the new urban poor, along with middle-aged people who have lost their jobs under market transition. While the discussion in the many outputs the award generated is in general not gendered, one paper does contain some gender analysis (Liu et al. 2008). This paper suggests a greater tendency for women to be laid off or become unemployed under market transition, and notes that women have lower income levels. This appears to suggest they may be an important group among the new urban poor but does not provide clear data to support this. It is also noted that ‘market factors’ such as age, gender, and educational attainment influence the poverty status of urban poor households, but not that of the migrant poor. This might be read to suggest that transition economies may have negative outcomes for women embedded within them (rather than migrating to them).

Williams’ study in India also touches on notions of the ‘new poor’, the development of which is also linked to (local) market transitions that have led to the decline in earnings among artisans and some farmers in the communities studied (Williams et al. 2012). This study looks in particular at how this poverty is felt – as livelihood decline and an increase in personal debt is masked behind ‘decent’ living conditions. It notes that for the artisans, as this was an occupation for the whole household, when markets decline norms that confine women to the home leave them without alternatives. However, not all women lose out and those (male) farmers hit by market changes that force them off the land may rent this land to (traditionally rather than newly) poor women involved in a local anti-poverty programme (see below). This
highlights once again the need to unpack the category ‘women’ and recognise differences between different groups of women, and men.

While market transition may cause a ‘new’ urban poor to emerge, other crises may also influence how poverty is experienced. Collins’ award focussed on disaster includes a gendered understanding of security and in particular health security in Bangladesh (Ray-Bennett et al. 2010). It is interesting also for its focus not just on low-income men and women, but also those with high income, as there is a general lack of research on ‘middle’ and ‘upper’ income women post-disaster in the developing world context. It highlights how ‘rich’ respondents demonstrated different problems from their poorer counterparts during times of crisis. For example, one female respondent stated that despite having enough food stocks she consumed little food and water during flooding to avoid using the toilet, access to which required walking through the floodwater.

Hulme’s study in Bangladesh focussed on climate change adaptation. In terms of gendered knowledge it provides support for what other studies have shown - that women are subordinated in complex ways in terms of negotiating adaptation or change and decision-making and access to resources more generally. The study considers environmental migrants and the gender difference in adaptation to new locations in terms of income generating opportunities (Roy et al. 2012). As the women used to grow vegetables and rear livestock they find it difficult to find work in the new setting, and the time taken to find employment is also increased by women having to come to terms with the need to accept socially undermining jobs such as working as housemaids.

However context is important, and Ansell notes that in their study locations in Southern Africa women are not expected to work after marriage, making it difficult for them to survive in instances of economic downturn when their husbands are not working (Hajdu et al. 2011). While men accept women working as an economic necessity, the Hulme study highlights that it is still a challenge to their authority and status, with men seeing women who then seek to negotiate voice from this position of income earner as ‘disobedient’ (Banks 2013). Moreover, as will be discussed further below, a woman’s entry into employment or income generation may bring shame on her and her family, especially if she is among the upper classes (Walker, various outputs). Watts’ study in Tanzania also suggests that women’s access to income will not necessarily lead to an improvement of their situation within the household.
Attanasio’s study notes how economic shock felt within the household is not necessarily always negative for women/girls. The study evidence from rural Columbia (Fitzsimons and Mesnard 2008) notes that the departure of the head of the household (male or female) affects school enrolment and work participation. For boys, the departure has a negative consequence for schooling, as boys have to work to cover the loss of income, and thus increases their work participation. In Gansu China also, father migration has a strong negative effect on the enrolment of boys in school, with a boy 21.2% less likely to be enrolled if his father migrates (Gannum award article by Lee and Park 2010). For girls, Attanasio’s study suggests it is more complicated, but that it may actually benefit them in terms of increased schooling.

Attanasio’s study touched on what happens during health crises and found that girls’ nutritional status deteriorates after a member of the household has a health shock, because the household reallocates those resources to the sick wage earner. This leads to deterioration in girls’ nutritional status, and it is more likely to deteriorate than boys’ nutritional status (Galiano and Vera-Hernandez 2008). Ansell, looking specifically at the AIDS crisis, suggests it is exacerbating poverty amongst rural poor in Africa but there are gender differences in how this is experienced. Women/girls are expected to take on increased care work in HIV-affected households and young orphan women are vulnerable to being moved between households to help with household tasks, while young men are expected to take on paid labour (van Blerk et al. 2008).

Wunder’s study highlights that coping during crisis may help the household but not necessarily women (Pouliot 2012). It looks at the ‘gap-filling’ function of environmental products with a focus on women’s shea-based activities. Harvest comes during lean season/when families are going hungry but while these activities increase the general well-being of households, there is a high time cost for women with a risk of overburdening them, making them even more time poor. They conclude these activities can contribute to food security, can provide women with a source of cash which they can spend on their family (e.g. for medicine and school fees), and can contribute to a more diversified livelihood strategy, and hence a decreased vulnerability to climate variability - but at what price? Rather than focus on the impact on women per se, the focus of the study is on the fact that women may become less productive and farm productivity overall may actually decline, thus alleviating hunger in the short term but not adding to food security in the longer term.
Before presenting a summary and analysis of the gendered knowledge generated by the Joint Fund in this theme, it is important to note that a large number of studies in this area were gender blind or included gender only as an interesting finding, rather than as a focus in its own right.

Perhaps the greatest level of gender blindness was evident in those studies focussed on two key global concerns – climate change and conflict. In terms of climate change, the ‘gender neutral’ approach to the study of the issues has been noted in the existing literature, where masculinist knowledge prevails (Israel and Sachs 2013). Similar critiques can be levelled at research around conflict, where women, if included, are often included as a ‘special case’ with a focus on rape as an act of war. This gender blind approach is evident in a number of awards that focus on modelling concepts such as resilience and resistance or take a ‘macro’ level approach focussing on climate governance. Where women are included it is to illustrate a strategy or as an example, not as gendered beings. However, as the awards around climate change and conflict address issues of power, equity, and justice, a gender perspective could have been applied. Not least since both may produce groups of ‘new poor’ unable to adapt to the crisis, and this may include women.

Summary:
- Crisis may result in the formation of a ‘new poor’ and the way they live their deprivation may be different from those who have traditionally made up the poor.
- There may be a gendered experience of deprivation, with winners and losers, and this may not be easily predicted. For example, household crisis may bring some benefits to girls in terms of education, but not boys, who may have to take on the breadwinner role.
- Overall, coping and adaptation strategies adopted during crisis may benefit the household, but not necessarily women within the household.
- Economic necessity may overcome male reluctance to let ‘their’ wives work, but entry into the labour market may bring bounded positive outcomes for women because their paid employment still represents a challenge to the man and his male role.

Limitations:
- Much of the discussion of market transition and crisis is not explicitly gendered
but instead makes some limited mention of men/women as is also the case in the discussion of the impact of household crisis on boys/girls.

- While there is some implicit discussion of household conflict as an outcome of crisis and change, the issue of ‘domestic’ violence is not explicitly addressed, although the wider literature suggests it may be a potential outcome.
- The awards around conflict and climate change demonstrate a tendency to ignore gender and suggest the need to address this resultant gap in knowledge.
BOX 2
Case study: Carr and Duffield

The work of Carr and Duffield looks at a little studied area – the aid worker. Duffield suggests that among aid workers there has been a 'bunkerisation' of response – living in gated communities - and ‘remote management techniques’ from international staff. Resilience, in the form of ‘care of the self’ techniques, becomes a therapeutic response to the fears induced in this way. Viewed from this perspective, apart from reducing risk, the bunker has important therapeutic functions in a world that aid workers no longer understand or feel safe in. Local staff are most at-risk, but with the least training. While none of the various outputs from the project are ‘gendered’, a gender lens might easily have been applied. For example, gendered experiences of bunkerisation might potentially see women aid workers, more than men, ‘outside’ the bunkers on lower pay and more precarious conditions or contrastingly as wives, rather than workers, bounded by the gated communities.

The work of Carr focusses on discrepancies in the pay and benefits of international compared to local aid workers. It finds that if aid workers happen to have come from a wealthier economy of origin, their (expatriate) remuneration will conventionally be ‘international’, if they are locally-based, or even from another lower-income economy, their remuneration usually will be a ‘local’ salary. This leads to a double de-motivation. The expatriate may feel guilty, may develop an inflated sense of self-worth, may become de-motivated; the host-nation worker feels devalued, becomes indignant and inclined to lower their output in response to the lower compensation. The initial study did explore the findings for gender difference, but it found this not to be (statistically) significant.

The project team were approached for interview to explore further the seeming lack of a gender lens. Discussion revealed the project to be a good example of one that has continued well past the end of the award, and one in which the team continue to collaborate, actively seek to continue to have a direct policy impact and are still exploring new dimensions of the theme. As an example of this, and how ideas of what is important can change over time, there are plans to re-visit the data set and re-analyse in order to tease out the gender aspects.

It may be the case that small follow up grants could facilitate a gendered analysis of non-gendered projects, especially those employing quantitative methods and this may be something welcomed by award holders.
5.1.3 Poverty as well-being

While decreasing income poverty remains an important international policy concern, there has been a move away from using only income as a measure of well-being, to accepting poverty as multi-dimensional. This has meant an associated acceptance of the need for new ways of measuring well-being and new indicators of relative poverty. A number of studies sought to expand understandings of poverty making a clear contribution in the field. They introduce new elements to the on-going debate on how poverty is experienced, including Alkire (empowerment and autonomy), Walker (shame), Noble (dignity), and White more generally on what drives well-being.

The importance of non-monetary elements of well-being for men and women are made clear in the studies within the Joint Fund. However, as White notes, women are not an homogenous group and while men in Zambia enjoy higher levels of well-being in almost every indicator in the study, with married women second, single women have the lowest levels of well-being. The fact that women living on their own have the lowest levels of well-being is suggested to be explained by ‘social exclusion, economic hardship, political marginality, gossip, and sexual predation’ (Helguero, White and Jha 2014). Gossip is a real issue for women’s well-being. Newell looking at TB found that while people gossip about women with TB, women are more likely to be gossiped about whatever the disease. Respondents viewed the negative social consequences of TB as greater for women than for men, partly because of overall gender inequities within Bangladesh, and partly because a woman joins her husband’s family when she marries and the health of the bride is seen to be important.

Various outputs from Walker’s study considering shame noted familial outcomes also, with women more than men likely to exclude themselves or be excluded from the family gatherings that their husbands continued to attend. It also suggested that in situations of poverty, parents were often despised by their children, women despised their male partners, and that some men take out their self-loathing on their partners and children. While it highlights that men do suffer if they fail to match the expectation of masculinity within society, it is women who frequently carry the burden of responsibility, for example, having the responsibility for budgeting to meet basic needs, and as such carry a greater risk of being publicly shamed. Moreover, the diverse roles of women meant that they were typically exposed to shamming more often than men and also exposed to multiple and cumulative forms of shaming, meaning they risked incurring new forms of shame as they sought to avoid others.
The importance of these issues for women's well-being is raised by Noble also, and in this study women provided examples of ways in which external judgment, humiliation, or lack of respect impacts on their dignity in terms of their sense of self, and highlights that loss of dignity compromises their very sense of humanity.

While a woman's entry into employment or income generation may bring shame on her and her family, in Noble's study when asked what would help to further protect and respect their dignity most women said 'jobs', and this was linked to the lack of autonomy that they felt when out of work. In particular lone mothers regarded 'decent' paid work as the main route to attaining dignity. That is, the nature of the work matters, and Tallontire – focussed on fair trade agriculture in Kenya – saw gender 'empowerment' factors related to work to include good employment quality, secure employment, the ability to organise and form groups, and a supportive management structure (Said-Allsopp and Tallontire 2014). Other studies also echo that the nature of employment and the nature of remuneration is important.

Noble, for example, highlights how women when working for neighbours are often paid in food (not money), which is seen as problematic. Being paid in alcohol was more problematic still, with one respondent noting 'because you are poor they pay you with alcohol. All that means is that they don't have respect for your family'. Worse still was 'begging'. It is interesting to note that 'begging' here was not street begging but acts such as going to neighbours to ask to heat water or cook on their stove were conceptualised by the women as 'begging'. While these women saw it as something to be avoided at all costs, often they had no other choice and this 'begging' from neighbours was seen as a huge erosion of dignity. Noble's respondents also noted being able to keep clean as an issue, an everyday activity that assumes great importance when people are unable to undertake this easily. The 'strain of being unable to keep clean' was seen to impact on their mental well-being, leading to a sense of despondency and defeatedness, and in some cases even thoughts of suicide and infanticide.

While many studies focussed on the dis-empowerment that is associated with poverty others looked at the issue of empowerment. Alkire et al. (2013a, 2013b) uses quantitative data to derive a composite weighted index of women's empowerment in agriculture index (WEAI). It has two sub-domains, one containing 5

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4 This is interesting, as the ability to borrow or utilise social networks has alternatively been constructed as an element of ‘social capital’ and as such largely discussed in a positive sense (Lovell 2009).
dimensions of empowerment (5DE) given a weight of 90% and a second gender parity indicator, relative to men (GPI), given a weight of 10%. The 5DE is designed to show the proportion of women empowered and the intensity of empowerment, and includes indicators on: 1) input into productive decisions and autonomy; 2) ownership and control over assets and access to credit; 3) control over income use; 4) group membership and public speaking; 5) time spent on workload (productive and reproductive) and leisure. The concept and choice of empowerment domains was established by USAID based on its priorities for the Feed the Future program in 19 countries. The study purports to show absolute numbers and levels of empowerment across time and space, those enjoying parity, the disempowerment gap between men and women, and socio-demographic factors related to these. 5

For each pilot sample country indicator composition and correlation tables are shown. The findings show, for example, in Bangladesh - using the 5DE - indicator - 61% of women and 60% of men are disempowered, with inadequate achievement in 42% of domains for women and 34% for men. For women the domains contributing to disempowerment are weak leadership and lack of control over resources. A lack of leadership and influence in the community may account for more of men's disempowerment than women's. Men report little disempowerment in control over income and in decision making around agricultural production compared to women. Some 17% of households in Bangladesh contained a disempowered woman and an empowered man, while 21% of households contained an empowered woman and a disempowered man under these metrics. Gender parity is highest in Bangladesh (60%) and lowest in Guatemala (36%), and in households that lack parity the average empowerment gap is 25% in Bangladesh and 29% in Guatemala.

Tallontire focuses on ‘empowerment pathways’ or the pathways to greater well-being and suggests these are through ‘being’, ‘doing’ and ‘sharing’. In this study ways of being (related to ideas of ‘power within’) stem from women migrating and loosening of norms, more ‘equality’ between men and women in the workplace and as women learn women ‘can do things’. Different ways of doing (related to ideas of ‘power with/collective power’) are illustrated by various examples such as women setting up a crèche collectively, then a hotel and also bee keeping activities. The third pathway was sharing (related to ideas of ‘power to’) and was illustrated by the fact that rather

5 Of course the extent to which quantitative measures are capable of capturing empowerment is open to question. Outcomes also partly depend on where the threshold lines of adequate ‘empowerment’ are drawn in the indicators. The prevalence of decision making questions also means female heads of household are likely to be ‘empowered’, despite having to negotiate with other agents e.g. in-laws, children.
than saying 'if I had a better salary I would...' woman saw what others were doing on the same salary and this was an inspiration for them. It concludes that sharing can influence being and doing, and doing at the collective level can in turn influence being at the household level. However, the study highlights that questions remain about how barriers to empowerment (e.g. patriarchy) can be overcome, and what the long-term sustainability of this 'empowerment' is, given that it relies upon employment founded on the exploitation of resources (human, environmental and capital) and whose products are integrated into global markets as (relatively) undifferentiated, substitutable goods.

While exploitation in the work place remains an issue, Noble's study highlighted that perhaps the largest erosion to dignity came through one particular type of paid activity - transactional sex. One woman suggested that her engagement in sex-for-income activities, and the fact that this is known within the community meant her dignity was 'finished'. As the Pridmore study suggests, girls from HIV-affected households are particularly vulnerable to transactional sex (Moleni 2008) and this highlights how it is important to recognise how different factors intersect to explain experiences of shame and dignity.

Given transactional sex was seen to be so eroding of dignity, it is perhaps surprising that the focus group participants who spoke about how they had to use transactional sex as a method of survival in Noble's study referred to it directly. It suggests this important but still understudied issue may face fewer methodological barriers to investigation than might be assumed – at least in certain contexts, where, even if stigmatised, transactional sex is normalised.

Summary:

- The studies highlight how poverty can bring shame to those who are living in poverty and kill any dignity they have, and how this compromises their very sense of humanity.
- Poverty is a gendered experience with women’s well-being being significantly lower than men’s, and with women suffering more often, and dealing with more diverse forms of shame.
- The coping strategies women employ, including engaging in income-generating activities, may add new forms of shame and reduce their dignity even further.
- On the other hand, the studies show a renewed focus on empowerment, seeking
to identify pathways to empowerment, via employment and quantifying relative
gendered (dis)empowerment.

Limitations:
- While all studies highlight differences between men and women this was not always accompanied by a gendered analysis and instead, explanations were often limited to gender differences as emerging from ‘cultural factors’ with no further explanation of what these are, or their role in engendering structural inequalities.
- Methodologically and epistemologically speaking, questions are raised by attempts to quantify a notion such as empowerment and while such models may be presented as objective ‘fact’ the subjective decisions that are made in their construction need to be recognised.
- The studies also highlight the need to ensure a gender balance, and this time it is men that perhaps need to be further considered in terms of notions of dignity, for example.
BOX 3
Case Study: Herrick

This project in South Africa was not envisaged as a gendered project but constructed more within a public health context. Initial review for the typology classified this as a ‘non-gendered’ study, given its seeming focus on places (shebeens) not people. This definition was something supported by the PI (personal communication). However, a review of the related outputs revealed one paper that offered an interesting perspective on men’s identity through the study of the embodied self in situations of homelessness.

The article (Daya and Wilkins 2013) focussed on exploring the complex emotional challenges of everyday life in a homeless shelter and looks at how drinking and belonging can shape each other, in sometimes unexpected and often contradictory ways. It explores how homelessness challenges a person’s sense of being on the most intimate scale – that of the embodied self. The homeless shelter while offering a place to sleep, eat and ‘work’ offered little privacy or freedom, with the male respondents feeling they were being watched and judged for their drinking. This meant, while offering a ‘home’, the men felt little sense of belonging. In contrast the shebeen – an informal drinking establishment - was seen to be a space where a sense of belonging could be achieved.

Using an innovative methodology, including ‘body books’ to map feelings, the work adds important knowledge around how men live the realities of alcohol problems and how alcohol related activities can provide their sense of self. Yet while offering rich insights into masculine identity and into a ‘hard to reach’ culture, the gendered nature of the research was almost accidental – the focus on men only arose because only men agreed to take part in this element of the study.

The study is also interesting because to access this hard to reach (yet actually relatively over researched) group the study sought to bring together all those academics already working on the topic. The various different strands were then led by various researchers, at various stages of their careers – including a very early career academic yet to start a PhD, but who was already working in the field/with access to the men. Rather than ‘use’ her to gain access to the study participants, she worked alongside a more experienced researcher and they published together. The fact existing power relations did not determine who did what highlights this is as a good example of good feminist research methodology, albeit from a non-feminist study.
5.1.4 Anti-poverty and social protection programmes

This section considers the contribution to knowledge made by awards under the Joint Fund to understandings of the gendered impact of poverty alleviation programmes and in particular social protection programmes. Social protection has been an important field of gender inquiry for the last 15 years and a large body of work now exists. More recently this has focussed on a particular type of programme favoured by governments and donors – Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) programmes. The majority of CCTs target economic resources at women but the intended beneficiaries are children, and receipt of payments is on condition of improving children’s education and health. This has led to critiques of such programme (see for example Molyneux 2006) and claims that they place mothers ‘at the service’ of the poverty agenda rather than served by it, resulting in a ‘motherisation’ (ibid) or ‘feminisation’ (Chant 2008) of policy response, including in crisis (Bradshaw 2010). This well-established body of literature problematises the role of women in the programmes due to the increased time and the opportunity costs, including lost wages, to them. It also highlights how such programmes, if they only address women’s ‘practical gender needs’ rather than furthering their ‘strategic gender interests, may ultimately reinforce rather than challenge unequal gender relations (Molyneux 1985; Moser 1989). The need for any conditionalities being applied has also been debated (see for example DFID 2006). While it is generally agreed these programmes can bring positive results, they are not without their critics, and it is assumed that the grants awarded under the Joint Fund would build on this existing literature and add to the debates around the costs-benefits of conditional cash transfers targeted at women.

The **Attanasio** study did consider both conditionalities and the targeting of women. The study adds to the existing evidence, here suggesting conditionalities do matter when considering children’s preventative care. The study also explores the impact of targeting women (although it is important to note the main focus is on economic modelling and the model itself, not on women). It found a Colombian CCT programme (*Familias en Acción*) led to an increase in total consumption expenditure of about 13.3%. Standard economic theory around income elasticity would then suggest a decline in the share of food in total expenditure, in this case estimated at about 0.013. However, quasi-experimental estimates of the impact of the CCT on total and food consumption show that the share of food increases, suggesting more complex effects rather than just increasing household income are at play (Attanasio *et al.* 2009). The authors speculate that this might be explained by the fact that CCTs are targeted at women. They suggest a shift in power towards women might lead to
an increase in total expenditure, inducing a more than proportional increase in food consumption, rather than a decline. This may occur because, in addition to the income effect, the CCT may imply a modification of weights towards mothers’ preferences.

In a subsequent paper (Attanasio and Lechene 2013) the role of women is further explored via the relative size and wealth of the husband and wife’s family networks (derived from village census surname mapping). The effect of targeting women is tested in a collective model of household consumption for a large CCT programme in rural Mexico (PROGRESA/ Oportunidades). They show that the collective model of household consumption is better able to explain the impacts the CCT programme has on the structure of food consumption than the contested, but still often assumed, unitary model. The relative size of husband and wife’s networks are found to be a significant factor in the model. This suggests that as the cash transfer is put in the hands of women, when women have strong networks this further improves their control over household resources, leading to the observed increase in food consumption.

In contrast to the seemingly positive outcome from targeting women with resources noted above, Quisumbing (Kumar and Quisumbing 2010; Ahmed et al. 2011) suggests less positive outcomes from project interventions over the longer term. The study explores the effect on women of agricultural technology interventions in Bangladesh, looking in particular at how holdings of land and assets change over time. It finds that the share of assets held by wives declined, even if they increased their holdings of land. This is significant in the case of jewellery in particular – although this could be due to issues of age/time rather than gender with, for example, differences explained by fathers buying and holding jewellery for their daughter’s future dowry. However, overall while wives’ assets might have increased, the growth rate of men’s assets was higher, so overall increase in household assets did not increase women’s ownership and control of assets, and instead increased gender asset inequality. Women’s assets do however increase more compared to men’s when technologies are disseminated through women’s groups.

This is also a key aspect in the study by Williams that looked at how a universal poverty-alleviation programme was linked to membership of women’s self-help groups in India (Williams et al. 2012) to the extent that membership had become an unofficial entry criterion for participation in the National Rural Employment Guarantee
Act (NREGA). The programme also linked participatory governance initiatives to poverty alleviation, with the explicit intention of creating 'empowered' female citizens (Williams *et al.* 2011). The idea is to build financial security through group savings and micro-enterprise, and enhance social capital through group solidarity and participation within local governance. While evaluations of the programme show it has been successful elsewhere, in the study areas they found limited success in terms of income generation, and evidence that it may have exposed households to new forms of risk. The poorest households could also not afford the weekly payment, thus excluding them from membership benefits. Similarly the ability to participate in governance was not equal for all, producing further marginalisation for some. It also notes the cost is not just in women's time, but may also include a monetary cost of engagement in governance (see below) and notes a concern that poverty alleviation may become a duty for female 'active citizens'.

Other studies similarly highlight differences between women. Ansell notes cash transfers may be more appealing to young people, as an alternative to loans/grants and may increase women's ability to generate income through small businesses (Hajdu *et al.* 2011). Timaeus adds to understanding of how well-being is influenced by grants and similarly agrees that they might be more important for younger women (but this is not a gendered analysis). It is not only money that is important but training also. Attanasio looking at an education/skills intervention for little educated young people in Columbia suggests through the programme women had increased market activity and wages; for men there was no increase in employment rates, but wages did rise. Women experienced larger gains than men, not only in earnings increase, but also in quality of work. There are three reasons presented that might explain this: women may have started with lower levels of education to begin with, women were less likely to drop out/be expelled, and women received a childcare subsidy which may have freed time to devote to training.

Many programmes are aimed at women as mothers or at children via their mothers. They can work on supply/providers or demand/recipients side and most research has focussed on the latter. Bautista however looks at supply and demand and finds pay for performance in Rwanda seems to have no impact on maternal outcomes but suggests higher payments made directly to mothers may increase uptake in maternal services such as prenatal care visits. Importantly, they point out providers have to provide high quality care - getting women into care alone is not enough (Basinga *et al.* 2010).
Noble (various outputs) looks specifically at the Child Support Grant (CSG) in South Africa and the wider benefits or costs this may bring. It suggests it was experienced by many caregivers as protective of dignity in three main ways: by reducing poverty, by helping them to fulfil the role of looking after their children, and more indirectly by enabling caregivers to use the grant in dignity-enhancing ways in their social networks. However, the CSG was also experienced by many as erosive of dignity in three main ways: negative societal attitudes towards CSG recipients, the small amount of the CSG, and issues to do with the application process. This included queuing and not being treated with respect and with experiencing pejorative comments such as 'how come you have three children without a husband'. Walker similarly highlights that queuing (for discounted foods) as part of a welfare programme in Pakistan creates public visibility and thus adds to shame.

While this loss of dignity and increase in shame may then be felt by women more as they are the main target of such programmes, as Timaeus demonstrates, however, even when women are not the main target the public perception is that these are programmes for ‘mothers’. The study notes a low grant take-up rate for maternal orphans and surmises this could be due to misinformation that children without a mother are less likely to have a birth certificate, or fathers believe only a child’s mother can apply for a grant. Perhaps more importantly for this review, it may be that men do not apply as they see stigma to applying for a grant which is typically paid to women (Night et al. 2013).

While programmes such as the CSG target women, they are not the intended beneficiaries, merely the means to deliver welfare to children. Women without children who have no job then have no access to support. Noble’s study asked what difference it would make to women if they were the target of cash resources as poor or unemployed women in their own right. Their replies focussed on dignity and needs, highlighting being able to spend the CSG then on the children alone, and not on women’s needs, and suggesting it would ‘bring back our dignity’. However, some did recognise those outside the programme might not see it as a good thing/good use of their taxes and that ‘other’ women on the programme might abuse it.

This notion that some might abuse grants was also raised in Walker’s study suggesting higher income people see being on a welfare programme in itself to be shameful through constructing those on them as lazy. Originally parliamentarians
were the ones who decided who would benefit\textsuperscript{6}, but as lower caste women typically are confined to the private sphere, they often needed a male intermediary which resulted in them having to 'beg' a man to follow up their case or to offer free services to male relatives to ensure this, for example by cleaning (also see Noble above). It thus forced potential recipients to be more dependent on men and reinforced to them their lack of real power. The study notes the potential psychosocial impact of placing recipients in a position where they must publicly emphasize their neediness. Williams' study notes how many of the ‘traditional poor’ seemed to be excluded from the anti-poverty programme they studied. When asked officials suggested this was due to their (the poor) own ‘incapacity’ to participate. The study notes that this was in reality related to their political isolation and both these studies then highlight the political nature of social protection programmes.

Summary:

- Poverty alleviation programmes in the form of (conditional) cash transfers targeted at women have become popular across the globe. The studies here show such programmes can have mixed outcomes, which may be context specific and depend on the characteristics of the recipients.
- Targeting resources at women may improve the situation of the household but may not improve the position of women within the household or the community as the studies here highlight that shame and loss of dignity may be the unintended outcomes of such projects.
- It appears implementation modalities are important and where programmes involve asset transfer, such as transfer of new technologies, this may be best disseminated through women’s groups.

Limitations:

- The majority of the studies do not problematise the role of women in the programmes or address the increased time and the opportunity costs, including lost wages, to women.
- While gender issues are raised, the gender analysis in the studies is often lacking in terms of conceptual and theoretical understandings of gender and what it means to address women’s practical gender needs rather than their strategic gender interests.
- Modelling the impact of such cash transfers on the household is an interesting

\textsuperscript{6} This was later changed to a score card in 2010, removing explicit power from parliamentarians to decide on benefit recipients.
new approach but as the focus is on testing the collective model others working on the topic from a more sociological or qualitative perspective may find it difficult to capture the important insights generated by this modelling.

- That being said, while the evidence is persuasive it is noted that it does not conclusively demonstrate any gender specific benefit of targeting resources at women and it is thus an area for further research, but perhaps of a different, more qualitative nature.
5.2 Education

Education has become an important international policy concern given its potential to alleviate poverty and contribute to gender equality through securing substantial benefits for health, productivity and democratic participation. While central to international frameworks such as the MDGs and the ‘Education for All’ frameworks, the focus has been critiqued as rather limited and centred on formal primary and secondary schooling. The importance of quality education for poverty alleviation and a range of other social goods is now being promoted within the post-2015 agenda (Adams 2012). Despite gains made through policy initiatives, there has been a growing concern in the global educational discourses about those student populations who have been left behind in the global gains made in school enrolment since the 1990s. Research has also highlighted the gendered experiences of education, and in particular that girls can experience multiple forms of gendered discrimination within the education system, including gender-based violence (Parkes and Chege 2010). At the same time, educational discourses, including large-scale reports such as UNESCO's Global Monitoring Report 2010, demonstrate a growing prominence of intersectional analysis.

The awards which addressed education as their main theme covered a range of topics and country contexts, but in line with the international frameworks the majority focussed on primary and secondary education. The Unterhalter grant, however, presents a sustained critical engagement with the frameworks at both the empirical and theoretical levels, while the Morley and Walker grants both focus on higher education, and challenge assumptions that gender equitable access is 'enough'. A number of studies applied an intersectional lens and in so doing studies such as that by Porter, provide rich insights into the lives of girls. In line with global concerns, the studies also tended to focus on 'hard to reach' or marginalised populations, reflecting the concern with those 'left behind' in the global gains in school enrolment.

Access and progression was the primary focus of the Quisumbing study, which reviewed three anti-poverty strategies in Bangladesh, one of which explicitly addressed education through a Primary Education Stipend (PES). The review noted that more than 90% of children are now enrolled in school, and ‘disparities between boys and girls have been removed’, particularly at the start of the stipend rollout when the enrolment increase was greater for girls than boys. The research also found, however, a negative impact upon grade progression amongst boys from poor households, since they, unlike girls, were ineligible to receive stipends administered
by a separate education transfer programme at the secondary level (Quisumbing et al., 2011). Forms of support for vulnerable or poor students were also explored in the Pridmore grant, although this was in terms of social support rather than financial provision for schooling. This grant found that the Open, Distance and Flexible Learning interventions seemed to engender increased confidence and social networks among some female participants (Jere 2012). In both of these grants, however, discussion of the delivery of support to poor families and students was problematised, highlighting that ‘quick-fix’ solutions for gender equality may not work, particularly in contexts of normalised gender inequalities, or corruption.

A number of studies also looked at access questions, but with a scope that broadened what was explored to include learning and gendered experiences in the classroom. The Porter study, which drew on a substantial range of data collected with innovative child-focussed research methodologies in Ghana, Malawi and South Africa, particularly focussed on the gendered impact of mobility on children’s lives, and the significance of daily mobility as a factor influencing the work-education nexus (Porter, Hampshire et al. 2011). The transport gap was shown to have profound effects on girls’ lives, as they were more likely than boys to have porterage responsibilities, including for water and firewood, but less likely to be remunerated for this work. This was particularly true as girls got older - by age 16-18, for example, 84% of girls in Malawi reported carrying water daily, compared to just 34% of boys. Porter’s study further noted that these domestic burdens translated into poor attendance and concentration rates for girls at primary and junior secondary school levels, although paid work for boys was more likely to lead to school drop-out (Porter, Hampshire et al. 2011, Porter, Hampshire et al. 2012). In the Pridmore study too, the salience of gender was noted in differentiated access and learning patterns, as well as drop-out rates, for male and female students. In this study girls in Malawi were noted to be ‘disproportionately affected’ by caring responsibilities, (Pridmore and Jere 2011) whereas in Lesotho girls were more likely to drop-out for marriage and boys to be attracted by herding opportunities (Pridmore and Jere 2011). Finally, qualitative data from Morley’s study which looked at the gendered experiences of women in Ghanaian universities revealed that even at this stage in education women were expected to keep up their domestic and caregiving responsibilities. Complex tensions around higher education participation were found to be alleviated by socio-economic status, as wealthier women were more likely to be able to pay for childcare, or accommodation in or close to campuses (Adu-Yeboah and Forde 2011).
In the Hannum study, which took a longitudinal approach to schooling in the Chinese province of Gansu, poor girls were the most disadvantaged in relation to enrolment (81% of girls in poorest quintile enrolled compared to 90% of boys in the higher four quintiles), and both mothers and fathers were found to have higher expectations for boys than girls, although these were mediated by teachers' expectations and child performance (Hannum and Adams 2008, Hannum, Kong et al. 2009). Hannum and Adams (2008) concluded, however, that girls do not face substantially greater barriers to access than boys in much of rural Gansu, and parental expectations were seen to be shaped more by wealth than by the gender of their child, perhaps challenging our existing notions of the ways in which expectations and aspirations for children can be formed.

Hannum's study also emphasized the positive impact of both mother's education and household income, as well as children's nutrition, on the number of years of schooling (Zhao and Glewwe 2010). It highlights that teachers can have a less than positive influence, noting many had a 'pronounced gender bias', particularly at the post-compulsory level, in favour of boys (teachers were almost four times less likely to expect girls to enrol in post-compulsory education) as well as lower expectations for poor students (Yiu and Adams 2012). The research also adds to a growing body of research on forms of violence in schools, finding that male students are more likely to experience peer violence (Adams and Hannum 2012), but that male teachers served as a protecting factor for the occurrence of violence in the classroom, while female teachers did not, suggesting a complex link between violence, gender and authority. The Pridmore study also noted that male teachers might be less likely to follow-up female students' absence from school, perhaps because of worries that such home visits might be misconstrued (Jere 2012), again highlighting the ways that teachers themselves are also constrained by gendered norms around 'appropriate' behaviour. Violence for girls may not be physical; as the study notes girls were more likely to experience sexual harassment, particularly if poverty concerns meant their school uniforms were in disrepair (Pridmore and Jere 2011).

Morley also notes the prevalence of sexual violence - here in higher education - a site little studied through a gendered lens. Sexual violence in the words of one female member of staff was "a way of life" for many students. Morley's work does much to theorise the ways in which space in higher education can be demarcated 'male', both by harassment or by the male students attributing female success to sexual relationships with tutors, again constraining the kinds of gender identities and
behaviours available to female students (Morley 2011).

Complex norms around marriage and girls’ sexuality were emphasized across other grants too, which noted the multiple ways in which girls’ and women’s bodies were constructed as sexual objects. Knowledge around sexualisation of girls and gendered violence was reported in the education grants as an emerging concern, rather than as a direct research question per se. In the Porter study, for example, gender was found to interact with other forms of power and hierarchies to regulate access to space (see below also). Girls walking to school in Malawi and South Africa expressed fear of rape, particularly when passing through wooded areas, and there was a close correlation between journey time to school and fear of rape (Porter, Hampshire et al. 2010). Girls’ bodies were constructed as ‘weak’, when contrasted with boys who could ‘at least...run away’, and thus girls felt themselves to be, in the words of one 12 year old girl in South Africa “under a lot of pressure” (Hampshire, Porter et al. 2011), both to look good and ‘dress nice’, but also to resist unwanted sexual advances and maintain their families' reputations. The discussion of girls' resistance and attempts to challenge these protectionist constructions of gender, for example through the use of mobile phones by young women in South Africa, also adds knowledge to emerging debates around gender and technology (Porter, Hampshire et al. 2012).

Both Walker’s and Morley’s grant also looked at the ways in which patriarchal structures and imagined sexual contracts affected female students' experience of education, although this time in the higher education context. The salience of gender and race particularly emerged in Walker’s grant in relation to pedagogy with, for example a deliberate strategy noted in one of the research sites to engage with students in mixed race and gender groups, and a particular teaching module which aimed to elicit student reflection on the realities of disadvantaged communities (McLean and Walker 2012). The difficulties in challenging norms and the multiple ways in which gendered discrimination and power can operate were noted, however, as students deployed humour which undermined the gender-transformative messages, as one member of staff noted, “It’s always in jest but...underneath I think most people still have a problem with it” (Walker, McLean et al. 2010). In policy terms it was highlighted that without careful attention to particular pedagogies and inclusion, university structures can perpetuate patriarchies (Walker 2010).

Morley’s grant also focussed on equity in higher education, particularly through developing a gender equity scorecard, which measures disparities across access,
achievement and participation in higher education, in relation to three ‘structures of inequality’: age, gender and socio-economic status. This takes thinking forward in the field, which too often only looks at enrolment rates, and often does not focus on higher education at all. Gender gains were found to mask persistent inequalities relating to poverty and age; mature students in Tanzania, for example, tended to be found in programmes with fairly low exchange rates in the labour market (Morley 2012). The award, through utilising mixed methods, acknowledges that while numbers through equity scorecards can help ‘evaluate policy decisions’ and ‘promote democratic dialogues’ around inequality, unpacking the story behind the enrolment and participation rates is important too. Interview data with Science, Technology, Engineering and Maths (STEM) students in Ghana, for example, revealed shame and social exclusion for female students transgressing gender norms in disciplines and studying these subjects (Morley 2012). Shame is something found to be an important emotion related more generally to poverty and poverty alleviation policies also (see above).

The Unterhalter grant also engaged critically with constructions of gender and poverty as they are transmitted through the framings of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Thinking emerging from this grant furthers understandings of how the MDG architecture is engaged with at different levels, as the study conducted vertical and horizontal comparisons in schools, provincial and national education departments, and national and international NGOs in Kenya and South Africa. Engagements with different levels of Kenyan education highlighted discourses around blaming the poor which intersected with gendered discourses. Pressures on teachers to fulfil the targets of universal primary education were transferred to poor parents, who were constructed in terms of deficit - with a ‘lack of seriousness and ignorance’, in the words of one Kenyan Head teacher (Unterhalter, Yates et al. 2012). Such blaming of the poor was found also in wider poverty alleviation programmes (see above). A number of papers generated by the Unterhalter grant also critiqued the policy of gender mainstreaming, in both the South African and International NGO contexts, as a process through which both resources and meanings of gender get lost, or in which ‘gender’ becomes an ‘add-on’ aspect of officials' work, which they have neither money nor adequate training to address (Karlsson 2010, North 2010, Unterhalter and North 2010).

Summary:
The use of intersectional approaches in a number of grants helped develop understandings of 'girls' as a non-homogenous category. It also demonstrated how gender is 'performed' may have negative impacts on education and poverty for both boys and girls.

The 'beyond access' approach of a number of these studies was also useful, unpacking the 'black box' of input-output models of education by taking research into classrooms and starting to engage with processes within schools.

The studies suggest parental and teacher expectations of educational achievement for boys and girls are based on a complex set of factors that need to be better explored and understood.

There was evidence of innovative methodologies engaging the young people themselves, and research which engaged across spaces and levels including processes of public reasoning as well as interviews.

The studies highlight that while girls may face violence or fear of violence when travelling to school, in secondary and higher education institutions sexual harassment and sexual violence may be almost a 'way of life' for students, and educational structures can perpetuate rather than challenge patriarchies.

The studies moved past the classroom and noted, for example, the salience of gender in structuring what technological advances are available to whom, and how they are used, and represents an important contribution to our understanding of the performance of gender.

Limitations:

- There were instances where reporting gendered differences in access, learning, and outcomes, was limited to providing only sex disaggregated data and the discussion tended to be descriptive rather than analytical.
- Knowledge around the mechanisms behind particular differences was not furthered by the awards, as theoretical understandings of gender were not engaged with as fully as they might have been.
- In general as newer areas of focus in the educational discourses, such as gendered violence at school, tended to emerge only incidentally from the work of some of the studies, it was often not the main issue under analysis.
- More funding for longitudinal studies would be useful to capture the ways in which gender norms are shifting over time in different educational contexts, particularly considering the emphasis across literature upon schools and universities as a key space for the transformation of gender inequalities.
The Porter study applied mobile ethnographies to explore gendered experiences of education and of access to education, and the livelihood trajectories of young people in a number of African countries. Of the 14 outputs reviewed, 3 reflect on ethics and methodology of children-as-researchers. The reflections on the methods used are as much part of the ‘findings’ as the data they generate, in keeping with the feminist epistemological tradition.

The innovative methods used meant the discussions raised seemingly minor issues but which young people clearly feel affect their lives and well-being substantially, such as aggressive and dangerous drivers who call insults, or the splashed uniforms which lead to punishment or exclusion from school. These issues came out because of the use of child researchers, and might not have been mentioned to adults.

The study also utilised innovative researcher-child methodologies, walking with children on their daily trip to school, talking to them as they walked along about how they felt. This proved to be much more effective at eliciting [gendered] information than just an interview where (perceived or otherwise) dangers may not be expressed/remembered.

The study provides insights into how young people themselves view the situation, not just the perspective of ‘adults’, demonstrating the differences by gender as well as age, and the ability of the young to understand gender norms. It also highlights the contradictions involved in everyday activities that are shaped by these gender norms. For example, girls were more likely to report fear of harassment and rape than boys and there was direct correlation between increased journey time to school and fear of rape, and the study notes the girls perceive what the authors describe as a ‘feminisation of blame’ for sexual violence. Yet, the girls did value the opportunities presented by the journey to school also, in terms of opportunities to meet boyfriends. However, their agency was constrained by limited opportunities and this was related not just to gender but to poverty, with the study noting how ‘poverty shapes ways in which young people move through spaces’.
5.3 Health

Understanding issues that impact men and women in a development context in relation to health are complicated. Situating women and healthcare requires a clear understanding of the ways in which gender and cultural norms, at both the country and community level, influence women’s access to public goods and resources and impact on their reproductive, economic, and political rights. Women who experience high levels of inequality may have difficulties in accessing healthcare, and enacting ‘rights’ that may help them negotiate health services (Moss 2002). A particular issue for women’s health is that of reproductive health. Even when reproductive health services are provided, this is not enough to ensure women’s ability to access them, since men may see the decision over if and when to have children to be their decision, and large numbers of children may still be read as a sign of male fertility and power, becoming more important when masculinity is threatened. In many cultures discussion of sexualities remains taboo, denying access and rights to those who do not conform to the heterosexual ‘norm’. The sexual and reproductive rights of adolescent girls in particular may be overlooked and they may be denied access to reproductive health services if they are unmarried.

Wider health outcomes, particularly in relation to diseases such as HIV/AIDS or malaria, may impact maternal health outcomes for women in poor countries and issues such as poverty reduction and women’s empowerment have a substantive impact on maternal health outcomes (Filippi et al. 2006). Correa and Reichmann (1994) argue that to provide frameworks that allow women access to adequate healthcare, while at the same time guaranteeing their reproductive rights, necessitates a fundamental reconceptualisation of gendered systems that produce inequality. Critically, reproductive rights and respect for bodily integrity are vitally important for framing any discussion on women and health in a development context (Harcourt 2009).

Within the health context, access to contraception, abortion, and maternal health emerged as key areas for the Joint Fund awards – where women were often the primary focus of the research, albeit with very different foci. Matthews’ study looks specifically at contraception use in Ghana, arguing that there is considerable geographical variation in contraceptive use, and clear levels of unmet need in relation to the demand for contraception. The use of contraceptives is particularly low in the Northern and Central Regions, and the northern part of the country in particular has high fertility, low access to health services, high infant and child mortality, low
educational attainment, and high levels of poverty (Ghana Statistical Service et al. 2003, 2004; World Bank 2003). With such adverse indicators, it is not surprising that the Northern area has a large unmet need for birth spacing. The differences indicate that women in areas of high fertility are more likely to want to postpone than limit their childbearing, while the opposite holds for areas of low fertility. There is a large unmet need for both birth spacing and fertility limitation in most districts in the Central Region, which is the fourth poorest region after the three Northern regions.

Matthews also suggests that a third of women (34%) in Ghana live beyond the clinically significant two-hour threshold from facilities likely to offer emergency obstetric and neonatal care (EmONC); nearly half (45%) live that distance or further from ‘comprehensive’ EmONC facilities, offering life-saving blood transfusion and surgery. In the most remote regions these figures rose to 63% and 81%, respectively. However, poor levels of access were found in many regions that meet international targets based on facilities-per-capita ratios.

Jeffrey's work in South Asia also focuses on childbirth services, looking here specifically at biomedical health experimentation. The findings suggest that women are routinely given drugs (oxytocin specifically) to hasten delivery. There is no specific data that suggests the use of drugs may have any impact on maternal health, or infant mortality outcomes. The drug seemed to be administered not out of medical need but rather seemingly to free beds (public hospitals), or so doctors could work a ‘normal’ workday (private hospital). In the latter case at least the women were monitored in terms of reaction to the drug, which was not the case for the public hospital. The drug was also administered in home births, something not clinically advised. The use in this context was associated with attended births and may be related to the ability to pay.

While the majority of studies related to women’s experiences of health focussed on childbirth, Coast’s study looks specifically at safe abortion practices and access to safe abortions in Zambia. Specifically, the research explored the ways in which women’s ability to ask for/seek advice impacted whether they sought a safe/unsafe abortion, as did their ability to tell significant others about their desire for a termination. Some women lacked money for travel to the local hospital, so sought out unsafe abortions because of lower costs. Cost of the abortion and the difficulty of navigating the healthcare system was also an issue for some women - particularly poorer women. Many women mistakenly thought abortion was illegal, and this
impacted their decision making process - making it more likely they would seek an unsafe abortion. The study did make an attempt to engage men in these discussions – although they are not the primary focus of the study. The recognition that men are often involved in decision making processes in various ways highlights the importance of looking at abortion as not just a woman’s issue – for example, some women sought unsafe abortion methods because they felt these might be easier to conceal from partners. While much household decision making research seeks to interview both men and women in a couple (see below) here might be an example where this would be difficult, given women may seek to conceal their pregnancy from their partner (see below also). This study develops understanding of the range of reasons why women might seek unsafe abortions, and thinking about the way that social networks may influence outcomes is key.

Familial relationships and how they interact with health care decisions was also discussed in Newell’s study, as was the issue of concealment. The research by Newell in three sites in Asia found stigma and discrimination in relation to TB is particularly relevant for young women and that there are particular gendered outcomes for pregnant women, particularly in Nepal. The Jeffery award also suggested concerns over disclosure of TB status is particularly exacerbated amongst women, and unmarried women in particular (Harper 2010). As Newell notes, disclosure may decrease their marriage prospects which is in part due to worries about a woman’s child bearing capabilities, or the way that it might affect the foetus during pregnancy. Equally, fears that women may not be able to effectively care for children postpartum have a particular relevance for women in relation to stigmatization and discrimination. Women who are infected with TB often tell immediate family, but there were some cases of husbands concealing from wives, in part to conceal from in-laws.

The study by Bloom in Bangladesh also highlights gendered communication issues, here suggesting that there are specific gendered differences in the way that men and women use technology (as it relates to health choices in the family). The study highlights key differences between men and women in terms of engagement with mobile phone technology. In terms of using mobile phones to relay or to convey health related issues (such as communicating illness in the family, or seeking health related advice) married women used phones to call their husbands or their parents to seek advice on how to handle health issues that arose, and in general they relied on husbands to make decisions about health related issues (choice of clinics, doctors,
etc.). As such married women would only use the phones, or contact a health practitioner, after consulting with their husbands. Married women in the study seemed to rely more on word of mouth and community relations to obtain health information. Women who are not empowered in specific contexts will lack the requisite social and cultural capital to use technology without the consent of husbands, and further would require ‘permission’ to use phones in relation to cost. While women are the primary caregivers in these situations, and may be the first to recognise or detect illness, they rely on husbands to make decisions about managing these situations, as there is a clear financial impact.

Newell found that due to social norms that govern women’s ability to travel and to visit a doctor unaccompanied, women sometimes face a delay in treatment for TB. This also has an impact on women’s ability to complete the treatment course, due to both the difficulty of arranging travel, but also the cost implications. Similarly, Theobald, in her study of TB suggests that women were perceived to face particular difficulties to access health services due to cultural norms such as lacking autonomy to travel, to make independent decisions about their health and access household finances. This meant most participants, particularly women, attended the services with companions – considerably increasing the cost of diagnosis. The disease raises wider issues for other family members, particularly in terms of to what extent to ‘protect’ themselves from the disease. This issue, Newell argues, is particularly relevant for women/mothers – for example, the social ‘cost’ of a mother not eating with her daughter, and thereby being unmotherly and uncaring, was seen to be too great by them, outweighing perceived (personal) benefits of reducing the risk of transmission by eating separately.

Porter also noted differences in how diseases are understood and experienced in her research in sub-Saharan Africa. She found that two-thirds of girls and boys in the study had experienced pain (headache, neck ache, or ‘waist-pain’) in the preceding week as a direct result of load-carrying – and suggests that this needs further (medical) research (see also Social Science and Medicine 88; 2013). What is interesting in the context is that it was a far stronger theme in in-depth discussions with boys than with girls, with the latter tending to simply refer to it in passing. The suggestion was that this could be that due to the fact that girls are expected to carry loads on their heads and carry more diverse loads more often than boys and thus girls take more care to ensure these are not overly heavy. Alternatively it could be related to the fact it is seen as ‘natural’ for girls to carry loads in this way, while for
boys this is not the case.

Cornish looks at health in relation to a specific group – sex workers. She argues that sex workers would be able to protect themselves more safely, and insist on condom-use, if they are able to work without fear of shame of stigma. Her study of sex worker-led projects in India argues that ‘symbolic and material context’ of sex workers lives ‘systematically undermines their abilities to exert control over their lives’ including their sexual health. She maintains, however, that empowerment organisations that work with sex workers are able to achieve significant changes in their ability to protect themselves from HIV/AIDS by increasing their capacity to engage a collective voice (see below also). Cornish argues that in this instance, many of the traditional medically informed approaches to addressing HIV/AIDS as a health issue are problematic because they try to generate change in a single individual’s behaviour. In this case, however, a very successful collective approach to empowering sex working women has elicited positive changes in relation to HIV/AIDS prevention. Cornish suggests that funders need to consider structural inequalities that may undermine women’s (and in this case, sex working women’s) ability to negotiate the complicated symbolic and material contexts that might prevent them from accessing health care provision.

Summary:

- Access to health care for women is complicated by gender norms – not only do women face particular problems in relation to managing their social roles (as women, as mothers, as carers), the practical issues of travel and cost have an impact on women’s ability to receive adequate medical care.
- The studies highlight that women are prevented from engaging fully with relevant health services because of their relatively low social position, which was made worse by certain stigmatising characteristics (being diagnosed with TB, working as a sex worker).
- The wider familial implications of illness were also noted and decision making around health touched upon, including the fact this raises issues in terms of concealment.
- The need to understand how gender relations may limit decision making around health was highlighted, including how the use of new technology, such as mobile phones, needs to take men’s and women’s different experiences of technology into account.
• It highlights that understanding the role of male partners in women’s decision-making processes, as well as the input of fathers/uncles/brothers, is important and would allow for potentially better health outcomes.

Limitations:

• There was a clear emphasis on maternal health, with women included in the studies as ‘mothers’ or potential mothers rather than as women per se. A reproductive rights focus was not adopted by the studies, which tended instead to look at issues of access and outcomes.

• While many of the awards focus on poor women, many do not take a holistic approach to understanding how poverty and maternal health are related, and what can be done to improve the position of pregnant women more widely.

• A somewhat reductive approach to thinking about maternal health was evidenced, and none of the studies reflected particularly on the ways that intersecting discriminations might impact upon women’s health and access to decent healthcare, or how men and women experience pain.

• It is widely recognised that ‘domestic’ violence is an issue that impacts pregnant women disproportionally – there was no mention of such violence and its role in decisions around contraception use or abortion.
BOX 5

Case study: Coast

Coast explores women’s experiences of abortion in Zambia, a key issue that affects women in developing contexts disproportionately. This project successfully works to position women’s subjective experiences as they relate to decisions around abortion, yet there was an awareness also that men played a role in abortion decisions. The study takes account of women’s relationships to, and interactions with, men in different ways to try to understand the complexity of women’s decision-making around abortion.

Interviewing men in this capacity raised a number of ethical issues for the research team (personal communication). As women were interviewed in situ at abortion providers, the only way to locate men who might have some engagement with the abortion process was to ask women having an abortion for permission. Raising this issue may have caused concern for women who were concealing abortions from male partners or family members, and as such a decision was made not to enquire specifically about interviewing men.

The research highlights how gendered research on ‘sensitive’ topics raises ethical issues that need careful consideration. Feminist research methodologies, that place unequal power relations as central to the research and the research process, are, however, well placed to deal with these difficult ethical questions. Addressing power relations within the research team was also a key issue for the Principal Investigator on this project, who worked to develop a strong Southern team of researchers, incorporating an empowerment approach to developing and mentoring the research team, which was comprised almost exclusively of women.

The project has been successful in terms of impact – in this case, meaning not only that they have influenced policy at local and national levels, but they have communicated their research through a range of means, a project twitter account being a very useful example, that have reached a wide range of professionals, including doctors, practitioners, and journalists in a number of countries in Africa beyond Zambia.
5.4 Mobilisation and organisation
A relatively small number of awards addressed civil society mobilisation, organisation and participation from a gender perspective. The lack of focus on women’s groups and movements is interesting since global women’s groups and movements have played a key role in advancing the international rights agenda, and at a national level women’s movements and gendered NGOs also have a key role to play in ensuring women’s rights are respected. The potential of rights for increasing the recognition of women’s demands as legitimate claims has made this discourse particularly powerful (Antrobus 2004b; Ruppert 2002). However, at the local level many women’s groups and NGOs have focussed on promoting what have been termed ‘practical gender needs’ – such as providing better access to water, which would reduce the amount of time women and girls must spend in domestic/reproductive activities and through this aid their engagement in education and employment. Such approaches have been critiqued for not questioning why collecting water has been constructed as a female responsibility, or why good access to water is a ‘need’ of women and girls only. In contrast mobilisation around ‘strategic gender interests' would seek the elimination of institutionalised forms of discrimination such as around land rights, or ensuring the right of women and girls to live free from violence, for example (Molyneux 1985; Moser 1989). The late 1990s also saw a supposed ‘NGOisation’ of women’s movements (Alvarez 1999) and concerns were raised around what this might mean for the wider women’s movements and political mobilisation.

Understanding the differences in how women organise, and around what issues, remain issues for research, especially at a time when many women’s groups face funding cuts. None of the awards made under the scheme looks specifically at women’s rights nor at mobilisation around rights, but a number do explore how women’s organisations organise and how they can help improve the situation and position of women.

Justino’s study provides support for the continued relevance of women’s groups for women, finding that out of the 148 households in the study sample from India for which at least one member is involved in civic life, 86 belong to women’s ‘self-help' groups (58%). The second largest group type is ‘political party’, with 27 households being involved. While this may in part be explained by the fact women only groups may be culturally more acceptable than mixed groups in this context, there may be other reasons also for women to organise as women only.
Fafchamps’ study, rather than looking at what organisations are doing, looked more at how they organise, and in particular around same sex groupings, exploring why there is often spontaneous gender assorting and asking if this is due to trust being stronger within, as compared to between, the sexes (Barr et al. 2010). The study used an experimental game to explore this question and found strong ‘gender assorting’ in all scenarios, but that assorting on gender was lower when group formation was dependent on trust compared to when no trust was required. There is no evidence to suggest people think women are more trustworthy than men in general. Religious co-membership and family ties were instead important and these are not gender assertive. As the study found participants were more likely to group with others who are similar to them, and in general a pair of individuals is more likely to share risk the more similar they are in terms of age and gender, this is perhaps because the potential cost of risk sharing is seen to be lower.

One very specific ‘at risk’ group of women - sex workers – were studied by Cornish. This study suggests that sex work empowerment organisations are able to achieve significant changes in relation to sex working women being able to protect themselves from HIV/AIDS by increasing their ability to engage a collective voice (Cornish 2010). It highlights that individualistic approaches to trying to engage sex workers in safer practices are not likely to be as effective as an empowered, communal approach. It demonstrates the impacts of empowering women as sex workers in a way that focuses on their ability to continue working as sex workers. In this way Indian sex workers were able to make informed decisions about their health, and could better protect themselves within a sex-working context through their engagement with specific NGOs and local organisations. Bebbington, looking at South Africa, also found a focus among women’s groups and movements to be around changing attitudes and perceptions through information and building solidarity for those suffering discrimination, including sex workers.

Houwelling’s study also demonstrates how collective actions can improve the well-being of individuals. Here the focus was on the characteristics of women’s groups and how these helped make a health intervention successful, strongly reducing the neonatal mortality rate (NMR) among lower socio-economic groups in the areas of India in which the study was conducted (Houwelling et al. 2013). It highlighted that the effects were substantially stronger among lower socio-economic groups, whereas interventions normally reach higher socio-economic groups to a greater extent. This was explained by the openness of the women’s groups to non-members, the
Scheduled Tribe background of many of the facilitators, the locations (hamlets instead of the main village), and the dates and timings (decided by the group members) of the meetings. The methods used were also found to be important and hygienic practices and other home care behaviours were explicitly addressed, using storytelling followed by problem solving discussions, picture cards and games, among other methods. This led to behavioural 'improvements' including in winter knowledge to keep the baby covered as well as clean.7

Justino’s study suggests also that membership of women’s organisations may be more related to ‘practical’ considerations and economic vulnerability than to social interactions (Gupte et al. 2012). This is also supported to some extent by the work of Bebbington, which explores civil society mobilisation and Williams, which looks at the Kudumbashree initiative to promote poverty alleviation and ‘active citizenship’ via women’s groups.

In the Williams study the focus is on women and female participants, primarily women below the poverty line, who are organised into neighbourhood groups for ‘self-improvement’. These neighbourhood groups send a representative to the local area development societies, which are then grouped at municipality level into community development societies. Thus the neighbourhood groups act as autonomous organisations for women’s economic development (see poverty section above also) and as ‘invited spaces’ for political participation. The study suggests (Williams et al. 2011) that the initiative was clearly making some women more visible within public space. It also notes how many women spoke of the solidarity generated by the groups and this included feeling that men behaved better toward them. The slogan of the organisation is ‘To reach out to the family through women and reach out to the community through the family’ and thus the aim is for women to come together for the betterment of families and the wider community. The study questions which women are benefiting, suggesting as the neighbourhood group is based on a microfinance programme the weekly cost may be too high for some women. It also notes that ‘middle class’ attributes are needed to be effective in this sphere. It suggests women were paying not only in time, but also self-financing their ‘political’ activities and so subsidising the process through their own money. The study does ask whether such initiatives are adding to women’s burden, which finds support in the

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7 This example shows how women’s groups might be used to improve women’s stereotypical gender roles rather than seek to transform them, or focus on women’s practical gender needs rather than strategic gender interests.
wider literature that conceptualises such initiatives as putting women at the service of the poverty agenda, not served by it.

Bebbington’s study looks at how women’s groups and movements are organised and around what. It seeks to categorise groups and movements in Peru (Bebbington et al. 2008) and suggests the ‘popular women’s movement’ is all about providing food and services (e.g. Comedores Populares and Comités del Vaso de Leche) – that is, addressing practical needs. In contrast it suggests the feminist movement, which presumably might have had more of a focus on women’s strategic interests, has ‘fizzled out’ and is described as ‘dormant’ at present. Conceptually it suggests different types of organisation exist - ‘transformers’ (that want system wide change) and ‘reformers’ (that want to change some aspects of a system they recognise) - and perhaps surprisingly places feminists in the latter. The study draws a distinction between the ‘rights’ movement and the women and feminist movements, since it sees feminists as defending identity not defending rights and the women’s movement as fighting for basic needs. That being said, it notes how defending human rights and using a human rights theoretical framework are common to all movements, having become a linchpin in all their arguments.

The Bebbington study also considered South Africa (Mitlin and Mogaladi 2012) and continues with the theme of exploring the role of rights in civil society movements. It suggests definitions and discussions about poverty are not placed within rights rhetoric and rights did not emerge as significant in the context of objectives of the groups, which again are focussed on more ‘practical’ or material advancements. Unterhalter’s case study of a global NGO with a women’s rights approach highlighted how difficult it was, even in the best kind of organisational environment, to realise a women’s rights agenda linking education to other forms of empowerment (Unterhalter and North 2011).

Bebbington suggests in the South African context that when there is a rights focus the focus is on existing rights, noting also that one important omission from all actors is a focus on sexuality. The focus on existing rights is important for gender mobilisation, as women’s rights are often contested, non-legal rights. The study suggests the focus arises from recognition of the importance of rights within the constitutional process or as rights are more of a professional than popular discourse – something noted in the wider literature also. The role of NGOs is discussed and is
linked to this 'professional' rights discourse particularly in the areas of environment, feminism and human rights (Mitlin and Mogaladi 2012a).

It is suggested that the feminist movement has been a 'success' in getting 'poor black women' to be a focus of many groups, but cautions the possibility that the emphasis reflects donor priorities. It also cautions that there are concerns from women activists about chauvinist attitudes among a predominantly male leadership of wider movements. The strategies adopted by women's groups tend to be education, lobbying and advocacy (both to the general public and parliamentarians) rather than marches etc. That is, more aimed at highlighting issues rather than undertaking more coercive actions. The women's and feminist movements then are said to adopt less confrontational actions and instead go for less disruptive demonstrations and court cases, which may support the conceptualisation in Peru of a reforming rather than transforming movement. It also suggests that despite a commonplace sensitivity to gender, a feminist consciousness among movement activists seemed to be lacking.

Summary:
- The studies highlight that women’s groups are still important but their importance might have an economic more than ideological basis.
- Linked to this is the fact they may focus on practical needs rather than strategic interests and may then actually look to improve how women can better fulfil stereotypical roles than challenge these.
- The cost of participation to women may be high, and this may exclude some women, while others ‘pay’ a cost for their inclusion.
- There is also a suggested lack of a ‘rights’ discourse within the women's movements, and especially material demands are seen as needs not rights.
- In turn material demands and the groups that promote them may have become most dominant and this is perhaps linked to the rise of NGOs.
- In this wider context also it is noted the while wider civil society may adopt gender issues, these (male) civil society actors may remain sexist.
- Overall it was suggested that gender activists may be reformers rather than transformers, and a feminist consciousness was seen to be lacking.

Limitations:
- The lack of a feminist approach to analysis could perhaps also be a charge levelled at some of the studies on women’s mobilisation and participation. If
women’s groups and movements are the focus of the study then it might be expected that these studies demonstrate an understanding of gender theory and feminist thinking, but at times this was not the case.

- In particular a focus on the women themselves is missing from many of the studies that focus on the process not the people and while this produces interesting findings, again, it misses an opportunity to explore the role the specific realities of the people under study have to play.
- The issue of how rights discourse is/is not used raises some interesting questions and could usefully be further explored.

**BOX 6**

**Case Study: Cornish**

There is a tendency to position women in the sex industry as victims, or to disavow their ability to agentically and rationally choose to work as a sex worker, particularly in a developing world context. Cornish’s study with sex workers and sex workers rights groups in the context of India furthers discussions on sex workers’ rights, and links into wider discussions about sex work empowerment at the global level. It demonstrates the impact that empowerment strategies can have on women in the sex industry.

There is a clear recognition in the study that active, social, participatory strategies work best to facilitate empowerment. The study recognises women in the sex industry as both women and workers, and uses a feminist approach in the research that highlights the impact that a cohesive and communal approach to engaging women to take an active position in health-care decisions can have.

The study notes that sex workers are often seen as a public health threat but that empowering sex workers would have an impact not only on women’s health, but on the wider population as well – specifically that of men who visit sex workers and their female partners. This particular approach to understanding sex workers’ health outcomes, as related to HIV/AIDS and empowerment, is an important contribution to wider discussions that are currently happening in a range of developing and developed world contexts about how best to ‘solve’ the prostitution problem.
5.5 Gendered experiences of well-being

This section looks at two key gendered sites – the household and the work place – and at the issues of mobility and safety, violence and gender relations more generally.

5.5.1 Gendered experience of work

Understanding gendered dynamics in the workplace in relation to poverty outcomes has often focussed on facilitating women’s access to paid work, or the division of men and women in relation to unpaid/paid work. The importance of social norms that govern women’s ability to engage in work, and the intersections that might facilitate or impede women’s entry to the public sphere must also be considered (Bradshaw et al. 2013). Women continue to suffer limited mobility and in some cultures women are not able to leave the home if not accompanied by a man, effectively negating any type of paid employment. Even when women are allowed to leave, they may face verbal, sexual and physical abuse from unknown males for being ‘in the street’ and face gossip and stigma within their own communities. When women do engage in paid work it can improve their voice in the home and ability to influence household decision making. It can also lead to conflict in the home, especially if women earn more than men or women’s employment coincides with men’s under or unemployment. Women going out to work is often read by others as meaning the man is unable to provide for his family, making men reluctant to allow this to occur, limiting women’s engagement in paid work. While remunerated work is important for women, it is important to remember that women still undertake the bulk of unpaid work in the home, household plot or family business, and play the key role in the ‘care economy’, which not only provides care to the young, old and the sick but also is vital for ensuring a productive work force. As this work is un-remunerated it is undervalued and lies outside general conceptualisations of ‘the economy’. Women engaged in paid work often face a double work day, since they may only be ‘allowed’ to work as long as their domestic duties are still fulfilled. This means women are time poor and the time burden may impact on their health and well-being.

Projects that engaged with industry, poverty and gender provided a range of conceptual insights into the ways in which men and women in different national contexts are able to engage with different sectors, and the gendered outcomes that come about as a result. De Neve’s work looks at garment industry workers in Tiruppur, India, Kantor looks at tailoring in Afghanistan, Bryceson at mining in different African contexts, and Harriss-White at food grain production in Indian contexts.
De Neve’s project on garment industry workers in Tiruppur provides a typology of workers broken down by gender, class and migration status: settled workers, long-distance migrants, and commuters (Carswell and De Neve 2010). Women and men have different engagements with the labour market due to social norms around what is acceptable for women to do, and the symbolic and material context of women’s lives systematically undermines their abilities to exert control over their lives including their health. Intersections of gender/caste/age have an impact on men’s and women’s ability to secure and sustain certain types of work within the garment sector. Women often have to drop out of garment work when they have children, and different lifecycle stages for women in general mark movement in and out of the industry to a much greater extent than for men. Single women, for example, are able to command higher wages if they work their way up to tailoring within the industry. However, tailoring work means that there is less flexibility for women, and once they marry and have children the demands of the household and childcare responsibilities make it difficult for them to engage in anything but flexible employment. This means that while women do often go back to work at some point after having children, it is in roles that are less well paid as women engage in the more flexible ends of the garment industry, even if they are over qualified for these positions.

In contrast to women in Tiruppur, women in Kantor’s study of tailors in Afghanistan face a much more difficult challenge. Age and life-course had an impact on women in the study, which explored Afghani women’s experiences of training and working as a tailor. Kantor notes that pathways to being a tailor in Kabul are gendered - men typically start tailoring as young as six. Some boys tailor while still at school (due to economic hardship within families) and boys will use family and social connections to secure work. Women and girls, on the other hand, face considerable barriers in even accessing the most basic of training and skills because of the intensely conservative norms that govern women’s ability to be in and move around the public sphere. They have fewer female social networks available, are unaware generally about market economies and how to secure paid employment, and face opposition from family/neighbourhood/society as seeking work outside the home is socially unacceptable. When training, appropriate private spaces must be secured as women cannot work in public spaces. Equally, once employed, women are not able to work in public shops, so must work from home. The spatial confines of domestic spaces put women at a disadvantage vis-à-vis male tailors who have access to better and bigger functional work facilities. Being in the public space means men have a better understanding of
the market, and have access to a wider number of customers. Buying supplies was also a problem, as women did not have access to markets or public spaces to buy basic sewing supplies. Skills acquisition is limited, and as such women tailors charge less money for their work compared to male tailors. Gender norms limit women's ability to build a wide social network, even for other female clients. While women struggle against a wide range of obstacles to work as tailors, it provides them with some degree of independence, and can be key if the male breadwinner is incapacitated or underemployed.

Harriss-White's study of Pudumai in India suggests that industry spaces are being reconfigured in relation to the garment industry, with a massive increase of outsourcing and home-working in Arni, where women are becoming specialist tailors for clothes (Harriss-White and Rodrigo 2013). Women emerge from their homes to acquire new kinds of learning, not through apprenticeships but in informal training institutes. Several of these have been founded recently in Arni: one trains as many as 60 women at a time. Female tailors organizing through an un-registered union have lobbied for ‘certificates’ from the business association. A ‘spill-over effect’ has been reported for electricians and construction workers.

In Chennai the Harriss-White study (Mani, Mody and Sukumar 2013) focuses on employment in the retail sector, noting how men and women working in these environments become spatially segregated, with women sitting in separate rooms or even outside, suggesting ‘a progressive degradation of tasks performed by women workers’. Smaller stores still seem to have a male preference for employment, and the men who work in them tend to have established links to owners, have greater responsibility within the work place and see their employment as a means to open their own stores. The wages tend to be higher in smaller stores (surprisingly) but this may be explained by larger employers understanding that the feminisation of labour enables them to reduce compliance with the formal regulation of employment relations, and equally to keep wages low.

The De Neve study makes an important point about the nature of flexible working, and the way in which it is positioned within some developing contexts. The Carswell and De Neve article (2013) argues that flexible production is often presented as exploitative in comparison with more Fordist regimes. Yet there were instances where both men and women preferred and chose the flexible options in the garment industry - women in particular did so to ensure that they could meet household and
childcare duties. This is in spite of the fact that more permanent work at an export house would provide job security and benefits. Working in a flexible environment (often the home or a smaller factory) meant a more social interaction for both men and women - it was seen as less stressful. Flexible working was essential for allowing women to enter the labour market, and was as much about personal autonomy as it was about spatial/temporal flexibility. Women may not be allowed to work in large firms (curtailed by male members of the family) - but flexible working in the home or smaller factories often involves working within a kinship network and is therefore less problematic.

Men who do flexible/piece working are able to express a type of hegemonic masculinity in relation to their prowess as tailors - something which commands respect/admiration from other men. For men, the social elements of flexible working are also important. Men tend to spend extra wages (over and above money necessary for family support) on conspicuous items (TVs, motorbikes, etc.). While women’s career trajectories spiral down after marriage, male workers are constantly under pressure to keep moving up - this is workplace pressure but also familial pressure.

Both De Neve and Harriss-White pay attention to the intersections of gender and caste in an Indian context, and provide interesting conclusions about the ways in which Dalit women engage with different industries – notably agricultural sectors. In both studies, the development of garment industries had an impact on men’s employment in the local area - men were able to commute longer distances to engage in garment work, which tended to be higher paid work than agricultural labour. For those in the Tiruppur region, this also resulted in higher levels of cultural capital for workers, as this work was seen as more prestigious. The migration of men to other sectors left a gap in the market, allowing low-caste women to enter into paid employment. In Arni, for the Harriss-White study, this meant that Dalit women became vital to both paddy production and rice milling. However, there was little impact on their wages.

In the De Neve study, it was equally true that within the rural contexts, low-caste women who are not able to commute engage with local, agricultural work. The emerging textile market had resulted in better agricultural pay as workers could choose to work in the textile industry. However, the rates of pay for agricultural work vary for women - women with children are not able to commute, and are less able to
negotiate higher pay because they need to work flexible hours. NREGS has had a positive impact on rural, poor women, who are able to combine work with childcare and household duties, and make agricultural work more viable. Indeed, this scheme has had a huge impact on women in the labour market, as 83% of NREGS beneficiaries were women - increasing significantly women's ability to enter agricultural employment in Tamil Nadu.

For both Harriss-White and De Neve, it is clear that low-caste women have benefited from new work opportunities in this region (provided by the textile industry, and the opening of positions created by men leaving the agricultural sector for non-agricultural work). However, women's ability to engage with work is hindered by their caring responsibilities, and the low-wages they receive (vis-à-vis men) raises significant questions. Both studies suggest that while different opportunities are opening up for low-caste women in India in terms of accessing paid work, they are still behind men, and are unlikely to catch up anytime soon. Feminisation of labour prevents them from obtaining equivalent wages as men in some sectors, even when doing the same job.

De Neve highlights an interesting trend amongst some Dalit families, where Dalit women are opting out of work. While the decision for women to opt out of paid employment may be understood in some cases as a retreat into patriarchal norms, the Heyer (2010) article argues that the decision of Dalit women to become 'housewives' rather than enter employment can be seen as a sign of growth from poverty-stricken communities. However, it must be understood that while opportunities for working men have increased enormously, this has not been true for women, who have more constraints on their ability to enter into and sustain paid work.

Bryceson’s work on the mining industry takes a gendered approach to understanding the ways in which the mining industry in different African contexts impacts labour markets. The project explores the various ways that mining impacts upon communities, in relation to migration and labour markets specifically. Many mining projects focus on men’s experiences, as it is clear that men make up the majority of miners in almost every national context. However, rather than focusing on men exclusively, Bryceson takes a holistic approach to understanding the dynamics of the local area, and how men and women move to and live in artisanal mining communities. The study opens up interesting questions about labour practices, but also around relationships within communities. While men are often the first migrants
to a new mining area, women follow quickly, as either wives/girlfriends, or in order to seek work. Bryceson notes that mining areas provide spaces for social engagement, and women are often drawn to mining settlements by other female friends, to work in these semi-urban/urban areas, which offer entertainment not available in rural communities. Relationships in this zone become reconfigured, as men and women migrate long distances from home and traditional social norms that govern men’s and women’s expected behaviours in relation to marriage become unbounded. For example, women by migrating away from village elders can secure a more independent existence and are not expected to marry early. However, the study notes that relationships between women migrants and miners are often volatile, and break down easily, leaving women materially vulnerable. The lack of extended families in these settings makes women with children vulnerable as well, particularly as mining can be a volatile industry, so wages for male miners is not consistent or sustained. While male miners tend to do well economically, their wives/children often suffer materially. Bryceson cautions, however, against positioning these women as victims, as their stories reveal complex forms of agency and resilience.

Summary:

- These studies all represent good examples of gendered research, seeking as much as possible to look at how various intersections emerge to complicate men’s and women’s experiences.
- The spatial emerges as a key construct within these studies – the ways in which women can access certain spaces, and how spaces are regulated in relation to prescribed gendered norms.
- Afghanistan stands out as a place of particular hardship for women, where intensely conservative social and religious norms around ‘appropriate’ gender roles confine women to the private sphere and limit opportunities for paid employment.
- Working to shift gender norms becomes a vital way of ensuring that women can access skills and training, that they can enter labour markets and receive commensurate wages (vis-à-vis men), and that they can sustain meaningful labour market participation at different stages in their life course.
- The intersections of class/caste emerged and provide a rich insight into the ways that gender and class/caste come together in different ways to produce different outcomes for women.
- Equally, these studies sought to explore the ways in which women and men
experienced different labour markets differently, understanding gender in a holistic way.

- Migration clearly has a complicated impact on men and women in a range of national contexts and can create shifts in both labour market access, but in the case of mining in Tanzania, can also elicit changes in terms of gender norms and expectations.

Limitations:

- As in most national contexts (both developed and developing world), flexible part-time work for women is less valued, and wages vary a great deal, so a wider contextual understanding around the feminisation of labour would also be useful.

- It is clear from the studies that flexible working conditions for women (who are also expected to play critical roles within the household) give them the opportunity to engage in paid labour. It is not clear how this might translate into more power within the domestic sphere/household.
The De Neve project did not start out as a gendered project, but quickly evolved into one. The research on the garment industry in India provides an intersectional approach to looking at gender, class/caste, migration status and age which allows for a nuanced and detailed approach to understanding the complexity of this sector. Other studies that focus on industry often fail to recognise the importance of gender, but here the focus on women’s and men’s experience in relation to a range of intersecting identity strands provides a dynamic and holistic account of a geographic region and the impact of the garment industry on this area.

The study takes into account differences between women, as well as between men and women, between locations and between occupations. Men and women who have access to the garment industry can earn substantially higher wages than those in agricultural work, and this is particularly true for women. Both male and female workers who commute from rural areas to work in the more ‘urbanized’ garment sector are able to engage in particular consumption practices that mark them out as urban, and carry some sort of cultural capital. However, for those that migrate, gendered norms impact men’s and women’s choices of work in different ways. Young men (both married and unmarried) tend to migrate alone or as a family to work in the garment sector, which then impacts whether they seek flexibility or security. Married men with families will choose secure work, which may ultimately be lower paid than flexible work. Unmarried migrant women, on the other hand, are concerned about safety and respectability, so go for larger firms that provide on-site hostel accommodation, to ensure that they can work in ‘respectable’ spaces. Once again the study highlights the need to explore differences between women and how they influence life choices.

Most of the outputs are co-authored, and here the focus on joint publications benefitted an experienced rather than a ‘junior’ academic, in that the project included an emeritus professor who had not had the opportunity to engage in research or publishing for a number of years due to management duties.
5.5.2 Gender relations within households

The household is a popular unit of analysis – not least in terms of measures of poverty. While households are often assumed to be ‘nuclear’ in terms of structure, female headed households, often considered to be the ‘poorest of the poor’, have been a particular concern for policy makers. Studies in the field question this conceptualisation of female headship, noting that women who live with men may suffer ‘secondary poverty’ - the household overall is not poor but as the man withholds income for personal consumption women and children within the household are poor (Chant 2003). This calls into question the ‘unitary’ model of the household and instead constructs households as much as sites of tensions, inequalities and conflict as they are of solidarity and cooperation. Understandings of household functioning has moved from unitary, through bargaining, to collective models, and studies of the household have moved towards quantitative methodologies including modelling and game theoretics to explore which models best predict and explain behaviour.

Before considering the awards that have focussed on better understanding gender relations within households, it is first important to note that households are not bounded entities, and wider family relations may have great influence over who forms a household in the first place. Often marriage itself is an issue for the wider family rather than the potential married couple, as Kantor’s award demonstrates in the context of Kandahar, Afghanistan. It noted that for marriage of sons, men select the family while wives chose the girl – that is, women play a key role in negotiating marriages for sons (choosing the daughter-in-law). Interestingly, married daughters sometimes have influence as well, but there is little choice for either sons or daughters in their partner/marriage, the exception being only for older, rich men. For girls, early marriage is more common and girls get married as young as 9, and this is driven by social norms, poverty and the need for labour. However, as Jackson notes, the very meaning of marriage is not static and marriage does not have a fixed relationship to gender inequality, nor does it simply reflect gender relations external to households, but is better seen as an institution which mediates gender inequality and social change (Jackson 2012a, 2012b).

In Newell’s study in Pakistan that looked at TB, one respondent reported her husband had been advised to leave her when she was diagnosed with TB. However, had he been the one with TB she thinks she would have been advised to take care of him rather than leave him. The same study found some cases of husbands
concealing their TB from wives, in part to conceal this from their in-laws (Hatherall 2009). Falkingham on Kyrgyzstan (Ablezova et al. 2008) adds evidence to this role of mothers-in-law in 'policing' their various daughters-in-law, here in the context of sons having migrated away. However, not all contexts are equal and the Ansell study, for example, suggests young wives in matrilocal contexts felt their lives had improved through marriage, but in patrilocal contexts they felt their lives had deteriorated.

Household functioning is also not static and may be changed by other processes, such as migration. Locke suggests changes in economic patterns in Vietnam have allowed women to renegotiate their gendered roles due to migration. While migration brings shifts in social norms around femininities and masculinities, this may not be an equal change. For example, being a 'good husband' does not exclude sexual infidelity for men, as there is an emphasis on breadwinning and caring for a family financially as key, not fidelity. Infidelity is not, however, accepted for women. Similarly, while both mothers and fathers worry about the impact of their absence on their children, female migrants with young children face more issues in terms of negotiating their gendered identities since there is the expectation that mothers will have daily contact with their children. While historically men could migrate without negotiation, talking it over with a female partner is now the norm. Husbands living away for long periods of time and coming home only occasionally for short periods of time have resulted in what Locke (2012) refers to as 'visiting marriages'. However, in some cases it is noted that male migration may 'constitute a polite form of male desertion' and the formation of a de-facto female headed household through the nominal 'male head' being absent for most of the time.

Noble also looks at female headed households. The study suggests an understanding of 'lone mothers' via relational roles they play; a) affective allegiances to the child or 'wishing the best for the child'; b) providing materially (i.e. financially and in kind) for the child; and c) physical presence with and physical care of the child. The study also notes the existence of 'hidden' female headed households and the need not to assume they are a homogenous group. Based on their definition, they found 59% of all mothers in South Africa are lone mothers, and that 42% of these lone mothers are actually grandmothers not mothers. The study highlights that the vast majority (84%) of lone mothers live in a household where at least one grant is received, and again suggests age matters, with 96% of older lone mothers living in households that are in receipt of a grant, compared to 56% of younger lone mothers. While other studies have noted that female headed households are not necessarily
poorer than male headed units, this study highlights how gender intersects with other characteristics to produce poverty – noting 90% of all lone mothers in South Africa are black African which may help to explain their higher poverty and lower well-being across a range of indicators.

While such insights into household relations are interesting, much of the wider household literature is based on large scale quantitative studies. The first wave of research sought to question the unitary model and Alkire’s study lends some weight to the notion that households are sites of conflictive views. Although the authors conclude that overall men and women’s responses are more likely to agree than be at complete odds, a comparison of responses between men and women around decision making within households showed an unambiguous contradiction in 28% of responses, where men and women did not agree how decisions were made (Alkire et al. 2013). More recent research now questions the principles that underpin the cooperative conflict or bargaining models that replaced the unitary understandings. Two such studies under the scheme awards are those by Jackson and by Kebede.

Jackson’s study used a game theoretic method focussed on contributing to and pooling of resources to explore this supposition. The study (Iversen et al. 2006) found both spouses contribute less to the pool when the husband is older, and a high age gap decreased the contributions of wives and increased the contributions of husbands. Most importantly the study found that levels of contribution to the common fund by both men and women were higher when women in the ‘game’ controlled the final allocation, and thus total surplus is higher when women are in control - challenging all standard bargaining models.

The study found that women did rather well out of the games, and received back 1.5 UGS for every 1 UGS they contributed (Iversen et al. 2006). Jackson’s study suggests then that in the game husbands were unexpectedly generous. This is a rather surprising result given conventional accounts of male control within the household, and challenges ideas of altruism suggesting it is by no means confined to women, as much literature assumes (Jackson 2009; 2013). However, the outputs generated by the study also raise a question around whether the finding is because there has been an incorrect conceptualisation of the nature of intra-household power previously, or if the game situation triggers a different set of sharing norms influenced by ‘impression management’, whereby men seek to show the researchers they understand saving/interest etc. (Jackson 2009). The study suggests powerful
husbands can afford to be generous in the game if they believe that they can retrieve the money later, and valued wives can risk generosity if they believe that they will earn gratitude that can be converted into money immediately or in the future. It is interesting to note that the study suggests both spouses seemed to expect men to contribute more than they get, and women to get back more than they put in (Jackson 2009).

Jackson’s study notes that although men may think people should get money out in relation to what they put in, there is no evidence that women share this opinion, suggesting it is not so much perceived absolute contribution that is important, but that contribution is valued in relation to the perceived ability to contribute (Jackson 2013). Kebede’s study found husbands’ expectations of their wives’ contributions are higher than their wives’ actual contributions, and wives’ expectations of their husbands’ contributions are lower than their husbands’ actual contributions (Kebede et al. 2011). The study (Munro et al. 2014) also highlights that women are more willing to invest in a common pool when their income is earned through working and when assets are publicly observable.

Kebede’s grant widens the type of household being researched (Munro et al. 2010), looking at polygynous households. It found no evidence that polygynous households are less efficient than their monogamous counterparts. Indeed, when they control the allocation, polygynous men receive a higher payoff than their monogamous counterparts. For wives, not all wives receive an equal allocation, and senior wives often receive more from their husbands, no matter what their contribution. Thus the return to contributions is higher for senior wives compared to their junior counterparts. The study notes that higher payments to the senior wife in polygynous households might demonstrate husbands keeping younger wives loyal to the marriage by offering higher earnings with age. Alternatively, older wives may have more power, either through the accumulation of separately owned assets during the marriage, through some kinds of community-enforced norms, or through a greater understanding of how to bargain successfully in the marriage that comes with age and experience. Once again this highlights the need to understand gender as it intersects with other characteristics to determine the position and situation of women.

Summary:
The studies highlight that households can be sites of conflict as much as cooperation and that it is not just man/wife relations that need to be considered but wider familial relations.

Via the use of game theoretics that reveal the absence of pooling by spouses, there is further confirmation that households are not unitary but internally divided by gendered interests and decision making.

The studies question some of the household modelling that predicts male/female actions. In particular they question ideas around contribution rates and how these are understood for both sexes.

Game theoretic behaviour, however, also raises questions over some elements of how intra-household relations are theorised, especially assumptions around altruism as a gendered characteristic.

Overall, most of the empirical results cast doubt on the explanatory power of intra-household models based on Pareto efficiency.

They suggest a greater focus on non-cooperative models and intra-household allocations based on fairness and similar social norms, is likely to be a more fruitful avenue of research in the future.

Limitations:

- There are epistemological questions raised about the power of game theoretics and household models to fully represent reality.

- While such methodologies do explicitly focus on differences between men and women within households, at times the gendered findings are presented almost as incidental to the study – with the key contribution being presented as the advances in modelling or the testing of hypotheses. Through the nature of the presentation and interpretation of the results such studies are often impenetrable for researchers working in other academic disciplines and so their very useful insights may be lost.
The Kantor study looks at the various ways that societal norms around women’s ‘place’ in the home impact their ability to successfully negotiate employment within an Afghani context. While the study did not look specifically at micro-level households, it explored the wider dimensions that shape intra-household politics around gender and gender roles.

Women in general have very little economic or social power, which was evidenced in the specific local communities where the research took place (both urban and rural). Local politicians and tribal leaders have an impact on how households are expected to police women’s behaviour, particularly around schooling, marriage and employment. The different conflicts in Afghanistan, where men were conscripted to join different militarised regimes, has resulted in households headed by disabled men, negatively affected by the fact women’s ability to earn a sustainable livelihood in the public sphere were limited by social norms.

The Kantor award has key components of good gendered research practice. The reports provided robust evidence of gender differences and their impacts on particular communities, paying attention to different intersections that related to gender differences, such as age/lifestage, urban/rural, and marital status.

Many of the reports were jointly published by Kantor and research members from the Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit, suggesting a non-hierarchical publication strategy, which is again, a key component of good gendered research practice.
5.5.3 Violence, safety and mobility

Violence against women and girls (VAWG) has been a focus of women’s groups and movements for over 20 years, constructing this as a key rights issue. While absent from the Millennium Development Goals, it has been on the post-2015 agenda and a target within the proposed SDGs of both the High Level Panel and the Open Working Group. Early research in the area focussed on documenting incidence and prevalence of violence, while later research has explored causes and consequences (see Pickup et al. 2001). It remains, however, an under researched area. While VAWG is the key focus of this section, it begins with a consideration of violent contexts more generally and the gender issues raised within them. It also explores how mobility and connectivity interact with safety and sexuality. The frame is that violence and the threat of violence bounds everyday actions for women and girls, and while mobile phones and new modes of transport, for example, should help to improve safety, they often are seen as part of the problem.

The Justino award considering riots in India seeks to understand why different people in communities experience riots in different ways and what influences higher levels of victimization among some people compared to others. While two-thirds of the respondents in the study were female, the sex of the respondent was not found to be a significant predictor of victimization. This is perhaps a surprising finding given the three main factors the study suggests are associated with levels of victimization: the presence of visible assets or resources that may attract opportunistic violence and increase physical vulnerability, the levels of integration within local communities, and group identity (Gupte et al. 2012).  

The study had a number of elements, and the element of the study focussed on resistance to civil conflict provided some descriptive examples of how women engage with rebels to further their own aims. For example, women asked combatants to force husbands to provide for them or for children to obey them (Arjona 2014a). The study notes how rebels and paramilitaries regulated mobility and free speech in about half of the localities where they were present. They set and regulated norms of conduct such as personal image, including the wearing of skirts by women or earrings and long hair by men, and sexual behaviour, such as homosexual relations and prostitution, in about 20% of the places (Arjona 2014b).

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8 It is interesting to note that all of these factors may be gendered in themselves and thus while being a woman might not lead to greater victimization, the characteristics associated with being female might.
Conflict situations have also been addressed in Colombia. The Ibanez study, while not gendered, highlights a number of impacts of the conflict on women. The study considers aerial spraying for drug eradication programmes and found results indicate that exposure to the herbicides used in aerial spraying campaigns leads to an increase in dermatological problems and miscarriages. The study by Davila, also in Colombia, demonstrates how continued regular gang violence impacts on women and men, here considering women’s and men’s transport choices and perceptions of safety. The study highlights that the importance of transport goes further than moving people efficiently from A to B. It explores residents’ hoped for effects of a cable-car project, which included greater social inclusion, local economic development, formalisation of land and parks, tourism, less gangs and less violence. That is, it is associated with the desires of inhabitants to be seen and be socially included, and the inhabitants of Cazucá saw the cable-car as a potential social, economic and political catalyst for improving living conditions (Bocarejo and Alvarez Rivudulla 2013). However, the study found that in reality women found the cable system far less safe than men (Sarmiento 2013), since women were subjected to sexual harassment and aggressive behaviour on cable-car lines and in the metro at peak times (Levy 2013).

The Davila award notes how, based on their different social position and gendered division of labour, women’s purpose, mode, and experiences of travel differ from men’s, giving rise to different temporal and spatial travel patterns. Transport planning does not represent the interests of women, since women’s suppressed, postponed and rerouted trips are not measured, and women are often excluded from decision making due to deep rooted gendered ideology relating to public and private space (Levy 2013). Nor do planning processes take into account children’s transport needs and this omission similarly impacts on mobility and raises issues around safety.

Porter looked at the experience of children getting to school in a context where this involved a 1–2 hours walk. The arduous nature of the trip can have a great impact on children, to the extent of delaying when children start schooling. For example, one man notes they are waiting for his 6-year-old daughter ‘to grow enough for her to walk to school’. It also impacts on how long girls can continue in school, since girls may not be able to attend secondary school if it involves a long daily journey or residence away from home (Porter et al. 2011). However, it is not the distance that is the issue here, but the association by adults/parents of female mobility with fears of promiscuity.
Safety, mobility and sexuality issues also come into the studies that consider mobile phone technology. Porter's award (Porter et al. 2012) looked at the use of mobile phones by gender across three sites. The overall pattern across the three countries suggests that where phone usage is low and the technology is newly adopted males are likely to predominate, but as phone usage grows girls start to predominate. Porter suggests in some sites low use among girls could be because of low coverage and bad reception, and the fact girls can't walk around freely to find a signal like boys can. A mobile phone is also a line out of the community and a link to the outside world, especially the city. Contact with relatives may lead to their help to physically move there, highlighting the significance of mobile phones as network capital, expediting the availability of social support. However, as noted above, mobility is equated to temptation and the city equated with promiscuity, especially with regards to girls.

Mobile technology is seen by adults as a means to escape parental surveillance and control, particularly by parents and guardians of girls. While some child respondents in the Porter study suggested that young boys stole phones, as phones were desirable objects in themselves, adults in the study also suspected when girls had mobile phones they might have been received as payment for sex. The study noted that girls were more likely to experience sustained surveillance, especially after puberty, through parental concerns around girls' vulnerability and the need for protection associated with notions of shame and reputation (Porter, Hampshire et al. 2010).

While adult concerns around mobility might be perceived rather than based in reality, mobility – including walking to school and for domestic chores - does bring new fears for children. In particular the children were afraid of unknown people passing in cars (Porter et al. 2010). Perhaps surprisingly, there is not a great deal of difference in boys' and girls' reported fear of risk of attack. However, girls also had their own concerns on their walk to school, about 'love proposals' for example and, when collecting firewood in remote locations, a fear of boys hiding and attacking them (Porter et al. 2010). Despite the girls' own concerns, and those of parents, it is still girls who go to collect wood and water, travelling long distances and in isolated areas. This is in part because boys refuse to carry burdens on their heads, and it was seen as 'natural' for them to refuse, while girls are seen to be natural water carriers (Porter et al. 2012). While there are more fears about girls' safety, their greater involvement with domestic tasks before school means they often miss opportunities to walk with
others, losing potential social and safety benefits.

While many women and children suffer violence and aggression at the hands of ‘unknowns’, much VAWG is at the hands of male partners and other male relatives, friends and acquaintances – hence the term ‘domestic violence’. However, violence can be public or private or can span both. Moser’s study covered a number of countries and sites and highlights how violence may be lived differently in different spaces and by different people, advancing understandings of domestic violence beyond a radical feminist framework. In Patna, India, for example, slum dwelling women experience sexual/visual harassment at public toilets and wells due to lack of adequate toilets/bathing facilities. Levels of domestic violence increased with liberalization of laws around alcohol, and violence also spilled out into public spaces. However, for women violence occurred in the private spaces of the home where the police failed to intervene. Despite gains made in terms of addressing violence in public spaces specific policies and strategies often failed to adequately protect women in the private sphere (Niaz 2003; Panda 2005).

The results of the Participatory Violence Appraisal (PVA) in Santiago, Chile – another case study in the Moser award - highlights how violence is spatially organised. Violence for men is related to fights, weapon-use and gangs/hooligans, while women experience Intimate Partner Violence (IPV). While ‘machismo’ was identified as the principle cause of violence against women, other issues unrelated to patriarchal oppression also emerged. In Contraloria, violence was primarily located within families/within couples, but drugs also had an impact on rates of domestic violence in some areas, and violence was seen to be a result of the impacts of both consumerism and individualisation of society (Moser 2012).

A first step to reducing VAWG is often seen to be putting in place laws but, as other studies have suggested, this is not enough. Often domestic violence is widespread and common and then becomes normalised. There is then a need for a change in attitudes – something supported by Brickell’s study looking at Cambodia after government ratification of a law against violence. The study suggests local stakeholders replicate domestic violence ‘myths’ and there is a moralistic approach within communities to achieving ‘harmony’ in relation to domestically violent situations. It notes that women are seen by some local agencies as complicit in their abuse, due to the women later bailing out perpetrators. Women are in a double bind, as on one hand societal expectations demand they be submissive and loyal, but
when they demonstrate this they are accused of being complicit/responsible for the abuse and victim blaming was found to be common. Education around VAWG was suggested to be a key step but it does not appear this is occurring in schools (see above). For example, Ansell found in South African schools a blatant sexism around gender-based violence.

Brickell’s study does suggest some acknowledgement among officers and officials that poverty and lack of financial resources is a key reason women cannot leave an abusive relationship. This is supported by Watts’ study in Tanzania, which highlights there is an inverse association between household socio-economic status (SES) and women’s educational attainment and acceptance of IPV, with women who had some secondary education or higher, being less likely to accept IPV. Women who were employed were also less likely to agree that it is acceptable for a man to hit his wife. This supports evidence that suggests increased levels of education and SES will contribute to reductions in IPV, but only when education is past primary level. It also suggests that employment may be a protective factor.

This being said, other studies have highlighted that women working can lead to conflict in the home and Moser (Chile) suggests machista culture and ‘men’s resentment of women because of their increased autonomy’ was seen as a key explanation of violence (Moser 2012). As noted previously this is supported by other studies that suggest women in paid employment may be seen to be disobedient by their husbands (Hulme) or women’s employment as bringing shame on the household (Walker) through going against gender norms. Women’s employment may suggest to the community that a man cannot provide for his household and thus men have to tolerate comments about their inadequacy as breadwinner, especially when their wives migrate for work (Locke). The relationship between factors such as women entering the labour force and violence against women is still then an area that needs further investigation.

Summary:
- The studies highlight how mobility can be restricted by fears of violence but that daily activities that take women and girls outside the home can also have negative consequences for their safety, for example, girls not being able to walk to school with other girls due to time spent in domestic tasks.
- While new technology, in transport and communication, should open new avenues for women, the studies highlight how technology is gendered and that
any new potential for greater connectivity (via transport and telephone) may be
linked to old fears of this leading to women's promiscuity.

- The studies highlight understanding ‘domestic violence’ as simply a result of
  patriarchy is insufficient, as it is also impacted by wider social processes, such as
  increased consumerism and individualisation of society, for example.
- There is a clear indication that a legal or juridical framework that attempts to
  address violence is not enough, and that changing attitudes is key to reduce
  levels of violence.
- Education and employment may be ‘protective’ factors in terms of IPV, but the
  evidence is far from conclusive.
- Challenging socially conservative norms and providing mechanisms to empower
  women may provide more help in addressing violence than specific ‘anti-violence’
  interventions.

Limitations:

- Some of the studies in this section demonstrate that even when the research is
  focussed on women's issues and/or while women are the only or majority of
  research respondents, this does not automatically make the studies gendered.
- A lack of a clear feminist framing in some cases suggests a utilitarian and
  atheoretical approach to understanding violence against women.
- In some cases, the theoretical approach to understanding VAWG was not made
  clear and this limits the conclusions that can usefully be drawn.
- Perhaps most important is how few awards have VAWG as an explicit focus of
  study, and this is an issue of concern given the priority within international
  development agendas, including that of the UK.
- Overall the studies highlight more research is needed on insecurity in the private
  sphere and what mechanisms best improve the security of women and girls.
BOX 9
Case study: Brickell

The Brickell study provides a useful focus on national policy around domestic violence in Cambodia, and the ways that legislative frameworks and guidance are understood by NGOs and local communities.

The project took violence against women as its specific starting point, and findings suggest that despite clear gains made at the national level based on international guidance, there is little meaningful uptake of the policies or guidance at a local level, due to the social norms that govern domestic patterns within heterosexual relationships.

The study highlights that establishing a legal or juridical framework, while an important first step is not sufficient alone, and that changing attitudes is key to reduce levels of violence.

Brickell used participatory feminist methods to try to engage women in local communities, and to train local NGOs in the use of producing and editing video material. An example of good feminist practice, Brickell established strong links with local organisations and community groups, and worked collaboratively to develop skills and capabilities that could continue to be used once she had left the field.
5.5.4 Gender roles and relations

Feminist scholars have called for an intersectional approach to gender research (Ludvig 2006), highlighting that gender does not provide one singular, monolithic framework (Braidotti 2002) and that homogenising all women as subordinated simply by sex masks various other aspects of identities that privilege some and oppress others (Mohanty 1998). Feminists have also highlighted that gender is manufactured through sets of acts that men and women ‘perform’ but which then confers binding power on the act performed – the notion of ‘performativity’ (Butler 1990). Thus there is an understanding that gender roles are far from natural, and that gender alone does not determine social relations, including gender relations, but how gender intersects with other characteristics is important.

Ansell’s study seeks to explore lives and livelihoods over time. It notes there is also a need to engage men and boys to bring change, but the top down approaches used in the schools studied were seen to not always be effective, as boys felt marginalised. Instead the study suggests that challenging gender inequalities that are seen to be ‘natural’ will require a bottom-up and more integrated approach. This is also the case as targeting categories such as ‘women’ or ‘orphans’ is unlikely to help the most vulnerable due to their multiple oppressions – instead there is a need for a feminist-derived intersectional approach. The Unterhalter study (Unterhalter 2012) is a good example of a study that sees gender as socially constructed and ‘performed’, highlighting that the way society sees appropriate gender roles may negatively impact boys and girls in relation to poverty and education, and prevent gender equality. The study by Wunder notes, however, that gendered practices can be more nuanced than the assumed male/female, productive/reproductive divide. Looking at forests, the study suggests that while there is a difference between men and women in terms of forest use and management, men play a greater role than is often assumed and gendered practices are more nuanced than the literature currently suggests.

The Hannum award looking at China also highlights the need to question assumed attitudes around gender roles. The findings suggest that, at least in the study area of Gansu, rural parental educational attitudes and practices toward boys and girls are more complicated and less uniformly negative for girls than commonly portrayed. It shows few mothers think that girls are less capable or worthy of educational investment than boys. However, as substantial proportions of mothers expect future support will come from sons, some then link this expectation to the view that
investing in girls is a waste (Hannum and Kong 2007). However, as Falkingham notes, who supports parents in their old age may be changing with migration. The study found that 30% of migrant daughters were sending remittances. While this is still lower than for their brothers (48% send help) it is a high proportion in the traditional cultural context (Ablezova 2008).

**Locke's** study explores men and women's experiences of migration and managing family life in Vietnam. The study shows a difference in how migration is conceptualised in that women who stay behind are seen to have been 'left behind' by husbands, while husbands who remain suggest they have 'sent their wife' to the city. However, it highlights how female migration can destabilise gender norms including finding that, unless they have strong support from female relatives, men take up 'women's work' in the household when wives migrate. For men and women migration creates tensions with fulfilling family roles. Vietnamese social norms provide strong moral authority for men to migrate for work, allowing migrant men to be good fathers by leaving the family, although many regret their remote relationship with their children. It is harder for female migrants to reconcile migration and motherhood, however the sacrifice they make in everyday parenting is still constructed as parenting work and conjugal work (by helping their husbands build a more financially secure family). For women to leave, men had to feel confident that migrating wives were faithful, and this was an essential element for managing marital strains related to women's migration. Living with female villagers in the city ensured that women were both secure/safe and under appropriate surveillance. Thus the study highlights there are varying degrees of agency/empowerment present and the study notes there is no single way to quantify agency/power in male/female parental relationships in relation to different migration patterns, as it involves complex trade-offs.

The need to ‘police’ women and girls is recognised in a number of studies and is related to mobility and mobile technology (see above). In general, double standards still exist around sexual practice; for example in Vietnamese society (Locke) 'economic fidelity' of migrating husbands is most important, meaning men can still be a 'good migrant' even when engaging in extramarital sexual activities. Many men stress however that they did not engage in affairs, not because of moral concerns but because they did not have the money or energy to engage in these activities – affairs being something seen to be for richer and younger men. While women too may engage in sex outside marriage, in the studies this is largely only discussed in relation to transactional sex. While this might be quite common (but data is missing)
in Noble's study it was seen to represent an ultimate loss of dignity.

A loss of dignity also comes from sexism – through being regarded as less ‘worthy’ than another person - yet sexist behaviour has become normalised. For example, in Noble’s study respondents noted women’s ‘respectable behaviour’ e.g. not gossiping, not drinking in public, and not wearing short skirts, as related to dignity. This ‘more conservative and patriarchal worldview’ as reported by Noble was most prominent in rural areas. While self-respect was seen by the women as a necessary pre-requisite for gaining the respect of others, self-esteem appeared to be based on the role of women as mothers and the need for dignity stemmed from this - noting that dignity is an important part of womanhood and motherhood, and that ‘they all go together’. It also highlights the value women in this study place on their mothering roles, seeing this as a large ‘job’ and an important one. If women feel a lack of ability to be a good caregiver then the impact is felt by them at a very personal level, and so, as found in the Bangadeshi context women internalise societal norms and ‘make them their own’ (Vaz et al. 2013, Alkire award).

Poverty results in lowered self-esteem and a sense of isolation, and employment was found to be an important element within this. As Harriss-White notes, employers understand that the feminisation of labour enables them to reduce compliance with the formal regulation of employment relations and thus it enables employers to keep wages low. Yet Scott’s study of the Avon system suggests it as providing an emancipatory avenue for poor women in South Africa, enabling some to lift themselves out of poverty and inspiring many with self-confidence and hope. Tallontire’s study of Fair Trade Kenyan cut flowers also suggests employment – of a particular nature – can be empowering (see above). The study explores how the ‘top-down’ committee mechanism put in place by company management to help women fight ‘women’s problems’ such as sexual harassment, grew past this to include credit schemes and wider training such as hairdressing (Said-Allsopp and Tallontire 2014a). It also notes how committee members were respected, and ‘wamama gender’ (the Gender Mamas) had power, with women viewing it as a means to defend rights without being under the control of men.

The study also looks at empowerment mechanisms, suggesting empowerment pathways exist through being, doing and sharing (Said-Allsopp and Tallontire 2014b). The study notes that even though the achievement of success in all three pathways is not necessary, it may be conceptualised as being the difference between ‘the
situation of empowerment’, where all three occur, and ‘an empowering situation’, where only one or two of these has been achieved or are in the process of being developed.

To conceptualise her study, Scott looked to the women’s entrepreneurship literature (Scott et al 2012). This literature, while lacking a theoretical framework, it was suggested could be useful to ‘guide emancipatory work’. However, the study notes there are cultural assumptions about family, employment alternatives, and infrastructure in this literature that need to be adjusted for research among women in the developing world. Moreover, an important departure from past feminist thought is required, accepting the possibility that the marketplace contains mechanisms, such as entrepreneurship, that can be harnessed for feminist purposes. A pragmatist feminist perspective - that does not predetermine judgment of outcomes based on an overriding ideology and values each step in the path toward justice as an important one – is then needed.

Summary:

- The studies highlight that traditional gendered divisions of labour and responsibility may be changing, due to other social processes such as migration, and be changed, through education.
- While studies are now starting to better understand how men see fatherhood, gendered divisions of labour need to be understood as more nuanced than is often suggested by the existing literature.
- Double standards do still remain –especially around sex – and women are still constructed as the primary care giver and valued as ‘good’ mothers and wives, which includes fidelity.
- The role of mother should be recognised as being important to women and one they see to be a big ‘job’ that should bring respect.
- At the same time income generating activities are increasingly important for women, and while they can bring empowerment, the feminisation of employment may dis-empower.
- How to ensure an emancipatory process might mean looking outside the traditional gendered literatures and theories, and feminist analysis may need to take a broad view taking into account other disciplines and theories.
- The need to broaden the approach taken also applies to the intersectional approach adopted and the need to draw links between issues. For example, the
links between economic autonomy and empowerment and wider social and sexual autonomy and empowerment have not been explored within the studies.

Limitations:
- While a number of the studies do seek to present gendered relations as complex and shifting, other studies also highlight that women’s ‘natural’ role is still constructed as being mothers and carers and/or in terms of domestic work, and a number of the studies themselves also construct women as mothers and carers.
- Men’s roles and how these are understood, and men’s relations with women and men, are still under researched and remain key areas where little is known.
- Sex and sexuality is little explored in the awards, and the latter is often confused with the former.
- Rights are also noticeable by their absence from many discussions, particularly women’s sexual and reproductive rights.

BOX 10
Case Study: Locke

Looking at personal stories this study of migration in Vietnam worked to position men’s and women’s experiences of migration in the wider context, engaging with existing social and cultural norms that impact on how men and women experience migration.

This project recognised that men and women, mothers and fathers, all have different societal expectations placed upon them. In this sense it provides what might be deemed an intersectional approach by situating women as women, but also looking at how women function as mothers. Equally for men, it situated men as men but also looked at how men function as fathers. This was not a reductive or essentialising approach, but one that recognised the complexity of exchange between these roles.

All the major publications from this project were co-authored with Southern partners. This suggests a collaborative approach to engaging co-investigators in the research team, and again demonstrates good practice in terms of developing skills and capacity of Southern partner academics.
6. Analysis

The evidence review of the published outputs from the awards made under the Joint Fund highlighted a number of issues around gender. This section discusses some of the issues raised and draws on interviews to illustrate not just how gender has been included in the studies but also why, and why not.

6.1 Nature of the gender perspective in the awards

As the above review highlights, the awards produced a large amount of new information on women’s position and situation relative to men, provided insights into changing gendered roles and the processes that change them, and rich details of gendered experiences of everyday lives. However, there were a number of projects that could have provided useful insights into the experiences of men and women in different contexts, but failed to recognise this and did not include gender as a key element in the methodology or analysis of findings. This means that these projects left significant knowledge gaps around (women’s) experiences.

The review highlights that even when a topic might appear to be inherently gendered, given it is focussed on women or looking at an issue important for women, it cannot be taken as given that the approach will necessarily be gendered. In a number of cases there seems to have been an active desire not to be labelled as ‘doing gender’ and, for example, despite undertaking in-depth qualitative interviews looking at men’s and women’s experiences, one Principal Investigator (PI) stressed how her findings did not relate to gender at all (personal communication).

In other cases while the topic could have been gendered the level of analysis negated this. For example an award looking at a drug being given to women during childbirth could have been gendered, through focussing on the women involved or even the nurses and doctors. However, the lack of a gender perspective was an active decision on behalf of the PI and team and even though there were ‘gender people’ on the team, the topic was not approached in that way. This was not because the PI and team did not understand the value of doing gendered research or what it implied, but because they did understand. The PI highlighted that gendered research implies a specific theoretical and methodological approach which was not adopted for this particular study as an active choice (personal communication).

Overall a relatively large number of studies did disaggregate findings by sex and, as noted previously, this may be related in part to the changing call specifications
making clear the need for disaggregation. However, this often resulted in sex being included as a variable for analysis in quantitative studies, or single sex focus groups in the case of qualitative research, without full discussion of why, and without full analysis of the gendered issues raised by the differences in response. Many studies seemed to slip into the trap of presenting data in binaries i.e. girls do X, while boys do Y. While some acknowledge that the mechanisms behind these differences need to be unpacked, many do not.

In some cases finding the evidence generated around women/gender was difficult since discussion was reserved for one or two ‘gendered’ papers out of ten or more publications. In other cases discussion was limited to only one section on gender in one published output – for example, for one award, out of 16 outputs, one paper had one section on gender. More generally there tended to be mentions of sex differences in all outputs, but little gender analysis. When gender difference was explained, often ‘culture’ was used as an explanatory catch all for women’s position, with static notions of ‘culture’ being promoted that ignored shifts/changes in norms.

Other studies found gender was not ‘significant’ as an explanatory variable and thus did not present gendered findings. Interviews with award holders suggest, however, that in some cases further analysis might reveal gender differences, suggesting non-gendered projects could be re-visited to explore their gendered implications.

The interview with one PI highlights how and why gender analysis may be limited. In this case the PI has a strong tradition working on gender issues yet the project awarded under the Joint Fund was not ‘gendered’. This was in part due to the perceived need under the Joint Fund specification to have a multi-partner, multi-disciplinary team. The non-gendered nature of the team (Co-Is) then influenced how the study developed and limited the gender focus. Noting that there are many gender elements within the findings, the PI feels she still needs to pull out the gender elements more clearly but had no time to do this within the funding period. Lack of time was something echoed by a number of those interviewed, suggesting gender analysis might be a second ‘tier’ analysis for some projects, raising the question of how central gender is seen by the award holders to be to the scheme.

A number of studies have started to treat gender as a non-homogenous category, breaking down into urban/rural, by age etc. However, often this does not go beyond noting ‘difference’ and too rarely do they unpack what ‘being’ rural or ‘being’ an older
Intersectionality, while something to be promoted, needs to be treated as more than a tick box exercise, or a way of alluding to difference, but as a mechanism for trying to understand an issue/a group more holistically and unpicking the complexity that various intersections present. At present only a limited number of awards do this.

The case studies highlighted throughout the report demonstrate how an intersectional approach can be operationalised, looking at men’s and women’s experiences, and relationships between men and women, in order to understand the complex social relations that govern gendered experiences of a range of issues. They also highlight how a gender analysis can be applied to a ‘mainstream’ topic, such as migration, employment or education. They highlight how a gender lens applied to a particular theme – such as education – can provide interesting insights into the daily lives of girls and boys and touch on wider issues such as mobility and sexuality and how this is understood across ages and genders (Porter award – see above). While studies are beginning to understand women are not a homogenous group, the lives of men also need to be explored through an intersectional lens.

Men were an explicit focus of only a small number of studies. The study by Coast (see above) demonstrates that even in very sensitive, women-focussed research such as research around abortion, men can be included and highlights the academic value of this. In another study (Herrick – see above) one publication from the research focussed on men and highlights that men can also be the focus of gender research. Using an innovative methodology, the paper offered rich insights into masculine identity and into a ‘hard to reach’ culture. Interestingly the focus on men emerged only because it was only men who agreed to take part in that particular aspect of the research, rather than because of a desire for a ‘masculinities’ approach (personal communication).

While a gender analysis was lacking from a large number of studies, in contrast gender emerged as a central theme in a number of other studies. For one project that did not start out as a gendered project, gender quickly emerged as important and became a key focus (De Neve – see above). In this case the PI suggests that they will now continue to explore gender in the future and is publishing on the gendered components (personal communication). In other cases while gender was an element in some publications, as noted above this was confined to a couple of ‘gender’ papers, and not mainstreamed in all publications. This may in part be related to
publication strategies and the demands of the Research Excellence Framework (REF). The gendered publications were also often written by certain members of the team, including by Co-Is rather than the PIs.

Importantly a number of studies that generated a large number of gendered outputs, or provided rich gendered insights into a topic, had been classified as ‘non-gendered’ in the typology presented in Section 3 of this report. This was because, despite their obvious contribution to gendered knowledge, these were not seen by the award holders to be important enough, or perhaps not central enough to the original funding bid, to be mentioned in the End of Award Report. This raises questions over how gendered knowledge is, and is not, valued by award holders and also how it is perceived by them to be valued or not by the Joint Fund.

6.2 Methodology and publishing strategy
While gendered research is defined by its focus, it is also defined by the approach taken to the research process.

A number of studies demonstrate good practice feminist methodology. Coast for example explicitly incorporated an empowerment approach to developing and mentoring the research team, which was comprised almost exclusively of women. Brickell’s study was not only explicitly feminist in terms of the topic studied – intimate partner violence - but used feminist participatory methodology to promote social and political change through utilising participatory video with local NGOs, providing them with training as well as video equipment to use after the project finished. In the Herrick award also the hierarchical power relations typically found in research teams seem not to apply and existing power relations did not determine who did what, with ‘junior’ staff being fully involved and taking the lead, including in publishing. This is interesting as this project, constructed initially as non-gendered, provides a good example of good feminist research methodology, albeit from a non-feminist study.

In methodological terms, gendered and feminist research is as much defined by its approach as the methods adopted. In particular good feminist research puts power relations central to the analysis, and also as central to the study itself. This includes consideration of researcher-researched relations, and also considerations of power relations within the research team. As such gendered research might be expected to not only involve Southern and ‘junior’ researchers but to provide them with support and seek to promote them as full and equal participants, including in any publications.
The extent to which the awards have adopted good gendered research practice was explored further in interviews with some award holders.

The interviews highlighted that different strategies have been adopted to ensure co-publications. In one case each country team lead their own case study and also published together. In another there were different pairings and the PI was not involved in a number of the publications at all, while another highlighted it is not only ‘young’ academics that can benefit – the award allowed an ‘older’, established academic to re-engage with publishing after a long period of not focusing on publications. In the majority of awards, gendered and non-gendered, the majority of publications were joint authored, and in a large number the PI was not always lead author. Interestingly one of the most ‘gendered’ projects funded under the Joint Fund had some of the most single authored/PI alone-authored publications.

In terms of addressing any power imbalances between Western institutions and Southern partners, many PIs suggested they actively worked with Southern partners to ensure they got published. This at times included publishing with NGO partners as it was understood this could be important for the NGO in terms of them obtaining funding. While all NGOs face funding cuts, this has been particularly noted as an issue for gendered NGOs and women’s groups and so may be of particular importance to them.

However, one concern raised in interviews was the difficulties in publishing with Southern partners working in the university sector as they do not have time to commit and do not have the same pressure to publish. To promote publications one PI arranged a special edition of a journal but even then found it was difficult to get other people on the research team to submit papers, and in part felt this was due to a lack of incentive outside the West/universities to do so. From the interviews a suggestion was that it would be useful for ESRC-DFID to consider how to think about funding related to Southern partners so that they could be properly bought out, including for writing academic journal articles.

The review of outputs also demonstrated differing publishing strategies not just in terms of who is publishing, and with who, but also where. While some awards had generated large numbers of outputs others had very few. While in general large output was associated with multi-authored and multiple single authored publications, at other times it seemed this was due mostly to the PI being incredibly prolific. There
was also a difference in where findings were being published. Some awards had only reports, others reports and briefings, and then others only academic work. Only a relatively small number of awards had all three types of publications. This is important in terms of impact – academic and wider policy impact – not least for gendered projects, as gendered research aims to bring positive changes to the position and situation of women.

There was some concern from interview participants that their projects would not meet the criteria for creating ‘impact’ – indeed, many felt that impact was not clearly defined (this was not something only related to the ESRC-DFID expectations on impact, but also to REF expectations), and others were unsure about how to achieve this. There is a danger that impact becomes too focussed on creating policy change in the short term at the expense of the emergence of new theoretical or conceptual advances. The two are of course related, and new theoretical insights and better conceptualisation of issues will in turn inform better policy making, but this is a longer term impact, generally past the time frame of the awards. The Joint Fund recognises the importance of both policy change and new theoretical or conceptual advances, in that the aim of the scheme is to enhance both the quality and impact of research and to produce research that provides a robust conceptual and empirical basis for development and has potential for impact on policy and practice related to poverty reduction. There then needs to be a balance between generating short term policy impact and advancing conceptual and theoretical thinking, and the lack of many real theoretical or conceptual advances in understandings of gender and gendered poverty generated by the studies might evidence that there is currently a lack of such balance.

6.3 Call specification and grant holders
As noted in the description of the Joint Fund and also in the discussion of the typology, the visibility of gender has changed as the scheme has developed. The call specification in the most recent call for proposals (Phase 3) saw gender as clearly visible and also clearly articulated as being more than just about men and women, but highlighting instead gendered poverty as having structural causes. The changes in how gender has been mentioned in the different calls under the Joint Fund may have influenced the ‘why’ and ‘how’ of gender inclusion in the awards. The older awards were more likely to have no mention of gender than the newer awards, while the newer awards were more likely than the older awards to have a clear and well-developed gender perspective. This suggests that how the call is formulated does
make a difference.

As such, subsequent calls might usefully make clearer what is expected in ‘good’ gendered research. If gender is to be central in subsequent calls there is a need to stress that studies that suggest they will be gendered outline how they will explore inequalities between men and women, rather than just state they will do so.

While there are still some issues that clearly would benefit from a women-only approach, it would be useful, for example, to understand what role men play in Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) decisions at a household and a local level. In particular if calls seek to explicitly address the gaps in knowledge identified below, and seek studies around FGM, abortion, trafficking, etc. then feminist approaches rather than gender approaches might be more appropriate and should be highlighted in the call.

As noted previously, the absence of some key gender and development researchers is interesting given the prestigious nature of the scheme, especially given later calls have become more ‘gender-friendly’. To explore this, a list of 15 well established researchers in the field of gender and development scholars who did not appear on the list of grant holders was compiled, based on the recent ‘International Handbook of Gender and Poverty’ (Chant 2010). While this is by no means a ‘representative’ sample and it is accepted it is highly subjective, it provides some level of insight. First the ESRC supplied information on whether these scholars had applied to the Joint Fund. Surprisingly, only 20% of these well-established but non-grant holding gender scholars had actually applied to the Joint Fund, and only one had done so more than once. A number who had not applied were contacted to explore why this was the case.

A number of the most experienced gender researchers had not applied to the Joint Fund since they had sufficient funding from other sources, and these were often the equivalent of DFID i.e. development rather than academic funders. This is perhaps not surprising given the focus of feminist research on bringing change and having a positive impact on the subjects of the research. Of those who had thought about applying but had not done so, the requirements of the application were presented as an issue, being seen to be excessive and overly exacting. This was an issue raised in the interviews with award holders also, with the view that the call suggests the need to show the award has led to poverty alleviation – or at least the potential for
this – which some feel is not a feasible outcome from such funding. The perceived preference of the ESRC toward funding quantitative research projects and ‘big data’ rather than more finely tuned qualitative and/or ethnographic projects was also raised. While feminist researchers may use either quantitative or qualitative research methods, or indeed adopt a mixed method approach, the topics of enquiry in a number of cases still do favour a more qualitative approach. Related to this, those interviewed suggested the Joint Fund was not seen to be as responsive as some other schemes to fund issues such as gender-based violence. Indeed, one PI who had been awarded under the Joint Fund in interview noted how she had embedded gendered research into the proposal, presenting it as considering wider, societal processes in order to improve her chances of securing the grant.

While this was only a rather superficial exploration of the omission of certain people and themes it does seem to suggest that despite the change in the call specifications to make gender more central, the ESRC-DFID Joint Fund is not seen to be gender-friendly and this may have limited both what topics have, and have not been covered under the scheme and how knowledge has been constructed. It also suggests that if gender is to be made more central to the scheme there is a need to further explore who is applying and around which topics to better understand the processes involved.

Overall while it is clear that the best gender research financed by the Joint Fund does a good job at interrogating inequalities, and presents nuanced understandings that can lead to more equal experiences between men and women, these studies were the exception rather than the rule. An absence of feminist methodologies/feminist framings across even the majority of the gendered projects was evident, and might help explain why some key issues that it might be assumed would have emerged are not emerging.

While in the most recent call (for January 2015) gender is included in the list of ‘structural inequalities’ that need to be considered by applicants as ‘cross-cutting issues’ it is not, and had not been in any earlier calls, one of the three ‘overarching questions’ or themes that applicants must address. If a future call seeks to explicitly address the gaps in knowledge identified below, it would need to promote gender from one of the cross cutting issues to an overarching question or theme.
7. Conclusions and Recommendations

This report provides a gender evidence synthesis of the research outputs to date of the ESRC/DFID Joint Scheme for Poverty Alleviation Research, first established in 2005. After nearly 10 years the scheme has had the potential to produce a large amount of new research and make advances in understandings of poverty and poverty alleviation. The report has provided a critical reflection on the contribution of the research portfolio to gendered understandings of poverty and poverty alleviation.

7.1 Gender in the Joint Fund

Gender is understood as a social construct that recognises that biological differences between men and women do not explain what it means to be a man or a woman, nor the social norms that govern their behaviour. In this synthesis ‘how’ women (and men) are included in the studies is as important as ‘if’ they are included. A study with a focus on women is different from a study that includes women as mothers or merely because they are the main worker in the sector under study, for example. Different again is a study that compares the situation of men and women, one that seeks to explore different gendered experiences of events, or one focussed on understanding unequal gendered relations of power. Applying a gender lens implies exploring relations between men and women.

To better understand the ‘how’ of women’s inclusion in the research generated under the Joint Fund an initial analysis of the CfS and, where available, the EoAR was undertaken to establish a typology of gender inclusion/exclusion. Overall, under this classification 60% of the awards under the Joint Fund included some level of gender analysis. Just under 30% of all the awards had an explicit gender focus – with gender the main analytical category, a focus on gendered power and inequality, or gender roles, relations or identities to be explicitly explored by the study. Another 30% took an ‘instrumentalist gender approach’. This approach saw data disaggregated by sex but little analysis of what the differences meant, or women were included in the studies as mothers, for example, not gendered beings, and the gendered nature of women was not recognised. While only 2% of the awards could be considered to be ‘gender neutral’ i.e. having no gendered element at all, 28% of the awards were what was described as ‘gender blind’ – making no mention of gender in the CfS and EoAR despite the fact the topic did raise gender issues or a gender lens could have been applied. A further 10% were defined as ‘non-gendered’ rather than gender blind as these projects discussed gender and a non-gendered approach was then an active decision.
The typology also highlights that the visibility of gender has changed as the scheme has developed. This is found to be related to changes in the call specifications, which has seen a greater explicit mention of the need to think about gender issues as the Joint Fund has developed. While the first call makes no explicit mention of gender, subsequent calls have introduced the idea, first suggesting the need for sex disaggregated data, while the latest call suggests gender should be one of the ‘cross-cutting issues’. A breakdown of the typology by phases/calls shows that while nearly 15% of earlier awards had no mention of gender, this is true of only 5% of the newer awards. Overall around 30% of the awards are ‘gendered’, and this increases from under 25% of the earlier awards nearing completion, to 40% of the proposals for the newer projects suggesting they will adopt a gender perspective. This would suggest that explicitly mentioning gender in the call specification leads to a greater number of awards being funded that have a gender focus. However, the first inclusion of gender in the call specification (early Phase 2 calls) leads to a significant decline in the number of non-gendered projects but an increase in the proportion of proposals justifying why they will not focus on/include gender (an increase from 24% to 40%). From Phase 2 Call 3 onwards the proportion of this type of project declines once more, and the proportion of gendered projects being awarded rises to 40% overall. This suggests not only including gender explicitly is important, but how it is included in the call specification also matters.

Once the typology was constructed the original intention was to use this to identify the key gendered works and explore them further in terms of outputs produced by the research grants. However, as only 2% of the grants awarded under the Joint Fund were ‘gender neutral’ it was clearly important to explore all the outputs generated by all the 122 grants to make sure all the gendered knowledge generated by the scheme was captured. The available gender evidence was extracted and tabulated.

This process, to review all outputs for new gendered information and insights, highlighted that a number of ‘non-gendered’ awards had in fact generated new gendered information. Just under 15% of studies originally classified as non-gendered or gender blind in the typology had actually generated some new knowledge around women and poverty. This supports the notion that very few social science studies can ever be truly ‘gender neutral’. Review of the outputs for around another 15% of awards classified as non-gendered or gender blind in the typology
revealed some rich insights into gender relations had been one, often incidental, outcome of the projects. However, it also revealed that these findings had seemingly not been recognised by the award holder as important in that there is no mention of them in the EoAR. This raises the question of how gendered knowledge is/or is not valued by researchers or, perhaps more importantly in this context, perceived by them to be valued by the Joint Fund. It suggests that, if gender is explicitly mentioned in the call specification as something all applicants should consider, so too should gender be explicitly mentioned as an element that all award holders need to discuss in the EoAR.

The information extracted from the individual outputs was synthesised under a number of headings to highlight new insights and also gaps and limitations. While choice of themes in part emerged from the focus on the studies themselves they were initially aimed to be in line as much as possible with how gender is being presented within development policy at a global level and trends within academic research. In terms of the former, the post-2015 development goals have been used as a frame to understand wider implications of the impact of the evidence produced. This, complemented by a short review of trends in academic research around gender and poverty, also highlighted a number of issues that might be seen to be important components of any body of work developed over the last 10 years – themes such as sexuality, masculinity, and violence against women. It highlights also a move in how issues are conceptualised – for example re-defining health as a rights issue and poor maternal health as a reflection of structural inequalities – and a move in how gender is understood – with, for example, a move toward intersectionality in academia and in policy circles a desire to expand how poverty and well-being is measured.

7.2 New gendered knowledge generated by the Joint Fund

The Joint Fund has contributed to gender understandings of a number of key themes and generated new knowledge in a number of key academic and policy areas:

7.2.1 Understandings and experiences of poverty and poverty alleviation

Synthesising the knowledge generated by a large number of diverse awards around gendered poverty and how men and women experience poverty differently, four areas emerged: understandings of gendered income poverty and particularly how this relates to employment; crisis and change; well-being and poverty alleviation programmes.
Income poverty, education and employment

Despite calls to widen how poverty is understood and the recognition of the multi-dimensional nature of poverty, income poverty remains an important element of the poverty policy context, including in the post-2015 context. Calls to disaggregate key SDG indicators by gender suggest that understanding the gender dimensions of income poverty will also be a key policy concern. Despite the ‘economic’ focus, the majority of the studies under the Joint Fund provided a gendered reading of women’s income poverty and many also at least sought to provide a comparison with men. The studies highlight that women are not a homogenous group, and young women in particular may face specific constraints. Yet while this suggests the need for an intersectional lens, taking into account how gender intersects with age, few studies explicitly apply such a lens. Overall the studies highlight that:

- Even when women move into traditionally male areas or diversify their occupations an earnings gap persists over time, and markets remain segregated.
- Local cultural and social norms about what is acceptable for women, in terms of their ability to move into public spaces, govern to what extent they can enter training/employment successfully.
- Women’s opportunities and earning capacity may still be bounded by their relative lack of mobility in, and knowledge of, the public sphere, while their lack of access to economic resources limits their ability to invest in business or even, especially in the case of young women, enter employment.
- Education is often seen to be an important route to economic empowerment but if returns to education are low for women then this may not necessarily be the case, and 40 years after the term was first coined, women may still experience ‘productive deprivation’, highlighting the economic inefficiency of gender relations.
- While exploring what diversifying occupations means for women, there is little explicit discussion of power issues and how men in particular feel about women moving into traditionally male areas of work. This might be an area for further research.

Crisis and change

It has been suggested that economic and financial crises cannot be seen in isolation from food, fuel, water, environment, human rights, and care crises. The awards reviewed did seek to explore the differentiated household impact of a range of crises including health crises, ‘disaster’ and environmental change, as well as economic crisis and the rise of the ‘new poor’. However, a large number of studies in this area
were gender blind or non-gendered, and in the latter case those that included gender did so only as an interesting finding, rather than as a focus in its own right. This is unfortunately in line with the general trend and, for example, during the recent financial crisis measures to protect ‘the poor’ have often not considered the gendered dimensions of crisis, making women invisible. However, women may have been more severely affected than men and in more diverse ways. The studies highlight:

- Crisis may result in the formation of a ‘new poor’ and the way they live their deprivation may be different from those who have traditionally made up the poor. This may be a gendered experience of deprivation with winners and losers, however there needs to be further exploration of the gendered nature of this.
- Economic necessity may overcome male reluctance to let ‘their’ wives work, but entry into labour markets may bring bounded positive outcomes for women in the home because their employment still represents a challenge to the man and his male role.
- Household crisis may bring some benefits to girls in terms of education, but not boys, who may have to take on the breadwinner role. While interesting evidence, there is little gendered analysis about why and what it means in the longer term.

- Poverty as well-being
  While decreasing income poverty remains an important international policy concern, there has been a move away from using only income as a measure of well-being to accepting poverty as multi-dimensional. This has meant an associated acceptance of the need for new ways of measuring well-being and new indicators of relative poverty. A number of studies sought to expand understandings of poverty, making a clear contribution in the field. They introduce new elements to the on-going debate on how poverty is experienced and what drives well-being, including focussing on shame and dignity, empowerment and autonomy. The studies highlight how poverty can bring shame to those who are living in poverty and kill any dignity they had, and how this compromises their very sense of humanity. While all studies highlight differences between men and women, this was not always accompanied by a gendered analysis. Instead explanations were often limited to citing ‘cultural factors’ with no further explanation of what these are or their role in engendering structural inequalities. Other issues raised include:
  - Poverty is a gendered experience and women’s well-being is significantly lower than men’s, with women suffering more often and dealing with more diverse forms of shame.
  - The coping strategies women employ including engaging in income-generating
activities, while benefiting the household, may not benefit women and instead add new forms of shame and reduce their dignity even further.

- On the other hand, the studies show a renewed focus on empowerment, seeking to identify pathways to empowerment, via employment and quantifying relative gendered (dis)empowerment.
- Questions of methodology and epistemology are raised by these studies looking to quantify a notion such as empowerment, and these could usefully be explored further.
- The studies also highlight the need to ensure a gender balance and this time it is men that perhaps need to be further considered in studies of this nature.

- Anti-poverty and social protection programmes

Social protection has become an important instrument in reducing poverty. It is also an established field for gender enquiry and more recently gender scholarship has focussed on a particular type of programme favoured by governments and donors – Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) programmes. The majority of CCTs target economic resources at women but the intended beneficiaries are children, and receipt of payments is on condition of improving children’s education and health. This has led to critiques of such programmes and claims that they place mothers ‘at the service’ of the poverty agenda rather than served by it, with a resultant ‘feminisation of obligation’. A number of awards under the Joint Fund consider CCTs, however the majority do not problematise the role of women. The studies do highlight:

- That programmes can have mixed outcomes and the outcome may be context specific and depend on the characteristics of the recipients.
- That targeting resources at women may improve the situation of the household but may not improve the position of women.
- Shame and loss of dignity may be the unintended outcomes of such projects.

Many studies in this area also focus on modelling of household response but:

- While important insights have been generated by this modelling, as the focus is often on testing the ‘collective’ model of household functioning those working from a more qualitative perspective may not be aware of this contribution.
- While the evidence is persuasive it is noted that it does not conclusively demonstrate any gender specific benefit of targeting resources at women and it is thus an area for further research, but perhaps of a more qualitative nature.

7.2.2 Education

Awards which addressed education as their main theme covered a range of topics
and country contexts. The majority, however, focussed on primary and secondary education rather than higher education, but where higher education was discussed the studies challenged assumptions that gender equitable access is 'enough'. The focus on primary and secondary formal schooling is perhaps unsurprising considering its prominence in both the MDGs and the Education for All frameworks, but it does suggest that some awards are following the policy agenda rather than contributing to transform it. While many studies showed a great understanding of gender others tended to be descriptive rather than analytical. This meant that knowledge around the mechanisms behind particular differences was not furthered, and theoretical understandings of gender were not engaged with as fully as they might have been. In general newer areas of focus in the educational discourses, such as gendered violence at school, tended to emerge only incidentally from the work of some of the studies, rather than being the main issue under analysis. They do highlight that schools and universities can be sites that perpetuate rather than challenge patriarchies but also that gendered parental expectations for educational achievement might be more nuanced than assumed. Those studies that were gendered showed a good use of intersectional approaches. This helped to develop understandings of 'girls' as a non-homogenous category and moved past the classroom to consider more holistic issues such as mobility and fear, and utilised innovative methodologies engaging the young people themselves. Overall:

- The 'beyond access' approach of a number of these studies allowed for an unpacking of the 'black box' of input-output models of education by taking research into classrooms and starting to engage with processes within schools.
- There was evidence of innovative methodologies that engaged across spaces and levels including processes of public reasoning as well as interviews.
- The studies moved past the classroom and noted, for example, the salience of gender in structuring what technological advances are available to whom and how they are used.
- To capture the ways in which gender norms are shifting over time in different educational contexts, more funding for longitudinal studies would be useful, as schools and universities are a key space for the transformation of gender inequalities.

**7.2.3 Health**

Understanding issues that impact men and women in a development context in relation to health is complicated. Situating women and healthcare requires a clear
understanding of the ways in which gender and cultural norms at both the country and community level influence women’s access to public goods and resources. Women who experience high levels of inequality may have difficulties in accessing healthcare and enacting ‘rights’ that may help them negotiate health services. As early as the mid-1990s it was suggested that to provide frameworks that allow women access to adequate healthcare, while at the same time guaranteeing their reproductive rights, necessitates a fundamental reconceptualisation of gendered systems. Reproductive rights and respect for bodily integrity are vitally important for framing any discussion on women and health in a development context, and when considering women’s health it is important to take an holistic approach to understanding how poverty and maternal health are related, and what can be done to improve the position of pregnant women more widely. The Joint Fund generated new insights into the impacts of disease and ill-health on men and women and what hinders their access to services. The focus on access and outcomes especially when maternal health was being examined meant a limited focus on reproductive rights. There was a clear emphasis on maternal health but often with women included in the studies as ‘mothers’ or potential mothers rather than as women per se. While there was a limited reflection on the ways that intersecting discriminations might impact upon women’s health and access to decent healthcare, the studies did focus on a range of issues that relate to women’s health outcomes in various ways:

- Access to health care for women is complicated by gender norms – not only do women face particular problems in relation to managing their social roles (as women, as mothers, as carers), the practical issues of travel and cost have an impact on women’s ability to receive adequate medical care.
- There is recognition that women are prevented from engaging fully with relevant health services because of their relatively low social position, which was made worse by the stigma associated with the disease (TB) or with them (sex workers).
- The wider familial implications of illness were also noted, including decision making around health, and the issue of concealment of illness.
- The need to understand how gender relations may limit decision making around health was highlighted, including how the use of new technology, such as mobile phones, needs to take men’s and women’s different experiences into account.
- The studies highlight that understanding the role of male partners in women’s decision-making processes, as well as the input of fathers/uncles/brothers, is important and would allow for potentially better health outcomes.
- It is widely recognised that ‘domestic’ violence is an issue that impacts pregnant
women disproportionately yet there was no mention of domestic violence and its role in decisions around contraception use or abortion, suggesting an important gap in knowledge.

7.2.4 Mobilisation and organisation

A relatively small number of awards addressed civil society mobilisation, organisation and participation from a gender perspective. The lack of focus on women’s groups and movements is interesting since global women’s groups and movements have played a key role in advancing the international rights agenda, and at a national level women’s movements and gendered NGOs also have a key role to play in ensuring women’s rights are respected. However while mobilisation around ‘strategic gender interests’ will help the aim of fulfilling women’s rights, often organisation is around ‘practical needs’ – such as providing clean water – which may only allow women to better fulfil their stereotypical roles rather than challenge these. The studies under the Joint Fund highlight that women’s groups are still important but their importance might have an economic more than an ideological basis, which is linked to the fact they may focus on practical needs rather than strategic interests. One study concluded that overall gender activists may be reformers rather than transformers, suggesting a feminist consciousness is lacking from the groups and movements. The lack of a feminist approach to analysis could perhaps also be a charge levelled at the studies themselves. None of the awards looks specifically at women’s rights nor at mobilisation around rights, and a focus on the women themselves is largely missing. The studies suggest:

- The cost of participation to women may be high, and this may exclude some women, while others ‘pay’ a cost for their inclusion.
- There is also a suggested lack of rights discourse within women’s mobilising spaces, and material demands in particular are seen as needs not rights.
- In turn material demands and the groups that promote them may have become most dominant and this is perhaps linked to the rise of NGOs.
- In this wider context also it is noted that while wider civil society may adopt gender issues, sexist attitudes may still prevail among (male) civil society actors.
- The issue of how the rights discourse is/is not used by civil society actors, including women’s groups and movements, raises some interesting questions and could usefully be further explored.
7.2.5 Gendered experiences of well-being

This topic had a number of strands. It covered two key gendered sites – the household and the work place – and explored the related issues of mobility, safety and violence, as well as gender relations more generally.

- Gendered experience of work

Understanding gendered dynamics in the workplace in relation to poverty outcomes has often focussed on facilitating women’s access to paid work, or about the division of men and women in relation to unpaid/paid work. The importance of social norms that govern women’s ability to engage in work, and the intersections that might facilitate or impede women’s entry to the public sphere, must also be considered.

The studies under the Joint Fund looking explicitly at gendered experiences of work are good examples of good gendered research, trying as much as possible to look at how various intersections emerge to complicate men’s and women’s experiences. The studies reviewed highlight that the starting point for creating change is not about highlighting the feminisation of labour, but rather understanding the social conditions that confine women to the private sphere. The studies highlight:

- The ways in which women can access certain spaces, and how spaces are regulated in relation to prescribed gendered norms is key.
- In some countries, such as Afghanistan women face particular hardship due to the intensely conservative social and religious norms around ‘appropriate’ gender roles that confine them to the private sphere and limit opportunities for paid employment.
- Working to shift gender norms is a vital way of ensuring that women can access skills and training, that they can enter labour markets and receive commensurate wages (vis-à-vis men), and that they can sustain meaningful labour market participation at different stages in their life course.
- While women and men experience different labour markets differently, women are also not an homogenous group and the studies provide a rich insight into the ways that gender and class/caste come together in different ways to produce different outcomes for women.
- Migration clearly has a complicated impact on men and women in a range of national contexts and can create shifts in both labour market access, and elicit changes in terms of gender norms and expectations, including in households.
- Flexible working conditions give women the opportunity to engage in paid labour, but it is not clear how this might translate into more power within the home. Flexible part-time work for women is less valued, and wages vary greatly, so a
wider contextual understanding around the feminisation of labour is also needed.

- **Gender relations within households**
  The household is a popular unit of analysis – not least in terms of measures of poverty. Those looking at households have questioned the ‘unitary’ model of the household and instead construct households as much as sites of tensions, inequalities and conflict as they are of solidarity and cooperation. Understandings of household functioning have moved from unitary, through bargaining, to collective models over time. Studies of households have moved towards quantitative methodologies to explore which models best predict and explain behaviour. The awards provide further confirmation that households are not unitary but internally divided by gendered interests and decision making. A number adopt a more quantitative approach and utilise tools such as game theoretics. While such methodologies do explicitly focus on differences between men and women within households, at times the gendered findings are presented almost as incidental. Over and above epistemological questions about the power of game theoretic and household models to fully represent reality, such studies are often impenetrable for researchers working in other academic disciplines and so their useful insights may be somewhat lost. Overall:
  - Most of the empirical results cast doubt on the explanatory power of intra-household models based on Pareto efficiency.
  - The studies question some of the household modelling that predict male/female actions and offer new insights such as predicting that female control leads to greater contribution rates for both sexes, for example.
  - The studies also highlight how game theoretic behaviour raises questions over some elements of how intra-household relations are theorised, especially assumptions around altruism as a gendered characteristic.
  - They suggest a greater focus on non-cooperative models and intra-household allocations based on fairness and similar social norms are likely to be a more fruitful avenue of research in the future.
  - They highlight that it is not just husband/wife relations that need to be considered but wider familial relations, such as mother-in-laws, and provide some interesting qualitative insights around this.

- **Violence, safety and mobility**
  Violence against women and girls (VAWG) has been a key rights issue for women’s groups and movements for over 20 years. While absent from the MDGs, it has been
a visible element in the post-2015 agenda and in the proposed SDGs. While VAWG is the key focus for the review, a number of studies saw this embedded within wider research and in conflict situations. As so few studies were purely focussed on VAWG the review also explores how mobility and connectivity interact with safety and sexuality. The frame is that violence and the threat of violence bounds everyday actions for women and girls. For example, while mobile phones and new modes of transport may help to improve safety, they may also be seen by ‘adults’ to be part of the ‘problem’ as they fear the increased mobility and assumed promiscuity they may bring. Some of the studies in this section on social violence and civil conflict demonstrate that even when the research is focussed on women's issues and/or while women are the only or majority of research respondents, this does not automatically make the studies gendered. This is either due to gender difference being found to not be (statistically) significant or not seen to be significant by the authors. Gendered aspects are then presented only to illustrate wider points or as interesting, but minor, findings. A lack of a clear feminist framing in some cases suggests a utilitarian and atheoretical approach to understanding even violence against women. Perhaps most important is how few awards have VAWG as an explicit focus of study, and this is an issue of concern given the priority within international development agendas, including that of the UK. The studies that do focus on violence highlight how:

- Mobility can be restricted by fears of violence but daily activities that take women and girls outside the home can also have negative consequences for their safety, for example, girls not being able to walk to school together due to domestic tasks.
- While new technology, in transport and communication, should open new avenues for women, transport and technology are gendered and any new potential for greater connectivity may be linked to old fears of this leading to women’s promiscuity.
- There is a clear indication that while establishing a legal or juridical framework that attempts to address violence is an important first step, it is not enough, and changing attitudes is key to bringing change.
- Factors said to lead to women’s empowerment, such as education and employment, may be ‘protective’ factors, but the evidence is far from conclusive, suggesting more research is needed on insecurity in the private sphere and what mechanisms best improve the security of women and girls.
- Challenging socially conservative norms and providing mechanisms to empower women may provide more help in addressing violence than specific ‘anti-violence'
interventions.

- Gender roles and relations
  Feminist scholars have called for an intersectional approach to gender research highlighting that gender does not provide one singular, monolithic framework and homogenising all women as subordinated simply by sex masks various other aspects of identities that privilege some and oppress others. Feminists have also highlighted that gender is manufactured through sets of acts that men and women ‘perform’ but which then confers binding power on the act performed – the notion of ‘performativity’. Thus there is an understanding that gender roles are far from natural, and that gender alone does not determine social relations, including gender relations. A number of the studies here do seek to present gendered relations as complex and shifting. However, the studies also highlight that women's ‘natural’ role is still constructed as being mothers and carers and/or in terms of domestic work, and indeed a number of the studies themselves construct women as mothers and carers. That being said the studies highlight that:

- Traditional gendered divisions of labour and responsibility may be changing, due to other social processes such as migration, and be changed, through education.
- Studies are now starting to better understand how men see fatherhood, and gendered divisions of labour need to be understood as more nuanced than is often suggested by the existing literature.
- Double standards do still remain – especially around sex – and women are still constructed as the primary care giver and valued as ‘good’ mothers and wives, which includes fidelity.
- The role of mother should be recognised as being important to women and one they see to be a big ‘job’ that should bring respect.
- At the same time income generating activities are increasingly important for women, and while they can bring empowerment, the feminisation of employment may dis-empower.
- How to ensure an emancipatory process might mean looking outside the traditional gendered literatures and theories, and feminist analysis may need to take a broad view, taking into account other disciplines and theories.
- The need to broaden the approach taken also applies to the intersectional approach adopted and the need to draw links between issues. For example, the links between economic autonomy and empowerment and wider social and sexual autonomy and empowerment have not been explored within the studies.
7.3 Limitations of the gendered knowledge generated under the Joint Fund

Despite the wealth of information generated under the Joint Fund, the review highlights there were a number of projects that could have provided useful insights into the experiences of men and women in different contexts, but failed to recognise this and did not use gender as a key element in the methodology or analysis of findings. This means that these projects left significant knowledge gaps around (women’s) experiences.

The review highlights that even when a topic might appear to be inherently gendered, given it is focused on women or looking at an issue important for women, it cannot be taken as given that the approach will necessarily be gendered. It also highlights the lack of a gender perspective can be an active decision on behalf of the team. In a number of cases, there seems to have been an active desire not to be labelled as ‘doing gender’ despite the focus and methodology employed. In other cases, while the topic could have been gendered, the level of analysis, for example focused on places rather than people, negated this. Other studies found gender was not ‘significant’ as an explanatory variable and thus did not present gendered findings. Interviews with award holders suggest, however, that in some cases further analysis might reveal gender differences, suggesting non-gendered projects could be revisited to explore their gendered implications. Alternatively, the diversity of the research teams and the associated different perspectives brought to the studies seems to have limited the development of a clear gender focus. Lack of time was something also mentioned by a number of those interviewed, suggesting gender analysis might be a second ‘tier’ analysis for some, raising the question of how central gender is seen to be to the scheme.

Overall, a relatively large number of studies did disaggregate findings by sex and this may be related in part to the changing call specification making clear the need for disaggregation. However, this often resulted in sex being included as a variable for analysis and many studies seemed to slip into the trap of presenting data in binaries - ‘women do X’ and ‘men do Y’. While some acknowledge that the mechanisms behind these differences need to be unpacked, many do not. Even when gender difference was explained, often ‘culture’ was used as an explanatory catch all, with static notions of culture being promoted that ignored shifts/changes in norms.

A number of studies have started to treat gender as a non-homogenous category, breaking down data into, for example, urban/rural, or by age. While studies are
beginning to understand women are not a homogenous group, the ‘intersectional’ lens often does not go beyond noting difference and too rarely do studies unpack what 'being' rural or 'being' an older woman/late adolescent means. The case studies included throughout the main report highlighted how an intersectional approach can be operationalised and how a gender lens can be beneficial to better understanding key development concepts such as poverty, health and education more generally. The lives of men also need to be further explored, and through an intersectional lens, however, there was little engagement with men as an explicit focus for analysis.

While a gender analysis was lacking from a large number of studies, gender emerged as a central theme in a number of other studies and in some cases this was embraced and became a key focus of the project. In other cases while gender was an element, it was reported in only some publications, with the analysis confined to a couple of ‘gender’ papers, and not mainstreamed in all publications. Gendered publications were often written by certain members of the team, including lead authors being the ‘co’ rather than the principal investigators.

The review of outputs demonstrated differing publishing strategies not just in terms of who is publishing, and with who, but also where. A number of studies demonstrate good practice feminist methodology, with collaborative publishing strategies where Southern and junior partners were included or acted as main author in the project outputs. Although in general a large output was associated with multi-authored publications, at times it seemed this was due more to the PI being incredibly prolific, and while some awards had generated large numbers of outputs, others had very few. Some awards had only reports, others reports and briefings, and others only academic work. Only a relatively small number of awards had all three types of publications. This is important in terms of impact – academic and wider policy impact – not least for gendered projects, as gendered research may aim to bring positive impacts on the position and situation of women. However there perhaps needs to be a better balance between influencing policy in the short term and a focus on generating new theoretical or conceptual advances that would feed into policy over time. The lack of many real theoretical or conceptual advances in understandings of gender and gendered poverty generated by the studies might suggest there is at present a lack of balance.

While much evidence on men and women’s experiences of poverty was produced by the Joint Fund, the conceptual advancement was much less. In terms of gender
conceptually and theoretically the 'newness' of the knowledge produced is not as
great as might have been expected. The portfolio of studies does show a close
relationship between the shape of the MDGs and kinds of knowledge emerging, and
in policy terms might have been useful in evidencing MDG outcomes. However, a
number of the key themes in current poverty and policy contexts were not covered by
projects under the Joint Fund. This suggests the scheme may have helped in
tracking the existing international development agenda rather than providing the
basis for a new, transformative agenda for the post-2015 era.

7.4 Gaps in gender knowledge generated
The review has highlighted a number of gaps in the knowledge generated under the
Joint Fund. Key gendered issues not covered included violence against women and
girls, sexual and reproductive rights, sexuality, transactional sex, trafficking and
harmful 'cultural' practices. It is not altogether clear why they are not covered – if this
is because proposals on these issues were not submitted or if these were not funded.
However, the interview evidence suggests the former might be the case - that gender
projects were not submitted, as their chance of being funded was deemed low,
especially in relation to the opportunity cost involved in submitting an application.

Issues such as income poverty, employment, maternal health services, and
educational attainment are well covered by the grants awarded under the Joint Fund
and can be seen to reflect the existing international policy environment as framed by
the Millennium Development Goals. However, a number of issues not fully covered -
such as violence against women and girls, especially intimate partner violence,
reproductive rights, and unpaid care work – are part of the post-2015 development
discourse and elements within the proposed Sustainable Development Goals.

There are some obvious, and highly important, gaps in the gender issues considered
by awards in the Joint Fund:

- Perhaps most noticeable is the almost complete absence of sexuality as a focus
  of the research.
- When sexuality was discussed it was often about adult perceptions of young
  women, rather than focussed on the young women's realities.
- Sexual rights were again largely absent. In fact there was limited engagement
  with the concept of rights, and how these are understood, across all the studies.
- Reproductive health rights were similarly generally reduced to reproductive health
services and in general the focus was on maternal health rather than broader reproductive health and rights.

- Given the importance of violence against women and girls for poverty, well-being, health, education and equality outcomes, there are a surprisingly low number of studies focussed on gender based violence, particularly intimate partner violence.
- While preference for boy-over-the-girl-child was a topic for study, other harmful ‘cultural’ practices such as FGM were not, and nor were issues such as trafficking and bonded labour.
- Transactional sex was an element that emerged as an issue within a number of studies but was not the focus of studies, despite its importance in many women’s lives and to many women’s livelihoods.
- Unpaid and paid care work was little discussed explicitly for adult women, but was a focus for discussion when considering girls and boys.
- Gendered mobility and access issues, especially in terms of transport and technology, remain a neglected area.
- Employment and paid work was a topic for analysis but what this means for gender relations within households less so.
- Women’s entrepreneurship was not well covered and in particular how women and small businesses run by women deal with crisis was not examined.
- Only a small number of studies looked at poverty and gender within the changing environmental context and in particular the relationships between gender, poverty and climatic shocks remains under researched.
- None of the studies focussed on gendered policy at an international level and explored recent initiatives, how they relate to changes on the ground, or provided evidence of their effectiveness.

The issues listed above are key areas for future research, not least given their relevance to the post-2015 development agenda. The post-2015 context also suggests studies focussed on how to measure all aspects of gendered well-being, and to better understand what initiatives best work to improve women’s position and situation in the community and the household, will be both necessary and important for achieving the new, and ambitious, set of global goals.
7.5 Recommendations for the Joint Fund

- The visibility of gender has changed as the scheme has developed. Analysis of the awards suggests how the call is formulated does make a difference. As such, subsequent calls might usefully make clearer what is expected in ‘good’ gendered research.
- There is a need to stress that studies should outline how they will explore inequalities between men and women, rather than just state they will do so.
- The awards have demonstrated there is an openness to collecting disaggregated data, and this needs to be built on to promote greater gender analysis of the differences noted.
- As gender is part of the call specification, in order that this element is recognised as important for all studies the inclusion of a ‘gender analysis of findings’ section in the EoAR would be useful. This would also redress the seeming perception by award and non-award holders that gender is not a priority for the Joint Fund.
- Gender is an academic discipline and as such gendered projects should be expected to demonstrate the skills and knowledge among team members necessary, suggesting the need for inter-disciplinary team formation to bring in the necessary gender knowledge.
- It also suggests that studies that do apply a gender lens need to embed their work within the relevant literature and seek to advance understandings conceptually and theoretically, as well as in policy terms.
- A key recommendation is that the issues listed above are encouraged as specific areas for research in subsequent calls, not least given their relevance to the post-2015 development agenda.
- While there are still some issues that clearly would benefit from a women-only approach, it would be useful, for example, to understand what role men play in women’s decisions at a household and a local level, especially around intimate decisions related to sex, sexualities, and reproductive health.
- In particular if subsequent calls seek studies around key gender issues such as sexualities, FGM, trafficking, etc. then feminist approaches rather than gender approaches might be more appropriate and should be highlighted in the call.
- If a future call seeks to explicitly address the gaps in knowledge identified, it would need to promote gender from being one of the cross cutting issues to being a central overarching research question. This would also help attract those academics to date who have not applied to the scheme to apply for these prestigious awards and further raise the profile of ESRC and DFID as gendered organisations.
8. Bibliography (Non-award in text references)


Appendix One

The Gender Annotated Bibliography presented below represents the evidence base for the synthesis review. There were approximately 175 outputs, which contained some sort of gender evidence, from 50 of the 122 awards reviewed.

Originally the evidence extracted on the position and situation of women and girls, and insights around the conceptual and theoretical advances in understandings of gendered poverty, was tabulated. Here it is presented in bibliographic form. Papers are organised alphabetically according to Principal Investigator (PI) surname.

They are not 'annotations' in the usual sense, in that they do not summarise the article and its full findings. Rather they are notes summarising the information on women and gender included in the articles. Some are relatively long, providing detail on modelling for example, while others are very short, reflecting the limited gendered information available.
Gender Annotated Bibliography

Alkire - PI
These papers use quantitative data to derive a composite weighted index of women's empowerment in agriculture index (WEAI). It has two sub domains, one containing 5 dimensions of empowerment (5DE) given a weight of 90% and a second gender parity indicator, relative to men (GPI), given a weight of 10%.

The 5DE is designed to show the proportion of women empowered and the intensity of empowerment, and includes indicators on 1) input into productive decisions and autonomy 2) ownership and control over assets and access to credit 3) control over income use 4) group membership and public speaking 5) time spent on workload (productive & reproductive) and leisure.
'Adequacy of empowerment' achievement thresholds are given for each domain based on positive responses to one or more of the questions used to comprise the indicators (e.g. participation and input into decision making on use of income, in the income indicator).

The 10 Adequacy Empowerment Domain Thresholds:
Production - Adequacy is based on if the person a) participates, has some input in production decisions or if not, feel they could, b) actions are motivated by own values rather than coercion by others.
Resources - Adequacy based on if the person a) reports having sole or joint ownership of at least one major asset, b) participates in decisions on asset purchase, sale or transfer, c) belongs to a household with access to credit, and if used credit, participated in one decision about it.
Income - Adequacy threshold is if the person has input into decisions about income generated, conditional on participation.
Leadership - also recognises social capital and adequacy is based on if a person has a) group membership, b) feels comfortable public speaking about collective decisions.
Time - productive and reproductive workload is based on a) a 24 hour time activity allocation on primary and secondary tasks. Inadequate (excessive workload) if worked 10.5 hours in previous 24 hours (hours worked = primary + 50% of secondary activity time). Also b) satisfied with time available for leisure.

Binary coding of 10 adequacy indicators is sub-weighted and summed to produce an overall empowerment score between 0-100%. A person is empowered if they have adequacy in 4 of 5 domains or in some combination of weighted indicators reflecting 80% total adequacy or more. Control over income use is given the biggest single weight 1/5, others 1/10 and 1/15.

The GPI is used to measure intra-household inequality of women in relation to men and is based on the 5DE scores within dual adult households only, undertaken where both a primary man and primary woman exist in the household.
The indicators are combined using different weights (5DE 90% and GPI 10%), and then combined to give an overall WEAI. For example;
Bangladesh 0.90 x (5DE of 0.746) + 0.10 x (GPI of 0.899) = WEAI of 0.762
The contribution of different domains to disempowerment are also of interest.
Adequacy of empowerment is calculated for each person (male and female) and
given thresholds of inadequacy (disempowerment) often using binary variables and proportions. Aggregated and disaggregated they purport to show absolute numbers and levels of empowerment across time and space, those enjoying parity, the disempowerment gap between men and women, and socio-demographic factors related to these.

The concept and choice of empowerment domains was established by USAID based on its priorities for the Feed the Future program in 19 countries, with questionnaires design led by IFPRI (International Food Policy Research Institute) who had the necessary field work experience. Pilot quantitative (and 60 validatory qualitative) questionnaires were undertaken in zones in Bangladesh, Guatemala and Uganda, with 350 households and 625 persons in Guatemala and Uganda, and 450 households and 800 persons in Bangladesh, based on village censuses.

Comparisons of responses between men and women in the 'decision making' module showed that 43% of responses were identical, but there was an unambiguous contradiction in 28% of responses, where women and men did not agree how decisions were made. However, they claim men and women’s responses are more likely to agree than be at complete odds.

Results: For each pilot sample country indicator composition and correlation tables are shown. The findings show, for example in Bangladesh - 5DE indicator shows 61% of women and 60% of men are disempowered, with inadequate achievement in 42% of domains for women and 34% for men. For women the domains contributing to disempowerment are weak leadership and lack of control over resources. For men, lack of leadership and influence in the community account for more of men’s disempowerment than women’s. Men report little disempowerment in control over income and in decision making around agricultural production, compared to women. Some 17% of households in Bangladesh contained a disempowered woman and an empowered man, while 21% of households contained an empowered woman and a disempowered man under these metrics. Gender parity ('adequate') is highest in Bangladesh (60%) and lowest in Guatemala (36%), in households that lack parity the average empowerment gap is 25% in Bangladesh and 29% in Guatemala.

Limitations; The extent to which questions are capable of capturing / measuring empowerment are not without problems. Women engaged in decision making in nonagricultural activities may appear disempowered if not involved in agricultural decisions. Some index values show men’s empowerment at lower but similar levels to women as this partly depends on where threshold lines of adequate ‘empowerment’ are drawn in the indicators.

Data quality issues are reported, with missing responses restricting indicator development, and authors warning about caution regarding Guatemala and Uganda. There is a need to study the value of indicators in comparability across contexts. Subjectivity of responses may reflect adaptive preferences of women e.g. what is possible in women's circumstances. The accuracy in reflecting local conceptions of empowerment and the extent of policy relevance. The prevalence of decision making questions mean female heads of household are likely to be empowered, despite having to negotiate with other agents e.g. in-laws, children. Questionnaire answers from women may differ if a male partner is present at interview. Time use questions are based on last 24 hrs recalls and do not reflect seasonality in agricultural production. Seasonal variations will affect response differences.
Vaz A, Alkire S, Quisumbing A, Sraboni E (2013) Measuring Autonomy: Evidence from Bangladesh, Draft OPHI Working Paper, August 31, 2013. Uses statistical data to explore the concept of autonomy based in the psychology literature. The paper develops a Relative Autonomy Index (RAI) to measure motivational autonomy covering 18 domains of decision-making, based on questionnaire responses from the Bangladesh household survey. The findings seem to speculate that the strong correlation between external and autonomous motivation reflects that Bangladeshi women internalise societal norms and "make them their own". The determinants of autonomy show neither age, education, or income are suitable proxies for men and women's autonomy. In addition, neither 'decision-making', 'satisfaction with decisions made' nor 'empowerment' indicators, were robust proxies for autonomy. Women's autonomy was related to their occupation while men's is largely determined by income of the household in the study.

Ansell – PI
Dietlens V (2011) Education and patriarchy: Reaching out for gender equity, South Africa Labour Bulletin - SALB, Johannesburg, 33-34. Focus on South Africa's commitment to gender equality and poverty. Blatant sexism around gender-based violence and pregnancy was seen as an issue in schools; normative roles for girls and boys were seen as 'natural', and as such girls and boys were treated differently in school settings as a result of these gendered expectations. Education officials and communities had little concrete understanding of what gender equality meant. Top down approaches used in school were not always effective, as boys felt marginalized. Top down approaches seem to suggest a more complacent and instrumental approach to engaging students with gender issues. Challenging these issues will require a bottom-up and more integrated approach to understanding inequality in schools in South Africa. Instrumental approaches to challenging gender inequality (in school settings) are not enough - gender inequality needs to be challenged at a societal level, and a more engaged approach to including young people in gender-equality is needed.

Ansell N, Robson E, van Blerk L, Hajdu F, Chipeta L (2009) The new variant famine hypothesis: moving beyond the household in understanding links between AIDS and food shortages in southern Africa, Progress in Development Studies, 9, 3, 187-207. Based on research in southern Africa it suggests the effect of AIDS on food security should not be confined to the household level but need to look at a wider range of issues within and beyond household, including gender. Food security is gendered and female-headed households are more insecure, this is because men with AIDS often die first leaving a preponderance of female-headed households in rural areas. Gendered social norms leave women/girls vulnerable and gendered divisions of labour and norms around gendered divisions of knowledge exchange (e.g. some women are precluded from involvement with livestock) leave them particularly vulnerable if a male partner dies/leaves. Suggests a move beyond household level analysis is needed to explore other factors - including gender.

Hajdu F, Ansell N, Robson E, van Blerk L (2013) Rural young people’s opportunities for employment and entrepreneurship in globalised Southern Africa: The limitations of targeting policies, International Development Planning Review, 35, 2, 155-174. Uses a feminist-derived intersectional approach and suggests that young people face multiple discriminations based on a range of issues, and that targeting categories such as ‘women’ or ‘orphans’ was unlikely to help the most vulnerable due to their multiple issues. Using multiple criteria would be more effective.

Ansell N, Hajdu F, van Blerk L, Robson E (2014) Reconceptualising temporality in

The temporal nature of young people's options are highlighted and notes some gender differences e.g. herding as livelihood option for young boys, but non-secure pathway. Boys often take up herding due to family pressure.


Young men engage in construction work to generate income, young women engage in baking/cooking - these skills for men and women are learned from friends/family, but it was difficult for them to develop business skills to make trades financially viable. After marriage women are not expected to work, making it difficult for them to survive in instances of economic downturn, when their husbands are not working. It may also be more difficult for women to access capital to start business as they may lack confidence to do so due to lack of secure income. Cash transfers may be more appealing to young people, as an alternative to loans/grants and these may increase women's ability to generate income through small businesses.


AIDs is exacerbating poverty amongst rural poor in Africa and within this context women/girls are expected to take on increased care work in HIV-affected households. It notes that young orphan women are vulnerable to being moved between households to help with household tasks, and young men expected to take on paid labour. There is also an increase in 'street children' as a result of children moving from these situations to the streets.

Ansell N (2009) AIDS-affected young people’s livelihood strategies and long-term vulnerability, Averting New Variant Famine, *Briefing Note* 12, DFID and ESRC. Focuses on food security for young people in Basotho, especially AIDS affected young people. It notes that herding allows young men to increase security in the household, but they are vulnerable to exploitation. Girls migrating to work in factories wanted to invest in education, but low wages made this difficult. It notes gender differences with marriage, which means young women become dependent on in-laws/husbands, while young men gained independence but also responsibility. However, where young wives in matrilocal contexts felt lives had improved through marriage, but in patrilocal contexts they felt their lives had deteriorated.

Ansell N (2009) Averting AIDS-affected young people’s decision making about livelihood strategies, Averting New Variant Famine, *Briefing Note* 11, DFID and ESRC. Orphan girls married in part because they needed financial assistance, orphaned boys felt they had less choice in who they married. Marriage is seen as a way for young women to enhance livelihood prospects.

**Attanasio – PI**


Girls' nutritional status deteriorates after a member of the household has a health shock, because the household reallocates those resources to the sick wage earner. This subtraction deteriorates a girl's nutritional status, and is more likely to deteriorate than a boy's nutritional status. When households experience health shocks, resources are reallocated to the wage-earning adult, and girl children have a weakened nutritional status.
Fitzsimmons E, Mesnard A (2008) Are boys and girls affected differently when the household head leaves for good?: Evidence from school and work choices in Colombia, Institute of Fiscal Studies, London.
Focuses on rural Colombia and notes that the departure of the head of the household affects school enrolment and work participation. For boys, the departure has a negative consequence for schooling and increases their work participation, while for girls it has a beneficial impact on schooling. The head of the household departing means boys have to work to cover the loss of income, while for girls this is more complicated, but often results in a benefit in terms of increased schooling. 'Empowering women may have mixed impacts, benefiting girls but being detrimental to boys when resources become scarcer' (pp33).

Availability and quality of schooling has a positive and significant impact on educational attainment, with the availability effect being larger for women.

Gains from additional pre-school programme in Argentina in this instance are similar for poor girls and boys.

Pre-school exposure to children in Uruguay has a bigger impact on children who have a less educated mother.

Argentina - for women with young children, maternal labour force participation and childcare are jointly determined. Estimates suggest that the construction of pre-primary facilities include a large increase of attendance for children aged 3-5. 'The childcare subsidy induced by the programme appears to increase maternal employment' since if you provide childcare subsidies, women can go to work.

Mother's and adolescent's expectations matter in terms of decisions to attend high school in Mexico; for college the adolescents decision carries more weight.

Evidence from Columbia related to an education/skills intervention for little educated young people. Women exposed to the treatment who were seeking training had increased market activity and higher wages; for men there was no increase in employment rates, but wages did rise. Women experienced larger gains than men - not only in earnings increase, but also in quality of work. There are three reasons that might explain this: 1) women were less likely to drop out/be expelled 2) women received a childcare subsidy which may have freed time to devote to training 3) women may have started with lower levels of education to begin with. This particular scheme had a more significant impact on women although it had a clear impact on men as well. The authors suggest this programme should be rolled out across Latin
America.


The main aim of the paper is methodological and studied the shape of food Engel curves from a data set designed to evaluate consumption patterns among the poor population targeted by a CCT welfare programme in Colombia (Familias en Acción). However, the authors speculate that they may also be picking up a 'women effect' on expenditure patterns. The impact of the CCT on total expenditure is used to predict the effect of the CCT on the share of food and validate Engel curve specification. The best fit was provided by a log-linear specification (estimated by a control function method) and implied that an increase in total expenditure by 10% would lead to a reduction of 1% in the share of food expenditure. The CCT led to an increase in total consumption expenditure of about 13.3%. Their estimates would therefore imply a decline in the share of food in total expenditure by about 0.013. However, quasi-experimental estimates of the impact of the CCT on total and food consumption show that the share of food increases, suggesting more complex effects rather than just increasing household income. The authors speculate that the mis-specification of the food Engel curve might be explained by the fact that CCTs are targeted at women. The findings are reported to be consistent with evidence, on the effect of CCTs in Mexico, Nicaragua and Ecuador. They suggest a shift in power towards women might lead to an increase in total expenditure, inducing a more than proportional increase in food consumption, rather than a decline. This may occur because in addition to the income effect, the CCT may imply a modification of weights towards mother’s preferences. The evidence they present is consistent with this hypothesis, but they do not conclusively demonstrate this 'women effect' just suggest this from their findings.


Gender variables are developed and tested in a collective model of household consumption for a large Conditional Cash Transfer programme in rural Mexico (PROGRESA / Oportunidades). The evaluation of many CCT programmes show that following the injection of cash in the budget of poor households from CCTs (20% of household income in Mexico), as total expenditure and consumption increase, the consumption of food increases, proportionally, so the share of food among beneficiaries increases or stays the same. This contradicts the standard view that food (as a necessity) has an income elasticity less than unity so that when total consumption increases, the share of food should decrease. They show that the 'collective model' is able to explain the impacts the CCT programme has on the structure of food consumption. Two gender variables (distribution factors) describing how decisions are reached within the household are included: a) the random allocation of a cash transfer to women, and b) the relative size and wealth of the husband and wife’s family networks (derived from village census surname mapping). Being in a village (randomly) targeted by PROGRESA has an important effect on the expenditure shares, over and above the increase in total consumption. The relative size of husband and wife’s networks enter significantly in the demand system. The model structure they propose does better at predicting the effect of exogenous increases in household income than an alternative, unitary structure. It argues that as the CCT transfer is put in the hands of women it changes control over household resources leading to the observed increase in food consumption.

Bautista – PI
Research Working Paper 5190, World Bank Human Development Network Office and Africa Region Health, Nutrition and Population Unit. Concerns the experimental evaluation of impact pay for performance scheme on maternal and child health services. Pay for performance seems to have no impact on maternal outcomes. They suggest higher payments made directly to mothers may increase uptake in maternal services such as prenatal care visits. Equally, providers have to provide high quality care - getting women into care alone is not enough. It suggests that pay for performance at this level in Rwanda has no impact on maternal health services.

Bebbington – PI
This paper discusses the links between mobilisation and poverty, with an explicit focus on power. It notes that poverty is rarely central to how social movements frame their challenges (in contrast to governments). This paper also mentions a Peru case study where women's and feminist movements were 2 of the 10 types found, but nothing more on the specificities of these. Notes there is an 'important gendered component to shelter movements'.

Four domains are discussed in relation to how social movements might affect chronic poverty: influencing the underlying dynamics of the political economy of poverty; challenging dominant meanings of poverty in society; direct effects on the assets of the poor; and engaging with the state. Notes that the question around poverty should be not why people are poor, but why poverty is tolerated and uses gendered poverty as an example.

Discusses the feminist movement as having 'fizzled out' and as 'dormant' at present. 'Popular women's movement' is all about providing food and services and includes 'Comedores Populares' and 'Comités del Vaso de Leche'. It discusses the association of the women's movement with political parties and where NGOs fit in, but only in general not gender terms. The paper distinguishes between 'transformers' (that want system wide change) and 'reformers' (that want to change some aspects of a system they recognise) and places feminists in the latter. The paper notes that sexuality is not part of the feminist or women's movement, and presents the 'rights' movement as distinct from both the women's and feminist movements. It sees the feminist movement as defending identity not defending rights and the women's movement as fighting for basic needs. However, it also states defending human rights and using a human rights theoretical framework are common to all movements, having become a linchpin in all their arguments. With regard to the rights movement it notes in particular the difference between being poor and being a victim, and addresses how victims should not be seen as a means of changing their condition of being poor.

The South Africa paper suggests despite a commonplace sensitivity to gender, a feminist consciousness among movement activists was seen to be lacking by some
feminist activists. There were concerns about chauvinist attitudes among a predominantly male leadership of some wider movements, and organisations were set up to work to change this. Even though groups are not feminist, they do not have a strong grassroots constituency but does talk of groups looking at poor black women. There was a middle class self identify (because of rights issues) but lack of rights per se is not associated with definitions and discussions about poverty. Rights did not emerge as significant in the context of objectives, which were focussed on more material advancements.

When there is a rights focus, the focus is on existing rights. It suggests this is because of 1) the recognition of the importance of rights within the constitutional process and hence a sense in which it has been “achieved”; 2) because rights are more of a professional discourse, than a popular one. Two of the three feminist organisations did talk about rights as the basis for their ideology from the start, despite changes in other types of organisations stated mission. Linked to the 'professional' discourse; a) the balance of NGOs appears to be particularly high in the movement areas of environment, feminism and human rights; b) strategies of education, lobbying and advocacy (both to the general public and parliamentarians). The focus for feminists is only mentioned in the context of highlighting issues rather than in the sense of coercive action. Actions are less confrontational and relate more to court cases and less disruptive demonstrations. The focus is on changing attitudes and perceptions through information and building solidarity for those suffering discrimination (eg sex workers). They suggests feminist movement has been a 'success' in getting 'poor black women' to be a focus of many groups, but cautions the possibility that the emphasis may reflect donor priorities.

Bhalotra - PI
Despite the fact Indian Muslims have considerably lower socio-economic status than upper caste Hindus, they exhibit substantially higher child survival rates. The paper suggests potential explanations for this including; their stronger social networks related to their marriage culture and minority status in India; their healthier behaviours and hygiene levels, some of which are associated with religion; their lower son preference which may explain the better health of Muslim mothers. There may also be a measurement issue as survival rates are expressed as a fraction of live births. While more Muslim children may die in utero, the ones that are born may be stronger and have better survival rates. The paper is more gendered well-being than 'poverty' in that it highlights the role of networks, and also how health may be related to religious practice. Hindus have an educational advantage which makes higher mortality rates puzzling. Finds that Hindu women are more likely to work, and suggests children of working mothers exhibit higher mortality rates. In addition the Hindu average rates include the lower-castes and this may contribute to explaining differences. The project asked about who controls money women earn / if women have money of their own; attitudes to violence; ability to seek healthcare. Differences in wealth and in female autonomy are not large and appear to have little influence on the religion / mortality differential. Looks at factors favouring Hindus such as; pre-natal care; where mothers give birth; breast feeding (Muslims earlier start is important, but only small factor). Also finds that children born of vegetarian mothers have higher mortality rates, and the religion mortality differential is smaller amongst vegetarian mothers (wealth maybe important here). Hypothesis is that excess mortality amongst Hindu children may be driven by excess mortality amongst girls, but Hindu boys are more likely to die than Muslim boys. Also considers fertility rates and spacing but is inconclusive.
Bloom – PI
Some key differences in men and women in terms of engagement with mobile phone technology - married women used phones to call their husbands or their parents. They relied on husbands to make decisions about health related issues (choice of clinics, doctors, etc.), and as such married women would only use the phones, or contact a health practitioner after consulting with their husbands. Married women rely more on word of mouth and community relations to obtain health information. Initiatives that consider the use of mobile phones in developing countries in relation to health service / health advice need to consider who in the household has access to the phone, and who makes household decisions.

Brickell – PI
No Authors Listed (NoDate) Story Telling Domestic Violence: Feminist Politics of Participatory Video in Cambodia, ACME, under review.
Cambodian government has not done enough practically to help female victims of Domestic Violence (DV), despite ratifying a DV law. Women are seen by some local agencies as complicit in their abuse, due to the women bailing out perpetrators. Victim blaming is common throughout interviews, however, it is also acknowledged that poverty and lack of financial resources is a key reason women cannot leave an abusive relationship. The emotionality of the female victim is seen as problematic and women are in a double bind - on one hand societal expectations demand they be submissive and loyal, but when they demonstrate this they are accused of being complicit / responsible for the abuse. Finding a way to increase women's agency in Cambodia may provide them with the ability to take DV cases forward. More needs to be done at a local level to ensure that the conditions for women to enact an agentic approach to reporting DV are created - the laws are not enough.

Notes difficulties in working with NGOs in Cambodia around Domestic Violence (DV), as local stakeholders would replicate myths of DV, rather than highlight issues related to gender violence and its causes. Focus on feminist and participatory methods in developing context - and whose knowledge is 'right'. Feminist methods can lead to tensions in the field in terms of managing power relations with local stakeholders; VAWG agenda needs to focus on changing social norms around gender roles, as gender norms are creating barriers to effective VAWG preventions and responses.

No Authors Listed (2014) Towards Intimate Geographies of Peace? Local Reconciliation of Domestic Violence in Cambodia, Transactions, Under Review.
A political economy approach taken here that suggests a moralistic approach within communities to achieving 'harmony' in relation to domestically violent situations. Partly, it seems, based on a local approach to finding 'peace' between partners, rather than challenging men as perpetrators and women as victims. DV law in this context doesn't adequately protect women - DV law will only work with the right local juridical and police response - must address local knowledge around root causes of DV to find just solutions to women/victims men/perpetrators.

Brown – PI
Considers market traders in Dakar. Of the 143 traders interviewed, 83% were men and 17% were women, with a higher proportion of women traders in the textile...
While women are quoted, analysis is not gendered.

**Bryceson – PI**


While men are initially the first migrants to a new mine site, women follow for a variety of reasons (following men, chain migration), which means they have an impact on the development of an urban area in relation to this - the settlement grows with women’s active involvement in tertiary services as well as mineral processing work. While men initially settled mining areas, women are important non-migrants, responding to the same stimuli.


Boys and girls drawn to mining areas - boys to work in the pits, the girls to enjoy a social life with other girlfriends. Girls can find employment as bar maids; School attendance is high with a considerable male bias. There is a noticeable bulge in young women in the 15 to 19 age group. They are likely to be helping with childcare and working in the service sector. Young men have sought mining as well as tertiary service sector work in the booming mining settlements, while young women have concentrated primarily on service provisioning. Young men and women migrate to mining sites for different reasons, but clear that the mining sector provides opportunities for men and women.

**Coast – PI**


Concerns health and safe abortion and presents results in a variety of power point presentations. Women's ability to ask for/seek advice impacted whether they sought a safe/unsafe abortion, as did their ability to tell significant others about their desire for a termination. Some women lacked money for travel to the local hospital, so sought out unsafe abortions because of lower costs. Cost of the abortion and the difficulty of navigating the healthcare system was also an issue for some women - particularly poorer women. Many women mistakenly thought abortion was illegal, and this impacted their decision making process - making it more likely they would seek an unsafe abortion.

**Collins - PI**


Concerns the understandings of security. Of the nine poor female households in the group discussions and interviews, eight emphasised sons and husbands as a source of security including availability of work and this related to health security. The rich respondents talked about not only absence of disease and illness but also access to good doctors, flood resilient houses, money and savings. Two other respondents mentioned “no disputes at household level”. One rich female respondent stated that despite having enough food stocks and a toilet at home, she consumed little food and water to avoid using the toilet, which required walking through the floodwater to access it.

**Cornish – PI**

Campbell C, Cornish F (2010) Towards a fourth generation of approaches to
Uses a case study approach to AIDS care. Overview suggests that gender mainstreaming as understood by Western donors cannot always be usefully applied to developing contexts.

Suggests the 'symbolic and material context of sex workers' lives systematically undermines their abilities to exert control over their lives including their sexual health. Empowerment projects have an impact on sex working women in terms of them being able to negotiate access to HIV/AIDS care. Funders need to consider structural inequalities in relation to gender which might impact women's ability (and sex working women in particular) to access health care provision.

**Cousins - PI**
Suggests the large proportion of black farmers who are women have derived little benefit from land redistribution, due to a bias in favour of those who possess better-than-average resources, education and social networks.

Suggests that the term ‘smallholder’ does not facilitate analysis of the dynamics of differentiation within populations of small farmers. It suggests the term draws attention away from internal tensions within households (often gender-based) over the use of land, labour and capital. In addition it constructs them as homogenous, and ignores differences between smallholders when seeking to mobilise them. Suggest the need to acknowledge gender based tensions that are made invisible when terms such as ‘small holders’ are used.

Mentions the need to factor in the social organisation of agricultural production and incipient processes of socio-economic (i.e. class) differentiation in (often complex) articulations with other social identities such as gender and age.

**Davila – PI**
This article reviews general literature on gender and transport and summarises some evidence from the wider project in Columbia, particularly the chapters by Coupe, Sarmiento. Based on their different social position women's purpose, mode, and experience of travel differ from men's, giving rise to different temporal and spatial travel patterns. It conceptualises gender travel difference as relating to the productive and reproductive roles of men and women. Formal sector employment of women changes their travel to work patterns. The gender division of labour influences travel patterns, with women’s trips mainly related to shopping, kids school, family health, reproduction, and part-time work, informal sector trips are often shorter than men’s. It suggests a cost / time trade-off, where poor households undertake more walking trips,
and women walk most reflecting unequal access to resources, with women having less access to cars. In conflict areas women’s trips are shaped and confined by safety and fear. It suggests women’s mobility is influenced by factors inside and outside the household; fear of leaving the house, robbery, rape of daughters, and also male prevention of women working outside household. In Medellin gendered perceptions of modal safety affect choice of bus or metrocable. Women’s sexual harassment in metrocable queues and on Metro is noted in the chapter by Coupe. Transport planning does not represent the interests of women, as suppressed, postponed and rerouted trips are not measured. Gender stereotypes perpetuate inequality rather than reflecting the needs of women. Women are often excluded from decision making due to a deep rooted gendered ideology relating to public and private space. It suggests locating a gendered view of transport within a ‘Rights to the City’ framework may promote gender as central to the right to appropriation and participation, challenging gender blind transport planning.

Sarmiento IO et. al. (2013) Metrocables and travel patterns in Medellin: The inclusion of latent variables in transport models, in Davila JD (ed) Urban Mobility & Poverty: Lessons from Medellin and Soacha, Colombia, Development Planning Unit, UCL - Facultad de Arquitectura, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, sede Medellín. Includes safety and comfort ‘latent’ variables from qualitative focus groups and included them in transport modal choice models based on time and cost. The analysis includes gender as an independent variable. The transport catchment area continues to experience gang violence on a regular basis, and women consider the Cable far less safe and comfortable than men. In the case of the bus, women consider it safer than men. Uses gender as a variable in the quantitative models, although the gender results are not shown or discussed fully.

Bocarejo D and Alvarez Rivudulla MR (2013) Hoping to Be Seen: Perceptions of Commune 4’s Inhabitants About the Possible Construction of an Aerial Cable-Car System, in Davila JD (ed) Urban Mobility & Poverty: Lessons from Medellin and Soacha, Colombia, Development Planning Unit, UCL - Facultad de Arquitectura, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, sede Medellín. Considers residents hoped for effects of a cable-car project like metro-cable. These include social inclusion, local economic development, formalisation of land and parks, tourism, less gangs and violence. The value of aerial cable cars in places such as Soacha and Cazucá goes beyond its possible transport benefits and is associated with the desires of inhabitants to be seen and be socially included. The inhabitants of Cazucá see aerial cable as a potential social, economic and political catalyst improving living conditions. The paper is not gendered, and there were no gender differences explored in the reporting of views given.

De Neve - PI
Carswell G, De Neve G (2013) Labouring for global markets: Conceptualising labour agency in global production networks, Geoforum, 44, 62-70. Mixed methods approach to understanding intersectionality in relation to local labour markets in India. Typology of workers broken down by gender, class and migration status, settled workers, long-distances migrants, commuters. Women and men have different engagements with the labour markets due to social norms around what is acceptable for women to do, and also in relation to their household/childcare responsibilities. Intersections of gender / caste / age, have an impact on men's and women's ability to secure and sustain certain types of work within the garment sector. Women often have to drop out of garment work when they have children - lifecycle for women in general marks movement in and out of the industry. Labour / agency for women is structured by social relations and livelihood strategies that are locally negotiated. Gender norms shape labour supplies to the garment industry. It argues
women's agency is embedded in and structured by wider social norms and gender relations; their decision to participate in the industry (and on what terms) are not merely structured by the demands of capital, but by the demands of society. Carswell G (2012) Dalits and local labour markets in rural India: Experiences from the Tiruppur textile region in Tamil Nadu, Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 38, 325–338. Overview of livelihoods in two different villages in India - men and women who have access to the garment industry can earn substantially higher wages than those in agricultural work, this is particularly true for women in most of the garment industry sector. Both male and female workers who commute from rural areas to work in the more 'urbanised' garment sector are able to engage in particular consumption practices that mark them out as urban, and carry some sort of cultural capital. Socially defined norms around gender and caste define what type of work women can do - and they are often confined to lower wage work as a result (i.e. they cannot do night shifts which limits the type of garment work they can do, and childcare prevents them from travelling too far, so in some places low-paid agricultural work is the only work available. Many of the women who work are widowed, separated, or married to underemployed husbands. There is also an indication that some women are withdrawing from work altogether - as women define as 'housewife' - signifying an increased reliance on a male breadwinner. Women in these regions who are able to withdraw from work are seen as socially upwardly mobile - this 'quest for distinction' is a result of men's access to the garment industry and higher paid work than agricultural work (closely related to relations of exploitation). However, women are often excluded from superior jobs due to social norms around gender. Carswell G (2010) Not working for export markets: Work, agency and livelihoods in the Tiruppur textile region, Working Paper, University of Sussex. Rates of pay for agricultural work vary for women - women with children are not able to commute, and less able to negotiate higher pay because they need to work flexible hours. The emerging textile market has resulted in better agricultural pay as workers can chose to work in textile industry. The National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGS) has had a positive impact on rural, poor women, who are able to combine work with childcare and household duties, and makes agricultural work more viable. Caste and gender function as key social institutions that not only produce structural imperfections in labour markets and wage patterns, but that also shape people's access to specific employment opportunities. Women's constrained mobility 'shapes both the nature and extent of labour market tightening, and the reproduction of highly gendered wage structures in the village. Heyer J (2011) Social Policy and Labour Standards: A South Indian Case Study, Working Paper, University of Sussex. 83% of NREGS beneficiaries were women - increasing significantly women's ability to enter agricultural employment in Tamil Nadu. De Neve G (2012) Fordism, flexible specialisation and CSR: How Indian garment workers critique neoliberal labour regimes, Ethnography, online 22 Nov 2012. Flexible production is often presented as exploitative in comparison with Fordist regimes. Women and men in this paper preferred and chose the flexible options in the garment industry - women in particular did so to ensure that they could meet household and childcare duties. This is in spite of the fact that more permanent work at an export house would provide job security and benefits. Working in a flexible environment (often the home or a smaller factory) meant a more social interaction for both men and women - it was seen as less stressful. Flexible working was essential for allowing women to enter the labour market, and was as much about personal
autonomy as it was about spatial/temporal flexibility. Women may not be allowed to work in large firms (curtailed by male members of the family) - but flexible working in the home or smaller factories often involves working within a kinship network and is therefore less problematic. Men who do flexible/piece working are able to express a type of hegemonic masculinity in relation to their prowess as tailors - something which commands respect/admiration from other men. For men, the social elements of flexible working are also important. Men tend to spend extra wages (over and above money necessary for family support) on conspicuous items (TVs, motorbikes, etc.). While women's career trajectories spiral down after marriage, male workers are constantly under pressure to keep moving up - this is workplace pressure but also familial pressure, and pressure to perform an increasing prowess to demonstrate a particular masculinity. Fordism and secure employment in regulated factories - often assumed to be the 'best' employer in terms of factory work - do not always offer men or women the flexibility they need/desire for a variety of gender-specific reasons; more social and masculinised atmosphere for men; more acceptable working space and more flexible to accommodate household responsibilities for women.


Young men (married and unmarried) come alone or as a family to work in the garment sector, which then impacts whether they seek flexibility or security. Unmarried migrant women are concerned about safety and respectability, so go for larger, compliant firms that provide on-site hostel accommodation. Gender constrains women in export labour markets, particularly their concerns about security, and their household responsibilities. These factors limit women's choices, but also shape their demand for flexible/part-time work.


Women have benefited from new work opportunities in this region (provided by textile industry, and the opening of positions created by men leaving the agricultural sector for non-agricultural work). The knitwear industry has not benefited women in the surrounding areas of Tiruppur as much as it has men, and while women are making gains, they are still behind men, and are unlikely to catch up anytime soon.


The decision of Dalit women to become ‘housewives’ rather than enter employment, rather than being a retreat into patriarchy, can be seen as a sign of growth from poverty-stricken communities. However, while opportunities for working men have increased greatly, this has not been true for women, who have more constraints on their ability to enter into and sustain paid work. While Dalit women are in a better position than previously, the article suggests better/more sources of paid employment need to be made available to achieve ‘empowerment’.

**Duffield - PI** 


Humanitarian Policy Group commissioned report on aid workers and their widespread retreat from risk and uncertainty. Notes the rise of both 'bunkerisation' and 'remote management techniques' meaning the locals are those at most risk but with least training. It notes resilience in the aid workers area also includes putting on 'mental armour' and developing emotional distance. Resilience, in the form of 'care of
the self’ techniques, becomes a therapeutic response to the fears induced in this way. Viewed from this perspective, apart from reducing risk, the bunker has important therapeutic functions in a world that aid workers no longer understand or feel safe in.

Fafchamps – PI
This paper questions why we often observe spontaneous gender assorting. Is it because trust is stronger within, as compared to between the sexes? Is it because social enforcement is easier within single-sex as compared to mixed-sex groups? Or is it simply owing to social convention? It uses an experiment designed to explore the interplay between trust and social enforcement on the one hand, and gender assorting into groups on the other. Game - Treatment 1 (control); Treatment 2 (trust); Treatment 3 (social enforcement). It found strong gender assorting in all treatments, but assorting on gender is lower when group formation depends on trust compared to when no trust is required. No evidence to suggest people think women are more trustworthy but instead religious co-membership and family ties seen as important and these are not gender assertive. It finds participants are more likely to group with others who are similar to themselves. In general, a pair of individuals are more likely to share risk, the more similar they are in terms of age and gender. This may be because, for them, group formation is less costly. The finding that there is less gender assorting when trust matters more, suggests that micro-finance providers should be careful in their practice of working with single-sex groups.

This paper considers resettlement villages and the formation of Community Based Organisations (CBO). Members of wealthier households were initially more actively involved in setting up CBO as had time and money, with other poorer households joining later. Female headed households were not excluded and did not exclude themselves, but were less likely to get involved and instead shared CBO membership with male headed households.

The paper collected information on who went to which funerals from elder women, and checked this against views of elder women neighbours. It found that women’s funerals were more likely to be attended by heads of household, and female heads were more likely to attend any given funeral.

Falkingham - PI
Adds evidence to the role of mothers-in-law in ‘policing’ their various daughter-in-law, in the context of sons having migrated away. When women migrate it can change gender relations, which can increase men’s involvement in supporting parents, which usually falls to brothers (48% of sons send help v 30% daughters, but latter seen as high). In the Tajikstan article, it records that there are roughly equal older men and women below poverty line.
Hannum – PI

The article considers the perceptions of the capabilities and worthiness of girls and boys. Very few mothers (less than 5%) actively disagreed with an egalitarian position. Perceptions of labour markets – almost half of mothers – 45.6% – agreed that education influences sons’ income more than daughters. Expectations of future support - skewed enough toward sons that cost–benefit analyses might significantly influence calculations about extending educational opportunities to children. Considers what this means for parental investments, shows no noteworthy gender differences for economic investments in children, but there were differences in time competition, and aspirations. Mothers report that they are significantly more likely to call on girls to do regular housework. Further, mothers had significantly different aspirations for girls’ and boys’ education, with higher aspirations for boys. Educational performance - compared to boys, girls have lower aspirations, but they have similar or better achievement, similar levels of alienation, and more academic confidence. Results show that at ages 9–12, rural girls in Gansu compare well to boys in terms of parental economic investments and provision of a learning environment, own achievement, industriousness, academic confidence, and alienation from school. However, a significant gap favouring boys emerges in mothers’ calling on children for chores and in mothers’ and children’s own aspirations. In explaining the gender gaps that do emerge, evidence suggests that few mothers think that girls are less capable or worthy of investment than boys, but substantial proportions of mothers expect future support from sons, and some mothers link this expectation to the view that investing in girls is a waste. However, none of these hypothesized mechanisms of gender inequality fully explain away the modest gender gap that emerges in attainment 7 years later (boys had attained just about a third of a year more schooling than girls—a quite modest advantage that could not be fully explained by early parental attitudes and investments, or student performance or engagement). In part this was because some early experiences favour boys, while others actually favour girls. Parents sometimes viewed boys as having greater aptitude, but tended to view girls as having more dedication - an attribute parents perceived as being critical for educational success. Findings suggest that at least in Gansu, rural parental educational attitudes and practices toward boys and girls are more complicated and less uniformly negative for girls than commonly portrayed. There is a stark disconnect between trends in sex ratios at birth and infant mortality, on the one hand, and the investments in education that occur among older children, once they have become active family members. Evidence from rural Gansu suggests that rural families’ attitudes toward their daughters’ education in one of China’s poorest rural settings are generally more egalitarian and more complex than commonly portrayed.


An examination of the boy and girl samples reveals a clear gender difference in this paper. Father migration has a positive effect on girl enrolment, though is not statistically significant. However, father migration has a strong negative effect on the enrolment of boys, with a boy 21% less likely to be enrolled if his father migrates. This is significant at the 10% level.

Yiu L, Adams J (2012) Reforming Rural Education: Understanding Teacher Expectations for Rural Youth, Working Paper, Gansu Survey of Children and Families. This paper finds teachers held different educational expectations for male and female students; 61 percent of male students’ teachers expected them to attain academic
post-compulsory education, compared to only 55 percent of female students’ teachers. Finds a gender bias in teacher expectations of girls not finishing compulsory education (and more so post-compulsory), and having lower educational expectations. These students may be disadvantaged and as a result household wealth may be more likely to impact on the enrolment of girls than boys.

Zhang Y (2011) Mothers' Educational Expectations and Children's Enrolment: Evidence from Rural China, Working Paper, Lehigh University, Department of Sociology and Anthropology. The analysis reveals that in rural Gansu, discrepancy in educational expectations between mothers and children is substantial. About half of the mothers had lower expectations than those of their children. Given that children in rural Gansu have very high expectations, this is not surprising. Gap lessens over time/schooling. Having mothers holding expectations higher than their children, or holding the same highest expectation as their children can increase a child’s chance of staying in school.

Hannum E, Adams J (2008) Girls in Gansu, China: Expectations and aspirations for secondary schooling, Exclusion, Gender and Schooling: Case Studies from the Developing World, Washington DC, Center for Global Development, 71-98. Mothers have higher expectations of boys: about 46 percent of mothers of boys and 40 percent of mothers of girls expect their children to achieve higher education (16 years), while 18% of mothers of girls and 13% of mothers of boys expect their children to stop schooling after middle school. Fathers also have higher educational expectations for boys. A slightly greater percentage of boys themselves aspire to complete secondary, but the paper finds that while these differences are statistically significant, they are absolutely small, and concludes that girls do not face substantially greater barriers to access than boys in much of rural Gansu. Hold that parental expectations shaped more by wealth than gender of child. Poor girls are the most disadvantaged in relation to enrollment - 81% compared to 90% of boys not in the poorest quintile.

Hannum and Kong (2007) Educational Resources and Impediments in Rural Gansu, China, Human Development Sector Unit East Asia and the Pacific Region, The World Bank, Working Paper series no. 2007-3 40251. Girls less likely to be enrolled but not have gained less grades, nor less likely to achieve 9 years of education once enrolled. Suggests boys may start later or repeat more. Possible that boys are more likely to be encouraged to repeat a grade to complete it successfully or to increase high school exam scores.

Harriss-White – PI
Harriss-White B (2012) The foodgrains economy in northern Tamil Nadu, 1973-2010: a recent history of local agro-capitalism, GRTJ Working Paper 17. The paper documents the changing nature of employment / production in the foodgrains economy including women's role and the restrictions on their activities, and lower payments to them. It concludes that women in paddy-rice business families experience what Ester Boserup termed ‘productive deprivation’ i.e. their education was a ‘status good’ and led neither to economic participation nor control over assets or major economic decisions. At the opposite end of things and Arni’s rice markets had come to depend on low caste female wage work. Update to 2007 notes male migration leaving Dalit women as vital to both paddy production and rice milling, a fact not reflected in their wages. It notes a casualisation and feminisation of the labour market and that in 1993-4 there were huge relative income inequalities between owners of paddy-rice capital and their labour forces (including women as casual labourers). Wage differentials of a third to a half that of male wages in rice mills. The adverse gender differential has also persisted into the 21st century, with
women’s wages being 30-40% lower than men’s. It notes that a move from ‘rural’ to a ‘business’ family does not mean a move from extended to nuclear families, but largest firms (in terms of returns) all joint families with between 8 and 14 people and notes that control over capital is exerted through patriarchal authority - ‘patriarchy in its oldest form, the control of males by men’. Of the paddyrice business families it notes the higher education of such women is a good example of the economic inefficiency of gender relations.


The local workforce has also been reconfigured by activity and site with the entry of women. There is a massive increase in outsourcing and home working in Arni, with women becoming specialist tailors for women’s clothes, for instance. The genders are integrated into the market, then subject to a change in industrial structure and then segregated. Discusses (male) apprenticeships and changes to this and how young men try and undercut established tailors through setting up on their own. Third, the entry of women brings a gender differentiation, which intensifies with the segmentation of work. Women emerge from their homes to acquire new kinds of learning, not through apprenticeships but in informal training institutes. Several of these have been founded recently in Arni: one trains as many as 60 women at a time. Female tailors then lobby, through an un-registered union, for ‘certificates’ from the business association. Similar kinds of repercussion or ‘spill-over effect’ have been reported for electricians and construction workers. Long-employed in the public domains of the local state and in teaching, the entry of educated girls and women into the local commercial workforce and market-place is an ambivalent process because the available local work is not necessarily commensurate with their qualifications (general sales, cool drinks, sweets and bakery work at Rs 150/day).

Changes in post-harvest processing and rice mill automation generate massive labour displacement and masculinisation – employers seemed to have an active dislike of low-caste unskilled and female labour. Before full automation a mill would employ 30 women and 62 men. With full automation, there are just 5 women and 12 men. While women are well represented among classes of workers enduring chronically oppressive conditions, and have entered the labour market as home-workers, no woman was mentioned as an entrepreneur. Educated girls and women aspire to salaried jobs, an educated groom and reduced dowries.


While small retail stores still have a male preference, the new retail sector are a young workforce, primarily women, and seen as temporary. When older tasks change to packing and this may also mean spatial segregation – sitting in separate room or even outside suggesting ‘a progressive degradation of tasks performed by women workers’. Men tend to be in smaller stores, have links to owners, greater responsibility and see work as means to open their own store. Wages are greater in smaller stores but this is explained by feminisation of labour force - lower wages because they are women, and young with less experience. This evidence calls into question the argument that women’s employment is a secondary supplement to male incomes and hence that wages in sectors employing primarily women can be kept low. However, this is an ideological, not an economic argument, that keeps the status quo. Comments for future: Employers understand that the feminisation of labour enables them to reduce compliance with the formal regulation of employment relations. Feminisation of labour also enables employers to keep wages low. This
suggests another aspect of retail industry that needs to be studied and understood.

**Herrick - PI**

Daya S, Wilkins N (2013) The body, the shelter and the shebeen; Affective geographies of homelessness in South Africa, *Cultural Geographies*, 20, 3, 357-358. The paper explores the complex emotional challenges of everyday life in a homeless shelter, and looks at how drinking and belonging can shape each other, in sometimes unexpected and often contradictory ways. Explores how homelessness challenges sense of being on the most intimate scale – that of the embodied self. It notes the homeless shelter offered little privacy or freedom and meant a lack of a sense of belonging. The shebeen, by contrast, was a space where a sense of belonging could be achieved.

**Houweling - PI**

Houweling TAJ, Tripathy P, Nair N, Rath S, Gope R, Sinha R, Looman CW, Costello A, Prost A (2013) The equity impact of participatory women’s groups to reduce neonatal mortality in India: Secondary analysis of a cluster randomised trial, *International Journal of Epidemiology*, 42, 520-532. The focus of this paper is on mothers and how to improve their behaviour via women’s groups. The study shows that the women’s group intervention strongly reduced the NMR (neonatal mortality rate) among lower socio-economic groups in the areas of India in which the study was conducted. The effects were substantially stronger among the most socio-economically marginalised groups. The uptake of the intervention (women’s group attendance, behavioural improvements) was similar among the most and less marginalised groups, whereas interventions normally reach higher socio-economic groups to a greater extent. This is explained by a number of factors; openness of the women’s groups to non-members; the Scheduled Tribe background of many of the facilitators; techniques used in meetings (accessible language, picture cards, use of games and stories); the locations (hamlets instead of the main village); the dates and timings of the meetings (decided by the group members). Hygienic practices and other home care behaviours were explicitly addressed, using storytelling followed by problem solving discussions, picture cards and games, among other methods and this lead to behavioural 'improvements' including knowledge to keep the baby covered as well as clean, especially in winter.

Houweling TAJ et al (2014) How to reach every newborn: Three key messages, Comment, *Lancet Glob Health*, doi.10.1016/S2214-109X(14)70271-2. Suggests three key messages emerged on how to reach poor people, universalise, soft-target, and monitor. Participatory women’s groups were active in reducing newborn mortality among poor populations provided they involve about 30% of pregnant women in the population.

**Hulme – PI**

Roy M, Jahan F, Hulme D (2012) Community and institutional responses to the challenges facing poor urban people in Khulna, Bangladesh in an era of climate change, Brooks World Poverty Institute - BWPI Working Paper 163. In terms of environmental migrants, while men may quickly become engaged in some unskilled daily labouring, women find it harder to be economically active. In their village these women usually grew vegetables and reared livestock, thus helping to smooth consumption. However, in urban areas there is no use for these rural skills, and it takes time for the women to accept such socially undermining jobs as housemaid.


Adds to household literature highlighting that women’s income generating activities are entered into as a ‘need’ not a ‘choice’, and while men accept this, it is a challenge to their authority and status. It is noted that some women seem to become ‘disobedient’ by men as they try to negotiate with men.

Ibanez - PI
The results indicate that exposure to the herbicides used in aerial spraying campaigns lead to an increase in dermatological problems and miscarriages among women.

Jackson – PI
Uses public good games to test for household efficiency among married couples in rural Uganda. Found that women did rather well out of the games, and received back 1.5 UGS for every 1 UGS they contributed. In the cooperative-conflict model, women had a weaker sense of personal individual self-interest, and one would expect to see women pooling more and men retaining more for personal use. However, the experiments showed this not to be the case. They found that levels of contribution to the common fund by both men and women were higher when women controlled the final allocation, and thus total surplus is higher when women were in control - challenging standard bargaining models. Where the gender division of labour is less distinct, lower transaction costs may raise the probability of higher levels of cooperation. They suggest there is no formal household model that explicitly predicts their finding that female control leads to greater contribution rates for both sexes, and that spouses do not contribute everything. The evidence contradicts the theoretical unitary model.

The explanations for variations in cooperativeness may lie in the character of livelihoods in the two areas: in the nature of marriage more broadly, and patterns of marital instability, religious and cultural variation impinging on conjugalitly, or different gender ideologies and orders. As such literature assumes altruism is by no means confined to women. The importance of cultural explanations of bargaining power of spouses – as they turn on the character of conjugalitly rather than material contributions as the basis of such power. Men may think you should get money out in relation to what you put in, but there is no sign that women do. Not so much perceived contribution but value of a contribution is seen relative to the perceived ability to contribute. In terms of break down position - age and age gap matters. Both spouses contribute less to the pool when the husband is older. High age gaps decreased the contributions of wives, and increased the contributions of husbands. The absence of pooling by spouses in these games is further confirmation that households are not unitary but internally divided by gendered interests and decision making. Game behaviour, however, also raises questions over some elements of how intra-household relations are theorized.

In this game theoretic analysis women got out more than they put in, and husbands were unexpectedly generous. This was thought to be a rather surprising result, given the conventional accounts of male control within the household, and may need to think again about the nature of intra-household power. Either the earlier work is based on a representation of male income control that is very wide of the mark, or the game situation had triggered a different set of sharing norms, or the contributions and allocations were affected by factors outside the intended context of conjugal pooling and sharing. Powerful husbands can afford to be generous in the game if they believe that they can retrieve the money later, and valued wives can risk generosity if they believe that they will earn gratitude that can be converted into money immediately or in the future. Both spouses seemed to expect men to contribute more than they get, and women to get back more than they put in.


These articles contain an historical discussion of the shifting meaning of marriage and how it could be understood. This symposium of articles argues that marriage does not have a fixed relationship to gender inequality, nor does it simply reflect gender relations external to households, but is better seen as an institution which mediates social change and gender inequality.

Jeffery - PI


While the focus is on a drug used during pregnancy, the analysis is around drug regulation, not impact. Women are given drugs as routine to hasten delivery and release beds (public hospital), or so doctors could work normal hours (private hospital - but here were monitored at least), and in home births (not clinically advised but here associated with costly attended births). In part drugs are used in place of old practices of giving 'heat' to speed up contractions. There was also some evidence associated with higher socio-economic status, as needles and costs are associated with modernity. Much intrapartum oxytocin use in South Asia departs from the clinical guidelines but there is no data providing systematic information on the impact on maternal mortality and morbidity, stillbirths and neonatal mortality and morbidity. The article is not gendered per se, but informs on how pharmaceuticals such as oxytocin are being used on the ground. Increases understanding of how they are embedded in wider social and economic contexts needed for policy-makers to engage with everyday realities of drug availability and use in the Global South.


This paper focuses on TB and private market for drugs. Does note tendency to not want to disclose TB status particularly exacerbated amongst women, and unmarried women in particular.

Justino - PI


This paper addresses partial resistance / opposition to some elements of rebel rule. Common factors hypothesised to be important are the quality of pre-existing
institutions, and the scope of rebel governance. Contains an example of setting up brothels and how this is decided upon and policed with rules coming from discussion between rebels, 'women' and prostitutes. Extra legal justice system set up by rebels also and contains gender examples; Women asking combatants to force husbands to provide for them or kids to obey them. Also gender used as an example in the fact that it helped set norms of conduct; including on domestic violence; personal image (such as long hair for men, or skirts for women); sexual conduct.


While this paper is not gendered there is mention of women's groups. Out of the 148 households in the sample for which at least one member is involved in civic life, the majority belonged to a women's self-help group (86), and second largest type of group was a political party (27 households). Supports the idea that membership in self-help organisations may be more related to economic vulnerability than to social interactions. Concerning the riots in India, the literature fails to explain how within the same communities different people experience riots in different ways. Considers three main factors that may be associated with levels of violence victimisation: the presence of visible assets or resources that may attract opportunistic violence and increase physical vulnerability; the levels of integration within local communities; and group identity. Two thirds of the respondents were female, however, the paper suggests the sex of the respondent is not a significant predictor of victimisation.


Found guerrillas and paramilitaries both regulated mobility and free speech in about half of the localities where they were present; they regulated personal image (like the use of skirts by women or earrings by men) and sexual behaviour (like homosexual relations and prostitution) in about 20% of these places. This paper finds - i) drought has an adverse effect on child nutrition in Andhra Pradesh only in violence-affected communities, and (ii) political violence has large negative effects on child nutrition through a reduction of the ability of households to cope with drought.

Kantor – PI

Case study findings from different areas in Afghanistan suggest local social networks are key in rural life, and local heads can affect things such as girl's access to education.


Addition of a male worker in a household (e.g. a son coming of age) was a factor in case studies where livelihoods were improving and this has a positive impact on men and women in the household. Equally, the loss of a male head or male worker has a negative impact - while male labour does not guarantee security, it increases options and outcomes. Women sometimes take on low wage work in the home (spinning, weaving), but returns are low and family/household obligations makes it difficult for them to find the time to do both. Women play a more active role in economic downturns, despite religious pressure to keep women at home. Gender norms constrain aspirations and leave women vulnerable to food insecurity and early marriage. Gender norms also present obstacles to getting girls into education, girls can't access schools due to lack of facilities and conservative norms, which ultimately
limits what girls can do, and the ways in which they could contribute to the household. Improving women's access to education, and facilitating their entry into the workforce would have an impact on livelihood improvements, but conservative gender norms are preventing women's access to both education and employment.


Pathways to being a tailor in Kabul are gendered - men typically start tailoring as young as 6. Some boys tailor while still at school due to economic hardship, boys use family and social connections to secure work; girls face considerable barriers, they have fewer female social networks available, are unaware generally about market economies and how to secure paid employment, and opposition from family / neighbourhood / society as seeking work outside the home is seen as unacceptable. When training, appropriate private spaces must be secured, as women can't work in public spaces. Equally, once employed, women are not able to work in public shops, so must work from home. The spatial confines of domestic spaces put women at a disadvantage vis-a-vis male tailors who have access to better and bigger functional work facilities. Being in the public space means men have a better understanding of the market, and have access to a wider number of customers. Buying supplies was a problem, as women did not have access to markets or public spaces to buy basic sewing supplies. Skills acquisition is limited, and as such women tailors charge less money for their work compared to male tailors. Gender norms limit women's ability to build a wide social network, even for other female clients. While women struggle against a wide range of obstacles to work as tailors, it provides them with some degree of independence, and can be key if the male breadwinner is incapacitated / underemployed. Women's entry into tailoring in this context can provide them with independence and some financial security, but there are numerous hurdles that arise from conservative social norms that mean entry to this world can be risky. Women who can engage in tailoring work on good terms had both positive material and relational dimensions. The research suggests women's entry into the labour market can shape household dynamics, relations and attitudes for the better.


Women in two villages engage in some income generating work, there was a feeling in these villages that women had a greater degree of movement and access to public life. Some evidence that hardship is changing gender norms to allow women entry into work and public space; due to hardship, however, men get married later and brides are 'sold' earlier. Also women play a key role in negotiating marriages for sons (choosing the daughter-in-law). In this space, women's existing income-generating work (while not well paid) is key to household security, particularly when men have migrated.


Marriage is key in the Kandahar context - for marriage of sons, men select family, and wives chose the girl; married daughters sometimes have influence as well; in women-headed households, the women make the decision; little choice for either sons or daughters in their partner/marriage; only older, rich men have a choice; social norms, poverty and need for labour drive early marriages; girls get married as young
as 9. Life within the household - decision making in a household varies considerably, with some houses clearly patriarchal, and other houses more egalitarian; men and women have separate spheres of activities within the house that reflect gendered norms - household expenditure is a man's duty, for example, while domestic chores are in the woman's sphere. Social norms prevent girls from going to school; violence towards women sometimes leads to separation/divorce.

Kebede – PI
A common feature of many intra-household models that assume Pareto efficiency (including the unitary, bargaining and collective models) is the assumption that household members either explicitly or implicitly make transfers of income between themselves to attain efficiency at the household level. The research finds that husbands’ expectations of their wives’ contributions are higher than their wives’ actual contributions, and wives’ expectations of their husbands’ contributions are lower than their husbands’ actual contributions. These systematic errors in expected and actual behaviour imply that the attainment of equilibrium in a game theoretic framework is unlikely. Overall, most of the empirical results cast doubt on models of the household that assume Pareto efficiency. The results from this paper imply that the explanatory power of intra-household models based on Pareto efficiency may be limited. A greater focus on non-cooperative models and intra-household allocations based on fairness and social norms are likely to be a more fruitful avenue of research. (see also CSAE Working Paper WPS/2011-01).

Evidence of inefficiency and hiding of assets when possible within households. Men invest more and are more generous to their partners. Women are more willing to invest in a common pool when their income is earned through working and when assets are publicly observable.

Suggests working with spouses is associated with significantly higher team productivity.

The paper finds no evidence that polygynous households are less efficient than their monogamous counterparts. They also reject a strong form of Bergstrom's model of polygyny in which all wives receive an equal allocation. In this case, senior wives often receive more from their husbands, no matter what their contribution. Thus the return to contributions is higher for senior wives compared to their junior counterparts. When they control the allocation, polygynous men receive a higher payoff than their monogamous counterparts. They speculate on the implications of this pattern of investment and reward for the sustainability of polygynous institutions. In theory, higher payments to the senior wife in polygynous households, husbands keeping younger wives loyal to the marriage by offering higher earnings with age. Alternatively, older wives may have more power, either through a greater understanding of how to bargain successfully in the marriage or through the accumulation of separately owned assets during the marriage or through some kinds of community-enforced
norms. This asset theory seems attractive given that in their sample wealth is typically separately owned and normally is kept by the owner in the wake of divorce. All that they can state at this stage, however, is that there is no evidence in support of it in the econometrics.

**Locke – PI**

Focussed on renegotiation of gender roles as a result of changing migration patterns in Vietnam the paper outlines some key migration patterns and their gendered impacts, including fulfilling gendered social obligations around marriage/parenting. Ideal families in Vietnam suggest husband and wife live together so migration for either a husband or wife involves negotiation of expectations. Visiting marriages involve the husband living away for long periods of time and coming home only occasionally for short periods of time. While historically men could do this without negotiation, talking it over with a female partner is now the norm. Being a 'good husband' does not exclude sexual infidelity for men as an emphasis on breadwinning and caring for a family financially is essentially wrapped up in notions of masculinity. Some evidence that migrant husbands place importance on being able to control their remaining wife's sexuality. In some cases, male migration may 'constitute a polite form of male desertion'. Female migrants with young children face more issues in terms of negotiating their gendered identities (expectation that mothers have daily contact with their children is disrupted). Mothers and fathers worry about their absence on their children, 'gendered ideologies and gendered power relations offer more support to fathers/husbands than mothers/wives in terms of migration' - changes in economic patterns in Vietnam have allowed women to renegotiate their gendered roles in relation to migration. Suggests social norms around femininities and masculinities have shifted.

Looks at men's and women's experiences of migration and managing family life in Vietnam. For men and women migration brings tensions with fulfilling family roles. Vietnamese social norms provide strong moral authority for men to migrate for work, allowing migrant men to be good fathers by leaving the family, although many regretted their remote relationship with their children. It is harder for female migrants to reconcile migration and motherhood, however, the sacrifice that they made in everyday parenting was still constructed as parenting work, and conjugal work (by helping their husbands build a more financially secure family). Double standards in Vietnamese society meant that men were still able to be a 'good migrant' by engaging in extramarital sexual activities (but many stressed they did not have the money or energy to engage in these activities, compared to richer or younger men): however, men had to feel confident that migrating wives were faithful, and this was an essential element for managing marital strains related to women's migration- living with female villagers in the city ensured that women were both secure/safe and under appropriate surveillance. Costs of migration in this context are strictly gendered in terms of migration experiences and social identities.

ante-natal care late when they go home to give birth, many live apart from husbands during late pregnancy, and they tend to resume work/leave children behind soon after giving birth - this has implications for maternal and infant health outcomes, as well as social and emotional development for mother and child. Migrant fathers place value on their parenting role beyond being a provider - men who are forced to migrate are away from home when they feel they are needed at home - many migrant fathers regret the loss of everyday intimacy with their children.


Paper on 'left behind' children and spouses - migrant women ideally wanted to stay home for three years after the birth of a child, but this was not always possible. Women faced little social stigma for migrating because of recognition of economic realities but migration of young married women disrupts social norms although it is becoming increasingly common - this allows for a reinterpretation of social norms that see women as contributing to 'happy families'. There are differences in gendered norms in relation to spousal relationships - women who stay behind are 'left behind' by husbands, while husbands who remain suggest they have 'sent their wife' to the city. Social surveillance of women who migrate is important, and men in particular tend to refuse infidelity for migrating wives in contrast women are concerned about 'economic fidelity' in relation to migrating husbands. Men may take up 'women's work' in the household when wives migrate - unless they have strong support from female relatives. They also have to tolerate comments about their inadequacy as breadwinner when their wives migrate. Perceptions about women's 'natural' hardworking natures helped justify women's migration, as well as the perception that they spend less and save more than men. Overall it is suggested that female migration destabilises gender norms but there is varying degrees of agency/empowerment present - no single way to quantify agency/power in male/female parental relationships in relation to different migration patterns, and involves complex tradeoffs.


Some further detail provided in policy context and shifting historical dynamics - in particular women have lost some of the rights of gender equality that were prominent under communism and more traditional understandings of women's familiar roles have been reinstated.

**Matthews – PI**

Johnson FA, Padmadas SS, Chandra H, Matthews Z, Madise NJ (2012) Estimating unmet need for contraception by district within Ghana: An application of small-area estimation techniques, *Population Studies: A Journal of Demography*, 66, 2, 105-122. Reports estimates of contraception use in parts of Ghana - there is considerable geographical variation in contraceptive use, and in unmet need and satisfaction of demand for contraception. The use of contraceptives is particularly low in the Northern and Central Regions. The northern part of the country has high fertility, low access to health services, high infant and child mortality, low educational attainment,
and high levels of poverty (Ghana Statistical Service et al. 2003, 2004; World Bank 2003). With such adverse indicators, it is not surprising that the northern area has a large unmet need for birth spacing. The differences indicate that women in areas of high fertility are more likely to want to postpone than limit their childbearing, while the opposite holds for areas of low fertility. There is a large unmet need for both birth spacing and fertility limitation in most districts in the Central Region, which is the fourth poorest region after the three northern regions. More funding at local level for contraception would allow women to plan pregnancy more effectively.


A third of women (34%) in Ghana live beyond the clinically significant two-hour threshold from facilities likely to offer emergency obstetric and neonatal care; half (45%) live that distance or further from ‘comprehensive’ EmONC facilities, offering life-saving blood transfusion and surgery. In the most remote regions these figures rose to 63% and 81%, respectively. Poor levels of access were found in many regions that meet international targets based on facilities-per-capita ratios. Current benchmarks on maternal health outcomes need to be reconsidered as they don't take into account distances from key care facilities. GIS mapping may offer a solution that would improve maternal outcomes.

**Morley – PI**


The mature student route still records lower enrolment rate for women, despite government policy framework that targets 50:50 for Higher Education (HE). Study finds that women experience tension with HE pursuit versus domestic roles (perceived cultural responsibility; stereotypes). Exacerbated by lack of support and participatory pedagogies. Gender intersects with socio-economic status (SES), shaping time available through paid childcare, distances to campus etc. HE institutions should become more sensitive to diversity and different forms of cultural capital. Pedagogies need to be participatory, with additional support for mature female students.


Study did not set out to interrogate gender violence but data revealed heterosexual harassment of women by men in all four case-study institutions. Male students, especially in Ghana, accused female students of complicity, attributed female success to favouritism. Female staff: “sexual harassment is a way of life”. Hierarchical and gendered power relations within universities have naturalised a sexual contract in which some male academics consider it a right to demand sex with female students in return for grades. Spatial justice - sexual harassment demarcating space as male.


Access of older, poorer women varies significantly from one programme to another, overall pattern of absence. The BSc Engineering in Tanzania has an Affirmative Action entry programme, but while approximately a quarter of students on the BSc are now women, they are not from lower socio-economic backgrounds. Measurement used highly selectively in relation to gender - ignored when women under-represented; amplified when women threaten dominant group.

100 Equity Scorecards were constructed largely from raw data on admissions/access, retention, completion and achievement for 4 programmes of study in relation to 3 ‘structures of inequality’: age, gender and SES. Gender gains can mask persistent inequalities which relate to poverty and age e.g. mature students tend to be found in programmes with fairly low exchange rates in labour market. Equity scorecards can help ‘evaluate policy decisions’, and ‘promote democratic dialogues’. Interview data with students reveal ‘symbolic dangers of transgressing gender norms in disciplines’ with a student in Ghana shamed/socially excluded for this.

**Moser – PI**


Results of the Participatory Violence Appraisal (PVA) in Santiago suggests that violence in El Castillo is gendered in that violence affects men in ways related to fights, weapon-use, gangs/hooligans, while women experience Intimate Partner Violence (IPV), with machismo identified as the principle cause of violence against women. In Contraloria violence was primarily located within the families/within couples - as a result of the impacts of ‘consumerism and individualism’ (2012:3). Machista culture and ‘men's resentment of women because of their increased autonomy’ was seen as a key explanation. In La Dehesa, IPV as related to gender violence was highlighted again. Machismo/machista culture, understood as a particular expression of masculinity, is key to women’s experience of IPV in Santiago, but other issues unrelated to patriarchal oppression also emerge.


Overview of case study cities. In Patna liberalising of alcohol has increased rates of IPV for women, with police failing to intervene in the private spaces of the home, so violence spills out into public spaces – notion of violence as spatially organised. Violence Against Women (VAW) in Santiago was related to a macho culture and spatially contained in the home. Drugs also had an impact on rates of domestic violence in some areas, and pressures of capitalism were also highlighted (see above). Gender insecurity in the private sphere needs to be recognised - and suggests that understanding domestic violence as simply a result of patriarchy is insufficient.


Participatory methods for gender-based and political violence.


Analysis of Violence in Nairobi. Very high levels of domestic violence in the Mukuru area (28%), compared to other two area analysed, but domestic violence was widespread and common in all areas. Domestic violence seemed to be normalised.


Case study of Patna India. Slum dwelling women experience sexual/visual
harassment at public toilets and wells - lack of adequate toilets/bathing facilities was a key issue for women. Domestic violence increased with liberalization of alcohol, but the private space where the incidents occur make it unlikely that police will get involved. Women still at increased risk of violence in private spaces, and most at risk of violence from male partners/family members. Policing fails to adequately protect women in the private sphere, despite clear gains made regarding violence in public spaces.

Newell – PI
Hatherall B (2009) Understanding TB-related stigma in Asia: Bangladesh 2009, Nuffield Centre for International Health & Development, University of Leeds, UK. Suggests there is often concealment of a diagnosis of TB, because of anticipated negative social consequences. Female TB patients and the female relatives of male TB patients appeared to be particularly concerned about possible negative consequences of disclosure. Especially family concern when patients were unmarried girls. Fear of reduced marriage prospects, particularly for women, in part because good health is a particularly valued attribute of a bride, but also because TB’s transmissibility is thought to pose a risk to others (but no evidence to show more postponed marriage). Concealment is noted as being harder for women as they have to visit a clinic. While men are more able to go out/go to the centre, women are not, especially young women, so there is a question as to why they are out. Generally, respondents viewed the negative social consequences of TB as greater for women than for men partly because of overall gender inequities within Bangladesh, and partly because a woman joins her husband’s family when she marries. Suggests TB can bring about family tension and (the threat) of divorce, particularly for women, and especially if the marriage was recent. In line with gender roles and relations, men suffer more depression than women when they get TB (although women may be more worried about their marriage prospects or in-laws) because of their responsibility to provide for their family and the impact of TB and its treatment on their ability to work. TB treatment is available free of charge, but there is a need to consume nutritious food for recovery and this can be expense.

Hatherall B (2009) Understanding TB-related stigma in Asia: Nepal 2009, Nuffield Centre for International Health & Development, University of Leeds, UK. The Nepal paper again notes a fear of reduced marriage prospects, but here also due to the fact TB might pose a risk to children as there is a belief that if a pregnant woman gets TB, or a woman with TB becomes pregnant, her unborn child may be affected, now or in the future. Also linked to feeling woman will be weak and not able to look after children at home. There can be family tension - particularly if there is a perception that the patient is not helping his or her own recovery by not following advice – especially around eating. Men may be blamed for bringing TB on themselves as seen to be linked with smoking and drinking. But again, men find it easier to get treatment and conceal the illness, as they are usually freer to move around without being questioned. A woman, by contrast, will be asked where she is going, with whom, when she will be back and so on.

Hatherall B (2009) Understanding TB-related stigma in Asia: Pakistan 2009, Nuffield Centre for International Health & Development, University of Leeds, UK. Pakistan - For girls it is stigma, and people gossip that a girl has TB. Marriage - A respondent said her husband had been advised to leave her when she was diagnosed with TB, but had he been the one with TB she thinks she would have been advised to take care of him rather than leave him. Delayed treatment can occur because of the need for an escort for women and this impacts on treatment and non-completion of treatment. Also delay as some, on the advice of elder women, go to alternative health centres first. Men noted as not going and get tested as it means
time off work, but impacts women also as they have to be accompanied so still finance and time cost. Confusion over what others should do and fine line between them taking precautions and being seen as uncaring. May be particularly an issue for women/mothers – an example that the ‘cost’ of not eating with her daughter, and thereby being unmotherly and uncaring, was too great and outweighed any perceived benefits of reducing the risk of transmission by eating separately. Some do tell immediate family but some cases of husbands concealing from wives, in part to conceal from in-laws. Likewise, a female TB patient in the urban site said that the doctor had informed her husband and mother-in-law of her TB diagnosis, but advised them not to tell her to prevent her from worrying. However, despite the doctor’s advice, the mother-in-law did inform her. People gossip about TB but women in general more likely to be gossiped about whatever the disease.

Noble - PI
Highlights how poverty erodes dignity and that dignity is linked to women’s sense of identity, and the dimensions of worthiness, self-esteem, self-respect and autonomy are important aspects of dignity in practice. Used 36 focus groups (around 200 women) and 16 in-depth interviews in South Africa with low income female caregivers, and interviews with senior policy makers in government. Social attitudes were explored more broadly in relation to dignity, poverty and social security using data from the South African Social Attitudes Survey. Concludes that poverty erodes dignity, and many of the strategies that women used to survive poverty were also experienced as detrimental to their dignity.

The Child Support Grant (CSG) was experienced by many (female) caregivers as protective of dignity in three main ways: by reducing poverty, by helping them to fulfil the role of looking after their children, and more indirectly by enabling caregivers to use the grant in dignity-enhancing ways in their social networks. However, CSG also experienced as erosive of dignity in three main ways: issues to do with the application process, negative societal attitudes towards CSG recipients, and the small amount of the CSG.

Decent paid work was regarded by lone mothers as the main route to attaining dignity. The work recognises poverty and inequality as threats to human dignity. It also notes the need to emphasise the prevalence and value of unpaid care work.

This paper explores meanings and understandings of lone motherhood, and notes the existence of 'hidden' female headed households. Based on their definition, it found 59% of all mothers in South Africa are lone mothers, and that 42% of these lone mothers are grandmothers not mothers. It considers lone mothers by age, household structure, race and finds 90% of all lone mothers in South Africa are black African. Differences are seen in education levels, employment, health, and housing
The vast majority (84%) of lone mothers live in a household where at least one grant is received. For older lone mothers the proportion is 96%, while for younger lone mothers the proportion is much lower at 56%. Over three quarters of lone mothers live in a household where at least one CSG is received. A higher proportion of lone mothers than non-lone mothers live in a household that experienced differing types of food poverty. So for example, 30% of lone mothers live in a household that ran out of money to buy food in the last year, while this applied to 21% of non-lone mothers. A higher proportion of lone mothers than non-lone mothers also reported that the household had insufficient food ‘always’, ‘often’ or ‘sometimes’ (for adults and children separately). Female headed households are not considered conceptually, but suggests an understanding of ‘lone mothers’ via relational roles they play – (a) affective allegiances to the child or ‘wishing the best for the child’; (b) providing materially (i.e. financially and in kind) for the child; and (c) physical presence with and physical care of the child. Also notes differences by age.


Draws on Khatib and Armenian (2010) who identified four dimensions of dignity: worthiness, self-respect, self-esteem and autonomy. It highlights how dignity exists as ‘dignity as principle’ (jurisprudence literature /dignity indefeasible human worth) and ‘dignity in practice’ (psycho-social phenomenon) and explores linkages. It views worthiness as linked to employment. Self-respect is seen as a necessary pre-requisite for gaining the respect of other people. Some respondents stressed the need for ‘respectable behaviour’ e.g. not gossiping, not drinking in public, and not wearing short skirts - this ‘more conservative and patriarchal worldview’ was most prominent in rural areas. Self-esteem discussion focuses on role of women as mothers and need for dignity because of this - “Dignity is an important part of womanhood and motherhood. They all go together.” But also highlights the value they place on the role they play, seeing this as a large ‘job’ and important. Women provided examples of ways in which external judgment, humiliation, or lack of respect impacts on their dignity in terms of their sense of self, and loss of dignity compromises their sense of humanity. Autonomy was linked to paid work, but paid work can also reduce dignity (eg. of deciding between working and getting contraceptive injection) and several participants described ways in which their dignity felt so compromised at work, that they decided to leave their jobs. In their state of poverty, the women were made to feel unworthy of support by their families in many instances; they were regularly insulted for their lack of financial autonomy and made to feel that they are a burden, and this all impacted negatively on their self-esteem. Also notes a sense of reduced standing within the community, and at a personal level was due to a lack of ability to be a good caregiver. While ‘poverty can kill one's dignity’ what would help to further protect and respect their dignity? Most women said ‘jobs’ and this was linked to the lack of autonomy that they felt when out of work. When working for neighbours, often paid in food (not money) or ‘worse’ alcohol – “Because you are poor they pay you with alcohol. All that means is that they don’t have respect for your family”. Begging as asking a neighbour ‘if she can heat water or cook on the neighbour’s stove’ is seen as something to be avoided at all costs, but often no other choice and is linked to a huge erosion of dignity. Poverty results in lowered self-esteem and a sense of isolation. Also notes the strain of being unable to keep clean - impacting on their mental well-being, leading to sense of despondency and defeatedness, in some cases thoughts of suicide and infanticide. While poverty is talked about, inequality less so, and for some their individual/personal 'lot in life' is seen as given. Others see relational wealth as injustice. Sexism was identified as an affront to dignity, as it is an example of being regarded as less ‘worthy’ than another
person. Just as prominently as begging, the focus group participants spoke about how they had to use transactional sex as a method of survival, and its negative impact on their dignity. A few women spoke in veiled terms but most referred to it directly. In some instances, people described having to have sex in order to secure a new job. One woman describes how the fact that it is known that she will provide sex for income out of desperation means that her dignity is ‘finished’.

Wright G, Noble M, Ntshongwana P, Barnes H, Neves D (2014) Social security and the dignity of lone mothers in South Africa, Themed Working Paper No 3, Centre for the Analysis of South African Social Policy at the University of Oxford. Has the Child Support Grant (CSG) as a main focus. It notes that social protection here is not for women but for children, and women are the means of delivering this. This implies women without children who have no job have no access to support. Issues that reduce dignity included queuing, sleeping in the queue to ensure being seen, burdensome and unclear qualifying criteria that lead to the need for return trips at cost of time and money, not being treated with respect, this also includes pejorative comments such as ‘how come you have 3 children without a husband’. Similar issues were encountered when receiving monthly payments, but included here ‘public scrutiny’. Asks what difference it would make if women were the target? “We would also feel more human, like people with dignity. At least there would be something for our own needs”. “It would be good because we would be able to spend the child’s grant on them and not on our needs, that will ‘bring back our dignity’. However, some respondents recognise others might not see it as a good thing/good use of their taxes and that ‘other’ women might abuse it.

Porter – PI

Discussion of Africa’s ‘transport gap’: profound effect on personal travel and transport of goods. Routes involving a stream were particularly hazardous for girls who tend not to be able to swim. Lateness associated with distance leading to punishment; boys more likely to try to avoid, girls more likely to face. Porterage expected of girls, added to domestic chores and caring responsibilities. Boys more likely to complete primary, and move to further secondary schools, girls constrained by pregnancy concerns. Contributes to an understanding of girls’ ‘time poverty’ as well as income-poverty; poor families less able to send girls to boarding schools (addressing mobility and pregnancy concerns).


Walking with children, emphasised much more effective at eliciting [gendered] information than just an interview where (perceived or otherwise) dangers may not be expressed/remembered, subjective gendered experiences of every day journey to school; affect willingness to learn and act as impediments to education access. Girls more fearsome but also experience more problems of having to hurry and missing opportunities to walk with others (thus losing potential social and safety benefits), owing to their greater involvement with domestic tasks before school. Rape not mentioned Ghana, but is in Malawi and South Africa and fears are ‘by no means unrealistic’, for young boys as well as girls. Girls adverse to farming and schooling is seen as a way out, but girls are less able to fulfil ‘primary’ than boys and when boys complete they are more likely to move into secondary education, partly because this involves a long daily journey or residence away from home. There is an association
of female mobility with promiscuity.


Country variations in water carrying: girls as likely as boys in Ghana slightly more likely in South Africa (SA), much more likely in Malawi where burden also increases with age. Boys in Malawi and SA more likely to have herding responsibilities. Expectations "naturalised". Gender differences in fuelwood porterage mirrored those for water, but more concern about rape because of forest. Gender burdens exacerbated by rurality for girls. In SA, boys' porterage always associated with equipment, e.g. cart. Girls also significantly more likely to carry refuse than boys in Ghana and Malawi. But boys more likely to carry for money. Girls more likely to be late to school, but paid work for boys lead to school absence and drop out. Possible health implications from load-carrying, but not clear evidence although 'pain' reported. Time poverty for girls, while boys more likely to be absent or drop-out from school if poor due to remunerated work. Domestic responsibilities fall heavily on girls, exacerbated by porterage. Boys likely to have porterage responsibilities if 'commercially orientated'. Continued salience of public/private sphere division. See also *Forum News* (2010) 15, 1, March 2010.

Includes details around bikes - boys much more likely than girls (87%:58% in Ghana; 72:44 in Malawi, 82:48 in SA) to know how to ride a bicycle, but generally not used on journey to school, suggesting cultural norms around appropriate activities for girls.


Phone use among youth: 9.3% in Malawi; 16.7% in Ghana and 55.5% in South Africa had used phone in previous week; usage much lower in rural sites across the 3 countries. Mobile phones used to connect families living apart, as well as for remittances. When phone usage low and technology new, males predominate, girls start to predominate as usage grows. Phones were seen as symbols of success, and theft commonly blamed on boys. Concerns around potential/actual use of phones in transactional sex but phones also offer social support to girls. Technology is enabling rural-urban communication across 'stretched households'. Intersections of gender and age in phone usage; new technologies can entrench but also challenge existing gender norms.


Contains seemingly minor issues which young people clearly feel affect their lives and well-being substantially, such as: aggressive and dangerous drivers who call insults; the splashed uniforms which lead to punishment or exclusion from school; girls' concerns about 'love proposals'. Issues came out because of use of child researchers, and might not have been mentioned to adults. Mentioned also mobility as temptation - city delights and promiscuity, and mobility as constrained (by adults).


Reflections on interactions between patriarchal institutions and patriarchal discourses compound poor access and impact on health, education and markets. Suggests there is an urgent need for a stronger focus on gendered mobility and access issues
within the gender studies and development communities. Transport is a surprisingly neglected area among gender specialists working outside Northern contexts, with transport specialists reluctant to take on gender issues. Rural women and girls living in areas characterised by poor physical accessibility, inadequate transport, and a socio-political context which reinforces their low mobility potential, will remain extremely poor, with implications for intergenerational transfers of poverty.

See also Forum News (2010), 15, 1, 10.


Literature review. Women spend up to 4 hours on porterage, with normal loads of 25-35kg, but sometimes up to 60kg, as well as practice of carrying children. Girls aged 15 expected to carry similar loads as adults. Review finds evidence gap around health impacts of load-carrying; some evidence on maternal health suggests load-carriers have reduced fertility. Some evidence of increased pain. Review finds "immediate and longer-term implications of head-loading for health and well-being remain largely unknown". Notes more evidence is needed on [gendered] heath impacts of head-loading.


Girls more likely to report fear of harassment and rape than boys, but little gender variation in fear of attack. Direct correlation between increased journey time to school and fear of rape. Girls seen as more vulnerable to rape, more likely to have their mobility constrained, and more likely to need to monitor their own mobility to avoid public censure. Girls also likely to value, however, opportunities to meet boyfriends on journey to school, although agency constrained by limited opportunities. "poverty shapes ways in which young people move through spaces" and notes that there is a "Feminisation of blame" for sexual violence.

Pridmore – PI
Amuyunzu-Nyamongo M (NoDate) The health of women and children: An exploration of the policy environment post-2010, Briefing Paper 5, Nutritional Improvement for children in urban Chile and Kenya - NICK.

Looks at the policy environment in relation to women’s health in Kenya.

Carr-Hill R, Lang'o D (NoDate) Impact Evaluation in Mombasa, Briefing Paper 4, Nutritional Improvement for children in urban Chile and Kenya - NICK.

Impact evaluation in Mombasa - before and after case studies to determine impact of intersectoral actions on young child nutritional status.

Salgado Diez B (NoDate) The social determinants of child overnutrition in Chile and the effectiveness of interventions to tackle the problem, Briefing Paper 3, Nutritional Improvement for children in urban Chile and Kenya - NICK.

Literature review on child overnutrition - attention given to work and gender.

University of London.  
Review of recent research findings – cross-national with some gender elements. Review of interventions that increase access to learning for HIV-affected children-community based interventions can strengthen school-community linkages. In particular introducing mother’s groups in Malawi at primary and secondary school promotes education for girls.

Moleni CM (2008) Factors influencing access and retention in primary schooling for children and young people affected by HIV and AIDS: Case studies from rural Malawi, SOFIE Opening Up Access Series No 6, Institute of Education, University of London. Case study of four schools in Malawi suggests that there are some differences in drop out rates for girls and boys. Girls who live in households with chronically ill parents face care-giving burden and have less school engagement, they also take on more household chores. Early entry into marriage for orphaned girls is seen as a coping strategy in the face of material neglect or discrimination in the household but early marriage disrupts schooling for girls. Girls from HIV-affected households are vulnerable to abuse and transactional sex, which leaves them exposed to Sexually Transmitted Infections, and if they get pregnant will impact their schooling.

Pridmore P, Jere C (2011) Disrupting patterns of educational inequality and disadvantage in Malawi, Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education, 41, 4, 513 - 531. Girls disproportionately affected by caring responsibilities, Malawian in-school girl reports caring for her mother when she is sick. Discrimination against orphans sometimes linked to early marriage. Lack of money for uniforms more of a problem for girls who may experience sexual harassment or bad words from others.

Jere C M (2012) Improving educational access of vulnerable children in high HIV prevalence communities of Malawi: The potential of open and flexible learning strategies, International Journal of Educational Development, 32, 6, 756-763. Found that girls were less likely to be followed up when absent from school than boys - maybe because male teachers didn't want home visits to be misconstrued. Female participants in the intervention reported more self-confidence. Study found that less female orphans than male were likely to be enrolled in higher grades; intervention in one district targeted far fewer girls than boys (31.7 compared to 61.3 percent).

Quisumbing – PI  
Ahmed AU, Khondkar M, Quisumbing AR (2011) Understanding the context of institutions and policy processes for selected anti-poverty interventions in Bangladesh, Journal of Development Effectiveness, 3, 2, 175-192. Suggests less than positive outcomes over the longer term in targeting resources at women. The study explores the effect on women of agricultural technology interventions in Bangladesh, looking in particular at how holdings of land and assets change over time. It finds that the share of assets held by wives declined, even if they increased their holdings of land.

Quisumbing AR, Baulch B, Kumar N (2011) Evaluating the long-term impact of anti-poverty interventions in Bangladesh: An overview, Journal of Development Effectiveness, 3, 2, 153-174. Reviewed three antipoverty strategies in Bangladesh, one of which explicitly addressed education through a primary education stipend (PES). The review noted that more than 90% of children are now enrolled in school, and ‘disparities between boys and girls have been removed’, particularly at the start of the stipend rollout when the enrolment increase was greater for girls than boys. Finds that the targeting of financial support for female students to transit to secondary school led to a
negative impact on grade progression for male students.

**Rea-Dickens – PI**
Describes a group interview with two boys and two girls around some video clips of teaching and learning. Provides evidence that pupils in Zanzibar face significant difficulties with English language which contributes to difficulties with chemistry subject knowledge. However when the pupils are immersed in interesting and motivating contexts with links and referents to local culture and schooling, they are willing to and are able to contribute to discussion.

**Scott – PI**
This article builds on the pragmatist feminism approach. The Avon system did seem to provide an emancipatory avenue for poor women in South Africa, enabling some to lift themselves out of poverty and inspiring many with self-confidence and hope. Key advantages over other direct sales and micro-lending schemes observed include: (1) the graduated working capital arrangement, which allows for growth and works in parallel to the conventional banking system, but minimises credit risk; (2) the mostly female environment, which allows for training and mentoring that is tailored to the needs of women in a variety of situations; (3) the basket of goods, which relies on small, frequent purchases of everyday items rather than a single ‘big ticket’ object; (4) the recognition and support, which encourage women who are otherwise often very discouraged to persevere and achieve; and (5) the protective umbrella of a multinational organisation strong enough to provide money and materials, while attuned to the needs of women. The women's entrepreneurship literature was used as a way to identify training and support important in analysing the Avon system. This literature (while lacking a theoretical framework) they suggest can be used to ‘guide emancipatory work’. However, there are cultural assumptions about family, employment alternatives, and infrastructure that need to be adjusted for in research among women in Less Developed Countries. An important departure from past feminist thought is required in accepting the possibility that the marketplace contains mechanisms, such as entrepreneurship, that can be harnessed for feminist purposes. They suggest what is needed is a pragmatist feminist perspective, that does not predetermine judgment of outcomes based on an overriding ideology, and values each step in the path toward justice as an important one.

**Tallontire - PI**
The paper considers the 'empowerment' prospects of Joint Body v Gender Commissions in Fair Trade Kenyan cut flowers. It notes how the latter was a top-down mechanism put in place by company management to help women fight 'women's problems' such as sexual harassment. It demonstrated greater 'empowerment pathways' than standard mechanism explicitly designed to empower workers. As sexual harassment was a crucial issue for companies and any worker found guilty was dismissed, this meant committee members were respected, and 'wamama gender' (the Gender Mamas) had power. Women viewed it as a means to defend rights without being under the control of men. The initiative grew past sexual harassment to include credit schemes and wider training such as hairdressing. Notes use of 'premium funds' - and battles over a crèche, until presented as a benefit to children (not women). Looks at empowerment through standard mechanisms: the
gender composition of the committee; project selection and the processes surrounding this; and training and education.


Considers pathways to empowerment through being, doing and sharing. Ways of being are related to ‘power within’, and stem from migrating and loosening of norms. With increasing ‘equality’ men and women in workplace can learn women can do things. Different ways of ‘doing’ are related to power and collective power. Examples used start with setting up a crèche, collectively, then a hotel and bee keeping. A supportive management structure was crucial to early success. The third pathway - sharing (power) is more likely to bring about empowering changes in lives, than those who do not have such opportunities. Example, rather than say ‘if I had better salary’ seeing what others do on the same salary can be an inspiration for them. Sharing can influence being and doing, doing at collective level can influence being at household level. Important enabling factors included; good employment quality; secure employment; the ability to organise and form groups; and a supportive management structure. While largely positive the paper notes that questions remain about how barriers to empowerment (e.g. patriarchy and buyer strategies) can be overcome. Including questioning what the long-term sustainability of this ‘empowerment’ is, given that it relies upon employment within Global Value Chains (GVCs) founded on the exploitation of resources (human, environmental and capital), whose products are integrated into global markets as undifferentiated, substitutable goods. It states that even though the achievement of success in all three pathways is not necessary, it may be conceptualised as being the difference between ‘the situation of empowerment’ (where all three occur) and ‘an empowering situation’ (where only one or two of these has been achieved, or are in the process of being developed).

Teal - PI

Uses a gender explanatory variable in a vector of personal characteristics thought to predict earnings, conditional on employment by sector. Used to estimate returns on education in Ghana and Tanzania for different types of employment. The jobs and skills paper assess if we can explain the fall in poverty over time by changes in the return to, or level of, education. Finds a significant difference in the rate of rise of earnings over time for men (more) than women, and even if control for different education levels this difference still exists (Men 60%, Women 55%). Suggests that if invest in education then the rate of return is lower for women in terms of earnings, and education may not be a way out of poverty for women.

Theobald – PI

The PhD thesis considers TB in Ethiopia and Yemen. Most participants (particularly women) attended the services with companions – considerably increasing the cost of diagnosis. Many patients were unprepared for the duration of the diagnostic process. Women were perceived to face particular difficulties to access health services due to cultural norms such as; lack of autonomy to travel, to make independent decisions about their health, and access household finances. It notes that it is likely that many women do not attend formal health services, and studies in the community are necessary to further explore the unique situation of women.
Timæus - PI
Almost all reported recipients of child support grants are women, with low grant take-up rate for maternal orphans. This could be related to; misinformation as many caregivers believe that certain documents are required; that children without a mother are less likely to have a birth certificate; fathers see stigma to applying for a grant which is typically paid to women or believe only a child’s mother can apply. The respondents were mostly women aged 55 years and above, potentially introducing gender and age bias. An important finding is that combined access to the disability grant and ART, especially where the grant is received in good time, has particular benefits for the health of those receiving HIV treatment.

Grant receipt is associated with quite large effects (larger in low income households) with a higher probability of being in the labour force, lower unemployment probability, and higher probability of being employed. Younger women respond more to receipt of the grant, and suggests that this may be due to their lack of funds to overcome the fixed costs of working.

Unterhalter – PI
Gender here is seen as socially constructed and 'performed', and considered in relation to poverty and education. There is recognition that the way society sees appropriate gender roles may negatively impact boys and girls in relation to poverty and education, and prevent gender equality. Advocates (amongst other things, exploring labour market segregation, political/social exclusion, and girls/boys adaptive preferences to better understand gender equality in education. MDGs are not seen as effective at promoting gender equality, and do not ‘filter down’.

Literature review of gender mainstreaming in education - suggests that there are different approaches - some that see mainstreaming as a useful way of achieving equality in education, while others disagree. Authors call for a recognition that social and political contexts should be explored in relation to the suitability of mainstreaming.

Raises questions about the way gender and other intersections are defined and conceptualised - second half focuses on gender, education and poverty in Kenya and South Africa. Discussions at national levels about gender equality are not always understood or operationalised at local levels - poverty often seen as key and gender less relevant.

Sets out a theoretical framework for three competing understandings of marginalisation, and the place of gender and poverty within each. Uses this framework to understand data collected in Kenya across three sites - the Ministry of
Education, a provincial education office and a government school. Discussion of rich qualitative data teases out the way that teachers and officials blame the ignorance or low morality of poor parents and communities for a variety of actions, including marrying daughters early or prostitution.


These three related articles in a special edition of Compare all discuss the issue of gender mainstreaming and draw on evidence and thinking from the grant. The first (Unterhalter and North) is a literature review and introduction to the history of gender mainstreaming. North's article discusses interviews with key informants working on gender and education in international agencies. The article articulates two different kinds of engagements with the MDG frameworks - the first as a ‘tool for leveraging action’ around gender, but the second as limiting work on gender and education to a narrow focus around access and enrolment. One participant, for example, called gender parity a "minimum standard" which can be strategically deployed to overcome organisational resistance to gender equality goals. Another participant highlighted that MDG gender goals offer space for accountability and advocacy tools, since the international community is seen to have 'signed up'.

Walker M - PI


There was ‘significantly higher intake’ of women and black students studying engineering at one of the university sites. Teaching strategies at this university deliberately mix students by gender and race. Analysis of ‘Society in Perspective’ module, which aims to elicit student reflection on realities of disadvantaged communities.


Economic opportunities vary for different groups; women and graduates from working class backgrounds fare less well in labour markets, suggesting a human development approach to university would foreground unequal ‘conversion’ of opportunities so that we do not perpetuate gender inequalities. Offers alternative tools for policy analysis, indexing values rather than capital. Considers Universities to be spaces where public reasoning is developed. Looks at teachers and faculty staff and considers what they teach, how, and the nature of their students. Gender is discussed in the context of how they try and ensure gender is included in the curriculum, and that there is a gender and race mix.


Understanding of transformation acknowledges that racially and gender distorted higher education obstructs deep transformation and democratic culture. Acknowledges that historically some professions have been racially skewed and
gender exclusive.

Walker M, McLean M, Dison A, Vaughan R (2010) Higher education and poverty reduction: The formation of public good professionals in universities, *Working Paper*, Nottingham: School of Education, University of Nottingham. Increase in one university to 25% female staff; discussion (as above) of gender as a marker of diversity; important that students are ‘treated equally’, although "we had a module on feminist studies and I think most people are open to women in the ministry’. However she mentioned that some of the male students made jokes that subtly undermined women. “It's always in jest but … underneath I think most people still have a problem with it”. Mention of one student understanding issues for rural women on transport in Society in Perspective module. Teachers mentioning that "old school guys" feel that engineering is "not really a place for women".

**Walker R - PI**

Mathew L (2010) Coping with Shame of Poverty: Analysis of Farmers in Distress, *Psychology and Developing Societies*, 22, 2, 385–407. Contains a story of one girl who suffered gossip because she worked hours in a non-traditional occupation to reduce the poverty of the family. Gender distinctions are mainly in how, and the extent to which, poverty is related to shame but gender differences explained as due to 'cultural' differences.

Walker R et al. (2013) Poverty in Global Perspective: Is Shame a Common Denominator? *Journal of Social Policy*, 42, 215-233. This article notes that 'Gender distinctions were real'. The diverse roles of women meant that they were typically exposed to shaming more often than men and exposed to multiple and cumulative forms of shaming, risking incurring new forms as they sought to avoid others. It suggests women were more likely to exclude themselves or be excluded from family gatherings that their husbands continued to attend. All issues noted as related to culture. Men suffer if failure to match the expectation of being successful providers and relying on others or on welfare benefits could challenge sense of masculinity. Also notes male avoidance behaviour such as drinking. Women frequently carried the burden of responsibility for budgeting to meet basic needs, and of the risk of shame from borrowing. It notes that parents were often despised by their children, women despised their men-folk, and some men were reported to take out their self-loathing on their partners and children.

Pellissery S, Mathew L (2013) Thick poverty, thicker society and thin state: Policy spaces for human dignity in India, in Gubrium EK, Pellissery S, Lødemel I (eds) *The Shame of it: Global Perspective on Anti-Poverty Policies*, Bristol, Policy Press, 2013. This chapter on India notes the ‘feminisation of poverty’ is associated with shame. Idea of ‘izzat/honour’ is lost if a woman crosses boundaries including working to reduce poverty, and this may be greater with upper class women. It provides an historical overview of policy and notes how the moving of poverty lines can suddenly make people undeserving of help. It considers the National Rural Employment Guarantee act, and questions the ‘dignity’ of the work for those involved - often women. Higher income people see being on the programme in itself to be shameful, constructing them as lazy. It concludes that it can be said to have provided a limited amount of dignity to a particularly vulnerable population.

Choudhry S (2013) Pakistan: A journey of poverty induced shame, in Gubrium EK, Pellissery S, Lødemel I (eds) *The Shame of it: Global Perspective on Anti-Poverty Policies*, Bristol, Policy Press, 2013. Considers the Benazir Income Support Programme (BISP) in Pakistan, which was primarily designed to provide cash transfers to low-income women and women who
has never been married. The paper is not gendered and talks generally of the shame of being ignored by policy initiatives. Excluded Christians face more shame through survival activities than Muslims, who can turn to the state. Queuing for discounted foods creates public visibility. Cut backs were leading to recipients (i.e. women) feeling compelled to continue paying regular social homage to the relevant functionaries, suggesting this must have a psychosocial impact of placing recipients in a position where they must publicly emphasize their neediness. Originally parliamentarians were the ones who decided support, but as lower caste women can’t leave the home it means they need a male intermediary to follow up their case, or offer free services to male relatives e.g. cleaning. Parliamentarians didn’t know the true situation, and this has forced potential recipients to be more dependent on the men in their lives and has reinforced to them their lack of real power.

Watts – PI
This paper provides evidence of the prevalence of IPV in Tanzania. Male and female access to secondary education as well as reductions in inequality in education, have protective impacts. Women's access to income will not necessarily lead to an improvement of her situation within the household. There is an inverse association between household Social Economic Status and women's educational attainment and acceptance of Intimate Partner Violence (IPV), with women who had some secondary education or more less likely to accept IPV. Women who were employed were also less likely to accept that it is acceptable for a man to hit his wife. Supports evidence that suggests increased levels of education and SES will contribute to reductions in IPV, but only past primary education suggests that employment may also have a protective factor.

Wessels - PI
Concerns the intervention around teenage pregnancy as a key child protection issue. Participatory approach to the development of the programme and its evaluation. There is little breakdown of findings by gender, but authors identify that girls were more likely to insist on condom use post-intervention.

White – PI
Women in this multi-religious sample felt that they employed dharma and karma through their duty as mothers/carers in the household. Women's role as familial carers in India can be seen as a key narrative that is reproduced in Sikh, Muslim, Hindu, and Christian respondents.

Gender/marital status is a predictor of well-being, particularly for married men. Women living on their own have the least high levels of well-being, possibly due to 'social exclusion, economic hardship, political marginality, gossip, and sexual predation'.
Men in Chiawa have better levels of education, have fewer health problems, and
report higher levels of well-being.

White S, Jha S (2014) Social Protection and Wellbeing: Food Security in Adivasi communities, Chhattisgarh, India, Wellbeing and Poverty Pathways, Briefing No 3, University of Bath. In Chhattisgarh, boys are still more likely than girls to complete school. Single women were less likely to have engaged with National Rural Employment Generation Scheme - NREGS (possibly because single women here were also older, and NREGS requires manual work). In general women's well-being is significantly lower than men's, men and women are uncomfortable about levels of domestic violence in the community. Gender inequalities in this area are still high - as such, gender should take high priority in terms of community mobilisation.


Breakdown of well-being into key areas by gender: Education - men are better educated than married women but married women are better educated than single women. Single women are more likely to experience hunger, although married and single women have similar levels of employment - men are far more likely to be employed. Petty trading is common amongst all groups, but single women are more likely to do marginal trading where gains are smaller. Single women are also more likely to live in sub-standard accommodation and experience health problems. Single and married women are more likely to be involved in group memberships than men. Men in Chiawa enjoy higher levels of well-being in almost every indicator, with married women second, and single women have the least high levels of well-being.

**Williams – PI**

Williams D, Thampi BV, Narayana D, Nandigama S, Bhattacharyya D (2011) Performing Participatory Citizenship – Politics and Power in Kerala’s Kudumbashree Programme, The Journal of Development Studies, 47, 8, 1261-1280. This article contains discussion of below the poverty line women, who are organised into neighbourhood groups for ‘self-improvement’. Slogan of the organisation is ‘to reach out to the family through women, and reach out to the community through the family’. These neighbourhood groups send a representative to the local area development societies, which are then grouped at municipality level into community development societies. The neighbourhood groups act as autonomous organisations for women’s economic development and as ‘invited spaces’ for political participation. The initiative was making some women more visible within public spaces, but since the neighbourhood group is based on a microfinance programme the weekly cost may be too high for other women. Suggests more ‘middle class’ attributes are needed to be effective in this sphere, with self-financing of their ‘political’ activities subsiding the process through their own money. Many women spoke of the solidarity generated by the groups and this included them feeling that men behaved better toward them. It asks if, however, such initiatives are adding to women’s burden.

**Wu - PI**

Liu Y, Wu F, He S (2008) The Making of the New Urban Poor in Transitional China: Market Versus Institutionally Based Exclusion, Urban Geography, 29, 8, 811–834. This paper compares the urban poor with migrant poor in China. The data suggests a ‘greater tendency’ for women to be laid off or become unemployed under market transition, and that women have a lower level of income. It notes ‘market factors’ such as age, gender, and educational attainment influence the poverty status of urban poor households, but not that of the migrant poor. It notes an increasing number of younger people who cannot find jobs which contributes to making them (and the middle-aged who lost their jobs under market transition) the majority of new...
urban poor. However findings are not disaggregated by gender.

Wunder - PI


Considers the 'gap-filling' function of environmental products focussing on shea-based activities in Burkina Faso. Harvest comes during lean season/when families are going hungry, but while it increases the general well-being of households, there is a high time cost for women (92% say women only do this). There is a risk of overburdening women, putting them at risk of ill health, which can undermine overall household productivity. It concludes that it can contribute to food security; provide women with a source of cash which they can spend on their family (e.g. for medicine and school fees); it can contribute to a more diversified livelihood strategy, and decrease vulnerability to climate variability. However, the gap filling function of environmental projects, while good for the family, may have high costs for women. Especially if they do not prepare their own land at optimal time, or if overburdened and under nourished leading to illness. This may reduce productivity overall and only help food security in the short term.


Suggests that the gendered practices of forest use and management are much more nuanced than the literature currently suggests. While there are difference between men and women, men play a greater role than is often suggested, with regional variations across the globe.