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GENDER, ECONOMIC
TRANSFORMATION AND WOMEN'S
ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT IN
TANZANIA

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DFID	Department for International Development
DHS	Demographic and Health Survey
FYDP	Five Year Development Plan
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
LFS	Labour Force Survey
HBS	Household Budget Survey
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPS	National Panel Survey
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SEZ	Special Economic Zone
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	UN Development Programme
UNEP	UN Environment Programme

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The government of Tanzania is currently preparing its next Five Year Development Plan (FYDP II). Ensuring women benefit from the development processes envisaged in the plan is instrumental to achieving its objectives. Analysis of recent data on employment and time use shows women have benefited from a decade of economic transformation in Tanzania. They have gained access to new employment opportunities in higher-productivity sectors such as manufacturing, trade and hotel and food services. The expansion of public services made possible by a decade of growth has increased the education of women in the labour force, as well as bringing about longer life expectancy.

Some disadvantages have persisted, however. Yields per hectare in agriculture are still lower on land worked primarily by women compared with those on land worked by men. While men's time taken up by household chores has reduced, women's has not; this burden begins as early as 10 years old for females. Too many young women still marry before age 18 and start their families soon after, reducing their education and employment options in the future.

To the extent possible, FYDP II should include measures to reduce longstanding gender inequities, especially those that both reduce growth and transformation and worsen poverty. In non-agriculture sectors, programmes can help women gain access to new opportunities by supporting them to enter sectors and occupations from which they have been excluded. This may involve using tools such as government procurement to encourage the private sector to be involved in this effort. In the agriculture sector, existing investments need to analyse why and how women have been left out. Plans for new investment and project designs need to diagnose the constraints to women's participation at the start, with results monitored as projects proceed. Plans for service delivery improvements should prioritise investments that will reduce the time burden on women of housework and caring for household members.

In developing the FYDP II monitoring plan, efforts should be made to target the collection of data on employment and earnings by gender. This will require a review of how employment data are collected. Additional surveys should not be needed; instead, the current programme should be strengthened and streamlined to yield the necessary data. Client survey data need to be collected regularly for publicly provided services, and published in gender-disaggregated formats to ensure women have the access they need.

1. INTRODUCTION

The government of Tanzania is currently preparing its next Five Year Development Plan (FYDP II), under the theme 'Nurturing Industrialisation for Economic Transformation and Human Development'. The outline for FYDP II lays out twin objectives:

1. Continue the process of growth through economic transformation, with a focus on developing the industrial sector and some services sectors linked to industrialisation (transport, logistics, finance, etc.), in order to transform Tanzania into a semi-industrialised nation by 2025.
2. Increase the inclusiveness of the growth process to raise the welfare of the population, with a focus on greater poverty reduction and improved opportunities for young people and women through better-quality jobs.

The FYDP II outline also highlights the need to strengthen implementation. The planning process involves both diagnosis of the past and the structuring of a prioritised policy and investment agenda to accelerate progress on both the above goals, plus a financing plan.

Instrumental to achieving both objectives is ensuring women benefit from the development processes FYDP II envisages. This is not simply an equity concern, related to the second objective. The McKinsey Global Institute recently estimated that, 'if every country matched the progress toward gender parity of its fastest improving neighbour, global GDP [gross domestic product] could rise by up to USD12 trillion'(Woetzel et al., 2015). In Sub-Saharan Africa alone, GDP in 2025 could be an estimated \$300 billion higher – an almost 20% increase in today's dollars. In addition, it is widely estimated that, when women have a greater say in household resource allocation, children, especially female children, are likely to benefit, improving growth prospects in decades ahead (Fox, 2015).

For these reasons, it is important that the diagnostic for FYDP II include an analysis of women's relative economic situation and a gendered assessment of the measures to support to ensure women benefit economically. To the extent possible, FYDP II should include measures to reduce longstanding gender inequities, especially those that both reduce growth and transformation and worsen poverty. This paper aims to contribute towards this goal by:

- reviewing how an economic transformation such as Tanzania's can affect males and females differently, and specifically affect female empowerment (Section 2)
- providing a brief summary of the available evidence on the status and trends in women's empowerment in Tanzania today, near the start of FYDP II (Section 3);
- identifying the channels that link the twin objectives of FYDP II, and, within these channels, where FYDP II could strengthen the focus on women's economic empowerment (Section 4) and
- identifying issues in the data that are currently available to monitor changes in women's economic empowerment and offering suggestions for improvements in the area of employment data (Section 5)

2. ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION – WHAT IS IT AND WHY MIGHT IT AFFECT WOMEN?¹

Economic transformation is defined as the movement of resources (factors of production) to high-productivity activities, both within and between sectors. It encompasses both the process of structural change (movement of resources between sectors) and within-sector labour productivity improvements. Economic transformation means more production in enterprises and less production in households (i.e. more wage employment and less self-employment). It usually involves the share of labour in agriculture declining relative to non-agricultural sectors (a Lewis-style transformation). Economic transformation is essential for improving the quality of growth so it is broad-based and resilient against shocks and brings about opportunities for further growth. Poverty in low-income countries happens primarily when people are able to ‘work their way out of poverty’ through higher earnings (Filmer and Fox, 2014). The FYDP II objectives explicitly recognise the importance of economic transformation as an end in itself, and as a means to more inclusive growth.

Major economic change naturally brings winners and losers. Many of the main outcomes associated with economic transformation affect the distribution of welfare and opportunities across society positively for both men and women. For example, when economic transformation results in poverty reduction, both poor men and poor women should benefit. However, it is well known that women and men behave differently in a variety of economic situations for a number of reasons – including differences in the biology of the life cycle as well as in the social, behavioural and cultural expectations and norms associated with being a man or a woman (gender identity). These differences (biological and socio-cultural) affect how men and women behave towards one another and in society; they affect the power balance between men and women (individually and as groups); and they affect men and women’s ability to find and make use of economic opportunities to improve their own welfare and that of those they care about (their economic empowerment). It is the latter issue – changes in economic empowerment – that economists tend to address in considering the relationships between the economic changes labelled ‘economic transformation’ and the welfare of women.

Box 1: What is a job?

Jobs are defined as ‘activities that generate actual or imputed income, monetary or in kind, formal or informal’ (World Bank, 2012) For low-income countries, jobs are not limited to wage-paying activities; they are synonymous with participation in an economic activity. They can take place in a factory, by the side of the road, within homes or in the backyard. A job also confers more than an income. It develops a person’s sense of identity, status, self-confidence, connections to others in the community and overall satisfaction with life. Not all jobs contribute positively to an individual’s well-being. The type of job, working conditions, contract, benefits and safety and security at work all matter. Some forms of work cannot even be considered jobs – for example activities that are performed against the will of the worker or that violate basic human rights.

Sources: Filmer and Fox (2014); World Bank (2012).

Women play multiple economic and social roles:

¹ This section summarises a longer framework paper on this topic, which also contains some evidence on international experience. See Fox (2015).

- *Women participate in the labour force*, performing economic activities and earning income for themselves and their families. This is called productive or market work (regardless of whether the product of their labour is sold or consumed).
- *Women are mothers*, and in Tanzania this almost always means primary responsibility for child care. In addition, women perform a variety of tasks for the family, such as cooking and cleaning, and may have responsibilities for adults who are sick or disabled and require extra care. This is called household work, or non-market work – or, more recently, ‘the care economy’. Although it has economic value (and social benefits), it is not considered an ‘economic’ activity and its value is not counted in measures of output.
- In raising children, *women may be making decisions* on behalf of their male and female children, either jointly with their father (and other adults in the household) or by themselves. They may also be required to execute household decisions that determine the future welfare and empowerment of their children, such as whether and when they go to school, when they start to participate in household economic activities and chores and how much time they spend on these activities, when they marry, etc.
- *Women participate in civic activities*, which may benefit the household and/or the community. When women participate, their specific needs in fulfilling the above functions are more likely to be articulated.

Women often face trade-offs between these roles. For example, women who frequently give birth and have large families will have a greater burden of household chores per day, limiting their opportunities to undertake productive work. Young females who marry and start families early lose out on opportunities to deepen their skills. Social norms may limit women’s activities in all spheres, reducing opportunities or amplifying these trade-offs. These factors can limit the benefits women gain from economic transformation, reducing the inclusiveness of growth.

Economic transformation may change opportunities and norms for men and women. For example, an increase in demand for wage labour is usually neither skill- nor gender-neutral. If economic transformation increases the demand for skilled labour but women have not been able to build up these skills, they will not be able to participate. Likewise, occupational segregation and gender-specific labour demand – both common phenomena – discriminate against men and women in the labour market and may lead to one group benefiting more from shifts in the structure of employment caused by economic transformation, or from technology and capital investments to raise productivity.

Public policy can affect these opportunities. Governments can make it easier for females to get education, allowing them to respond to increase demand for skilled labour. Improvements in the safety and reliability of public transport can allow women to work outside the home and operate their businesses more efficiently. Increases in financial access can help women save more and invest in their economic activities or their household. Public services can reduce the time needed for household chores. For example, improvements in water supply can reduce the time needed to fetch water, freeing up female time for other activities.

Tanzania’s economic transformation is at a beginning stage. Nonetheless, some changes have occurred in the past decade or so in the structure of output, in sectoral productivity and in the structure of employment. Females have played a role in these changes, either by seizing new opportunities and benefiting from the transformation or by being left behind. Tanzania has also made improvements in service delivery, expanding its supply of public education, health care and public transport services. In the next section, we use data on employment, time use, human capital, access to services and civic participation to analyse

how women's economic empowerment has changed over the past decade. This analysis identifies areas that could be targeted and should be monitored during the FYDP II period.

Tanzanian women are heterogeneous: they reside in rich and poor households, large and small families and remote areas and urban locations. They may enter adulthood with educational advantages or without even basic cognitive skills; with many assets in their own name or none. The most recent Tanzanian data on economic activities and time use are from the 2014 Labour Force Survey (LFS). At the time of writing, these data had not been released for public use, so this paper is based on the published tabulations. As a result, it is not possible to disaggregate the data by characteristics of the household, such as size or wealth class, or by the characteristics of the women themselves, such as education level or number of children.

3. WOMEN'S ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT – THE CURRENT SITUATION IN TANZANIA

The past 15 years have brought significant economic transformation to Tanzania. Productivity (output per worker) has grown substantially, especially in agriculture, where the rate of productivity growth is estimated to have been 3.3% per year between 2007 and 2013. Since 2000, agriculture's share in GDP has fallen slightly, whereas industry's has increased, primarily owing to output increases in the mining and construction sectors.

The structure of employment has transformed as well (Table 1). Although the absolute size of the agricultural labour force has grown since 2006 (the date of the last LFS), as a share of primary employment agriculture has declined by 9 percentage points, to 67%. Wholesale and retail trade, the second largest employer in the economy, has doubled its workforce, whereas the hotel and food service and the construction sectors have more than doubled theirs. Manufacturing and transport and communications, the third and sixth largest employers, have also gained in numbers and shares. These shifts have helped raise total labour productivity and earnings, as both variables are higher in the sectors that have gained in employment share.

Table 1: Employment by sector and gender, 2006 and 2014

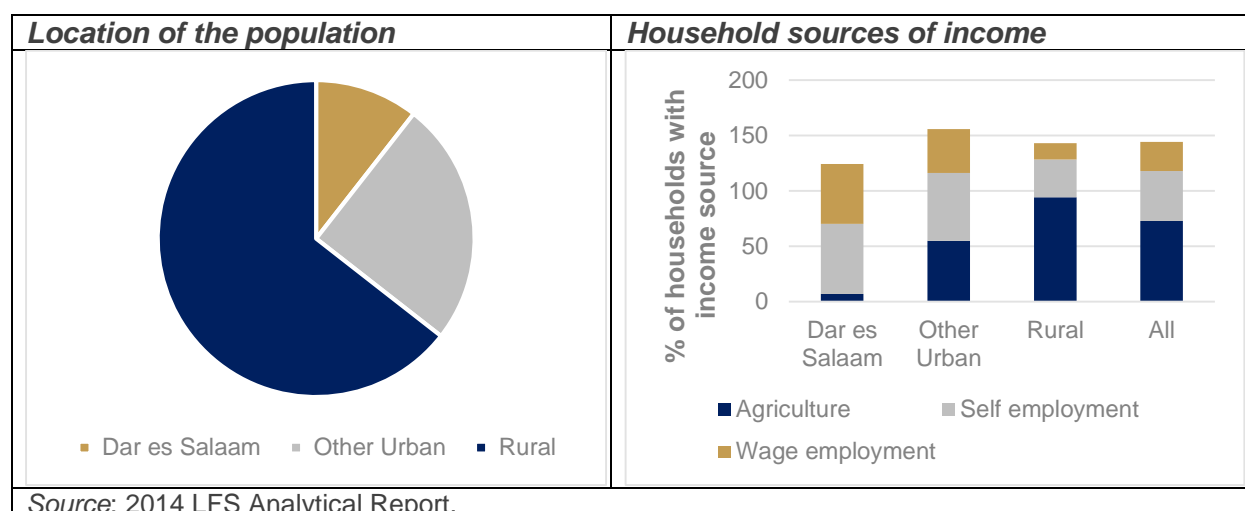
Sector	Male		Female		All	
	2006	2014	2006	2014	2006	2014
<i>Agriculture, forestry and fishing</i>	72.7	64.0	80.0	69.9	76.5	66.9
<i>Mining and quarrying</i>	0.9	1.7	0.1	0.4	0.5	1.1
<i>Manufacturing</i>	3.4	3.6	1.9	2.6	2.6	3.1
<i>Construction</i>	2.1	4.0	0.1	0.1	1.1	2.1
<i>Wholesale and retail trade</i>	9.3	12.4	6.1	12.8	7.6	12.7
<i>Transportation and storage</i>	2.9	5.0	0.2	0.2	1.5	2.6
<i>Accommodation and food service</i>	1.1	1.4	2.8	6.5	2.0	3.9
<i>Administrative and support service</i>	1.9	1.0	0.3	0.3	1.1	0.6
<i>Education</i>	1.6	2.1	1.2	2.1	1.4	2.1
<i>Health and social work activities</i>	0.5	0.7	0.7	1.0	0.6	0.8
<i>Other</i>	3.6	4.1	6.7	4.1	5.2	4.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100.1	100

Note: 'Other' includes 'electricity, gas and water'; 'financial intermediation'; 'real estate/renting and business activities'; 'other community/social and personal service activities'; and 'employed persons in private households'.

Sources: 2006 and 2014 LFS Analytical Reports.

No doubt many of the people who did not report agriculture as a primary activity in 2014 continue to practise it as a secondary activity, as almost 100% of rural households and 55% of urban households outside of Dar es Salaam report some agricultural income, in cash or in kind (Figure 1). This reflects the fact that Tanzania remains a rural country: 64% of the population still lives in areas classified as rural. Tanzania is also a young country. Fertility has fallen slightly, indicating the start of the demographic transition, but it is still estimated at 5.2 children per female. As a result, 43% percent of the population is below age 15, indicating that Tanzania will have a young and rapidly growing labour force for decades to come.

Figure 1: Location of the population and household sources of income, 2014



Females have benefited from the sectoral employment shifts. Although more females than males continue to list agriculture (the lowest-productivity sector) as their primary activity, growth in urban populations along with improved opportunities in the non-agriculture sectors have brought many women into the trade sector – where they now have employment parity; the hotel and food service sector – where they dominate employment; and manufacturing – where their employment has risen faster than of males, even if it is still lower as a share of total employment. As manufacturing has much higher productivity than the economy-wide average, this is good news. Shifting output shares has not brought women into the transport or construction sectors, however, which means they have lost out on high-productivity employment opportunities in these large sectors (the sixth and seventh largest employment sectors in 2014).

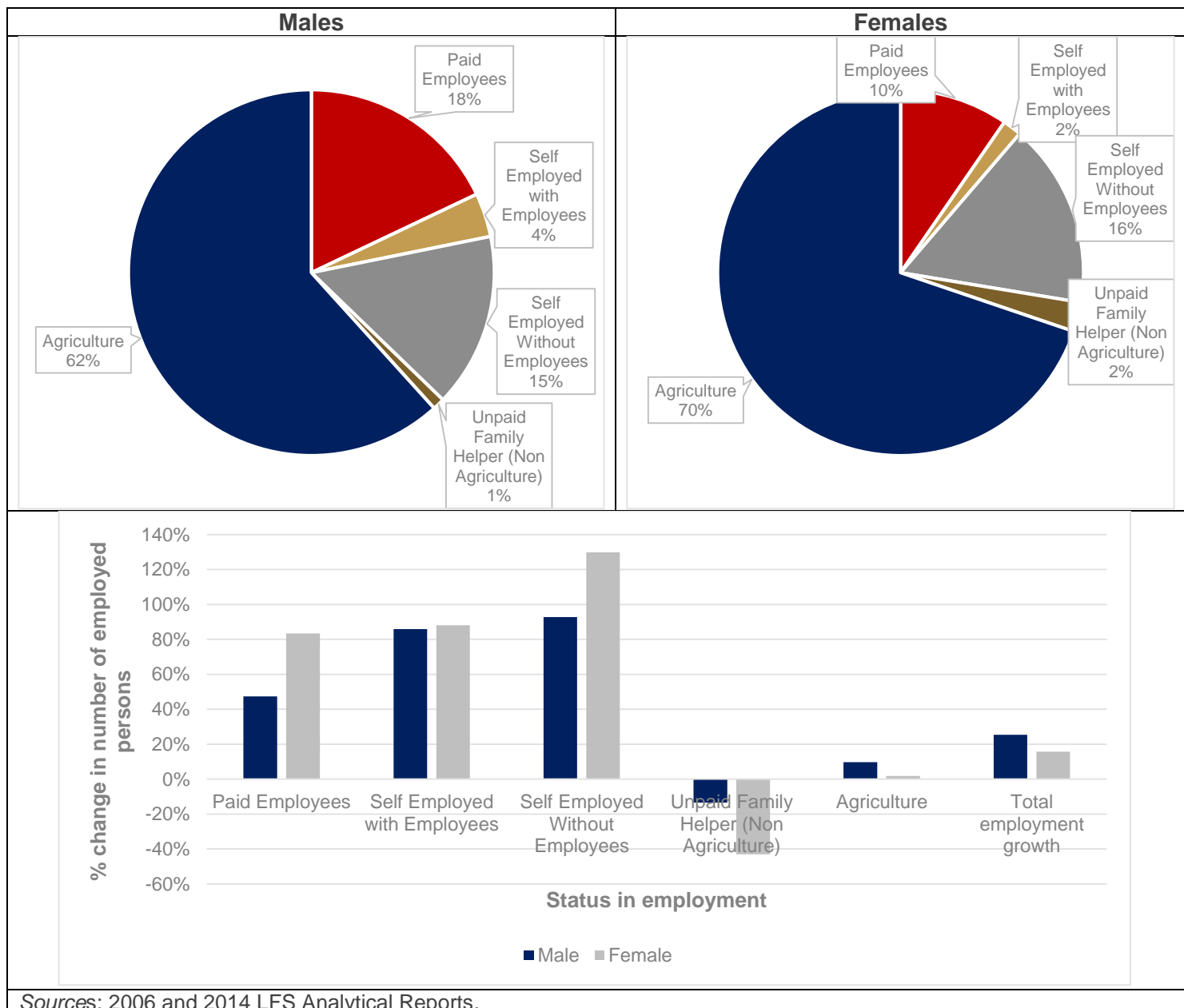
Tanzania has made significant progress in raising the education level of its workforce. In 2000, only 53% of primary school-age children attended school (although there was gender parity in this abysmal number). Today, over 80% are in school, with a higher percentage of female children than male, and Tanzania’s record on primary education is better than the average for low-income countries (World Bank, 2014). Females are more likely to complete primary school (80% compared with 72% for males), but less likely to progress to secondary school (54% compared with 59%). Not surprisingly, they are also less likely to enter post-secondary education. As a result, females in the labour force have less education than men.

Improvements in access to health care have benefited females as well. In 2000, the under-five mortality rate per live births was 125 for females and 136 for males. Now it is 45 for females and 52 for males, well below the average for low-income countries (about 40% better). Life expectancy rates have risen to above 60 for both males and females, in part because maternal mortality has declined. The number of women who report that distance is an obstacle in access to health care declined from 38% in 2004 to 19% in 2010 (NBS and ICF Macro, 2011). But in the area of family formation and reproductive health, Tanzania lags. In 2010, 12% of females under the age of 20 reported that they had already given birth, in part because 37% of women aged 20–24 self-reportedly had married before the age of 18. Early pregnancy is dangerous for women, and is one of the reasons females do not start or complete secondary school, then ending up less educated when they enter the labour force. It also stunts their development in other ways, such as in the formation of networks and relationships among peers (World Bank, 2015).

Having less education may be one reason women are less likely to work as wage employees, despite faster growth for women in this category between 2006 and 2014

(Figure 2). Women who have a business are also less likely hire labour. Studies have found this to be true on the farm as well. Women are much less likely to hire labour for their plots, contributing to lower labour productivity (UN Women et al., 2015). Women are active in other spheres, however, such as politics. In 2013, 36% of parliamentarians were women; in the previous government, women held one third of ministerial posts – a high number for a country of any income level.

Figure 2: Type of employment, 2014, and growth, 2006–2014



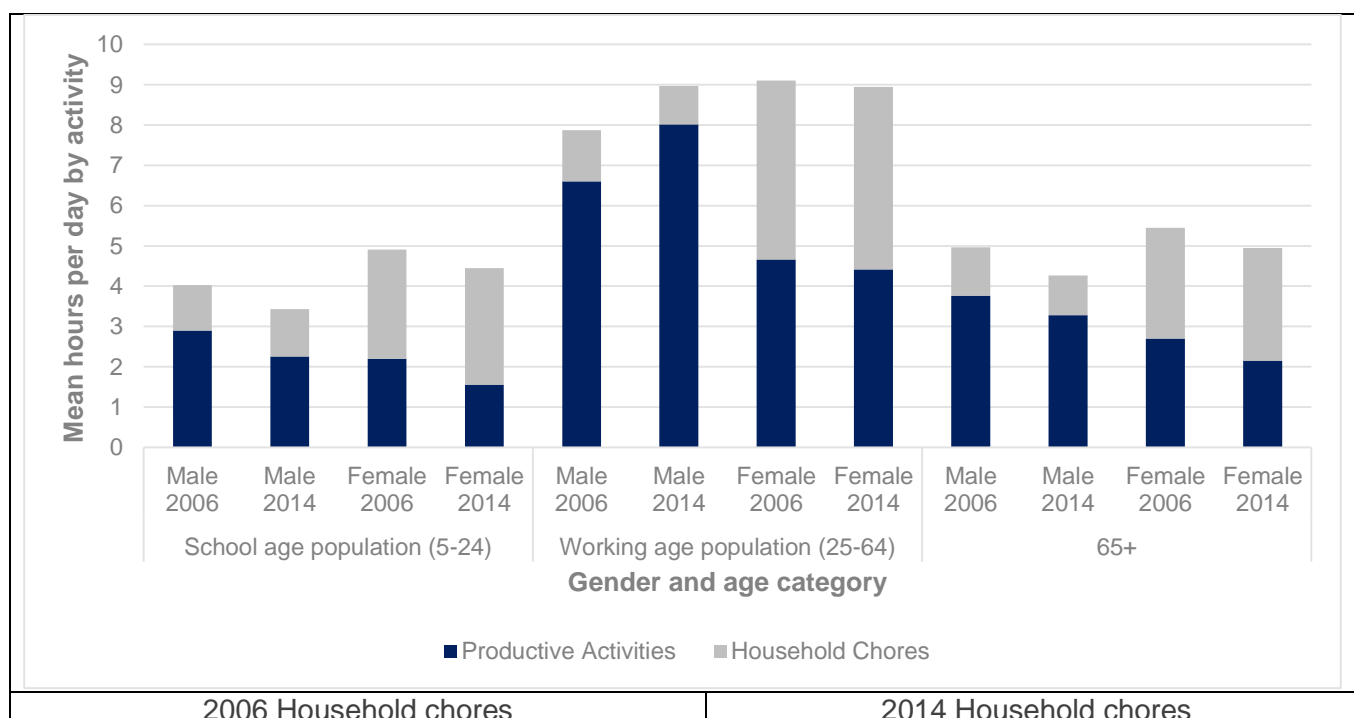
Females still have a large household chore burden (caring for household members and providing services such as cooking, cleaning, etc.). This work starts early, while children are still going to school; during school-age years, females spend on average one hour more per day than males on activities to benefit the family (Figure 3). The average time males reportedly spend doing house hold chores has diminished since 2006, especially during prime working years, but it has not diminished for females. As adults (25-64 years), both males and females spend about nine hours a day on economic activities and household chores, but about half of women’s time is spent on household chores, leaving less time for

productive work. The time spent on household chores is only marginally lower in Dar as Salaam compared with rural areas, despite more widespread availability of services such as water supply and sanitation. In urban areas, 77% of household in Tanzania reported having access to safe water in 2014, compared with only 46% in rural areas (World Development Indicators 2016).

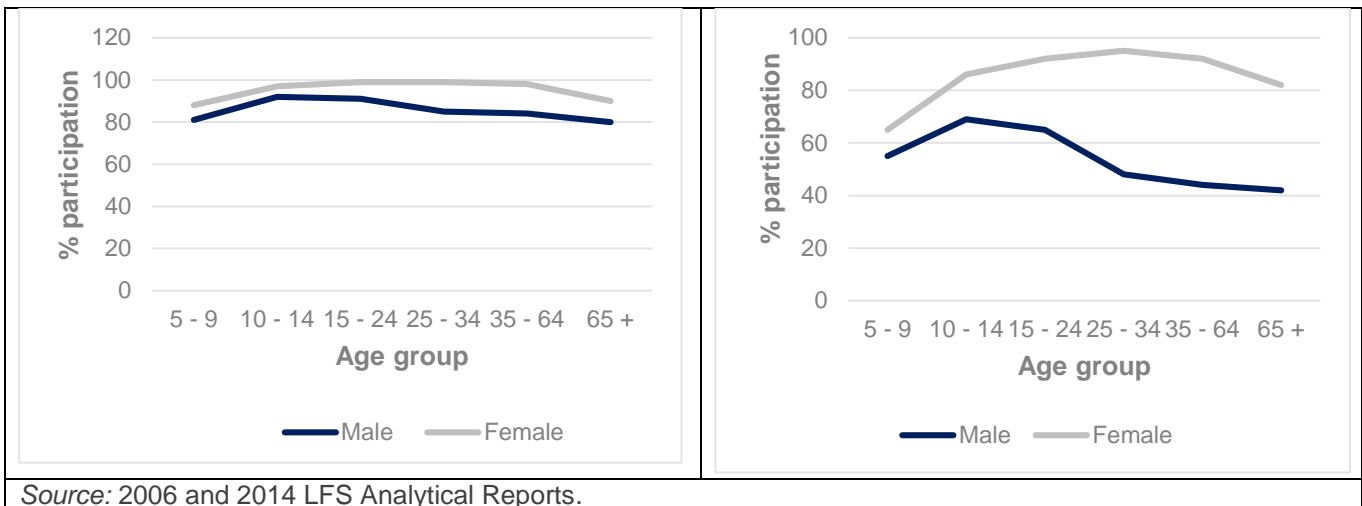
These prime working years overlap with prime childbearing and childrearing years for women, so it is not surprising women face a great many demands at home during these years. These time-use data point to a high degree of ‘time poverty’ in adult women. Time poverty may be leading females to choose agriculture or running a home-based self-employment business as productive activities, as opposed to wage employment. They need flexible hours and cannot be away from care responsibilities. This means women have fewer opportunities to benefit from transformation.

The fact that the time burden of household chores has not diminished despite increased incomes and urbanisation is somewhat discouraging. One reason may be that public delivery of a key service that could reduce the burden of chores – a source of safe water nearby, or even piped into the home – has not kept pace with population growth in either rural or urban areas over the past 10 years. In rural areas, where population growth has been lower, the same percentage of households reported access to safe water in 2006 as did in 2014. In urban areas the percentage has actually declined, from 85% in 2001 to 77% in 2014 (World Development Indicators 2016).² By comparison, in neighbouring Uganda, 89% of urban households and 76% of rural households have access to safe water. In Rwanda, the figures are 87% and 72%, respectively. Both countries are considered poorer than Tanzania.

Figure 3: Reported participation in productive economic activities and household chores, 2006 and 2014



² Because the share of the population living in urban areas has increased over time and urban areas have better access to safe water, the share of the total population with access to safe water has remained about the same, even while decreasing as a share of both urban and rural households when considered separately.



Source: 2006 and 2014 LFS Analytical Reports.

Although women in Tanzania are more likely to report that their primary employment is in agriculture, they account for only for about half the employment and hours worked per year in the sector (women account for 52% of employment and hours worked), and their labour productivity is lower (Palacios-Lopez et al., 2015). There are several reasons for this. First, the burden of household chores means females have fewer hours to spend on their plots of land. Second, their plots are 40% smaller on average in Tanzania (UN Women et al., 2015). Third, they are not able to hire labour at the same rate as men. Fourth, they are less likely invest in higher-value crops such as tree crops, fruits and vegetables.

Thus, women have not been able to reap the earnings men have from the gains in agricultural productivity over the past 10 years. Female farmers in Tanzania also have lower yields per hectare than men. Analysis has shown the largest contributor to this gender gap in Tanzania is the lack of available labour in the household – often owing to female headship – and inability to address this problem through hired labour (UN Women et al., 2015).

In sum, the past decade has brought welcome changes in the structure of the economy, in output per capita, in economic opportunities, in access to services and in welfare (e.g. life expectancy). Females have benefited from these changes. In some areas, such as primary education completion and some employment segments, women have made faster gains than men, reaching parity or surpassing them. In other areas of the economic and social spheres, such as access to post-primary education, wage employment and opportunities in agriculture, women lag. There may be more gains and more lags as well; when the most recent data from the 2014 LFS are released, it will be possible to carry out a more detailed analysis on topics such as earnings gaps and occupational segregation within sectors.

Starting at a very young age, females undertake many household chores. In addition, too many marry and start families too early, reducing their education and employment options for the future and contributing to the demographic pressure on the labour market and social service system.³ All these disadvantages will limit the opportunities females have to benefit from further transformation.

³ See Fox and Thomas (2016) for a discussion of the linkages between early marriage and pregnancy, demographic pressures and employment transformation.

4. THE FUTURE – ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION AND WOMEN’S ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT

Achieving the twin goals of Tanzania’s FYDP – economic transformation and inclusive growth – requires a focus on women’s economic empowerment as part of the plan. This is now widely recognised: the newly adopted Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) include SDG5 on gender equity and female empowerment, and a UN High Level Commission has recently been formed on Women’s Economic Empowerment.

Although often considered separately, the twin goals of FYDP II are linked through policy choices. In particular, two policy and programme channels can be considered:

1. *The employment channel* – transformation raises labour productivity and earnings in all sectors and increases labour demand and employment in higher-productivity sectors; both trends lead to lower income poverty.
2. *The public services channel* – sustained higher economic growth permits improvements in access to and quality of public services for households, especially the poorest.

Through the first channel, policies can increase economic opportunities and help reduce income poverty; this channel affects women primarily in terms of their labour market role. Through the second channel, policies can directly raise household welfare, reduce the burden of household chores, improve productivity of household farms and firms and build human capital for the future. Thus this channel can affect women’s productivity in both household and market work, reduce the trade-offs between these two activities and improve the human capital and opportunities of children (both male and female) under women’s care.

The gender question is thus *whether progress through these two channels will increase opportunities and welfare for females*. The answer to this depends on decisions made by all economic actors as well as those made within the household – the intra-household allocation of resources. We saw above that, in Tanzania, choices at the household level do not always benefit females. For example, as educational opportunities have expanded, Tanzanian parents have not discriminated between male and female children in terms of access to primary education and have supported their female children to reach a higher completion rate. But they have not yet supported eligible female children as much as male children in accessing secondary school.

In the productive activity sphere, research on the land and labour productivity gaps between males and females has not yet revealed why women’s plots are smaller in Tanzania and why female plot managers do not hire labour (is it lack of funds or cultural norms reducing the supply of labour to female plot managers?) Yet the fact remains that opportunities in agriculture are not the same for females as they are for males. The analysis above also shows that, even in urban areas, where access to safe water is supposed to be better, the burden of household chores is high; females start to carry the high time burden of household chores at a very young age. Is this because family size is still large, or because improvements recorded in access to services such as safe water have not really taken place? Public action under FYDP II can (1) sponsor further investigations into why these discrepancies in opportunity remain and (2) identify what actions could be taken in the public sphere to address them.

In the meantime, drawing on knowledge of what females have (or have not) achieved in other countries through the type of economic transformation Tanzania is looking for, some

insights can be drawn. This is done by working through how FYDP II can improve women's economic empowerment through both the employment and the service delivery channels, using the framework of roles and opportunities presented in Section 2.

4.1 THE EMPLOYMENT CHANNEL

Economic transformation by design both creates new productive jobs and destroys old, less productive, ones. For example, analysis of the LFS shows that, over the past seven years, a significant number of jobs have been destroyed in agriculture, whereas new jobs have been created in the non-agriculture sectors. This process is expected to continue. Even within the agriculture sector, the nature of opportunities may change with the promotion of large-scale commercial agriculture and better integration into international agricultural commodity value chains (e.g. export of fruits and vegetables). Will women be able to access these opportunities?

FYDP II properly focuses on the public role in *enabling* transformation. One of the most important areas for action – a continuation from FYDP I – is infrastructure to encourage private investment in new industries, including both transportation infrastructure and specific infrastructure for the mining sector and the emerging manufacturing sector (such as special economic zones (SEZs)). Infrastructure construction should create new wage jobs, as would the new manufacturing industries created by the private sector (the mining industry is not expected to create many new jobs). Thus far, females have not found jobs in the construction industry and lag behind males in access to manufacturing jobs. Between 2006 and 2014, females gained only 42% of all new nonfarm wage jobs created (including those in the public sector, where females tend to have an edge). Traditional sectoral and occupational segregation often accounts for this result.

If the newly created manufacturing jobs are in manufacturing sectors where women usually dominate employment – for example textiles or electronics assembly – they might be expected to be able to compete for these jobs. But in areas such as building materials and agro processing, women may experience more difficulty; few women work in these sectors globally. FYDP II also suggests an emphasis on specialised skill training to ready the supply of labour to the new industries. Traditional vocational training tends to enforce occupational segregation.

FYDP II implementation can include measures to improve the current situation and prospects. For example, TradeMark East Africa reports that a quarter of the skilled labour and two thirds of the unskilled labour involved in the construction of the new Taveta-Holili Border Post were female. Government procurement for the new infrastructure called for in FYDP II could require contractors to have affirmative action programmes to help women enter the construction sector and gain skills. Vocational training programmes in other countries have widened opportunities for women when presented with financial incentives to do so, such as through performance-based contracts. Projects have found performance-based contracts easier to use with private training contractors rather than public training institutions, however (World Bank, 2015).

FYDP II also targets improvements in agricultural productivity through making land available for commercial farming and irrigation installations for family farmers. New large commercial farms will create more wage jobs in agriculture, and women may seek and gain these jobs. This was the experience of Senegal when a large, vertically integrated tomato farming and packaging industry was introduced in the Senegal River Delta area: women gained 60% of the jobs (wage jobs) and directly controlled the income they received (Maertens and Swinnen, 2008).

By contrast, in contract farming and milk production, women have been found to provide substantial on-farm labour but are rarely the contract holders or directly receive the income from the sale of production (Maertens and Swinnen, 2008). For example, in the French bean export sector in Senegal, only 1 out of 59 contracted bean farmers is a women. Women cannot compete for the contracts there because (1) they rarely control the land and (2) they lack access to irrigation infrastructure. In Tanzania, where the government is financing irrigation infrastructure, it will be necessary to address the issue of equal gender access in order to ensure inclusive growth. Likewise, if livestock holdings are increased using public or non-governmental organisation (NGO) funds, women need to have equal ownership rights and to be able to sell the milk to the producer directly.

Box 2: Engendering agricultural projects

A recent analysis of eight smallholder farmer agricultural development projects showed that efforts up front to understand the gendered ownership and control of farm assets and to use this knowledge in project design and implementation paid off in terms of better project performance. For example, a project in Uganda that encouraged the growth of vitamin A-rich orange sweet potatoes had seen success by targeting existing women's farmer groups with messages emphasising both the nutritional value of these potatoes for themselves and their families and the agronomical benefits of the crop.

But gender-blind approaches that ignored women's interests had to be modified in order to be successful. One example was a project to disseminate low-cost micro-irrigation treadle pumps in Kenya and Tanzania. At the beginning, the project did not make special efforts to reach women; as a result, initial data showed male farmers purchased 90% percent of the pumps. Project staff subsequently initiated new efforts to reach women, and this improved female participation.

Source: Johnson et al. (2015).

The outline for FYDP II focuses on the primary (agriculture and forestry) and industrial sectors, mostly ignoring the services sectors. Some upgrading of 'quality services' (e.g. logistics capacity) is envisaged. The informal manufacturing and services sector is virtually ignored – yet this sector currently accounts for 20% of all employment, a share likely to increase as labour shifts out of agriculture (Filmer and Fox, 2014). One reason for this is that the small wage sector cannot possibly absorb all new entrants; another is that, as the economy grows, as will demand for the goods and services this sector supplies. A third reason is that, owing to the burden of household chores, this sector offers women more flexibility than wage employment.

Inclusive growth requires development of the household enterprise (informal nonfarm enterprise) sector. The path from increased output, employment and earnings in the agriculture and industrial sectors to inclusive growth runs directly through this sector because of the employment multiplier effect. Increased household incomes in other sectors stimulate demand for the products of this sector, creating more employment opportunities.

Policy and programmes can increase the power of this multiplier effect. Kweka and Fox (2011) provide a list of policy measures and programmes that would help ramp up opportunities and earnings in this sector, including access to workspace and infrastructure and protection from sometimes predatory local police. Experience from Ghana shows that planning workspace for vendors and small operators at the same time an SEZ is planned can benefit both large firms and the household enterprise sector. Improving household access to finance has also been shown to facilitate earnings growth in this sector (Banerjee et al., 2015).

4.2 THE SERVICE DELIVERY CHANNEL

While public service delivery in Tanzania is generally seen as important for poverty reduction through human capital development and a strengthened safety net, it is also relevant for economic transformation and gender empowerment. Several linkages can be identified:

1. When females have equal access to education and training, *they can compete for higher-productivity jobs and enhance the pool of skilled labour available*. This includes making sure, through appropriate programmes, they do not marry before the age of 18 or have children before the age of 20.
2. Services such as electricity, water supply, sanitation, transport and health can *reduce the time women spend on household chores* (including taking dependent members to get health treatments), freeing up more time for productive activities (or school for children and adolescents). In Ahmedabad, a slum upgrading project that provided a package of seven services to slum households decreased the time needed for household chores and increased the amount of time women spent on productive activities by between *one and two hours per day*, and increased school attendance as well (Fox, 2015).
3. Reducing the time *women have to wait at public service points* such as health centres by providing better service and flexible hours not only lessens women's time poverty when they seek the service for themselves but also increases the probability they will help others in the household use the services when needed (e.g. get their children vaccinated).
4. *Reducing commuting costs* (in time as well as money) is critical to reducing time poverty, helping women access wage jobs in urban areas and earn more income from self-employment.
5. *Better public safety* also increases women's mobility and access to economic opportunities.
6. Overall, *the quality of urban services* affects wage rates (by lowering the cost of living), the ability of job seekers to find new jobs and the 'thickness' of the labour market, as measured by better matching of the skills pool in the area to employers' needs.

This means FYDP II should focus not only on ensuring additional public resources that become available are spent on consolidating gains in access to services to date and expanding access where it is lacking, but also on the quality of services, including those listed above. Failure to address these issues could lead to slower growth and transformation.

Service quality is more difficult to improve. For example, deficiencies in learning outcomes in Tanzania's public education have been known about for some time. In other areas, it is more difficult to assess quality. Data on, for example, wait times at public facilities or to get a water service point fixed are not widely available. While the majority of Tanzania's serious service access problems remain in rural and isolated areas (where poverty is high and service delivery is by definition more difficult and expensive), the quality of urban services cannot be ignored in fostering economic transformation and inclusion.

5. MONITORING FYDP II

The FYDP II outline places high importance on improving the implementation of Tanzania's plans through 'the entrenchment of an implementation culture'. This involves an appropriate accountability framework: the setting off appropriate targets, monitoring results and holding the government accountable for what is and is not achieved. As far as possible, these targets need to be gender-disaggregated.

Tanzania has made a great deal of progress in collecting and disseminating the data needed to assess the inputs, processes and outcomes of government policy and the progress of the economy and society. The data produced and released by the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) are of better quality and released more promptly than ever before, thanks to major improvements in the main economic data segments (such as national accounts, consumer and wholesale prices, household surveys, etc.). Gender disaggregation in reporting household survey data is now common. Data on budgets and expenditures have also improved in the past decade, as have administrative data produced by ministries. However, some important gaps remain, and these are important for monitoring progress on female economic empowerment during the FYDP period.

5.1 EMPLOYMENT DATA

Given the importance of the employment channel, these data will be important for the FYDP II monitoring system. Today, Tanzania has a number of different household surveys serving different purposes. All these collect data on employment, including the Demographic and Health Survey (DHS), the Household Budget Survey (HBS, used to measure, among other things, consumption and poverty), the National Panel Survey (NPS) and the Agricultural Census, as well as the LFS. Each one uses a different set of questions to measure the same variables (participation, employment status and characteristics, earnings, etc.). The means the data are not comparable across surveys; in order to construct a time trend, it is necessary to wait until the next round of that particular survey. Not only is this wasteful, but also it prevents timely monitoring of employment outcomes.

1. Section 3 above used the data from the LFS, as this source is the most complete (and also has the most recent data). By doing an extensive screening for economic activity at the start, this high-quality survey provides the most accurate measure of labour market and employment variables.⁴ It also uses standard international classifications for variable responses. It is the only survey that includes time-use data, which are useful for studying female time poverty (as well as the time poverty of the poor – another common problem not discussed here). However, this survey does a poor job of measuring activity in the agriculture sector, and it does not measure monetary poverty.
2. The NPS also does an excellent job of measuring labour market and employment variables. In addition, it measures monetary poverty and specialises in techniques to measure incomes from agriculture (the data on men's versus women's productivity quoted above are from research performed using these data). This survey also employs screening questions for an accurate measurement of economic activity. But the screening questions are different than those used in the LFS. Other sub-modules are different as well, and there are some weakness (e.g. sector of activity is measured using the standard international classification but only at the 1 digit level). The sample is also quite small.

⁴ See Fox and Pimhidzai (2013) for a discussion of why screening questions are critical to proper measuring of economic activity, and why changes in questions can lead to very different results.

3. The DHS is weaker on screening for economic activity, and as a result it reports a lower degree of labour force participation.
4. The HBS does not screen for economic activity and therefore is unreliable on this variable. It uses both different questions from the others and different response codes.
5. Other surveys, such as population and agricultural censuses, use still different questions and response codes.

The FYDP II outline envisages annual targets and monitoring. Current practices in employment data collection do not permit this, even though some type of employment data are collected annually. *If the NBS made an effort to develop a harmonised set of questions* (a short version for surveys such as the DHS and a longer version for the LFS, for example), at almost no extra recurrent cost Tanzania could have annual labour market and employment data. The change would have to be carefully planned and phased in so the surveys were internally consistent, but this is a task that would be achievable during the FYDP II period. The analysis in Section 3 presents the types of variables that should be monitored. Obviously, the targets would need to be gendered-disaggregated.

5.2 QUALITY OF SERVICES

FYDP II may wish to pursue improvements in data on the quality of public services. These data are necessary for monitoring quality of and access to the services instrumental to FYDP objectives. While ministries do publish some data from administrative sources, independent survey data are a much better source for quality measures. For example, the net enrolment rate or the vaccination rate as generated using administrative data is always higher than the rate calculated using sample survey data. Some NGOs have begun to collect and disseminate data on service quality; public projects such as the Service Delivery Indicators Project also collect and disseminate data on issues such as whether teachers show up for work. If data were regularly collected on items such as commute time, experience with police or tax collectors and wait time at health centres, this could be monitored at midpoint and endpoint. These data should be gender-disaggregated in order to make it possible to pick up the effects on women's time poverty.

5.3 PROJECT OUTCOME DATA

Most investment projects funded by large international donors collect gender-disaggregated data at baseline and project completion. Sometimes, these data are not made publicly available. For large investments where outcomes can be expected to differ by gender, it will be important to ensure baseline data are carefully collected and analysed during the design phase, to make sure the project addresses inclusiveness issues that may arise, including such issues as whether female farmers will be able to access new irrigation infrastructure. These data should be publically disseminated.

5.4 DIAGNOSTIC DATA AND ANALYSIS

In a number of areas, more detailed diagnostic work is needed to understand the constraints women face in realising economic opportunities. In some cases, impact evaluation research may be needed. FYDP II can include these outstanding questions, signalling the importance of policy-focused empirical research on gender to the development process in Tanzania.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Tanzania's economic transformation has only just really started; policies and programmes implemented in the past are only now beginning to bear fruit. A transformation in employment is slowly taking place as well. Women have benefited, as they have seen an increase in demand for their labour in the wage economy sector, as well as more opportunities in the household enterprise sector (informal enterprises). Not all sectors have been opened up to women, however. A particular example is the construction sector.

The proposed focus in FYDP II on industrialisation could benefit females by increasing opportunities in the wage employment sector. In some cases, this could happen easily; an example is the textile sector, which has usually favoured female employees, especially in relation to sewing jobs. Other sectors have traditionally excluded women. Women will need to have access to entry-level positions at all skill levels to be included in the transformation. Whether the most effective way to achieve this is through helping women obtain an education and training or through female-targeted job matching and job search support-type programmes is a matter of experimentation and monitoring. Training programmes run by private providers, and the use of performance-based contracts for training and job placement of females, have proved effective in other countries when the job market is expanding.

Although the focus of the proposed FYDP II is on industrialisation, the agriculture sector will remain key. Tanzania is still a net food importer, and if an agribusiness sector is to be developed the raw material must be cultivated, under increasingly global quality standards. Women can be a part of this. Existing programmes and new investments need to analyse why and how women have been left out. Some research programmes are in place already; the FYDP II process could take stock and identify additional priority areas. This would include (1) preparing a gendered mapping of key value chains, including household assets involved and their ownership, and identifying strategies to promote equitable benefits from improving the quality of the production process; (2) ensuring projects offer extension services and new technology to both men and women in appropriate fora, and the technologies meet women's needs; and (3) supporting female farmers' organisations and ensuring appropriate representation of both women and men in formal and informal institutions of rural development. Plans for new investment and project designs need to diagnose the constraints to women's participation at the start, with results monitored as projects proceed. Policies such as joint land titling may need to be strengthened.

FYDP II's focus on improved service delivery could be a key enabling factor to support women in accessing the new opportunities created. In addition to strengthening policies and programmes to improve quality and efficiency in the face of growing demand, two additional areas warrant attention:

1. *Access*. As women increasingly undertake market work outside the home, they need public services to respect their 'time poverty'. Service points should try to reduce waiting times and offer flexible hours. *Client survey data* need to be collected regularly and published in gender-disaggregated formats to ensure women have the access they need. These data need to be collected by independent groups, not the providing ministries themselves. These need to cover both traditional human development services and other services used by households in the production of goods and services for sale and for household consumption.

2. Analysis could be undertaken on *how improved service delivery could shrink the time needed to undertake care economy tasks*. Tanzania's weak record on water supply stands out, but there may be other areas where investment should be prioritised.

In developing the FYDP II monitoring plan, efforts should be made to target data collection employment and earnings by gender. This will require a review of how employment data are collected. Additional surveys should not be needed; instead, the current programme should be strengthened and streamlined to yield the necessary data.

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