

2015 HUNGER REPORT

When Women Flourish... We Can End Hunger



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Joseph Molieri/Bread for the World

2015 HUNGER REPORT

When Women Flourish... We Can End Hunger

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State of World Hunger

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425 3rd St. SW, Suite 1200

Washington, DC 20024

Telephone: 202.639.9400

Fax: 202.639.9401

Email: institute@bread.org

www.bread.org/institute

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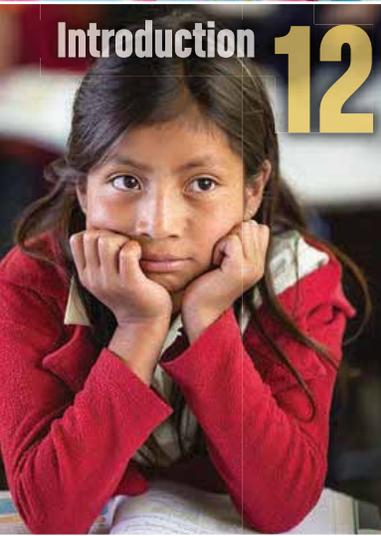
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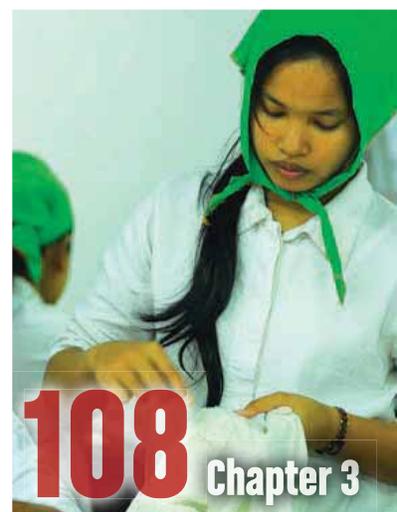


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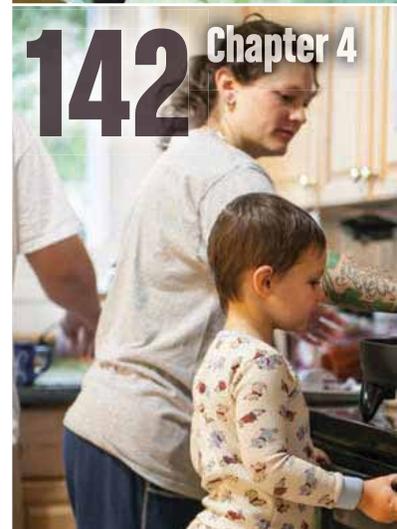
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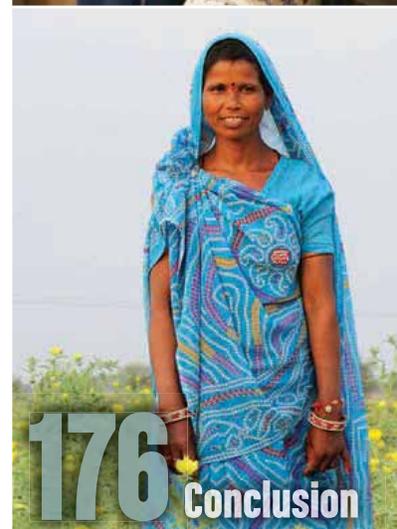
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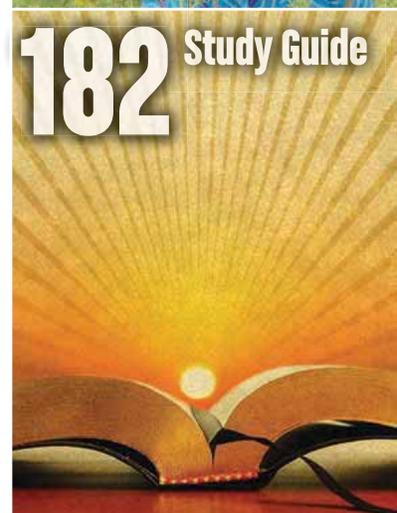
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EMPOWERMENT TIMELINES

Milestones in Women's Rights and Empowerment

starting on page 14



MILESTONES IN WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND EMPOWERMENT

1920 U.S. women are finally able to exercise the right to vote for the first time after Congress ratifies the 19th amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

While India is under British rule, women in the country gain the right to vote under the same terms as men. **1935**

Milestones of Women's Empowerment in the Church

starting on page 182



MILESTONES OF WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT IN THE CHURCH

1853 Antoinette Louisa Brown is ordained as a minister in the Congregational church, which is a predecessor of the United Church of Christ.

The Salvation Army is founded. From the beginning, it ordains both men and women. **1865**



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www.hungerreport.org

Religious Leaders' Statement

As leaders of churches and Christian organizations, we are called to labor in God's work of ending hunger in the world. To achieve the goal of ending hunger by 2030, we know it will require the full participation and leadership of women. It is clear that our churches and organizations—as well as our government—have a role to play. We urge the U.S. government to take an active role in ending hunger and to make the full inclusion of women a guiding principle in its efforts.

Women suffer disproportionately from hunger and poverty—yet research shows that much of the reduction

in child malnutrition can be attributed to improvements in women's status. Given the special mission and vocation that women have in society—often children's first teachers, nurturers, and witnesses to God's love—women's empowerment, that is, their flourishing, is integral to our mission as Christians. We affirm that women are:

- Created in the image and likeness of God (Genesis 1: 26-27).
- Play a critical role in the proclamation of the reign of God (Judges 4: 4-9).

SIGNATORIES

Mr. Marv Baldwin
President and CEO
Foods Resource Bank

Rev. Dr. Carroll Baltimore
CEO
Global Alliance Interfaith Networks

Mr. Stephan Bauman
President and CEO
World Relief

David Beckmann
President
Bread for the World

Rev. Geoffrey A. Black
General Minister and President
United Church of Christ

Rev. Debbie Blue
Executive Minister
Compassion, Mercy and Justice
Evangelical Covenant Church

Sister Simone Campbell SSS
Executive Director
NETWORK, A National Catholic Social
Justice Lobby

Mr. Patrick Carolan
Executive Director
Franciscan Action Network

Dr. Iva E. Carruthers
General Secretary
The Samuel DeWitt Proctor Conference

Rev. Jose Luis Casal
General Missioner
Tres Rios Presbytery PCUSA.

Reverend Luis Cortés Jr.
President and CEO
Esperanza

Ms. Inez Torres Davis
Director for Justice
Women of the Evangelical Lutheran Church
in America

Bishop Elizabeth A. Eaton
Presiding Bishop
Evangelical Lutheran Church in America

Mrs. Ruth Farrell
Coordinator
Presbyterian Hunger Program
Presbyterian Church USA

Dr. Sandra Gadson
President
Women's Home and Overseas Missionary
Society of the African Methodist Episcopal
Zion Church

Ms. Lisa Sharon Harper
Senior Director of Mobilizing
Sojourners

Ms. Virginia R. Holmstrom
Executive Director
American Baptist Women's Ministries

Rev. Dr. J. Denise Honeycutt
Deputy General Secretary
United Methodist Committee on Relief
General Board of Global Ministries of the
United Methodist Church

Bishop Reginald T. Jackson
Ecumenical Bishop and Endorsing Agent
African Methodist Episcopal Church

Rev. Dr. Bernice Powell Jackson
Former President
World Council Church from North America

Rev. Linda Jaramillo
Executive Minister, Justice & Witness
Ministries
United Church of Christ

Ms. Susie Johnson
Executive for Public Policy
*Washington Office of United Methodist
Women*

Ms. Mary Jorgenson
Moderator
Presbyterian Women, Inc.

Ms. Marilyn Lariviere
President
Church Women United

Mrs. Heather Larson
Executive Pastor
Willow Creek Community Church

- Active participants in the reconciliation of humanity to God (Luke 1: 26-38).
- Powerful agents of God’s purposes in the world (Acts 16: 11-13, 18: 26).

These scriptural truths and a holistic understanding of the critical role that women played in Scripture and continue to play in families, communities, and societies guide our efforts to invest in women’s empowerment. We recognize that women and men must work together to achieve mutual empowerment that leads to an authentic restoration of right and loving relationships.

We also acknowledge that the Church has, at times,

encouraged social and cultural norms that prevent women from flourishing. We lament our failure to challenge the social systems and sinful actions that have dehumanized and disempowered women.

Following in the example of Jesus, who treated women with dignity and love, we commit to removing barriers that prevent women from participating fully in society, especially barriers that perpetuate hunger and poverty.

Finally, we call on world leaders to ensure that the post-2015 sustainable development goals include universally applicable goals that focus on women’s empowerment and food and nutrition security.

Rev. Tracey Lind
Dean
Trinity Episcopal Cathedral

Dr. Jo Anne Lyon
General Superintendent
The Wesleyan Church

Mr. John Lyon
President and CEO
World Hope International

Rev. Carlos L. Malavé
Executive Director
Christian Churches Together

Rev. John L. McCullough
President and CEO
Church World Service Global

Rev. A. Roy Medley
General Secretary
American Baptist Churches

Rev. Dr. Jesse Miranda
Chairman Emeritus
National Hispanic Christian Leadership Conference

Bishop W. Darin Moore
Western Episcopal District and North Carolina Conference
The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church

Dr. Shirley Mullen
President
Houghton College

Rev. Dr. Sergio Navarrete
Superintendent
Southern Pacific District Assemblies of God

Dr. Susan (Suzii) Paynter
Executive Coordinator
Cooperative Baptist Fellowship

Ms. Princess Pegues
President
Women’s Missionary Council of the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church

Bishop Lawrence Reddick III
Senior Bishop
Christian Methodist Episcopal Church

Dr. Shirley Cason Reed
President
Women’s Missionary Society of the African Methodist Episcopal Church

Rev. Daniel Rift
Director
World Hunger and Disaster Appeal
Evangelical Lutheran Church in America

Mr. Andrew Ryskamp
Director
World Renew

Rev. Dr. Gabriel and Jeanette Salguero
Presidents
National Latino Evangelical Coalition

Rev. Dr. William Shaw
Pastor
White Rock Baptist Church

Dr. Steven R. Timmermans
Executive Director
Christian Reformed Church in North America

Mr. Peter Vander Meulen
Coordinator of the Office of Social Justice
Christian Reformed Church

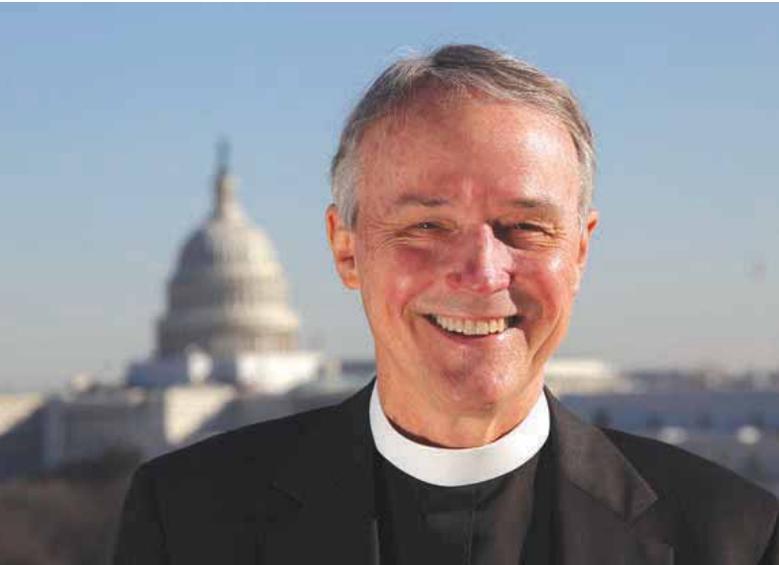
Rev. Stephen M. Veazey
President
Community of Christ

Rev. Dr. Sharon E. Watkins
General Minister and President
Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)

Rev. Jim Winkler
President and General Secretary
National Council of Churches

Rev. Dr. Jerry Young
President
National Baptist Convention USA, Inc.

Foreword: David Beckmann



Ending discrimination against women and girls is crucial to ending hunger.

I am especially struck by the findings of two studies cited in this report. First, the International Food Policy Research Institute found that improvements in the status of women account for about half of the dramatic reduction in child malnutrition that the developing world has achieved in recent decades.

We can be proud that the U.S. government has become more active in promoting the empowerment of women and girls around the world. Feed the Future, the U.S. global hunger and food security initiative, provides development assistance to women farmers. In developing countries, most women work as subsistence farmers, meaning their contribution as food producers is crucial to protecting local communities from hunger. Women and girls are also largely responsible for preparing the family meals—no small task when it requires walking for hours each day, sometimes in dangerous conditions, to retrieve firewood and water for cooking.

The McGovern-Dole International Food for Education and Child Nutrition Program has increased the attendance rate of girls in primary schools in the countries where this U.S. government program operates. McGovern-Dole was established in 2002, not long after the launch of the Millennium Development Goals,

as research showed that parents were more inclined to allow daughters to attend school when a meal was served. The McGovern-Dole program is named for two former members of Congress, Senators Robert Dole (Republican) and George McGovern (Democrat), who were both steadfast supporters of U.S. government programs to end global hunger.

The other study that I want to mention comes from the Institute for Women's Policy Research, which shows that closing the wage gap between men and women in the United States would cut the poverty rate among working women and their families by half. Women are still mostly earning less than men for the same jobs. It is true up and down the income ladder, but when it occurs at rungs lower down the ladder it means families that depend on a female wage earner's income are at greater risk of hunger. Decades of research done right here in the United States shows that when cupboards and refrigerators are empty by the end of the month, usually as food stamp benefits expire, the women in a household are typically the ones that sacrifice their own meals so that others won't have to go hungry. Even though many women in our society have to work outside the home to provide for their families, we haven't yet set up systems—for example, high-quality child care or family leave for all workers—to help low-income parents juggle job and family responsibilities.

Bread for the World is grounded in Christian faith that God loves everybody. As St. Paul wrote, "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus" (Galatians 3:28).

Opening the doors of opportunity to women and other groups held back by discrimination is a moral imperative—and also essential to the progress against hunger and poverty that is so clearly possible in our time.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "David Beckmann". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long, sweeping underline.

Rev. David Beckmann
President,
Bread for the World and Bread for the World Institute

Acronyms

ACF	Action Contre la Faim/Action Against Hunger	LGBT	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender
AFJ	Africa Felix Juice	MCC	Millennium Challenge Corporation
ARV	Antiretroviral	MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
BCC	Behavior change communication	MGNREGA	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
BFC	Better Factories Cambodia	MP	Member of Parliament
CACFP	Child and Adult Care Feeding Program	NASFAM	National Smallholder Farmers' Association of Malawi
CCDA	Comprehensive Child Development Act	NDI	National Democratic Institute
CCDBG	Child Care and Development Block Grant	NGO	Nongovernmental organization
CCT	Conditional cash transfer	NIFTUC	National Independent Federation Textile Union of Cambodia
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women	OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
CSONA	Civil Society Organization Nutrition Alliance	OWG	Open Working Group
EU	European Union	PEPFAR	President's Emergency Program for AIDS Relief
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations	PROGRESA	Programa de Education, Salud, y Alimentation
FCHV	Female community health volunteer	RWAMREC	Rwanda Men's Resource Center
FGM	Female genital mutilation	SDGs	Sustainable development goals
FJAH	Families for Justice As Healing	SEWA	Self-Employed Women's Association
FMLA	Family and Medical Leave Act	SNAP	Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program
FNS	Farmer nutrition schools	SPRING	Strengthening Partnerships, Results, and Innovations in Nutrition Globally
G-8	Group of 8	SUN	Scaling Up Nutrition
GAAC	Grupos de Apoio a Adesão Comunitária	TANF	Temporary Assistance for Needy Families
GAAP	Gender, Agriculture & Assets Project	UAC	Unaccompanied child
GALS	Gender Action Learning Systems	UCT	Unconditional cash transfer
GDP	Gross domestic product	UK	United Kingdom
GEMS	Gender Equity Movement in Schools	UN	United Nations
GSP	Generalized Systems of Preferences	USAID	United States Agency for International Development
HANCI	Hunger and Nutrition Commitment Index	VOICES	Voice of Organized Independent Childcare Educators
HKI	Helen Keller International	WEAI	Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index
HLP	High Level Panel of Eminent Persons on the Post-2015 Development Agenda	WHI	World Hope International
ICRW	International Center for Research on Women	WIC	Workers Information Center
IDS	Institute for Development Studies	WIEGO	Women in Informal Employment, Globalizing and Organizing
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute	YALI	Young Africa Leaders Initiative
IHN	Indy Hunger Network		
ILO	International Labor Organization		
IMAGES	International Men and Gender Equality Survey		
JMC	Justice Mapping Center		
KAS	Konrad Adenauer Stiftung		



Women's Empowerment: A Moral Imperative

Chapter Summary

Discrimination against women is a major cause of persistent hunger. Discrimination is reprehensible and makes the effort to end global hunger so much more difficult. In developing countries, most women work in subsistence farming, the backbone of local food security. Discrimination is why women farmers labor with fewer productive resources than their male counterparts, why women in all sectors of the economy earn less than men, and why girls are pulled out of school to work or to marry.

Women are the primary agents the world relies on to fight hunger. Women feed and nourish their children, yet receive little support in caring for children and households, making it more difficult for them to earn income to improve household food security, or produce enough food to end hunger in their communities. Policies and programs that empower women increase their earning potential and contribute directly to ending hunger.

Women's rights are simply human rights. Two generations have passed since 1948, when the international community adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Declaration states clearly that all people are equal and should be treated equally. Today, most national constitutions prohibit discrimination—yet a chasm exists between what nations say in documents and what they do to eliminate the factors that allow gender inequities to continue.

Powerful forces perpetuate these inequities—including norms, values, religious beliefs, and laws. It is past time to take a more comprehensive, holistic approach to women's empowerment. Change requires each person, each community and all levels of government to recognize their roles in ending discrimination. It will take policy changes but also changes in social and cultural norms. Because of their reach deep into communities, faith institutions and development organizations can be an urgent voice for change.

MAIN RECOMMENDATIONS IN THIS CHAPTER

- Ending hunger in the United States and around the world depends on women's empowerment.
- Women and girls are disproportionately affected by hunger and poverty because of discrimination.
- The public at large and the faith community in particular can play an important role in changing policies, norms, and behaviors that are harmful to women and girls.

A Question of Agency

Women's empowerment is about overcoming inequalities in the way men and women are treated. Poverty exacerbates these inequalities. Both women and men who live in poverty lack "agency"—the ability to make one's own choices and act on them. But poverty is crueler to women, and women are more likely to be poor. The women and girls we are concerned with in this report are those who are hungry and living in poverty.

Girls are taught at a young age what is expected of them at family mealtimes. They eat last, they eat less, and in times of scarcity they may not eat at all. That is what happened to a Guatemalan girl named Gilma. Bread for the World Institute staff met Gilma in the Dry Corridor region of Guatemala, an area suffering ever more frequent droughts because of climate change. During a severe drought in 2012, U.S. food aid provided a buffer between families and hunger, but the aid delivered to 5-year-old Gilma's family was not enough for everyone. She is one of five children. Her siblings are all boys, so, to put it bluntly, they got to eat while she starved. Gilma had



Todd Post/Bread for the World

The aid worker monitors the girl's nutritional status by measuring the size of her upper arm.

already reached a deadly stage of hunger—severe acute malnutrition—when she was rescued thanks to a U.S. food aid implementing organization, Save the Children. What happened to her illustrates one of this report's main points: gender inequalities and poverty are a deadly combination.

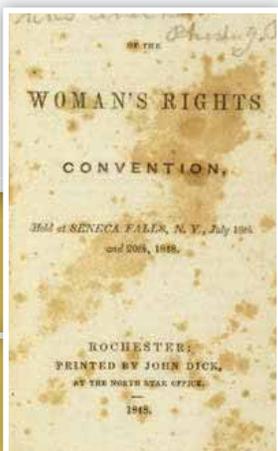
Gilma's story appeared in our 2013 Hunger Report, *Within Reach* Global Development Goals, as an illustration of the discrimination girls experience in families. Gilma almost died, not because she is a poor child in a region where food is often scarce, but because she is a poor girl child. *Within Reach* introduced Bread for the World Institute's priorities for the global development agenda after 2015, when the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) expire.

MILESTONES IN WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND EMPOWERMENT

1848 The Seneca Falls Convention, held in Seneca Falls, New York, is the first women's rights convention organized by women for the express purpose of discussing women's rights.

New Zealand becomes first country to grant women the right to vote.

1893



In that report, we called for a bull's-eye goal to end hunger within a generation. Now, in the 2015 report, we show why a goal to end hunger cannot be achieved unless the international development community focuses more attention on ending gender inequalities and empowering women and girls. Put another way, the ability of women and girls to make choices for themselves, to set and pursue goals—their agency—is essential to making the world hunger-free and keeping it that way.

Discrimination Starts Early

In the year 2000, the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) estimated that improvements in women's status explained as much as 55 percent of the reduction in child malnutrition between 1970 and 1995. Progress on women's education alone explained 43 percent of the gains.¹ During this time frame, one motivation for families to educate their daughters had to do with the increasing demand for “brain” rather than “brawn” workers—especially in Latin America and parts of Asia. Parents saw that sending girls to school could make the family better off in the long run. In Bangladesh, for example, the expansion of employment opportunities for young women—linked to the growth of the garment industry—increased girls' school enrollment. It

also helped change social norms that had restricted female mobility,² because in order to take jobs in garment factories, young women had to be able to travel back and forth to their villages. The story of the empowerment of female garment workers in South Asia is part of Chapter 3, starting on page 125.

Globalization has changed social norms and created new economic opportunities for women around the world. But globalization



1916

Jeannette Rankin of Montana is the first woman elected to the U.S. Congress. Men cast 100 percent of the votes for her—U.S. women still lack the right to vote.

The International Labor Office, created by the Treaty of Versailles, adopts the Maternity Protection Convention, the first global workplace standard for pregnant and parenting women. It calls for women to receive 12 weeks of paid leave, as well as two breaks a day to nurse after returning to work.

1919

BOX 1.1 VOICES OF WOMEN OF FAITH

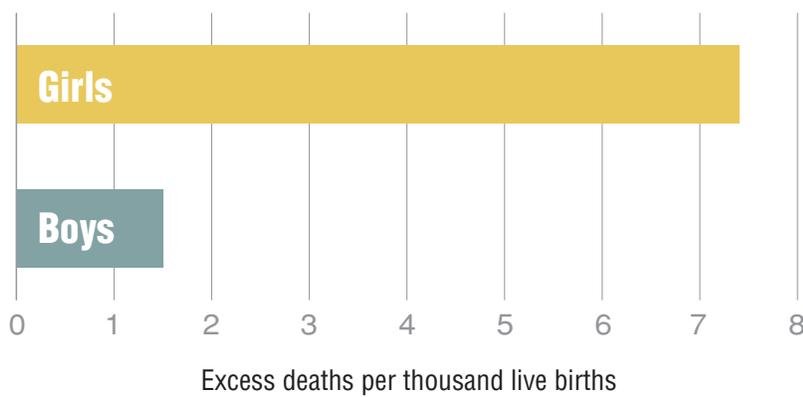
DELIA REALMO

National Association of Evangelicals

Clearly not all women and girls from impoverished homes are left to starve while their male relatives simply eat up what little food there is. Delia Realmo grew up in poverty in the United States. “My mother was loving and she was caring, sacrificing,” said Delia, an adult educator and spiritual director in Columbia, Maryland. “My father going out to work was a way of caring too,” she said emphatically. Delia's father was a migrant farm worker who later found work in a Chicago factory. Delia and her mother willingly sacrificed at mealtimes so that he would have the strength to endure long days as the family's breadwinner. Her brothers sacrificed too, though perhaps not as much: the males in the family ate from plates, while Delia and her mother ate from smaller bowls. Poverty forces families into making very difficult choices; people do what they can to care for each other when there is not enough to go around.

can be a fickle friend and sometimes an outright enemy. In the last decade, external shocks, particularly the 2008 global financial crisis, led to a rapid drop in private investment in developing countries. Even before that, the food-price crisis of 2007-08 wreaked havoc in developing countries, particularly in food-importing ones since major grain-producing countries imposed bans on exports. In Bangladesh, many of the youngest, most vulnerable children literally embodied the effects of these crises—malnutrition rates climbed in a country where child malnutrition rates were already alarmingly high. And, as we see in

Figure i.1 Girls are More Affected by Economic Crises: Increase in Infant Mortality Above Non-Crisis Baseline



Note: Data are based on 122 cases of major declines in per capita GDP in developing countries.
 Source: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (2009), *The State of Food Insecurity in the World 2009: Economic crises—impacts and lessons learned*.

Figure i.1, economic crises are far more deadly for infant girls than boys: during these times, 1 to 2 baby boys per 1,000 births died who would have lived in a non-crisis economy, while the figure for baby girls was 7 to 8 extra deaths per 1,000 births.

The International Center for Research on Women describes adolescence as a critical stage of human development that sets the stage for a healthy, empowered adulthood and has repercussions for the broader social, economic, and political development of a society.³ Joyce Banda, former president of Malawi, often shares a story of her friend from primary

school, Chrissy, a very bright girl who was forced to drop out of school in the 5th grade. Her family couldn't afford the few dollars that she needed to continue. President Banda explained, "She got married at 15 and is still where I left her. She has seven children, locked up in poverty, and I'm where I am."

In 2012, at the age of 64, Joyce Banda became only the third female African head of state. The challenges President Banda faced as one of a small share of female heads of state worldwide are described in Chapter 3, starting on page 133. President Banda's own childhood circumstances were similar to her friend's, except for a critical difference: her parents insisted that a daughter should receive the same educational opportunities as a son.⁴ Even



MILESTONES IN WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND EMPOWERMENT

1920

U.S. women are finally able to exercise the right to vote for the first time after Congress ratifies the 19th amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

While India is under British rule, women in the country gain the right to vote under the same terms as men.

1935

beyond their influence on the decision as to who should continue in school, parental aspirations influence both the aspirations of their daughters and the attitudes of sons towards their sisters, their wives, and eventually their own daughters.

It's been more than half a century since President Banda was a child. Educational opportunities have greatly improved for girls in the developing world, but there are still far too many—tens of millions—who face the same stark situation that Chrissy did. In 2011, some 31 million primary-aged girls and 34 million lower secondary-aged girls were out of school.⁵ Lack of education makes it more difficult for women to earn a living and provide sufficient food for themselves and their children, in turn increasing the children's risk of hunger and poverty as adults and setting in motion an intergenerational cycle. Educated women marry later than girls who leave school early, are older at the birth of their first child, are more likely to be employed, and share decisions more equally with their male partners. They are setting in motion a far different cycle, one that benefits their children as much as themselves. Women's



education has been linked to a range of health benefits for children—from higher immunization rates to better nutrition to higher test scores. Research in Pakistan found that children whose mothers have just a single year of education scored higher on tests than children whose mothers never attended school.⁶

The MDGs, eight global goals that are non-binding but were adopted in 2000 by nearly every country, reflect a worldwide consensus and commitment to educational equality for girls. Since 2000, the global ratio of girls to boys in primary school has increased from 92 percent in 1999 to 97 percent in 2011.⁷ More than two-thirds of all countries will have reached gender parity in primary education enrollments by 2015, and even in regions with the largest remaining gender gaps—South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa—considerable gains have occurred.⁸

A Vietnamese girl of Khmer descent learning the official Vietnamese language. Learning gaps in the country exist between groups of different income levels and ethnic minorities.

1948

The United Nations General Assembly adopts the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights” and that “everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, ... birth or other status.”



Sirimavo Bandaranaike of Ceylon (Sri Lanka after 1972) becomes the first female head of state in the twentieth century, succeeding her husband who was assassinated while prime minister.

1959

BOX 1.2 VOICES OF WOMEN OF FAITH

REV. JENNIFER BUTLER

CEO, Faith in Public Life

When I was the Presbyterian Church USA's representative at the United Nations in the late 1990s, we convened a meeting with Presbyterian leaders from all over the world to discuss our work in response to the global HIV/AIDS pandemic. A U.N. official who spoke to the participants raised the issue of female genital mutilation (FGM) and how, in Africa, it was a reason the disease had spread so quickly. A male pastor from South Africa took offense and stood up to challenge the U.N. official, saying he had not come halfway around the world to participate in an attack on African traditions. Nontando Hadebe, a female church leader from South Africa who was also a nurse, then stood up and walked her South African colleague through the medical reasons that FGM increases the risk of HIV transmission. She did it calmly, and she did it commandingly. Afterwards her colleague took his seat and did not utter a word. It was a breathtaking display of one woman's empowerment.

The credit for these gains doesn't belong solely to a group of leaders who gathered at the United Nations and agreed that educating girls is the right thing to do. One major factor is rapid progress against poverty: the global poverty rate has been cut by more than half since 1990. In most of the world, being in poverty is now more significant than gender in explaining educational inequalities, according to Gender Equality and Development,⁹ the World Bank's 2012 World Development Report. Poverty, as noted earlier, puts people between a rock and a hard place. Not being in desperate need makes it easier for parents to decide to keep girls in school rather than sending them into early marriages or pulling them out of school to help support the family (either by earning income themselves or by

doing unpaid work such as caring for younger siblings so that their mother can work).

Poverty is the reason that in Vietnam ethnic minority women are three times as likely as ethnic majority women to have never gone to school.¹⁰ In nearly every country, households in the top income quintile have reached gender equality in education. Research in India has found that boys and girls ages 15–19 in the wealthiest fifth of the population

MILESTONES IN WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND EMPOWERMENT



1963

President Kennedy signs the Equal Pay Act into law in the United States. At the time, U.S. women are paid 59 percent of what men are.

Norway becomes the first country to adopt gender quotas to increase the share of women elected to public office.

1975

reach grade 10 on average, but the median boy in the bottom fifth reaches only grade 6 and the median girl only grade 1.¹¹ In rural India, parents express a desire to educate their sons and daughters equally, but when resource constraints require them to make choices about who can continue in school, they choose their sons.¹² Again, we see that poverty and gender discrimination are closely intertwined. Social norms generally prioritize educating boys, but the norms translate into outcomes if and when the family's economic situation forces parents to choose some children over others.

Violence: The Ultimate Disempowerment

Gender-based violence is one of the clearest manifestations of women's disempowerment. It is directly associated with hunger. When a farmer is beaten so badly that she ends up physically disabled or with a severe mental illness, the household has lost farming skills that are crucial to ensuring its food security. The World Health Organization estimates that one in three women has experienced violence at the hands of an intimate partner.¹³

Gender-based violence occurs throughout a woman's lifetime, though it's more likely to take certain forms at certain ages. Women aged 15-44 are more at risk from rape and domestic violence than from cancer, motor accidents, war, or malaria.¹⁴ Armed conflict, as we would expect, puts women at greater risk of gender-based violence. In the war-torn Democratic Republic of Congo, 29 of every 1,000 women were raped in 2006 and 2007 alone.¹⁵ During the three-month genocide in Rwanda in 1994, between 250,000 and 500,000 women were raped.¹⁶ Rwanda's transformation from the ashes of genocide, and what women's empowerment in government had to do with this, is discussed starting on page 110 in Chapter 3.

Social norms that treat gender-based violence as normal may well be the greatest barrier to progress toward ending it. The fact that violence against women is socially acceptable is



USAID

USAID staff in Thailand join in marking campaign denouncing gender-based violence.

— 1975



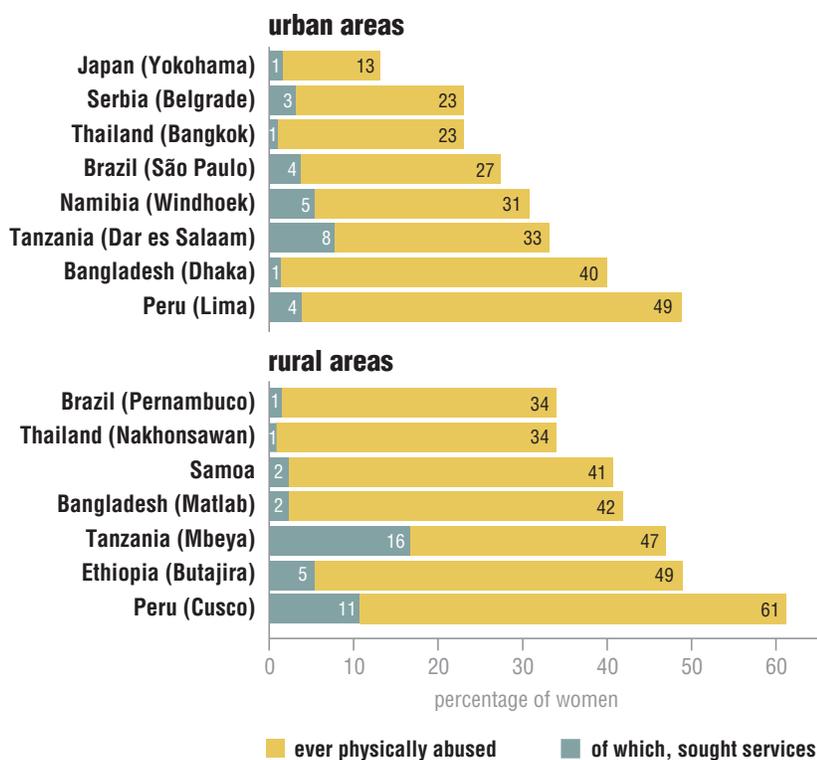
Junko Tabei of Japan is first woman to reach the summit of Mt. Everest.



The United Nations General Assembly adopts the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). As of 2014, the United States is one of only 7 countries not to have ratified it.

1979

Figure i.2 **Few Women Seek Services in Case of Domestic Violence**



Source: World Health Organization (2010), reprinted in World Bank (2011), *The World Development Report 2012: Gender Equality and Development*.

one of the main reasons that survivors do not seek help and support. They are afraid to, knowing that they can expect little or no support from families, friends, or even authorities whose responsibility it is to protect them if they report cases of rape or domestic violence. See Figure i.2. As in many other contexts, victims are frequently blamed for provoking the violence. Police officers who investigate a woman's charge of abuse belong to their own societies, after all, and they reflect their communities' beliefs. Thus, in a survey of male police officers in India, all of those interviewed admitted that they believe a husband has a right to rape his wife.¹⁷

Child marriage, or the marriage of someone under the age of 18, is another form of gender-based violence.¹⁸ Around the world, one in nine girls is married before the age of 15.¹⁹ Married children—virtually all are underage girls mar-

ried to older men—are vulnerable to rape and other types of violence.

Melka, who grew up in rural Ethiopia, arrived home from school one day when she was 14 to be told that she was to get married that very day to an elderly man she had never seen before. "After the wedding they took me to his house in the next village. He started pushing me towards the bedroom. I didn't want to go inside, but no one would listen to me."²⁰ Months later, the marriage was annulled after Melka was beaten so savagely that she ended up in the hospital for 30 days and a nurse informed the police. Child marriage has been illegal in Ethiopia since 2004, although the law is violated in thousands of cases each year. After the



MILESTONES IN WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND EMPOWERMENT

1980 Vigdís Finnbogadóttir of Iceland becomes the first democratically elected female head of state. She will be reelected three more times in 1984, 1988, and 1992.

First year more U.S. women than men graduate college with bachelor's degrees. Women have increased their share of bachelor's degrees every year since then.

1982

marriage ended, Melka found herself shunned by her family. Today, at the age of 21, she teaches girls about their rights. “No one asks me to do this work. I do it because I have to. I had been told that I was unlucky to be born a girl. I want them to know it’s not unlucky to be a girl in Ethiopia.” Melka is an exceptional woman. We can’t expect all traumatized girls to be able to escape or transcend such abuse.

In Niger, 75 percent of girls are married before the age of 18, the highest rate of child marriage in the world.²¹ Niger is one of the poorest countries as well, regularly ranking at the bottom of the United Nations Human Development Index. Only one in two girls in Niger attends primary school. Just one in 10 goes to lower secondary, and one in 50 reaches upper secondary school.²² Poverty, and the fact that as a result the odds are heavily against a girl of 14 or 15 being in school, give child marriage the appearance of normalcy.

In UNICEF’s 2013 edition of *The State of the World’s Children*, India had the world’s 12th-highest rate of child marriage. Of Indian women ages 20 to 24, nearly half (47 percent) had gotten married before they turned 18.²³ Combined with India’s huge population, that rate means that India has more child brides than any other country.

The Indian government has not stood still waiting for people to respect the law against child marriage. The government of the state of Haryana in north India developed a conditional cash transfer program to try to reduce child marriage. Cash transfers promote goals such as keeping children in school by giving lump sums of cash to parents who ensure that their children are participating. The Haryana government program, which ran from 1994 to 1998, targeted poor households and disadvantaged castes, offering a payment of 500 Indian rupees (about 13- 14 in the mid-1990s) at the birth of a girl and another 25,000 rupees when she turned 18 as long as she was not married.²⁴

The initial cohort of beneficiaries turned 18 in 2012, when the value of the 25,000 rupees was about \$465. The first program assessments have been completed, finding that the program did raise the average age of marriage and that participating girls did finish more grades in school than peers who were not enrolled. While both of these are important, it is not yet clear that the program went further and changed how girls are valued. It may take more than additional years of schooling: “Prevailing gender roles and expectations, particularly



Angela Rucker/USAID

Rape survivors in the Democratic Republic of Congo meeting with a worker from the International Rescue Committee.

1989

The United Nations General Assembly adopts the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), the most widely and rapidly ratified human rights treaty in history. It includes protection of children from early and forced marriage, recognition of adulthood as 18 years, rights to education.

Violeta Barrios Torres de Chamorro of Nicaragua becomes the first elected female head of country in the Americas.

1990



BOX I.3

ENGENDERING THE RESPONSE TO CLIMATE CHANGE

Faustine Wabwire, Bread for the World Institute

U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry underscored the seriousness of climate change by likening it to the threat of terrorism. Secretary Kerry made another important, but often overlooked point: the cost of *inaction* will be overwhelming unless the global community takes a more serious stand against climate change now.

In many parts of the developing world, climate change is already damaging food, nutrition, and water security. Climate change increases the frequency of shocks such as flooding, severe storms, and drought. Poor communities bear the brunt of this damage, largely because they have limited capacity to adapt. It is particularly unjust

“Women’s capacity to adapt must be strengthened. Compared to men in poor countries, women face additional cultural, social and economic barriers that make them more vulnerable to climate change.”

since these are the very communities that produce the lowest levels of greenhouse gas emissions and thus have contributed the least to causing the problem.

Women are central to agricultural production in the developing world; they are the main producers of their country’s food supply. It’s impossible for poor rural women and their communities to cope with the effects of climate change when both are perpetually in crisis mode. Their capacity to adapt must be strengthened.

Compared to men in poor countries, women face additional cultural, social and economic barriers that make them more vulnerable to climate change. They have limited access to productive assets such as land, credit, and extension services, and they continue to lack voice and decision-making power on agriculture policies and programs. As a result, they are in many cases the first casualties of volatile climate conditions, falling into food insecurity and malnutrition. This reality demands a gender analysis toward climate change mitigation and adaptation measures, so that women’s and men’s specific needs and roles are identified and addressed at all levels—household, local, national, regional, and global. Investments in strengthening women’s capacity to create and implement informed, effective adaptation measures can help poor communities become resilient in the face of climate shocks.



National governments, donors, and the private sector can improve access to new technologies, knowledge, and skills for climate change mitigation, as well as encourage women to form networks to share information and develop new adaptation strategies. Agricultural research and extension programs, for example, should pay attention to the unique duties and responsibilities of women as primary caregivers in the community. Because of their responsibility to secure water, food, and energy for cooking and heating, they are likely to experience significant hardships as climate change causes their communities to suffer growing resource scarcities. Efforts must focus on increasing women’s adaptive capacity to deal with the shocks, while also providing the necessary support—such as social protection and financial and technical assistance—to cushion their communities against additional stressors.

Anna Wre is the senior foreign assistance policy analyst in Bread for the World Institute.

A Kenyan woman and boy struggle with the dusty wind looking for water. This is what climate change looks like in Kenya and other parts of sub-Saharan Africa.



Jervis Sundays, Kenya Red Cross Society



USAID

Through USAID assistance, rape survivors who range in age from six months to 80 years get professional and compassionate support to help them cope with trauma and restore their shattered lives.

not surprising that girls who must leave school, fulfill “wifely duties” to much older men, and have babies—all against their will and all when they are too young—are at risk of depression. This is just one way that the harm done by child marriage may be passed on to the next generation.

those that prioritize girls’ roles as future wives above all, limit the impact of education on girls’ empowerment, suggesting that other interventions are needed to help girls fulfill their potential,”²⁵ said researchers at the International Center for Research on Women. In Chapter 3, starting on page 119, we describe some innovative strategies led by Indian women in government to address the multiple forms of discrimination that girls experience.

Finally, child marriage is a threat to its victims’ lives, health, and children. Pregnancy as a teenager is dangerous: girls younger than 15 are five times as likely to die in childbirth as women ages 20-24.²⁶ According to a 2013 study, a 10 percent reduction in child marriages would lead to a 70 percent reduction in a country’s maternal mortality rate.²⁷ That is a striking figure, particularly in view of the slow progress toward meeting the MDG target on maternal mortality.

Those who survive may suffer devastating physical injuries such as obstetric fibula, which is far more likely to affect young girls than mature women. Maternal depression is an important determinant of poor nutrition and problems in a young child’s development,²⁸ and it is

Preview: The Impact of Paid and Unpaid Work on Empowerment and Nutrition

Globally, the majority of people living in extreme poverty are smallholder farmers or landless agricultural workers. Both women and men depend on earnings from agriculture to support their families. It’s strenuous work, done mostly with low-tech hand tools such as shovels, hoes, pickaxes, and machetes. On the whole, women have access to fewer resources to make their work more productive and less exhausting. This has implications for everyone: one well-known study found that if female farmers had equal access to productive resources, between 100 million and 150 million people could be freed from hunger.²⁹

MILESTONES IN WOMEN’S RIGHTS AND EMPOWERMENT



1993

The United Nations General Assembly adopts the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women.

India amends its Constitution to ensure women a third of seats on local governing councils, making it the country with the most elected women representatives.

1993

The many forms of discrimination against women hinder the effort to end global hunger in other ways as well. Perhaps the most critical chronic hunger issue today is early childhood stunting, which damages the health, development, and future of up to 40 percent of all children in some countries. Stunting reflects malnutrition that occurs before a child’s second birthday—during the 1,000 days “window of opportunity” between pregnancy and age 2. It causes the most damage and is largely irreversible. Thus, good nutrition is especially important for vulnerable populations such as pregnant women and the youngest children. The flip side is that medical research has shown that the 1,000 days is when investments in maternal and child nutrition yield especially high returns for children’s physical and cognitive development. When girls and women eat last and least due to discrimination, the opportunity of the 1,000 days is wasted.

In 2013, the Global Nutrition for Growth Compact was signed by 90 governments from developing countries, donor governments, multilateral organizations, businesses, and humanitarian organizations. Signatories committed to a deadline of 2020 “to ensure that at least 500 million pregnant women and children under 2 are reached with effective nutrition interventions to reduce the number of children under 5 stunted by at least 20 million and to save the lives of at least 1.7 million children under 5 by preventing stunting, increasing breastfeeding, and increasing treatment of severe acute malnutrition.”³⁰

Feed the Future, the U.S. government’s own global hunger and food security initiative, has committed to reducing stunting rates of children by 20 percent in countries where its programs are operating.³¹ Feed the Future is primarily an agricultural development assistance program, so to achieve its goal the program has been focused on the needs of women farmers. U.S. agricultural development assistance is discussed in more detail in the section of Chapter 1 titled “Agricultural Assistance to Help Build Women’s Bargaining Power,” starting on page 49.

With research on stunting and other forms of malnutrition yielding new insights, the emphasis of agricultural development efforts has



Markus Kostner/World Bank

A woman in Myanmar walks home from work. At home the unpaid half of her workday begins, hauling firewood and water for hours to prepare dinner for the family.



1994 Women have attained the right to vote in 96 percent of countries.



Beijing Platform for Action is adopted at Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing, China. The Beijing Platform reflects a new international commitment to the goals of equality, development and peace for all women everywhere.

1995

been shifting as well. One shift, as just mentioned, is addressing the unique challenges faced by low-income female farmers. Another is from a focus on calories to a focus on nutrients. With a clearer understanding that increases in food production do not lead automatically to

improvements in nutrition,³² the traditional focus of development assistance to farmers—increasing the production of staple crops—has been reconsidered. We now know that the additional calories from consuming more staple crops such as rice, maize, sorghum, and wheat do not provide the nutrients people require for good health.

In the past, most agricultural development programs did not include nutrition indicators in their design. One of the rare exceptions is Helen Keller International’s (HKI) homestead food production program in Asia, launched well before researchers identified the overarching importance of maternal and child

nutrition. The program operated in Bangladesh from 1993-2003. Very simply, it provided seeds and technical assistance to help women grow nutrient-rich vegetables in their home gardens. When the program started, a family’s diet in the targeted communities consisted mostly of Bangladesh’s staple, rice. Vitamin A deficiency was causing 30,000 Bangladeshi children to go blind every year.³³ HKI worked through female community leaders, who established demonstration plots where they trained and supplied other women in their community. HKI reported that once the program was in place, children in the households participating in the homestead food production program consumed significantly more nutrient-rich foods. Women earned on average an additional \$8 per month by selling their surplus. Studies showed they used this income to purchase additional healthy foods not grown in the gardens, such as legumes and animal products.³⁴ More recently, HKI has been implementing an Enhanced Homestead Food Production program, expanding the focus to include countries in Africa.³⁵



Ray Witlin/World Bank

Sifting grain in India. Around the world, people living in poverty subsist mostly on a diet of grain.



MILESTONES IN WOMEN’S RIGHTS AND EMPOWERMENT

The United Nations General Assembly adopts the Millennium Declaration, which includes the Millennium Development Goals, eight specific goals with related targets that constitute an international agenda for the twenty-first century. Goal 3 is “to promote gender equality and empower women.”

The United Nations Security Council passes Resolution 1325, the first resolution ever passed by the Security Council that specifically addresses the impact of war on women, and women’s contributions to conflict resolution and sustainable peace.

2000

Figure i.3 **A Guide to Gender-Responsive Programming**

	KNOW HER	DESIGN FOR HER	BE ACCOUNTABLE TO HER
Gender Aware	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Do a gender analysis of your sector and region. » Understand the differing roles and responsibilities of women and men. » Recognize the context and circumstances of women on the farm, in the market, and in their community. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Create targets for women's participation and leadership in activities. » Hire and train women when relevant to reach women farmers. » Anticipate changes to women's time and labor as a result of your program. » Design for women's productive and reproductive workloads, and account for multiple responsibilities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Conduct a review of how your project is meeting women's aspirations and how women and men are benefitting. » Monitor women's involvement and their influence on the project goals. » Revise and iterate the project strategy to deepen women's participation in the project. » Collect sex-disaggregated data.
Gender Transformative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Understand the structures and systems that determine women's position in society. » Study social dynamics and determine how the project can affect women's power and influence. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Include a program objective dedicated to achieving more equitable and efficient outcomes for women. » Partner with women's rights organizations to shift and challenge inefficient social norms or perceptions. » Engage men to change perceptions and behaviors about gender roles and efficient allocation of resources between women and men. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Measure the project's impact on men and the entire community as well as on women. » Account for goals that are bigger than a single intervention, but that achieve a change in the status and position of women at large.

Source: Gates Foundation (2012), *Creating Gender-Responsive Agricultural Development Programs*.

For the most part, nutrition-sensitive agriculture programs are still a new frontier, with organizers learning what works best as they go. But there is clearly appreciation for women's empowerment as a key strategy to increase nutrition sensitivity in agriculture.³⁶ Until recently most agriculture programs could be described as "gender neutral" in their planning and implementation as opposed to "gender aware" or the advanced "gender transformative" level. This underscores how far there is to go before researchers fully grasp how nutrition-sensitive agricultural programs should work.

Gender transformative programming sets out with the specific goals of bringing significant change to unequal gender relations and addressing the root causes of women's subordination within their households.³⁷ See Figure i.3. To be truly transformative, programs should include engagement with men, working to change their perceptions of and behavior on gender relations and the allocation of resources between male and female partners. The aim is to show the value of working together as a team rather than individually. The men who participate in these programs and enjoy the positive results become unwitting ambassadors for women's empowerment



2006

Ellen Johnson Sirleaf of Liberia is the first African woman elected as a head of state.



Rwanda becomes the first country in the world to elect a majority-female parliament.

2008

BOX 1.4 VOICES OF WOMEN OF FAITH

VIRGINIA R. HOLMSTROM

Executive Director, American Baptist Women's Ministries

When I became executive director of American Baptist Women's Ministries in 2001, our organization's mindset and practice were to be a support network for our denomination's mission boards. That changed as we became more aware of the plight of women and girls enslaved in sex trafficking. From 2007-2010, American Baptist Women's Ministries sponsored a national mission project, *Break the Chains: Slavery in the 21st Century*, to specifically address sex trafficking. In 2011, we renamed the project *Break the Chains and Stop the Pain* to recognize a shift in focus from solely on sex trafficking to one that encompassed any violence against women and girls. Through *Break the Chains*, \$515,651 was raised and 25 grants awarded to new ministries addressing sex trafficking and other forms of violence against women and girls in the United States, Puerto Rico, and other countries. Fundraising for *Break the Chains* ended in April 2013, but our ministry continues to focus on empowering women and girls in church and society with the Women and Girls Mission Fund. The sex trafficking and gender-based violence issues made us deeply aware of systemic problems that fuel the exploitation of women and girls. We want to be about the work of empowering women and girls to live into the fullness of God's purpose for their lives.

and help change the attitudes of their peers. The section of Chapter 1 headed "Producer Groups: Strength in Numbers and Changes in Attitudes," starting on page 57, shows how this works.

Research in a number of countries has shown that women invest a greater share of their own income in their children's health and education than men do.³⁸ Income-generating work is clearly important to women's empowerment and their children's wellbeing. The fundamental challenge of all assistance that seeks to empower women economically is negotiating a balance between income-generating work and women's time caring for children and other family members. We're interpreting the word "care" to include chores such as fetching water and firewood for cooking. Lack of access to basic infrastructure and labor-saving technologies blurs the distinction between

caring for family and caring for the home. To care for children, other family members, and themselves, most women have to spend a great deal of time on household chores that cannot be neglected. While the gap between the time men and women spend on paid work has narrowed considerably, the gap in the time spent on care activities has barely changed.³⁹ We will have a lot more to say about the care gap in Chapter 2.



MILESTONES IN WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND EMPOWERMENT

2009

Elinor Ostrom of the United States becomes the first (and at this point only) woman to win a Nobel Prize in economics.

United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (also referred to as UN Women) is established, consolidating a group of U.N. departments into a single entity with a focus on gender equality and women's empowerment.

2010



Inside the Home: His, Hers, and Theirs

World Bank president Jim Kim has set ambitious goals for his organization: leading and supporting global efforts both to end extreme poverty by 2030, and to boost shared prosperity for the bottom 40 percent of the population in developing countries.⁴⁰ Ending extreme poverty has gotten a lot more traction in the media than sharing prosperity. But it would be hard to imagine ending extreme poverty in any sustainable way without also sharing prosperity more broadly.

Whether we end poverty or boost shared prosperity by 2030 is a matter of political will. One thing we know about political will—particularly to reduce social inequalities—is that reliable data are essential. Policymakers rarely commit to working to solve a problem without convincing evidence drawing the contours of a path forward. As former Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton put it, “Data not only measures progress, it inspires it.”⁴¹

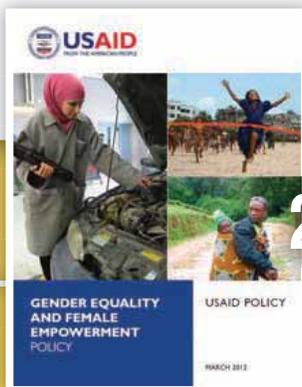
We won’t know whether the world is making progress on the goals to “end poverty” and “boost shared prosperity” until we have confidence in the methodology being used and the accuracy of the information being collected. Robert Zoellick, Kim’s predecessor as president of the World Bank, sought to rebrand the institution as the premier source of knowledge on international development, making vast stores of the Bank’s data publicly available and making use of improvements in information technology to present the data online in new and striking ways.

Development specialists who pay the closest attention to gender inequalities have long advocated for more and better data that are disaggregated by gender. To get at the intersection between gender discrimination and other discriminating factors, of course, data also needs to be disaggregated by age, ethnicity, disability, and other criteria. Sex-disaggregated data would provide clearer ways of understanding women’s economic power in a household relative to that of men. Currently, the household surveys used to collect, analyze, and present data generally treat the household as a single unit. Inequalities within the household do not show up until the information is disaggregated by sex.



Stephan Bachheimer/World Bank

A woman in Nepal spells out what is on her mind and ours about women’s empowerment.



2012 The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) launches a new Gender Equality and Female Empowerment Policy, the first update in 30 years.

The Millennium Development Goals expire. It is highly anticipated that by the end of the year a new post-2015 framework will replace them.

2015

Collecting the data might not require more than asking one or two additional questions on a household survey already being conducted by a data-collection agency such as a census bureau. The Gender, Agriculture Assets Project (GAAP), led by the International Food Policy Research Institute, gives an example: Asset inequality in a household is very often a direct reflection of gender inequality. For women who work in agriculture, access to land is a very important asset. Gender differences in access to land translate into gender differences

in food production as well as status and influence in their homes and communities.⁴² When a survey asks whether anyone in the household owns agricultural land, the next question could be simply, “Who are the owners”⁴³ To calculate the gender asset gap, GAAP recommends a question as straightforward as, “If you sold the asset today, how much would it be worth”⁴⁴

The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) analyzed surveys from 20 developing countries to determine whether female-headed households were more likely to be poor than male-headed households. It turned out to be true in some countries but not in others.⁴⁵ We often hear that women are the majority of people



Moeun Sun/Bread for the World

In June 2014, data do-gooders joined Bread for the World Institute in a hackathon to develop visualizations of women's empowerment for the Hunger Report. See some of the results starting on page 36.

living in poverty, but we don't actually have the data to back this up—because of the same lack of data disaggregated by sex.⁴⁶ Poverty is measured at the household level rather than individually. But a survey of poverty is clearly incomplete if it does not capture the distribution of resources within a household. If a household's income rises above the international poverty line of 1.25 per day per person, we can hardly say that the women and children are better off if the male head of the household spends all the additional income on himself.

Thus, to design anti-poverty programs that are as effective as possible, it is important to know how the income is shared within a household. Similarly, to reduce hunger, it's essential to have data on the food security status of a household, but we also need information that is more “nutrition sensitive.” The world certainly still has people who are hungry because they consume too few calories, but stunting, wasting, and other deadly forms of malnutrition are not only caused by insufficient calories but also by insufficient nutrients. Micronutrient deprivation, sometimes called “hidden hunger,” needs to be measured by recording what kinds of foods people in the household are eating.

The MDGs have been credited with refocusing policymakers' attention on reducing poverty—they also deserve credit for driving improvements in data collection. “Although it seems obvious to track progress on intended targets,” says Todd Moss of the Center for Global Devel-

opment, “common practice in the past was simply to calculate inputs: how much money was spent, how many books were bought, etc., rather than on the hoped-for change in countries, such as healthier and more educated people. In fact, the approach of finding out how we are actually doing is obvious now in part because of the MDGs.”⁴⁷

There are large data gaps in every major domain of women’s empowerment: health, education, economic opportunities, political participation, and exposure to violence.⁴⁸ Counting the number of girls in school is, of course, not the same as finding out how much they are learning. The United Nations has identified a minimum set of 52 indicators crucial to measuring progress in women’s empowerment. On page 36 we show how little data exists for these 52 indicators. The agenda for gender equality in the post-2015, post-MDG framework should include filling these gaps as a top priority.⁴⁹ Improving data collection also means going beyond filling in gaps to developing common standards, so that indicators are comparable from one country to the next.

2015 and Beyond

2015 marks the 20th anniversary of the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China, a watershed event for supporters of women’s empowerment around the globe. The timeline that runs along the bottom of each page of this chapter shows a number of other milestones. Among these, however, Beijing was particularly momentous: it showed how, in the modern world, it has become possible to unite women from all parts of the globe, and, by the power of collective voice, create the momentum for change needed to accelerate the slow but inevitable march to equality between the sexes.

The conference produced the Beijing Platform for Action, undoubtedly the most influential statement on women’s empowerment to date. Twenty years later, the impact of the Beijing Platform continues to reverberate. “Beijing was the catalyst for seeing the world through a gender lens,” writes Linda Tarr-Whelan, a U.S. delegate to the Beijing Conference, in a 2010

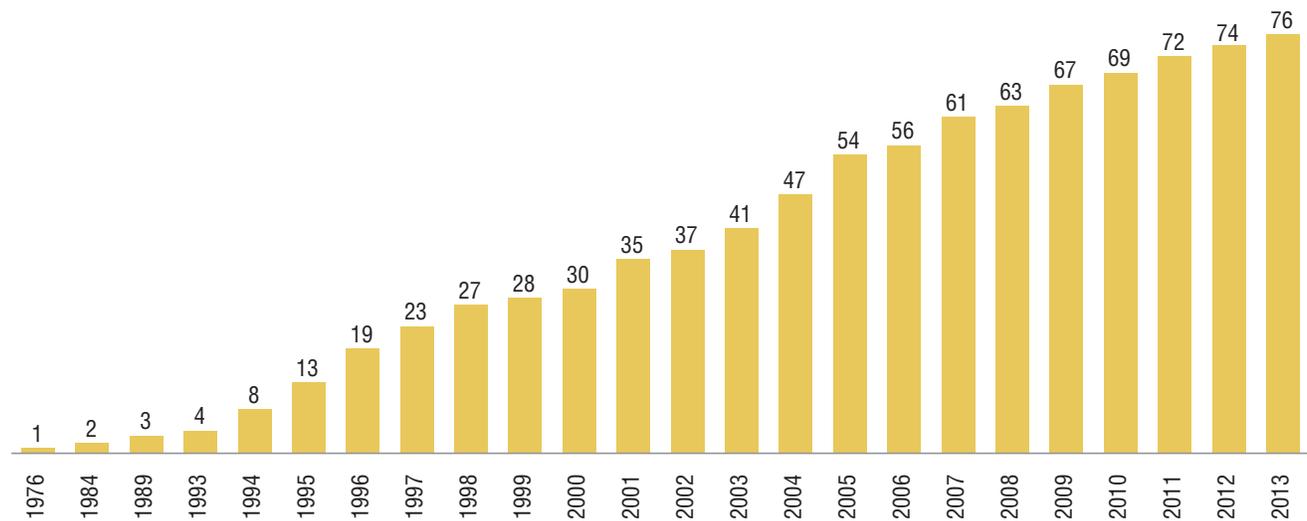
BOX 1.5 VOICES OF WOMEN OF FAITH

DR. ANGELIQUE WALKER-SMITH

*National Baptist Convention USA, Inc., and
Bread for the World*

I traveled to Africa for the first time in the summer of 1983. I had just earned my master’s degree from Yale Divinity School and was part of a group of volunteers with Operation Crossroads Africa, a program founded by the African American clergyman Dr. James H. Robinson that served as the model for the Peace Corps. I stayed for two months in El Fasher, the capital of the state of Darfur in Sudan, living among the local people, sleeping and eating in village homes, and working alongside my hosts to build a youth center. Even in 1983, we were witnessing the expansion of the desert that would eventually contribute to competition among ethnic groups for the scarce livable land. This later became a key ingredient in the genocide that has since claimed the lives of more than 250,000 Darfuris. The Muslim women treated me like any other member of their community. I will never forget their hospitality as they welcomed me behind the veil, allowed me to participate in their rituals, and let me into their culture to experience the greatest of all gifts I took home with me: the ability of different cultures to live in harmony. They showed me how much of our similarities as women outweigh our differences.

Figure i.4 **Cumulative Number of Countries with Legislation Against Domestic Violence**



Source: World Bank (2013), *Women, Business and the Law 2014: Removing Restrictions to Enhance Gender Equality*.

article for Human Rights, a magazine of the American Bar Association.⁵⁰ One can read the Beijing Platform as a Bill of Women’s Human Rights composed for, if not by, the most disempowered women in the world. Figure i.4 is an example of the statement’s effect on domestic violence legislation at the national level. Another example to demonstrate its enduring influence, the choice of the 52 indicators identified by the United Nations was guided by policy concerns highlighted in the Beijing Platform.⁵¹ But the influence has been greater on policy development than it has on development outcomes. This report contends that progress in reducing gender inequalities has been slow primarily because social, economic, and political forces operate to push the world away from respecting women’s rights.

Barbara Howell, Bread for the World’s government relations director in 1995, attended the Beijing Conference. She had also attended two of the three previous U.N. Conferences on Women, in 1980 and 1985 in Copenhagen and Nairobi, respectively. But in Beijing, Howell was struck by an atmosphere of excitement many times more intense than the mood at the earlier conferences. The tens of thousands of women who had traveled there from around the world resolved to “bring Beijing home.”⁵²

Barbara Howell tried to bring Beijing home as well, but back in the United States, she encountered a public that was mostly indifferent to the spirit of Beijing. U.S. writer Jo Freeman, who was also in Beijing, reflected afterward: “Although I didn’t read the Western press until I returned, most of the reportage missed the message of the conference, which was admittedly diffuse and hard to grasp. Instead the press focused on a perception of oppressive security measures and the numerous logistical problems.”⁵³ The women Howell spoke to who had not attended didn’t feel any more empowered than when she’d seen them last. Men listened politely but were no more interested in supporting a new era in gender relations than they had been before.

Faustine Wabwire, who is now a policy analyst with Bread for the World Institute, was an adolescent living at home in Kenya at the time of the Beijing Conference. What she remembers is the derogatory treatment of Kenyan women who had attended the conference

upon their return. It wasn't until she was in college, associating with other ambitious young women, that she understood finally how the women who had been at Beijing saw the conference much differently.

2015 brings another moment of opportunity to press for women's rights in the context of a new global agreement. At the end of 2015, upon the expiration of the MDGs, member states of the United Nations are expected to adopt a framework that will serve as the successor to the MDGs and include new global development goals. Much as the MDGs were the focus between 2000 and 2015, the new goals (whose anticipated name is the Sustainable Development Goals, or SDGs) will set international development priorities through at least 2030.⁵⁴

While there are certainly people who do not believe that the MDGs have been a success, this does not mean that they think the SDGs won't be worth the effort.

The MDG framework—eight goals that are simple to grasp—galvanized political will and public support to cut hunger and extreme poverty in half by 2015. The extreme poverty goal was met, and the world is expected to come very close to achieving the hunger goal. Thus, experience shows that ending chronic hunger—presently suffered by one in every eight people on the planet⁵⁵—is a sustainable, realistic goal. There may be outbreaks of hunger as long as there are natural and man-made

disasters. But with a strong global commitment to contain and limit the impact of such shocks, hunger can be a temporary problem rather than a life sentence.

As we said at the very beginning of this introduction, ending hunger depends on gender equality. This statement is no exaggeration. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)—a group of countries that includes the major donor governments—put it in stark terms: “It is evident that continuing discrimination against girls and women will make it difficult to fully achieve any of the MDGs.”⁵⁶ Lack of progress against gender inequality spells diminishing returns to investments in fighting hunger. And the reverse is also true: lack of progress against hunger spells diminishing returns for investments in reducing gender inequality.

The interconnectedness of the MDGs creates many ties between and among groups of two, three, or more of the goals. These connections also extend to scores of issues that were not part of the MDGs (child marriage, climate change, and unpaid work are three examples). Advocates are pushing for a more comprehensive treatment of gender inequality in the SDGs than there was in the MDGs. The gender equality goal (Goal 3) of the MDGs



Simone D. McCourtie/World Bank

Jim Kim, president of the World Bank, in Washington, DC, in April 2014, participating in the call the action #EndPoverty 2030: Millennials Take on the Challenge.

leaves out many important gender issues—and yet across all the other MDGs, there are clear synergies with gender equality.⁵⁷ We know that when women’s income increases, they generally spend it on food (Goal 1).⁵⁸ When women complete more years of education (Goal 2), it’s a significant boost to efforts to reduce child mortality (Goal 4) and maternal mortality (Goal 5).⁵⁹ Greater economic independence for women reverses the spread of HIV/AIDS (Goal 6).⁶⁰ Lack of access to clean water and proper sanitation (Goal 7) is among the top reasons girls stop attending school.⁶¹

The risk of creating a framework that includes every important issue is that what it’s trying to achieve may be clear only to the technical development experts who put it together. The SDGs’ framers must remember the need to build and sustain political commitment—and therefore to communicate with engaged citizens around the world. The biggest surprise for governments that signed on to the MDGs may have been not the fact that the world has already achieved the poverty goal and is within reach of the hunger goal, but the emergence of an energized, vocal, and remarkably well-networked global citizenry determined to hold them and their successors in government accountable.

Had the Beijing Conference taken place in an era with Facebook, blogs, tweets, and other social media, who knows how many more women would have been able to bring Beijing home. But moments of opportunity are for their own times. The Beijing Conference and all it stood for belong to 1995—although its goals remain alive. As we look to this new opportunity, it is time to get serious about empowering women and girls. We laud the progress of girls attending primary school at the same rate as boys—and yet we overlook the one in nine that are pulled out of school and forced to marry. We understand how important women farmers are to feeding the world—and yet we act indifferent to how much time they have to devote to drudgery. We do what we can to empower them with policies and programs, while resisting the fundamental nature of the problem, the discrimination they face. Let’s seize this opportunity to get it right for women here and now and for future generations who will live in a world without hunger.



Kelley Lynch

An Ethiopian woman and her daughter. The family has one cow that provides them with milk to drink and what’s left over they sell in the market.

taken place in an era with Facebook, blogs, tweets, and other social media, who knows how many more women would have been able to bring Beijing home. But moments of opportunity are for their own times. The Beijing Conference and all it stood for belong to 1995—although its goals remain alive. As we look to this new opportunity, it is time to get serious about empowering women and girls. We laud the progress of girls attending primary school at the same rate as boys—and yet we overlook the one in nine that are pulled out of school and forced to marry. We understand how important women farmers are to feeding the world—and yet we act indifferent to how much time they have to devote to drudgery. We do what we can to empower them with policies and programs, while resisting the fundamental nature of the problem, the discrimination they face. Let’s seize this opportunity to get it right for women here and now and for future generations who will live in a world without hunger.

MUKTA'S STORY

Gloria Das, World Vision

Mukta is 12 years old and lives in a tin hut in the remote village of Munshipara, Bangladesh. She is studying in grade seven at the high school in her community. Mukta's parents eke out a meager existence for themselves, so when Mukta turned 12 they arranged for her to marry a trolley driver [a three-wheeled motor vehicle] from a neighboring village—a man more than twice her age.

Mukta's father said he gave consent for his daughter's marriage under economic duress (because in Bangladesh, the older a girl is, the more expensive her dowry). "I feared I would have to pay a huge dowry if she is married off at age of 14," he said.

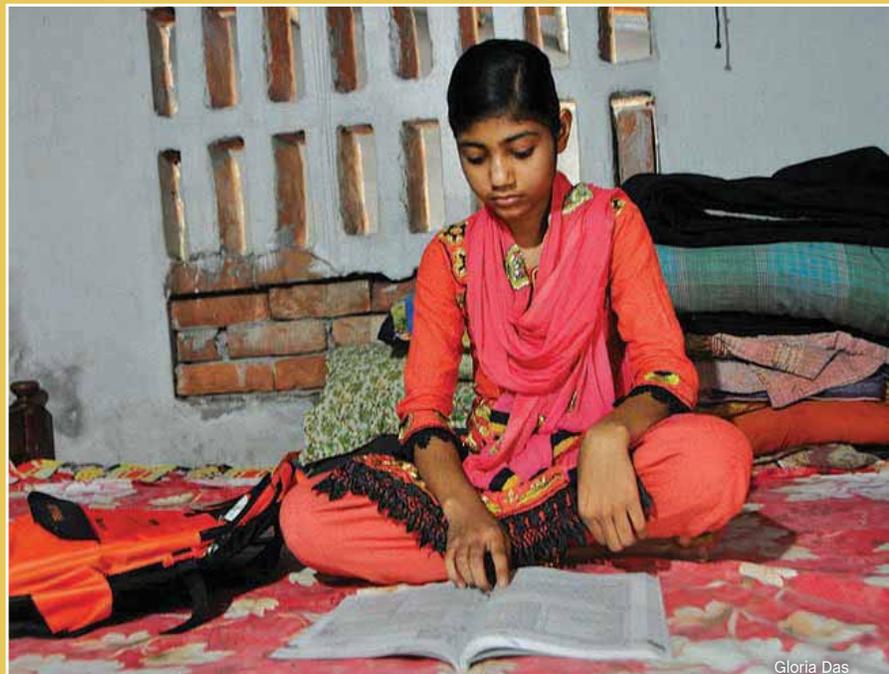
Fortunately, Mukta's mother is a member of a World Vision supported community-based organization that, in addition to helping members economically, works to create child marriage-free zones to stop early marriage. When another group member learned of Mukta's situation, she approached Mukta's mother and explained the negative physical and mental effects and legal consequences of child marriage. The family agreed to break the betrothal, and Mukta's mother says she will now work to prevent child marriages elsewhere in her community.

"We were convinced by our neighbors to arrange Mukta's marriage because we did not know about its harmful consequences, which we do not want for our daughter," she says. "I did not know about the existing laws against child marriage."

Members of this and other World Vision supported community-based organizations share success stories and work to end violence against women through yard meetings and other community gatherings. They also advocate with religious leaders to persuade them to spread anti-violence messages during weekly prayer services. So far, the initiative has prevented 33 child marriages, provided support for hundreds of women survivors of violence through trainings, and supported and stopped dowry practices in a number of communities.

Mukta's parents now say they will not allow Mukta to be married off during the remainder of her childhood. "I am happy that I have escaped child marriage," says Mukta. "I can pursue my dreams for a higher education now."

Gloria Das is the Documentation and Publication Officer at World Vision in Bangladesh.



Gloria Das

"I am happy that I have escaped child marriage," says Mukta. "I can pursue my dreams for a higher education now."

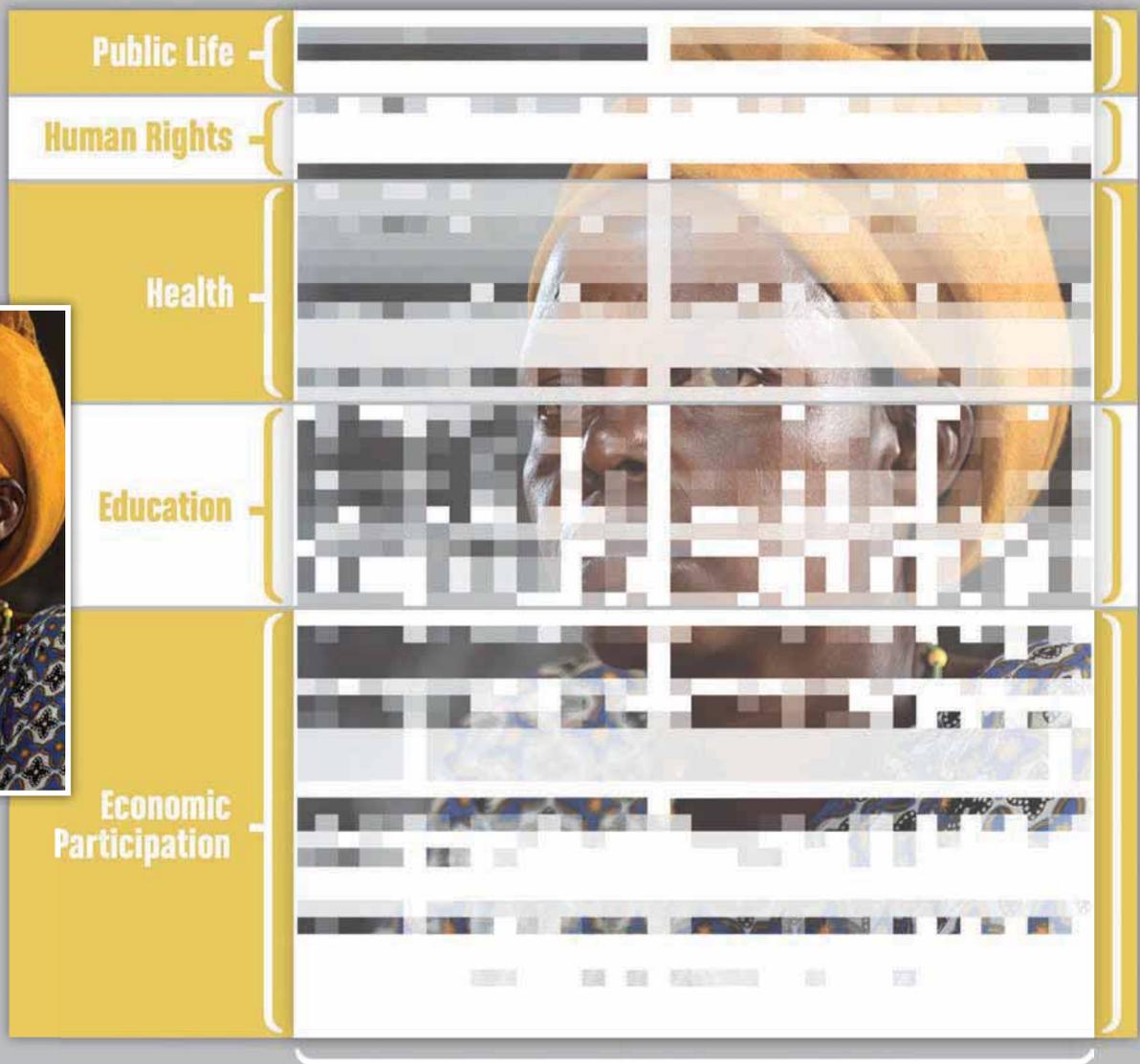
AN INCOMPLETE PICTURE: MISSING DATA ON WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT

Derek Schwabe, Bread for the World Institute

At Bread for the World Institute, we wanted to come up with a compelling way of visualizing women's empowerment around the world. We partnered with a group of volunteers who specialize in helping nonprofit organizations like ours visualize the stories they want to tell from the data they have on hand.

The United Nations has defined a set of 52 indicators essential to telling the story of women's empowerment. This is by far the largest, most comprehensive set of gender indicators ever assembled. However, more than half of the indicators average less than one data point per country from 1990 to 2013. Telling the story then is quite challenging. Millions of women—especially in developing countries—remain in the shadows.

If all the data were available the full photo below would be seen.



Sub-Saharan Africa

The volunteers are coders, data scientists, statisticians, and graphic designers, and they offered to lend us their specialized skills in an event called a hackathon. On June 21, 2014, we invited them to Bread for the World Institute to sort through all the available official data sets we could get our hands on. Mostly what we had to offer them were spreadsheets with lots of empty cells.

The graphic to the left is a snapshot from the interactive online tool we created to tell the story of missing data. It maps the availability of all 52 indicators related to women's empowerment in sub-Saharan African countries since 1990. On the vertical axis appear five domains of empowerment (Economic Participation, Education, Health, Public Life & Decision Making, Human Rights) containing all 52 indicators, while the horizontal axis lists all low-income countries in the region.

The "pixels" show how much of the data are missing. A

pixel is opaque when there are no data available for a given indicator and country. A pixel is saturated with color when data are collected annually for an indicator and country.

If every country were collecting data annually on all of the indicators, the portrait of the woman would be entirely visible. The less data we have, the less we see of her.

Sub-Saharan Africa is hardly an anomaly. Women are barely visible in all regions of the developing world.

Before the hackathon, we found no attempts to visualize the gaping holes in women's empowerment data. Now,

thanks to what we were able to produce in the hackathon and follow-up work, the 2015 Hunger Report website features an interactive tool that shows users in a single glance just how far we have to go to bring women out of the shadows.

ere wa e is a research associate in Bread for the World Institute.

You can explore the data gaps in greater detail online at hungerreport.org/missingdata.

A Data Do-Gooder

My name is Asal Nassir and I'm a data analyst at a firm in Washington, DC. I got involved with hackathons because I'm interested in volunteering at organizations that promote causes I believe in. The skills I have to offer in data analysis seem not to be all that common at nonprofits.

I accepted the invitation to participate in the hackathon at Bread for the World Institute because the subject is of special interest to me. I care deeply about women's empowerment. I'm from the Middle East and when I was 13, my parents arranged for me to marry my first cousin who had just finished college. I wanted to finish school and then go to college, and I told him that I'm probably not the kind of wife he wanted. He was a good man and accepted what I told him, and the marriage was called off.

Today, I have a master's degree. I've travelled to 26 countries. I've been able to do things that many women from countries where I grew up cannot. I'm proud of what I've been able to achieve, and I hope my contribution to this Hunger Report in some small way makes it possible for other women to feel as empowered as I do.

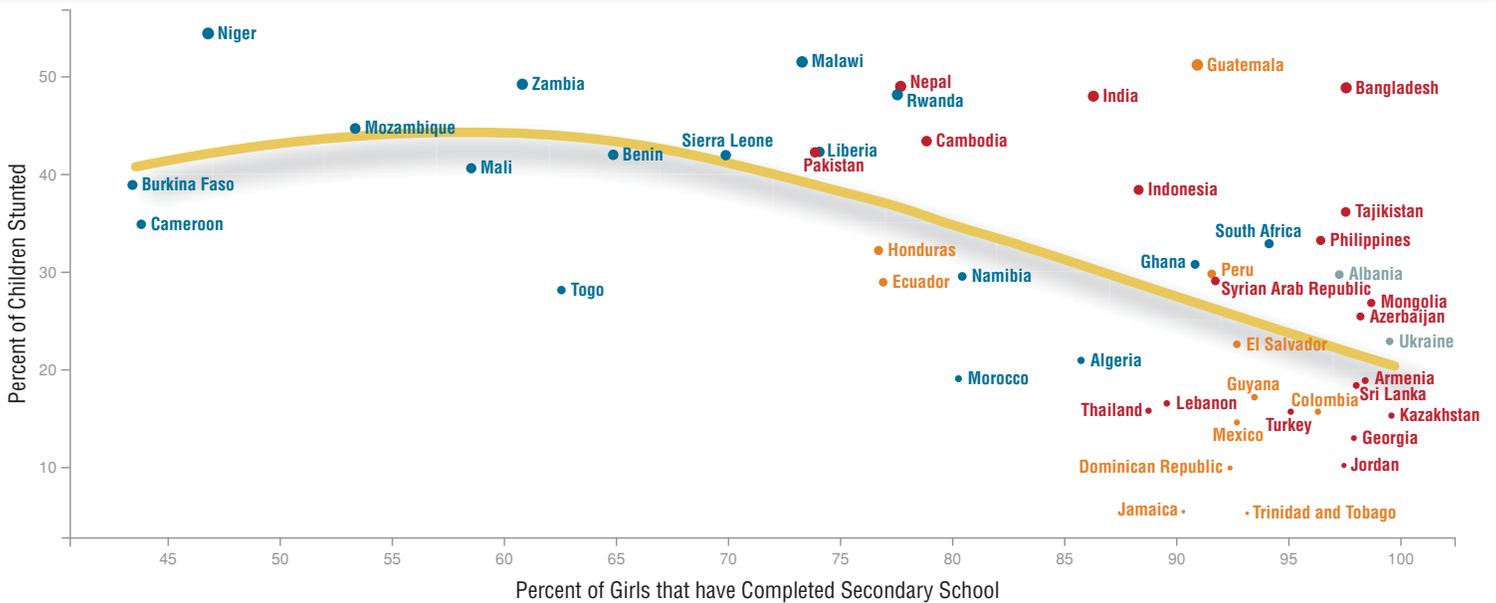


Asal Nassir (center) is deep in thought as she collaborates on visualizing data during the Hunger Report Hackathon.

A DEEP DIVE INTO DATA ON WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT AND MALNUTRITION

At the Hunger Report hackathon, we asked our data do-gooders to help us clarify the relationship between women's empowerment and progress against child malnutrition. The charts on this page and the next pair stunting rates of children under 5 in low- and middle-income countries with indicators for women's health, education, human rights, and gender equality. The dates covered in these charts range from 1990 to 2013. In the charts shown here, we can see that stunting rates are lower in countries where women are more empowered. This is an issue that merits a more robust research agenda.

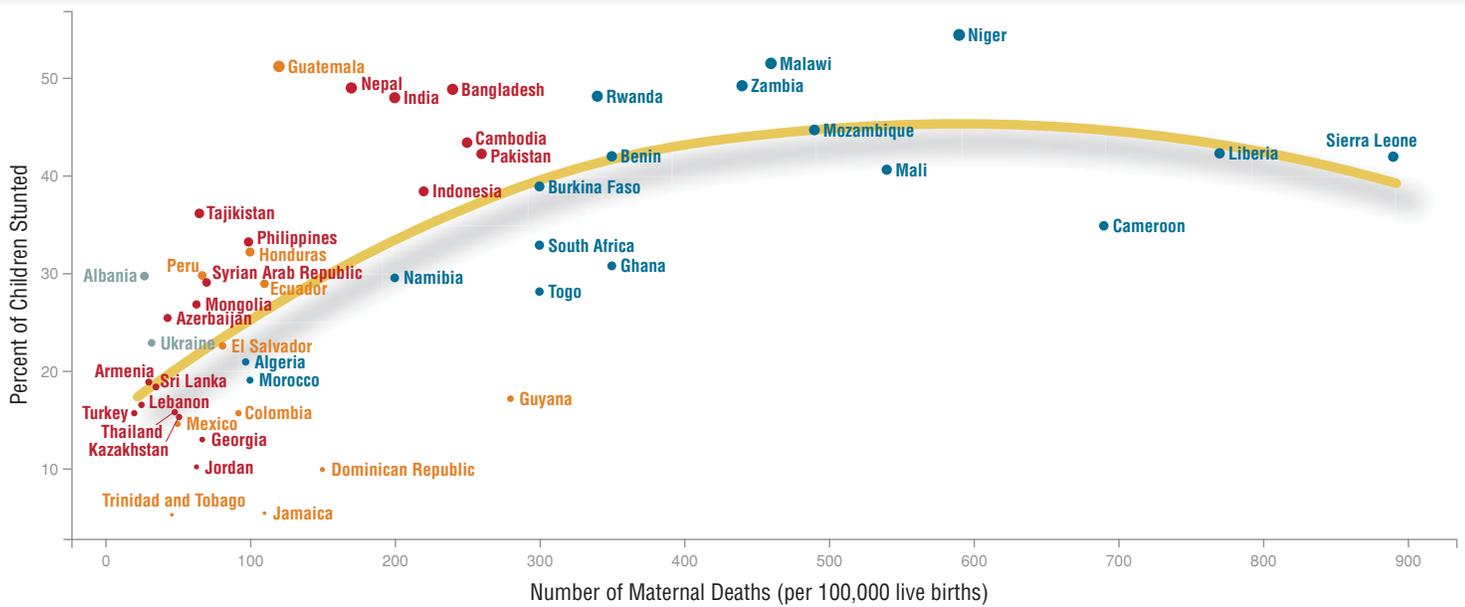
As More Girls Complete Secondary School, Stunting Rates Fall



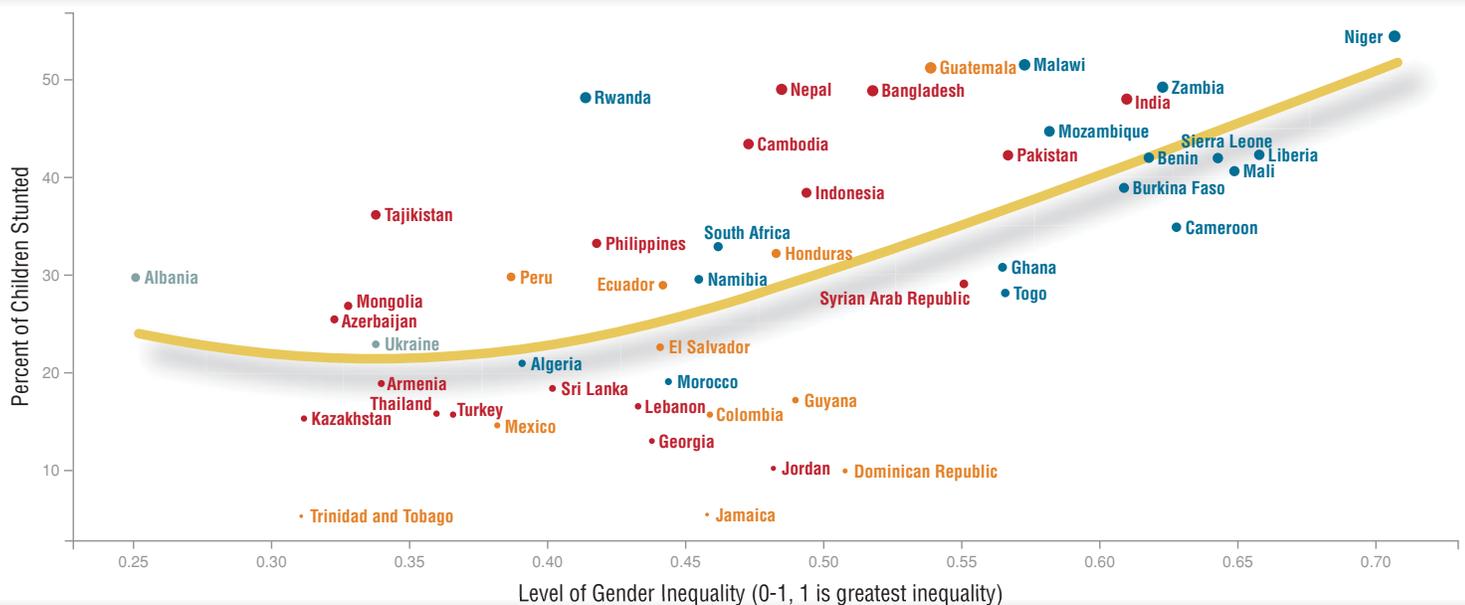
Stunting occurs when a child is too short for her age due to chronic malnutrition, but has other effects that can't be seen, including damage to brain development and overall health. Stunting undermines how well a child can do in school and even how much income she will earn as an adult during her most productive working years. At the national level, stunting can cost percentage points of GDP growth. Stunting currently afflicts one in four of the world's children.

Visit hungerreport.org/nutrition to customize your own charts highlighting the relationship between stunting and other indicators of women's empowerment.

As Number of Maternal Deaths Increase, Stunting Rates Rise



As Gender Inequality Grows, Stunting Rates Rise





Bargaining Power: The Basics of Empowerment

Chapter Summary

Neither women nor men living in poverty have much economic bargaining power—that is, an ability to negotiate favorable economic outcomes for themselves—especially in developing countries, as the vast majority of people do low-paying, low-productivity work. Even within the constraints of poverty, however, working conditions for men and women are far from equal: women suffer many more forms of discrimination, which worsen the effects of poverty on their lives. Beliefs and practices that establish and reinforce women’s lower status in society exist within the family and extend through community customs and national laws.

This chapter focuses mainly on rural women who are engaged in subsistence farming as either smallholders or landless laborers. Greater control of their income and assets would increase their bargaining power in both the household and the market economy. We explain why and how agricultural development assistance should promote the establishment of more producer groups led by women. When women organize to work within groups, they are better able to overcome the gender discrimination they experience as individuals. Because farming is something both husbands and wives do, mixed-gender producer groups also present an excellent opportunity to lessen gender-based imbalances in power.

In addition to the inequalities resulting from a lack of economic bargaining power, women and girls face other forms of discrimination that lead to systematic underinvestment in their well-being from the very beginning of their lives to the end. This chapter also examines national social systems—such as health care and education—that can help redress these inequities and strengthen women’s bargaining power, as well as how U.S. development assistance can contribute to building the capacity of these and other national institutions vital to enabling women to flourish.

MAIN RECOMMENDATIONS IN THIS CHAPTER

- Target the agricultural sector to reach the greatest number of poor and marginalized women and girls.
- Certify women’s rights to own and control property regardless of marital status.
- Provide all women and girls adequate health care and ensure that births and pre- and postnatal care are attended by skilled health providers.
- Engage men on the value and benefits of women’s empowerment and girls’ education.
- Strengthen and enforce laws against child marriage and gender-based violence.

The Economics of Family Life: Women’s Empowerment Benefits Families

An example of bargaining power comes from Papua New Guinea, a sparsely populated island nation about the size of California whose people work overwhelmingly in agriculture. Oil palm is a major export. Husbands and wives work on plantations on tasks strictly segregated by sex: men climb the oil palm trees to knock the small reddish fruit down, and women collect it from the ground.

At one point, plantation managers recognized that they had a problem: women were leaving up to 70 percent of the fruit on the ground. Management tried various ways of making the job easier—for example, supplying special nets and ensuring that work hours did not conflict with women’s caregiving and chores at home. Finally, however, management hit on a strategy that worked: paying the women directly for their work and enabling them to open their own bank accounts. Previously, sales had been recorded on the men’s payment cards. Once the women had bank accounts, they collected more of the fruit, and more women



UN Women/Ashutosh Negi

In India, 74.5 percent of rural women are agricultural workers, but only 9.3 percent own land.

in surrounding communities wanted to participate in harvesting.¹

Clearly, lack of bargaining power damages people’s morale and motivation. Nearly one in four working women across the developing world is an unpaid family worker on a family farm or other family business—and this is in addition to household chores and child care, which are also women’s responsibilities.² Without incomes of their own, women have little say in decisions that affect them or their children. Research from several countries shows how husbands and wives use household resources differently. Women tend to spend more on children’s nutrition, health care, and education.³ Thus, in addition to being a matter of simple fairness, allocating resources more equally within a household is important to making



In 15 countries, women still require their husbands’ consent to work.¹

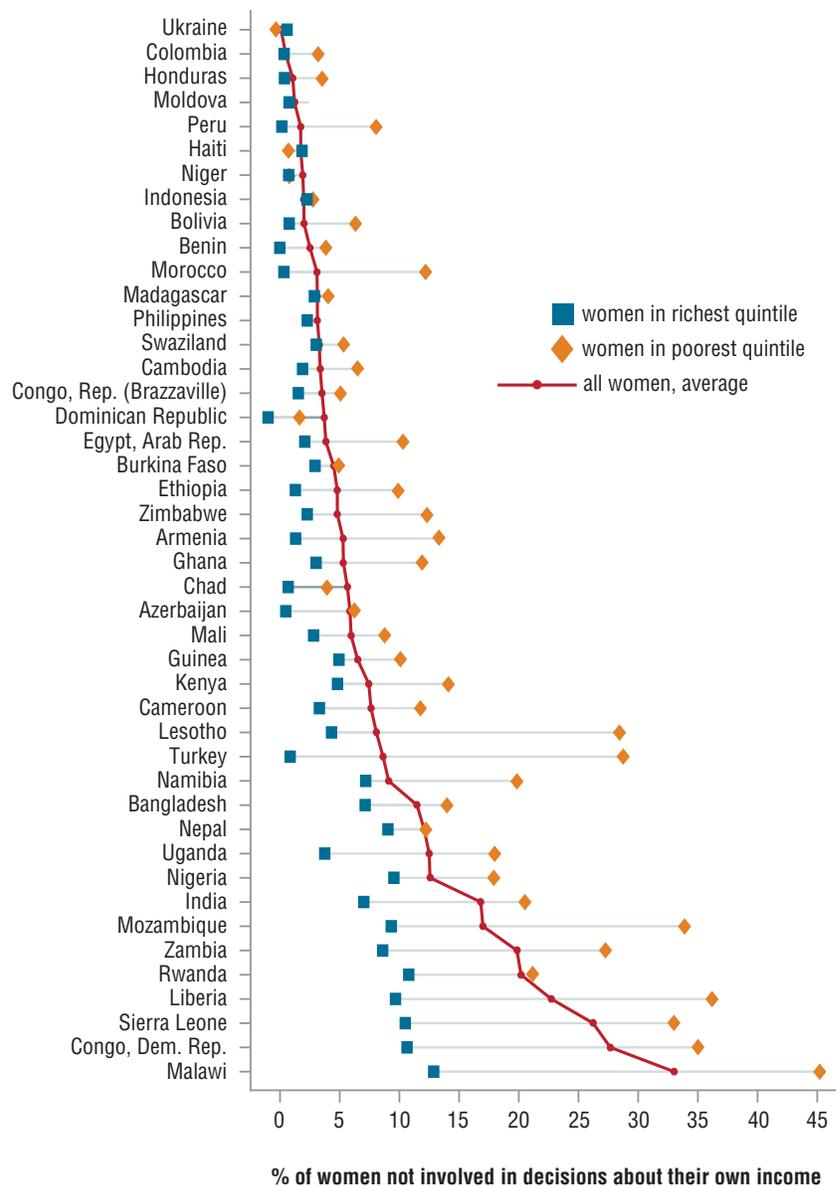
Since 1990, maternal deaths worldwide have fallen by **45 percent**—but every day, approximately **800 women** still die from preventable causes related to pregnancy and childbirth.²

progress in economic and human development.

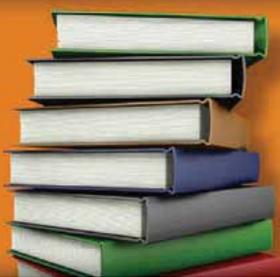
The poorer the household, the more control men have over women’s earnings. See Figure 1.1. In Malawi, for example, just 13 percent of married women in the richest fifth of the population have no control over their own earnings, compared to 46 percent in the poorest fifth.⁴ By itself, however, higher household income does not guarantee that women can make decisions alone or jointly with their husband.⁵

A factor related to control of their income that boosts women’s bargaining power within the household is control of productive resources and assets such as land or livestock. Assets can be used to take advantage of potential economic opportunities as well as to cope with shocks such as natural disaster or climate change. When harvests fail, those without assets to draw on frequently go hungry. Productive land is an especially valuable asset to households in rural areas.⁶ Women who hold title to land are more involved in household decision making than women without land.⁷ And this influence has implications for efforts to end malnutrition and hunger: research in Nepal, for example, shows that

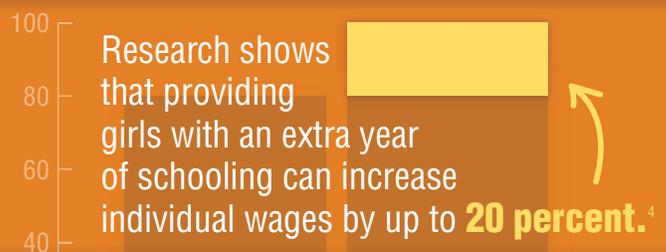
Figure 1.1 Who Controls Women’s Own Income?



Source: World Bank (2012), *Gender Equality and Development*.



A child born to a mother who can read is **50 percent more likely to survive past age 5.**³



the children of women who own land have better health than the children of women who do not.⁸

Gaining control of her own earnings also reduces a woman's risk of domestic violence and mistreatment.⁹ In the state of Kerala in India, for example, a woman who owns a house or land is 20 times less likely to be beaten by her husband than a woman who owns neither.¹⁰ Obviously, domestic violence is a violation of human rights and its victims do not have bargaining power within their households; a less obvious effect is the victims' injuries often limit their ability to provide for their children or earn a living.

In some countries, the legal system only adds to the barriers to women's right to participate in decisions that affect them and gain bargaining power at home. Women may not

be allowed to sign a contract or appear in court without the permission of their husband or other male relative. A woman's ability to own assets independently of a husband may be constrained by national laws that consider married women to be under the guardianship of their husband. Legal frameworks sometimes disadvantage women when it comes to joint ownership of assets with their husbands: 15 of the 47 countries in sub-Saharan Africa have laws that give husbands more control over marital assets than wives.¹¹

In some countries, when a hus-

band dies, all property acquired during the marriage reverts to his family. A widow's ability to provide for herself and her children could depend on the wishes of a brother-in-law or a more distant relative of her husband. This is less likely to happen to women of higher socioeconomic status; higher education, income, and wealth make it easier for women to negotiate more favorable terms or contest the transfer of assets.¹²

Laws on the control of assets are changing, but not quickly enough. The World Bank reports that "half of the legal constraints [on women] documented in 100 countries in 1960 on access to and control of assets, ability to sign legal documents, and fair treatment under the constitution had been removed by 2010."¹³ This is progress, but getting halfway there has taken 50 years, and progress has been slowest in areas that regulate relations within households.¹⁴ This is due in part to the perception of some governments, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and religious institutions that they should not intervene in matters considered private family issues.¹⁵

Where legal change has come, it often has a clear impact on economic relations within households. For example, Ethiopia reformed its family law in 2000. Husbands can no longer deny their wives permission to work outside the home, and both husband and wife must agree to decisions about family property. These legal changes led to more women working



Riccardo Gangale, USAID

Women are more likely than men to work in agriculture.

outside the home and more women working full-time. A decade after the changes went into effect, evaluators reported that the law had increased Ethiopian women's bargaining power in household decision-making and resulted in more equitable control of assets.¹⁶

“Womenomics”: Women's Empowerment Is Necessary for Economic Growth

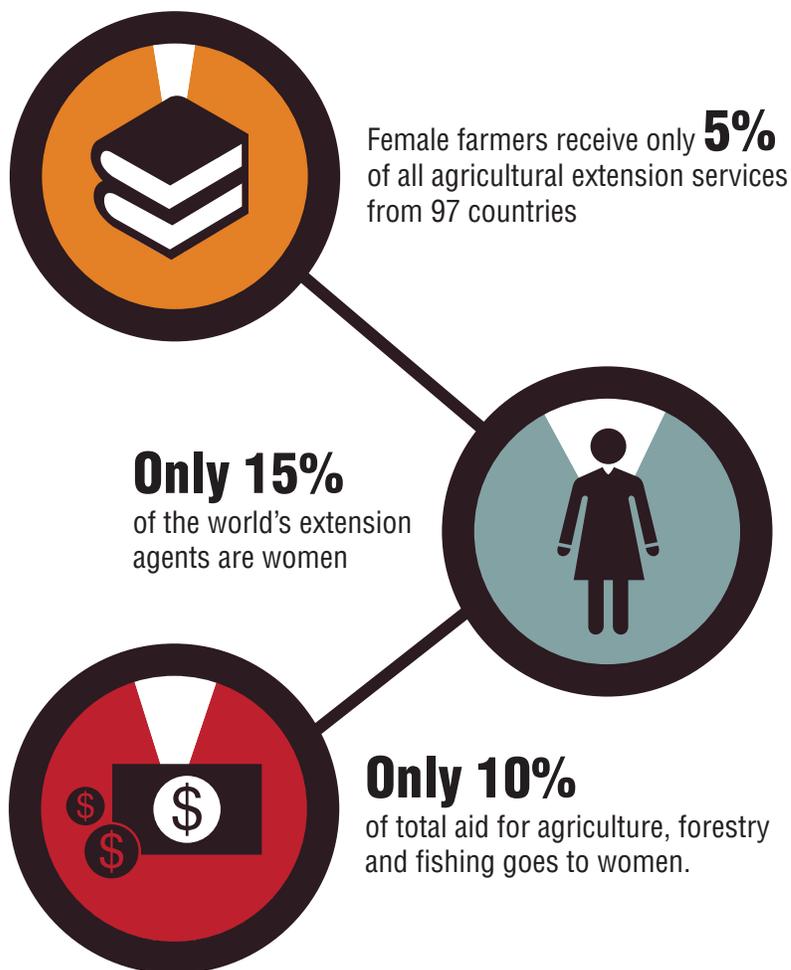
At the 2013 U.N. General Assembly, Prime Minister Shinzō Abe of Japan stated that womenomics is central to his growth plan for the Japanese economy.¹⁷ “Womenomics” is the theory that the advancement of women in society promotes economic growth. “Female labor in Japan is the most underutilized resource,” said Abe.¹⁸ This is true the world over. The International Labor Organization (ILO) estimates that globally, half of women's productive potential is underutilized—as compared to one-fifth of men's.¹⁹

Women in developing countries work mostly in low-productivity, low-paying jobs. In Rwanda, close to 90 percent of women are in the labor force, but the majority of Rwandan women work in subsistence agriculture. One doesn't choose this occupation—it is something to turn to when there are no other opportunities. Women average 43 percent of the agricultural labor force in developing countries, ranging from 20 percent in Latin America to well over 50 percent in parts of Asia and sub-Saharan Africa.²⁰

In low-income countries, agriculture is the predominant way that women and men earn their livelihood.

The conditions under which male and female farmers work are far from equal. On the whole, women farm smaller plots than men; face legal restrictions on owning land; have less access to markets, credit, and inputs such as improved seeds and fertilizer; and are excluded from services such as agricultural extension. See Figure 1.2. Extension agents in developing countries are the main source of information about a wide

Figure 1.2 Women's Access to Extension Services



Source: FAO (2011), *Women in Agriculture: Closing the Gender Gap*.

range of agricultural services, from new technologies to agribusiness opportunities.²¹ But only 15 percent of extension agents globally are women.²² In some countries, social norms prevent women from even speaking with a man, including professionals such as extension agents, in the absence of their husband.

Gaps in productivity between male and female farmers almost always disappear after



Sarah Rawson WFP 2014

accounting for inequality. From this, we may conclude that increases in productivity will follow gains in equality. The evidence bears this out. Countries with higher levels of gender inequality tend to have lower cereal yields than countries where there is more equality.²³ The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) estimates that if female farmers had the same access to productive resources as male farmers, the agricultural output in developing countries would increase by 2.5 to 4 percent.²⁴

Thus, in an interconnected global economy, gender inequality is not good for business. “Gender inequality diminishes a country’s ability to compete internationally,” concluded the World Bank in its 2012 World Development Report,

In many countries, especially in Africa, women farmers face discrimination in accessing credit and inputs, lowering their productivity.

Gender Equality and Development.²⁵ Leaders such as Shinzō Abe are opening their eyes to the damage gender discrimination does to the competitiveness of their national economies.

Some global businesses have also recognized the disadvantages of discriminatory practices and are taking measures to counter the effects of gender inequality on their own competitiveness. Coca-Cola, the world’s largest beverage company, launched a campaign to remove barriers to empowerment for 5 million women entrepreneurs across its value chain by 2020. Nestle now has a program to help level the playing field for women in its cocoa value chain.²⁶

Of course, multinational food companies don’t normally decide to contract with farmers because they are female or male; they contract with people who have secure access to land, who in most cases are men. Because of their limited access to productive resources, women are typically excluded from high-value contract farming. In Senegal, for example, fresh fruit and vegetable exports to the European Union increased from 5,000 tons in 1997 to 25,000 tons in 2006—but just one of the 59 contracted French bean farmers in Senegal was a woman.²⁷ Discriminatory laws and social norms frequently confine women to certain types of employment in the supply chain. For example, agro-industrial firms hire women mainly for the harvesting and packaging stages of their operations.

Women could gain some measure of bargaining power if companies named them the “contracted party” in labor agreements more frequently. Conversely, the earlier story about the Papua New Guinea oil palm industry shows how women wielding their existing bargaining power led to changes in the way companies are doing business.

“Gender inequality diminishes a country’s ability to compete internationally.”

— World Bank

There is no doubt that the expansion of global food supply chains has helped to improve women’s employment prospects. In one region of Senegal, 90 percent of the women employed in agro-industry processing had never before worked outside their home and family farm.²⁸

In Asia, although the majority of women still work in agriculture, the expansion of employment opportunities in global supply chains has opened up new opportunities, especially for young, unmarried women. Garment sector jobs enable rural women to leave for the cities where the factories are located. Social norms that restricted women’s mobility changed once the demand for their labor increased. The new demand also motivated parents to keep girls in school so that they have the skills to compete for the jobs. The earnings workers send home have raised their status in their hometowns and, on a wider scale, women’s status is improving because of the powerful boost the garment sector is giving national economies.²⁹

Dangerous working conditions and low wages have done little to discourage job seekers. More and more, garment factory workers are raising their collective voices to speak up for their rights. In April 2013, the collapse of a factory building in Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh, killed more than 1,000 people, most of them female garment workers, and drew the world’s attention to poor conditions in factories all over Asia. The fact that companies with brand names recognized by U.S. and European consumers were implicated in the tragedy—accused of complicity in the abuse of workers out of simple greed—helped spur regulatory reforms that are beginning to improve working conditions. In this case, the mistreatment of women workers proved to be quite bad for business. Read more about the garment workers’ campaign in Chapter 3’s “Sounds of Solidarity” section, starting on page 125.

The garment sector in Asia has created economic opportunities for young women, boosted economic growth in countries, and contributed to poverty reduction.



ILO/Livingston Armytage

THE SURPRISING POWER OF PINEAPPLES

Dr. Jo Anne Lyon, World Hope International

“Planting Pineapples, Harvesting Hope,” a recently launched program led by World Hope International (WHI), teaches small-holder farmer associations in rural Sierra Leone the value of their land and how to grow and harvest a profitable crop. Women especially are benefitting from the program as they learn how growing a year-round crop like pineapple provides year-round income, which in turn means year-round spending money for food, health, and education, enabling mothers to provide for their children.



Photo credit: InterMotion Media

Sierra Leone is a tough place to be a woman. One in eight Sierra Leonean women dies during pregnancy or childbirth. But it is women in the rural areas of Sierra Leone who are taking matters into their own hands and actively providing for themselves and their families' health needs.

In Sierra Leone, pineapples are unique among the other crops traditionally grown for two main reasons: a year-round growing season and a high-market value. These two factors work together for pineapple farmers to essentially eliminate Sierra Leone's “hungry months”—the season in between harvests in which many farming families survive on less than \$1 and just one meal a day. Through “Planting Pineapples, Harvesting Hope,” these farmers are connected to a direct buyer, Africa Felix Juice (AFJ), the first manufacturer to export value-

Pineapples, the traditional fruit of hospitality, is bringing welcome relief to many farming families in Sierra Leone.

added goods from Sierra Leone since the end of a brutal 11-year civil war in 2002. Smallholder farmers can sell their pineapples to AFJ, which will in turn use them to make pineapple juice to sell around the world.

An essential value of this program is the idea that women farmers are given equal access to all tools, trainings, and agricultural outputs, ensuring they are equally as able as the men in their communities to earn income from the sale of pineapples. The money women farmers earn from the pineapples is consistently invested into nutrition, education, health care, and savings. As a result, the farmer associations involved in this program—68 percent of whom are made up of women—reap year-round food and job security from the program.

Dr. Jo Anne Lyon is the current General Superintendent for the Wesleyan Church U.S.A. and the first woman to ever be elected to the position. She is also the founder of World Hope International.

A longer version of this story appeared in *Today's Christian Women*. Learn more about “Planting Pineapples, Harvesting Hope” at www.worldhope.org/pineapples. WHI's pineapples project is made possible by GIZ, CordAid and many other caring donors.

Agricultural Assistance to Help Build Women's Bargaining Power

With so many women in the developing world working in agriculture, it makes sense to start here when discussing strategies to enable women to free themselves from hunger and poverty. But there is no simple answer to the question of what kind of agricultural assistance is best. "There is a marked contrast between the lack of solid knowledge on what works for women farmers and the rich evidence that documents gender inequalities in agricultural production," explains a 2013 report by the U.N. Foundation, *A Roadmap for Promoting Women's Economic Empowerment*.³⁰

Moreover, of course women farmers are not a monolithic group. Solutions must be context specific, since strategies that work well for one group of women may fail for others. To move beyond subsistence production, the lowest-income women need more intensive services than those who have access to even modest resources.³¹ For example, landless agricultural workers need different kinds of information and training than those with access to land. Microcredit, which enables low-income people to borrow small sums of money to build a business, has been much less successful in enabling very poor women to lift themselves out of poverty than it has been for others. For women with the fewest resources, successful programs link lending with complementary services such as health care, education, financial literacy, and social services.³² Educating women about their rights to own land is inexpensive.³³ Community-based organizations could play a useful role in promoting legal literacy.

Women have rarely been consulted when agricultural development programs are being designed and implemented. Until recently, programmers essentially treated male and female farmers as members of one group. But experience has shown that this approach is rarely successful since gender discrimination leads to significant differences in needs and priorities. For example, since women are expected to do the vast majority of household chores, they may value crops that require less land preparation, weeding, and/or cooking time more than men do. Men may see producing crops that they can trade as their top priority, while women focus on ensuring an adequate food supply for the family to get through the lean season between harvests, or being able to offer their children a greater variety of foods.

How can development programs move from "rich evidence that documents gender inequalities" to "solid knowledge of what works for women farmers"? Among the innovative efforts to develop this knowledge base is the Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index (WEAI), developed by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) with its NGO partners. The WEAI is a survey-based tool that measures woman's empowerment in



Louis Stippel / USAID

In Ghana, Feed the Future, the U.S. global hunger and food security initiative, has provided agricultural development assistance to this woman and other members of a women's rice processing group.

five areas: crop production decisions, ownership and control of productive resources, control of income, community leadership roles, and use of time. The WEAI survey assigns both an absolute “empowerment score” and a score of a woman’s empowerment relative to her husband or other male member of the household.³⁴

WEAI is already yielding valuable information about the relationship between indicators of women’s empowerment and nutrition—a relationship critical to ending hunger. WEAI surveys are finding this relationship to be context specific. In Nepal, for example, two of the WEAI areas—increasing women’s degree of control over production decisions and reducing the amount of time spent on household tasks—have been associated with improvements in dietary diversity and children’s nutritional status. In Ghana, dietary diversity was instead strongly associated with women’s access to credit. And in Bangladesh, children’s nutritional status is more closely associated with parental education levels, a variable outside agriculture altogether.³⁵ WEAI offers valuable help in identifying strategies to help agriculture programs contribute more effectively to reducing hunger and malnutrition

WEAI reflects the renewed attention women’s empowerment is receiving at USAID; it is part of a wider effort to improve the agency’s gender policy framework. In 2012, USAID released a new and comprehensive gender equality and women’s empowerment policy. The Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC), another U.S. agency that supports agricultural development, also came out with a comprehensive gender policy that year.

MCC is a younger agency than USAID (it was established in 2004, while USAID has been oper-

ating since 1961) and takes a new approach. MCC works with countries that meet specific criteria related to investing in their people and governing transparently; participating countries develop programs themselves based on national priorities. Another MCC feature, its multi-year compacts, means that the program objectives can be longer-term as well. Accordingly, most governments choose to focus on large-scale infrastructure and agricultural development.³⁶

MCC’s principal objective is to reduce poverty through economic growth, an approach that assumes that the needed improvements will flow naturally out of economic growth. But as Professor Naila Kabeer eloquently states, “Market forces cannot on their own dissolve the ‘durable inequalities’ in rules, norms, assets and choices that perpetuate the historically established disadvantages of certain social groups.”³⁷

Since 2010, when MCC established a separate social and gender assessment group, it has sought to make gender integration an agency priority, using systemic gender analysis to reduce or remove inequalities that hinder both growth and progress against poverty. In MCC’s approach to gender integration, specialists conduct ongoing gender analysis to improve project results, from the earliest phases of program development through the end



Fintrac Inc.

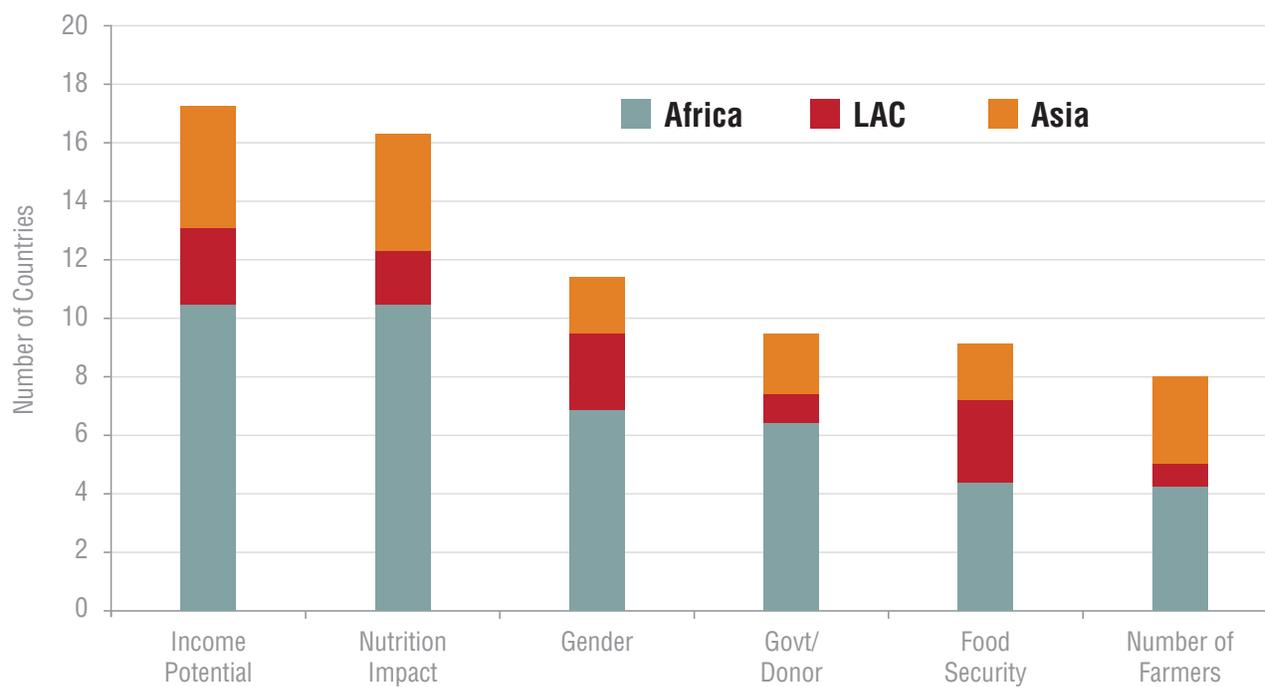
In Kenya, the Huruma Women’s Group is receiving support from a Feed the Future project to turn their maize and other staple crops into value-added baked goods for sale in local markets, generating additional income and increasing food security for the women and their families.

of the compact. As senior leaders of the social and gender assessment group explain: “The shift toward an operational and institutional approach to gender integration in the last several years reflects what we have learned about the limitations of a policy accompanied by leadership, good will, and some expertise, but without specific procedures and milestones for accountability: It is not enough.”³⁸

One of the experiences that led to the new operational and institutional approach took place in Nicaragua in 2005. Lack of gender analysis in the early stages meant that the compact’s Rural Business Development Project, intended to increase farmer participation in agricultural value chains, was designed without considering gender inequalities and differences. As it turned out, women’s participation in the project was effectively limited by requirements that participants hold specific productive assets. When a group of local women’s organizations found out about these structural barriers, they protested and offered a proposal that would integrate women into the project. It was eventually accepted; MCC was able to develop a more flexible gender-responsive approach to project requirements. In the end, gender-related criteria were included in all phases of Nicaragua’s compact and women’s participation in the business development project increased.³⁹

Today, these barriers are less likely to arise in U.S. agricultural development programs thanks to MCC and USAID requirements for comprehensive gender analysis. Gender integration is at the forefront of the focus areas of Feed the Future,⁴⁰ which was launched in 2010 as the U.S. government’s flagship global hunger and food security initiative. Today, Feed the Future provides agricultural development assistance to 19 countries. See Figure 1.3. Another

Figure 1.3 Factors Considered in Feed the Future Value Chain Selection



Source: USAID, 2014.

BOX 1.2

JOURNEY TO A PROMISING FUTURE: THE STORY OF A WOMAN FARMER IN RURAL BANGLADESH

SPRING/Bangladesh*

Rajopa is a housewife living with her husband, a day laborer, and their four children in the Charkhalifa village of Barisal Division in the southern delta region of Bangladesh. For years, she and her husband have struggled to feed their family on a marginal income. The youngest child, eight months old, is underweight and often suffered from diarrhea. Rajopa did not know about the universal recommendation that children should be fed complementary foods, in addition to breast milk, from six months to two years, so she continued to exclusively breastfeed. The infant did not receive enough calories and nutrients needed for proper growth.

With funding from USAID, the Strengthening Partnerships, Results and Innovations in Nutrition Globally Project (SPRING) invited Rajopa to join a Farmer Nutrition School (FNS), a community-level program that provides training on homestead food production. It targets resource-poor households with pregnant and lactating women and children under age two and employs a group-based, supportive learning process to enhance their access to diversified, nutrient-rich vegetables, fish, and poultry. A typical FNS has between 15 and 20 participants.

As part of her field school sessions, Rajopa also received counseling on a package of Essential Nutrition and Hygiene Actions. These are small, cost-effective, and easily “doable” actions focused on dietary diversity, women’s nutrition, and hygiene that have been proven to prevent disease transmission and reduce maternal and child malnutrition, mortality, and morbidity. Along with this training, Rajopa was taught how to build and install a

household “tippy tap” (a simple hand washing device) near toilets and kitchens to improve the adoption of hygienic hand washing practices. Rajopa applied the hands-on education she received to plant and harvest seasonal fruits and vegetables on her family’s previously uncultivated land. She also became involved in rearing poultry

“When I joined the FNS, I had no idea what it was about and what my benefit would be to be a member,” Rajopa said. “I thought it would be a waste of time, but a few days later, I realized that it could change my fate. I never thought that I could benefit from homestead land that [I thought] was useless.”

Rajopa’s children think the tippy tap she installed is exciting and fun to use. The produce generated from the garden fulfills a large proportion of the family’s daily food requirements and has helped to change their food intake pattern. She is now able to meet a substantial portion of the family’s nutritional needs with this produce from her garden. She also provides a daily egg to her youngest child who is now healthier and less frequently sick. “My husband also helps me in my [homestead food production] work and is very happy to

see my development.” While she has “graduated” from the FNS, Rajopa says her success has inspired those around her, encouraging other community members to seek knowledge from her.

* R G a n g a e uses the 1,000 days approach *within the health and agriculture sectors to facilitate social and behavior change aimed at preventing stunting in young children, working in the USAID Feed the Future zones of influence of Barisal and Khulna.*



For years, Rajopa and her husband have struggled to feed their family on a marginal income.

USAID project centered on women's roles in agriculture and nutrition is SPRING (Strengthening Partnerships, Results, and Innovations in Nutrition Globally), whose primary goal is to prevent stunting and other forms of maternal/child malnutrition during what has become known as the 1,000 days. This is the stage in human life, between a woman's pregnancy and her child's second birthday, when getting the right nutrients is the most critical. See Box 1.2.

Conditional Cash Transfer Programs: Another Strategy to Strengthen Bargaining Power

Since the mid-1990s, conditional cash transfers (CCTs) have been increasingly used by developing country governments and donors as a way of supporting families with children. When designed with gender in mind, CCT programs can potentially improve women's bargaining power within the household by putting money directly into their hands.

CCTs work by providing the family with a small cash allowance that continues as long as parents comply with the conditions—which are, most commonly, ensuring that children attend school regularly and have timely health checkups. Mothers may also be required to go for checkups themselves and/or attend health and nutrition workshops.⁴¹

The CCT approach has proven successful in raising school attendance rates for girls. Education is one of the most empowering experiences a child can have—it opens doors both to better jobs and to knowledge that is empowering in and of itself. CCT programs benefit girls more than boys. Despite progress toward equal educational opportunity, parents will generally decide to send their boys rather than their girls to school if a choice must be made.

The impact of CCTs for girls is more straightforward than for adult women. CCT programs do not build human capital for mothers as clearly as they do for girls who would otherwise not attend school. Simply having access to cash does not ensure that a woman is allowed to make decisions about spending it. It is also possible that the time required to fulfill CCT conditions—which may include not simply bringing a child to the health clinic, but also doing the chores that her daughter would be doing if she were not at school—could increase “time poverty.” Women in developing countries already spend up to 90 percent of their time each day on food preparation, child care, and other household chores.⁴² CCT participants may be willing to make the tradeoff, but the effect of this increased time poverty



Brazil's Bolsa Família, one of the largest conditional cash transfer programs in the world, has led to significant increases in school participation for girls.

may be to pull them away from income-generating opportunities, leaving them with fewer resources and less experience once their children become too old to qualify for the program.

Latin American countries pioneered CCTs. Most have become middle-income nations and can therefore better afford to finance large-scale transfer programs, just as they have more resources available to improve public services such as education and health care. Evaluations of CCT programs have documented their success in reducing hunger and poverty. This is particularly important because today, most people in extreme poverty live in middle-income countries.⁴³ As word spread about CCTs as a way to reduce poverty, low-income countries wondered whether the strategy could work for them too. Debt relief and development assistance have made it possible for them to begin to find out. Low-income countries and donors all over the world are now using CCTs, although most are a fraction of the size of Brazil's

or Mexico's programs. By 2010, an estimated 750 million to 1 billion people in the developing world were participating in a transfer program,⁴⁴ and the number has only grown since then.

The most studied of the Latin American CCT programs is Mexico's Programa de Educación, Salud, y Alimentación (PROGRESA, now Oportunidades). The program currently reaches 6.5 million households—25 percent of the population. Like other CCT programs, its cost is very modest—0.4 percent of GDP.⁴⁵ For data on other programs, see Table 1.1. "PROGRESA seeks to improve the condition of women and empower the decisive role they play in family and community development," reads an early policy document for the program.⁴⁶ Studies show that the program has increased women's self-confidence, improved their status in their communities, and helped reduce tensions within the household.⁴⁷

Women who have participated in PROGRESA/Oportunidades report that their husbands largely support the program. It is viewed as a program for the children, so it does not threaten men's role as breadwinner, and because men's own earnings are so low, they welcome the additional income to cover household expenses. Women use the income primarily for their children's needs—for example, clothes and school supplies—or for additional food for the whole household. Because these are already "women's domains," husbands generally do not try to weigh in on the specifics of their wives' purchases.

There is always a risk of overstating the impact of one program, even one as large as Oportunidades, but the CCT does seem to be changing community norms for the better. It is associated with reduc-

Families in Oportunidades, Mexico's conditional cash transfer program, receive a bonus if children graduate.



Richard Lord

tions in domestic violence—including among nonparticipating households in communities where program beneficiaries are concentrated. The same spillover effect for nonparticipants has also been noted in education, with overall girls' school enrollment rates rising.⁴⁸ The greatest impact has been at the secondary school level. PROGRESA/Oportunidades has not increased girls' primary school enrollment rates significantly, since primary school attendance was already quite high when the program began. Secondary school enrollment rates have increased for both boys and girls, but a study of the 2002-2003 school year showed that girls' enrollment increased twice as fast as boys' enrollment.⁴⁹ The program also reduced dropout rates at all stages of secondary school; moreover, the situation improved the most in the later grade levels, meaning that more girls were getting to graduate.⁵⁰

Table 1.1 Major Conditional Cash Transfer Programs

Country/Program	Start year	Beneficiaries	Spending	Conditions
Brazil Bolsa Familia	2003	13 million households = 26% of population	US\$10.75 billion = 0.53% of GDP	<i>Education:</i> School attendance of at least 85% for children ages 6-15, and 75% for ages 16-17. <i>Health:</i> Vaccines up to date, prenatal care, health visits, growth monitoring.
Chile Chile Solidario Ethical Family Income (EFI)	2002 2010	410,000 households = 8% of population	US\$400.5 million = 0.18% of GDP	<i>Education and health:</i> Chile Solidario: Social workers assist families in developing individualized plans for overcoming poverty, with specific conditions. EFI: "Duty" transfers conditional on school attendance, regular health care, and other agreed objectives; "Achievement" transfers conditional on good grades, school completion, and women's employment.
Mexico Progresa/ Oportunidades	1997/ 2002	6.5 million households = 25% of population	US\$5 billion = 0.4% of GDP	<i>Education:</i> Daily school attendance (at least about 85%) bonuses for graduation. <i>Health:</i> Pre- and postnatal care, regular health visits, participating in health seminars.
India Indira Gandhi Maternity Benefit scheme	2010	300,000 women = 1% of women who be- come pregnant annually	US\$61.5 million = 0.003% of GDP	<i>Health:</i> Prenatal check up and counseling, infant immunizations, exclusive breastfeeding, and growth.
South Africa Child Support Grant	1998	11.3 million children = 55% of children	US\$4.7 billion = 2.1% of GDP* *% includes spending on old age pension (2.9 million elderly, =69% of popula- tion>60, US\$4.9 billion)	<i>Education:</i> School attendance to age 18 (as of 2010).

Source: ILO (2013). *Cash transfer programs, poverty reduction and empowerment of women: A comparative analysis: Experiences from Brazil, Chile, India, Mexico, and South Africa.*

EMPOWERING WOMEN AND GIRLS IN PASTORALIST COMMUNITIES



Joseph Molieri/Bread for the World

*Fouzia Abdikadir Dahir,
Mandela Washington Fellow*

A year ago, I met a pastoral family and a nine year old girl received me as I entered the home. After talking to the girl, I learned how passionate she is about school. I asked why she was not going to school. She said that her school is 14 kilometers away, and though she was comfortable with walking this distance, boys used to beat her every day until she had to drop out.

Is this the end of the little girl's future? Not as long as I am here. I intend to change things for her and other girls in her same situation.

Northern Organization for Social Empowerment, the organization I founded in Northeastern Kenya, advocates for pastoral women and girls. Being a pastoral woman from this region who has made it this far, I plan to use every opportunity to advocate for the rights of these women and girls.

In a region that has long been marginalized, among a people who rarely stay in one place for very long, we have to address specific issues that undermine the education of girls. Even though tuition fees have been abolished in the public schools, parents who can hardly provide food for their children cannot afford school uniforms and stationery.

The primary objective of Northern Organization for Social Empowerment is to create an alternative economic livelihood for pastoral women through farming. This

initiative will help the women to settle and give them the means to send their girls to school, and the income earned from farming will make it possible to keep the girls in school.

We launched an outreach program in the rural areas to sensitize parents on the importance of educating girls, and I am glad to say the feedback has been positive. Culture poses a major challenge to the girl child's education. Families who have embraced modern education still hesitate to educate a girl. According to them, educating a girl is a waste of time because her rightful place is in the kitchen. Parents still believe that the honor of a woman lies in her family, and many are the times they marry a girl off to a man thrice her age. Early marriage shatters the girl child's dreams of education.

For the ones whom luck favors and they get to go to school, domestic chores become an obstacle they must struggle to negotiate. They have to travel kilometers to fetch water, gather firewood and also do the cleaning, leaving no time to do homework. They eventually drop out of school.

We made sure that the school committees have slots for the pastoral women and men so that they are included in the affairs of the school. Parents will interact with the teachers and understand each other better; this step will open their eyes and understand what is expected of them as well as the girls. This will help to address general challenges like reducing the amount of domestic chores girls are obliged to do.

Fouzia Abdikadir Dahir is a member of the first class of the Mandela Washington Fellowship for Young African Leaders sponsored by the U.S. government. In the summer of 2014, she attended a summit in Washington, DC, hosted by the White House, with all 500 of the Mandela Washington Fellows. She also participated in an eight-week, follow-on internship with Bread for the World Institute.

CCT programs that include group mobilization components present opportunities to enable women to build their bargaining power. “Where CCT programs organize collective activities for beneficiaries, such as meetings, committee participation, and workshops,” said Caren Grown, author of USAID’s Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment policy and now with the World Bank, “women report increases in their knowledge, social awareness, and self-confidence.”⁵¹ Grown observes that without such collective activities, programs are missing a valuable opportunity to improve women’s status.

Oportunidades requires participants to engage with other women in these types of groups. Some of the spillover effects on nonparticipants may be explained by the status and visibility of the women who are active on committees and attend workshops. In cultures where female behavior is tightly constrained, leaving home for activities with other women may be a highly unusual thing to do. Women may be required to finish all housework and prepare their husbands’ meals before leaving the house,⁵² but for some, being away while their husband is home and might want their attention is itself a step toward independent decision-making.

The research finds categorically that CCT programs do the most good when mothers control how the money is used,⁵³ whether the programs are designed to be “women’s empowerment programs” or mainly to benefit children. Here again, we see that women’s control of their own income is a vital strategy in efforts to end malnutrition and hunger among children.

Producer Groups: Strength in Numbers and Changes in Attitudes

When women farmers join together in producer groups, they can use economies of scale to overcome inequalities that are otherwise stubbornly resistant to change. Agriculture specialists distinguish between several types of producer groups (cooperatives, associations, etc.), but our point applies to all: groups of women can mobilize a stronger voice, more bargaining power, and better development of their businesses than individuals operating alone. We saw this earlier in the story of the women who had been excluded from MCC’s Rural Business Development Project in Nicaragua, but came together to propose a solution and win approval for it.

In April 2014, Bread for the World Institute visited Malawi, a small country in southern Africa where 90 percent of the rural population earns its livelihood in agriculture. The average landholding is 0.8 hectare—just under two acres—and the poorest households earn a living from even smaller plots.⁵⁴ Female-headed households, the most vulnerable of all, make up 28



Todd Post/Bread for the World

Members of the Chimbiya Piggery Cooperative in Malawi. Originally, it was an all-women’s group, but now males participate if they agree to share decision-making authority with the women.

percent of all households.⁵⁵ Given their situation, which is similar in a number of other developing countries, it is in the interest of these farmers, male or female, to join a producer group. Just one example of why this is true: smallholders in Malawi lose an estimated 40 percent⁵⁶ of their production to spoilage—staggering post-harvest losses. And individually, farmers cannot afford to invest in storage facilities to protect the crops they have worked to produce.

The goal of all the farmers in producer groups is to break out of subsistence levels of production and become successful agribusinesses. Subsistence is the way of life for male and female smallholder farmers alike. Because each farm is so small, nobody by himself or herself has the bargaining power to negotiate better prices for crops, invest in infrastructure to increase productivity, or negotiate favorable terms with financial services. The economies of scale they achieve together as a group increase with each producer, regardless of gender, and the success of the enterprise depends on the ability to take advantage of the potential of all its members.

“She never knew how much I made and I never told her. Now we share everything we earn.”

— Yusef Dickson,
Malawian farmer

NASFAM, the National Smallholder Farmers’ Association of Malawi, is the country’s largest farmer organization with more than 120,000 members. The farmers it works with are organized into much smaller groups, sometimes as small as 10-15 members.⁵⁷ While many of the groups are made up predominantly of women, NASFAM doesn’t promote all-female

or all-male producer groups. Instead, groups tend to organize according to the crop they are cultivating. This can turn out to be groups that are mostly men or mostly women, because in Malawi, as in many developing countries, certain crops are regarded as women’s and others as men’s. Tobacco, the country’s top export, is considered a man’s crop. Soy is a woman’s crop.

Women’s empowerment is one of NASFAM’s main priorities, but empowerment programs can—and some would say “must”—work with men to address gendered norms that hold women back. Farming presents a natural opportunity to work with husbands and wives because it is something they both do. Whether they are working together in the same field or separately, it is their combined production that goes into putting food on the table and keeping a roof over their heads.

Connex Malera initially resisted his wife Dyna’s appeals to attend a meeting of the producer group she had joined. But after he consented and attended one meeting, he could see that working within a group had its advantages. What happened then is something he didn’t expect. NASFAM offers farmers training in running an agribusiness; as part of the training, instructors help participants examine gender dynamics in their household and how these dynamics affect their ability to achieve their business goals. See Box 1.4 on page 60 for one of the specially designed tools used to explore gender dynamics. By working together with his wife on a vision of what they wanted to accomplish together, he was in a sense forced to listen to her ideas about farming, and it was a surprise to him how smart she is—smarter than he is, he thought.

“I used to say this is a wife and her job is to cook and take care of the children,” Connex told Bread for the World Institute at a meeting with the producer group. “I am the head of the household and it is my job to make all the decisions. Now we discuss and make decisions together.”⁵⁸

The value of having men in the group extends beyond the changes in the male participants themselves, because they become ambassadors for change among other men in the community. They have more credibility than women do when they make the case to other men for suspending their biases against working with women. Connex recruits other men to the group now. But he does this in subtle ways, often talking with them at informal gatherings where they may be playing a board game or drinking. At first, the other men dismissed his argument that there was any benefit to working with women. Eventually they grew curious: first after noticing that his income was rising, and then when the hungry season came and he had plenty of food while they were running out.

One of the men Connex recruited was Sungani Selemani, who recounted how he used to share Connex's attitude that it was useless to discuss business with women. Today, he has joined the group with his wife, and they



Todd Post/Bread for the World

discuss all of their household matters and make decisions together. In addition, he says, he has quit drinking and stopped hitting his wife when he is unhappy.

Yusef Dickson has also quit drinking and says that the group has helped him to become a better husband and father. A musician, Yusef has composed a song about his transformation. And when we spoke with him, he also shared a story about how the training they have participated in together has also changed his wife. "After she had sold her groundnuts, I had not yet finished with my tobacco. She came to me and said take this money and use what you need to finish your tobacco. That taught me a lot. Previously, she was just like me—keeping the money she made from her groundnuts for herself. All the money I made from my tobacco I kept for myself. She never knew how much I made and I never told her. Now we share everything we earn."⁵⁹

Connex Malera (left) and Sungani Selemani (right) are glad to be part of a mixed-gender farmers' group. They encourage other men in their community to join who doubt the benefits of sharing decision-making power with female farmers.

Prerequisites for Women's Empowerment and Ending Hunger

Investing in Health

It may seem too obvious to bear mentioning that for a woman to live a full life and contribute to her family, community, and country, she must grow up healthy and, as an adult, be free of debilitating or disabling health problems. Perhaps most obvious of all is the need for women to survive pregnancy and childbirth.

BOX 1.4

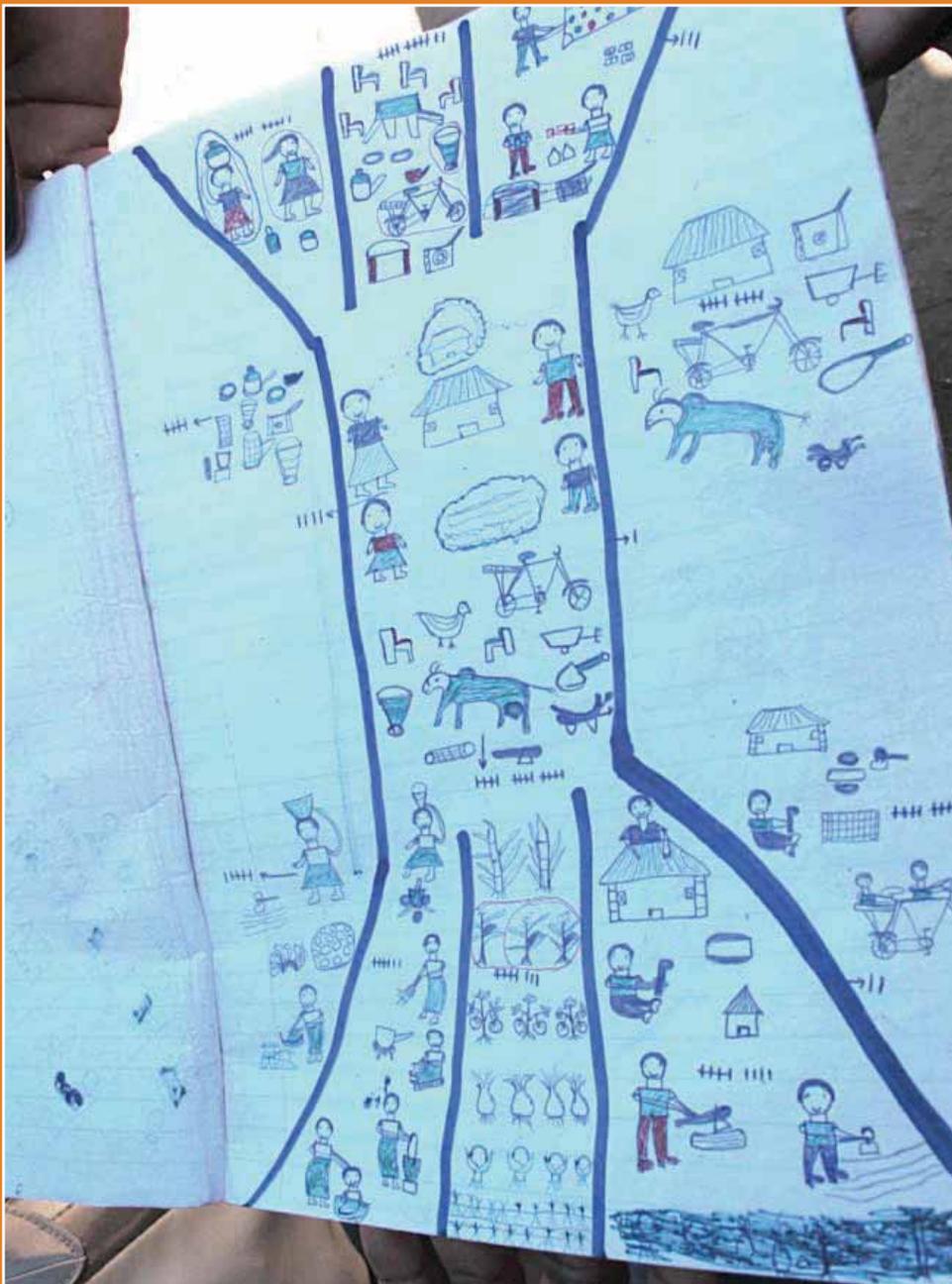
THE GENDER BALANCE TREE

Rebecca Morahan, Twin

The image shown here is an example of a Gender Balance Tree created by a husband and wife participating in the NASFAM program discussed on pages 57-59. A Gender Balance Tree is a tool to map out different areas of work, expenditure, property and decision-making and identify whether

these relate primarily to women or men. The purpose is to make explicit what is usually accepted without question in terms of gender relations, opening up space for discussion and reflection. Families use the tool to identify and track changes they would like to make and it can function as a kind of household contract or plan.

The tree includes three sections: roots at the bottom, trunk in the center, and branches at the top. One side of the tree is designated 'female' and one side 'male,' as illustrated by the figures on the inside of the trunk. If there are male and female children in the household these are also included just below the drawings of the adult men and women. Each diagram is individualized and reflects the situation in a particular household.



For more information about the methodology, go to www.wemanglobal.org/2_GenderActionLearning.asp.

The roots of the tree illustrate the work, both paid and unpaid, which men and women carry out individually or as a couple; women's work appears on the left side of the tree, and men's on the right side. The work they do together appears in the central section of the roots. Men's and women's work are also differentiated to show whether or not they generate income—domestic work appears inside the root, income-generating activities on the outside. For example, in this diagram women are shown inside the roots to be cooking, cleaning, fetching water, etc., and men to be building roofs and chopping wood.

The branches of the tree show how the income is distributed. The branch on the female side shows expenditures made by women, and on the male side expenditures made by men; the middle of the branches section shows their joint or household expenditure. The branches section is designed to generate discussion about access to and control of income, and the choices men and women are able to make about how they spend money. It also gives the participants an opportunity to reflect on their current spending and whether it is helping them to move in the direction they want. Typically, as the icons in this diagram indicate, men spend money playing pool and other games and drinking. An area of expenditure identified by women was ritual gift exchange with other women, shown as a woman carrying a wrap on her head. Both men and women identified these activities as ones they want to reduce expenditure on to invest more in achieving their longer-term goals.

The trunk section shows how property is distributed and who participates in decision-

making. It is consistently found that higher value items of property such as livestock and modes of transport (bicycles, oxcarts) are regarded primarily as belonging to men. Women's individual property consists mainly of different kinds of pots and pails. This section of the diagram usually generates debate about what ownership means (for example, the right to make decisions about use, such as loaning an item to others) and how to make ownership more equitable. Decision-making is indicated by thought bubbles, shown in this diagram in relation to the icon of the house inside the trunk.

By completing the diagram together, the message that is communicated to men and women is that a balanced tree provides a strong base for household development. Therefore the aim is to encourage sharing of work, property and income, including re-investment in the farm and in jointly owned assets, and to balance all of these areas

between the male and female sides of the tree. When a change occurs, they circle the areas they had sought to change in red (indicating ripe fruit). In the diagram, notice red circles in the central area of the roots around agricultural activity and in the branches around women's expenditures and the use of a bicycle. In addition, inside the trunk the presence of some property usually regarded as male (for example, cattle, bicycle and oxcart) can represent a decision to regard these as joint property rather than the sole property of men.

Re e a o r a a n is a Gender Associate for *Twin*, a UK-based organization that works with smallholder farmers in Africa and Latin America to promote fair trade and equality in the division of *labor and finances by ending the exclusion of women farmers from decision-making.*

The objective is to bring men and women together to look at a variety of constraints and behaviors that create and deepen poverty.

Of the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), there has been less progress reducing maternal mortality than on the other goals. The key to lowering maternal mortality is improving the quality of maternal health care.⁶⁰ Every day approximately 800 women die from preventable causes related to pregnancy and childbirth, 99 percent of them in the developing world.⁶¹ In 2011, 47 million babies were delivered without skilled care, primarily in the coun-

tries where maternal mortality rates are highest.⁶² In several countries, giving birth carries a 1 in 25 chance of death, and many more new mothers suffer long-term health effects.⁶³ In a few places, it is even riskier; for example, 1 in 10 women in Afghanistan die from complications of pregnancy and childbirth.

Improvements in maternal mortality can have a profound effect on a society's development and economic growth. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the United States had one of the highest rates of maternal mortality among the high-income countries of the time. In 1920, one in six U.S. women suffered a long-term disability from childbirth. The decline in maternal

mortality was due primarily to improvements in services for pregnant women and changing norms about where births should take place—in a hospital rather than at home.⁶⁴ Between 1920 and 1950, U.S. women joined the labor market at an unprecedented rate. The driving reason behind this dramatic change was improvements in maternal health.⁶⁵

Today, high rates of maternal mortality and disability resulting from pregnancy and childbirth are usually associated with poverty—but some low-income countries have shown that poverty need not be an intractable barrier to rapid improvements in maternal health. In Sri Lanka, the maternal mortality rate was cut in half between 1947 and 1950 from 1,000 per 100,000 births to less than 500. The rate has continued to fall and is now 29 per 100,000 births.⁶⁶ Sri Lanka has a modest GDP—and yet, the country made striking progress against maternal mortality with public expenditures on health care that have averaged only 1.8 percent of GDP since the 1950s.⁶⁷ As in the United States, reductions in maternal mortality were bolstered by improvements in services to pregnant women and during labor and birth. In Sri Lanka, midwives were trained to fill the void when too few doctors were available.

Other factors related to reducing maternal mortality include increased access by girls to education and improvements in their overall health and living conditions. These lead to a delay in the onset of sexual activity and thus decrease the chance of pregnancy before girls are ready to cope with the physical, emotional and psychological demands of having children. Having fewer children simply exposes women to less risk and allows them the opportunity



Ben Edwards, USAID/Haiti

Haitian mothers—many with children in tow—learn about maternal and child health at a clinic in a tent camp.

to more fully develop their potential. Delaying onset of sexual activity makes it possible for young women to participate more actively in the economy. Empowering women naturally leads to reductions in poverty and to smaller families that parents are better able to support.

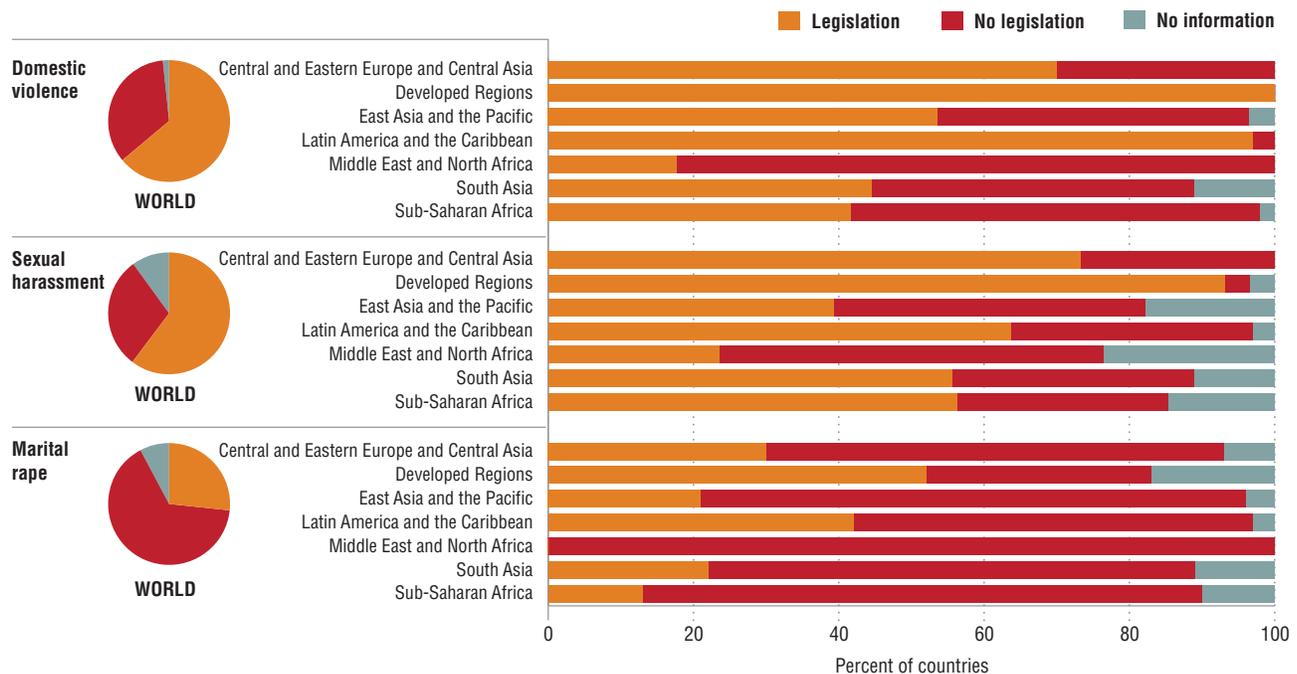
The ability of a woman to negotiate her sexual relationship with her husband is one of the truest signs of the empowerment of women. A woman at risk of sexual violence in her home—and with nowhere to turn for help—is as disempowered as one can be. Laws exist to protect women against sexual violence, but for inexplicable reasons frequently stop short of protecting her at the door to her own home. See Figure 1.4. Rape within marriage is illegal in only about a third of countries.⁶⁸

Beyond maternal mortality, there are many other harmful consequences of gender bias in health care and underinvestment in other facets of girls’ and women’s well-being. Overall, women and girls in low-income countries die at a higher rate than men and boys. This is not caused simply by a lack of resources; rather, it stems from deeply held societal beliefs that women and girls are simply not as valuable as men and boys.

Missing is the term coined by Nobel laureate economist Amartya Sen to describe excess female deaths, or deaths that would not have happened if not for gender discrimination. According to current estimates, there are 6 million missing women and girls.⁶⁹ It can start in the womb, since preferences for sons remain strong in many countries, including very populous China and India, and access to medical care to determine the sex of a fetus is now affordable to increasing numbers of parents.

Figure 1.4 **Laws on Violence Against Women**

Two thirds of countries have laws in place against domestic violence, but many countries still do not explicitly criminalize rape within marriage.



Source: UN Women (2011), *Progress of the World's Women, 2011-2012: In Pursuit of Justice, UN Women Report*.

Infant girls fare poorly in low-income households. Excess female deaths in infancy and childhood are caused mainly by lack of access to clean water and proper sanitation. Between birth and age 5, children contract between 50 and 70 illnesses.⁷⁰ While boys and girls face similar risks of exposure to contamination, parents often choose to treat sons and daughters differently. For example, some mothers stop breastfeeding their infant daughters prematurely so that they can get pregnant again in hopes of bearing a son. Cessation of breastfeeding too early leaves the infant girl more vulnerable to childhood illnesses such as diarrhea—still the number one killer of children globally.



Laura Elizabeth Pohl for Bread for World

Common childhood illnesses don't have to be fatal. Treatment for diarrhea, for example, costs hardly anything—it is basically a solution of water and salt. Free medical care for poor families would keep parents from being forced to choose treating one child's illness over another's—choices that turn out to reflect gender discrimination with young lives at stake. Access to medical care might make the family's biased attitudes irrelevant. A study of seven countries with very high child mortality rates found no difference in the way girls and boys were treated once they arrived at a medical facility.⁷¹

Not only does underinvestment in daughters lead to higher mortality rates for girls, but those

Underinvesting in the health of girls and women contributes to child mortality and intergenerational cycles of poor health and poverty.

who survive are at risk of poor health for the rest of their lives. Stunted children are not only stunted in height but are more susceptible to chronic illnesses and have more difficulty learning. As adults, stunted women's short stature puts them at greater risk of complications from pregnancy and childbirth.⁷²

Maternal mortality itself is a potential reason for parents to underinvest in girls, says economist Esther Duflo: "If parents expect girls to be much more likely to die as young women than boys, they may be more inclined to invest in boys."⁷³ This would be the completion of a vicious circle that perpetuates high rates of maternal mortality.

As mentioned, interrupting this cycle by providing health care so that women survive childbirth and do not sustain lifelong injuries, and parents are not forced to choose which children will get medical treatment, saves lives and, over time, can help change perceptions that females are weaker and more susceptible to illness. Governments and civil society organizations can also help change public attitudes with education campaigns that point to the importance of key actions such as having a trained attendant during childbirth, sustaining exclusive breastfeeding for a full six months and extending it until age 2.

Investing in Education

Between 1990 and 2010, the percentage of women globally with no formal education fell from 22 percent to 13 percent.⁷⁴ Nonetheless, two-thirds of illiterate adults are female.⁷⁵ In a study of 108 countries, Sonia Bhalotra and Damian Clarke found that for countries where girls have at least a single year of school the maternal mortality rate declines by 174 deaths per 100,000. The impact of education on reducing maternal mortality is at least equal to or larger than the impact of skilled birth attendance.⁷⁶

Moreover, education is linked to lower rates of infant mortality since girls with some education marry later and have fewer, healthier children.⁷⁷ Education for girls is also a direct cause of lower poverty rates and higher labor force participation. Literacy and numeracy also make it possible for female farmers to take advantage of new technologies to increase their productivity. In fact, whether farmers benefit from greater access to information



UN Photo/Albert González Farran

about markets and weather depends every bit as much, if not more, on literacy levels as on improvements in information and communications technology.

Given its proven benefits, national governments and donors have prioritized investments in education as a way of reducing gender inequality. Since the turn of the century in particular, there has been a groundswell of support for girls' education. The MDGs include achieving gender parity in primary and secondary school enrollment. While progress has been steady, neither of these targets will be achieved. By 2015, 70 percent of countries are expected to achieve gender parity in primary enrollment.⁷⁸

There has been less progress in reducing inequality at the secondary level. By 2011, only 38 percent of countries had achieved gender parity at the secondary level, compared to 60 percent for primary.⁷⁹ But while basic literacy is most critical, completing secondary education means sizeable increases in earnings for both men and women.⁸⁰ Between 1999 and 2009, sub-Saharan Africa made the greatest gains of all regions in secondary education, with enrollment rates rising from 28 percent to 43 percent for the lower secondary grades (seventh to ninth) and from 20 percent to 27 percent for upper secondary.⁸¹ Despite this progress, however, the region still has the lowest enrollment rates and the greatest gender disparities.

The poorest girls continue to have the fewest opportunities for education. The law may say all children must go to school, but weak capacity for enforcement means that in practical terms, it's up to each family to comply. In most countries, primary school is free but secondary school usually is not—hence the much greater progress in primary education.

Better educated girls are more likely to work when they are adults, have fewer children, and exercise more decision-making power in their households.

Many families whose daughters complete primary education are simply not able to afford secondary education for them; either none of the children can go to high school, or boys are prioritized. Abolishing secondary school tuition and fees would make a big difference, but this is, of course, expensive, and not all countries can afford to.

Is education eroding social norms that value women less than men? It depends on how you measure progress. Between 1990 and 2011 in the Middle East and North Africa, for example,

education seems to have had a very limited impact on gender norms that constrain women's activities outside the home.⁸² Girls' primary and secondary school enrollment in the two regions rose by 16 percent and 23 percent respectively, yet women's participation in the labor force over the same period rose by only 3 percent.⁸³ In Argentina, Brazil, El Salvador, and Mexico, four middle-income Latin American countries, men who have not completed primary school are as likely to be in the labor market as women with tertiary education.⁸⁴ While formal education systems provide an opportunity to challenge social norms, education is an institution—and, like other institutions, reflects



Yessi Maryam

A USAID-supported school project in Indonesia provides science education while addressing the practical necessity of treating contaminated drinking water.

social norms and can easily contribute to inculcating them, whether intentionally or not.

If we believe that education is transformative, we need to consider as well what boys are being taught about gender roles and gender equity at school. Surveys show that better educated men put more time into caregiving.⁸⁵ It may be that better educated men tend to marry better educated women, whose bargaining power as a result of their education makes it possible to change gender norms in their household. Or it could be that education itself is the catalyst to change men's perceptions and weaken stereotypes. In either case, society benefits: the daughters of educated men and women are supported and encouraged to finish school.

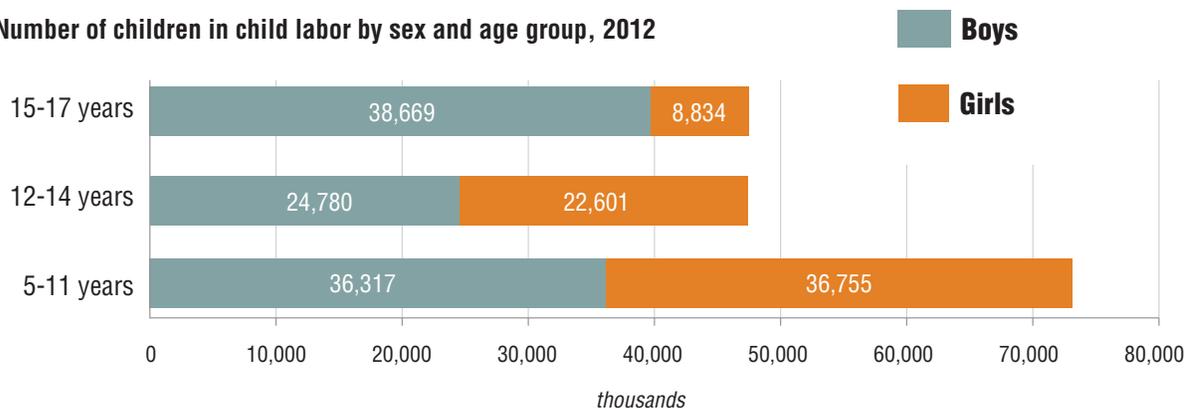
Schools can be as dangerous an environment for adolescent girls as society at large. In a survey of school girls in Zambia's Lusaka Province, 54 percent of respondents said they had personally experienced some form of sexual violence or harassment from a male teacher, classmate, or man they encountered while walking to and from school.⁸⁶ In South Africa, teachers were the perpetrators in 33 percent of reported rape cases of girls at school,⁸⁷ while adolescent girls in Ecuador identified a teacher as the perpetrator of sexual violence in 37 percent of cases.⁸⁸ A study in Malawi's Machinga District found that teachers had caused pregnancies in 19 of 40 schools.⁸⁹ Sexual abuse is pervasive around the world, including developed countries, because it has existed for so long in cultures of impunity. Nor is this exclusively a problem of the developing world.

Abolishing primary school fees has helped to cut child labor among girls by 40 percent since 2000.⁹⁰ Boys have also benefited, but not nearly as much since so many boys were already attending school. Boys outnumber girls as child laborers in all sectors except for domestic work (a sector out of public view that leaves girls especially vulnerable to abuse).⁹¹ According to the latest estimates by the ILO, there are 100 million male and 70 million female child laborers. But these numbers do not reflect the number of girls who are pulled out of school to assist their families with household chores or to care for younger siblings and other dependent family members.

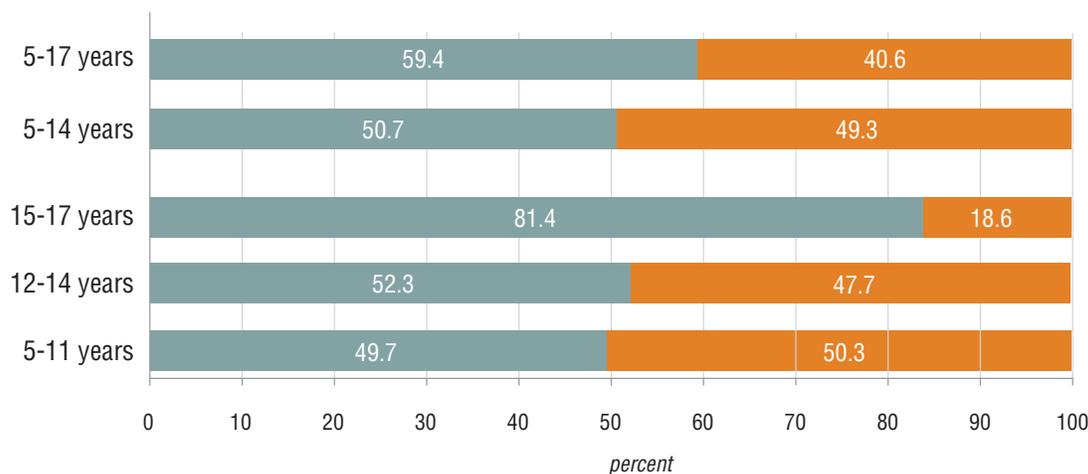
What is interesting about the ILO estimates is the gender ratio is virtually 50/50 between ages 5-14. A yawning gap opens between ages 15-17 with boys making up 81 percent of the world's child laborers and girls 19 percent.⁹² See Figure 1.5. This sharp drop in child labor among girls 15-17 has to do once again with an interaction of economic factors and social norms. Child marriage is almost always a strategy to marry off adolescent daughters to secure their future and lighten the parents' economic burden. In India, the country with

Figure 1.5 **Children in child labor by sex and age group, 2012**

(a) Number of children in child labor by sex and age group, 2012



(b) Distribution of children in child labor by sex and age group, 2012



Source: ILO (2013), *Making progress against child labor: Global estimates and trends, 2000-2012*.

the highest number of child brides, educating a daughter tends to depress the price of her dowry. Whereas in some African countries, the custom is for men to pay a ‘bride price,’ and educating a girl is found to bring the parents of the bride a higher offer. Education is not about individual empowerment; rather it is a bargaining chip to be used by the girl’s family. In neither case does the girl have a say, or a future that is hers. The decision to pull her out of school or let her continue is as much about the parents’ expected return as anything.

Of course, we want all children in school, not at work, realizing their right to education and building the human capital they will need to escape poverty as adults. Research going back at least two decades shows that the incidence of child labor is lowest where power is more equally divided between mothers and fathers.⁹³

“Culture poses a major challenge to the girl child’s education. Families who have embraced modern education still hesitate to educate a girl.”

— Fouzia Abdikadir Dahir,
Mandela Washington Fellow

The premise of this chapter is that increasing women’s control of income and assets improves their bargaining power. One particularly powerful example of that impact is when women are more able to insist that their daughters attend school. As we have seen, educating women is the

key to education and better nutrition for their children. Mothers spend more of their own income on children’s education than fathers do of theirs. When mothers don’t have income from work, or too little to pay school fees or related costs such as uniforms, books, and other supplies, transfer payments in the form of cash or assets have become a popular mechanism to make up the difference, as we saw in the discussion of Conditional Cash Transfers. The cost of education may be quite low while remaining unaffordable for the poorest families. Having the asset of one cow and the milk produced, for example, could provide all the income a woman needs to ensure that her children receive an education through secondary school.

U.S. Development Assistance Supporting Progress on Gender Equality

In July 2014, President Obama hosted a Town Hall meeting for 500 Mandela Washington Fellows who had come to the United States as part of the U.S. government’s Young Africa Leaders Initiative (YALI). These are some of the best and brightest people between the ages of 25 and 35 on the African continent, and in the Town Hall meeting they did not shy away from challenging the president on how the United States could be a stronger partner with their countries.

Changu Siwawa, a young woman from Botswana, said to the president, “I just wanted to find out how committed is the United States to assisting Africa in closing gender inequalities, which are contributing to gender-based violence and threaten the achievement of many Millennium Development goals.” The president responded, “Everything we do, every program that we have—any education program that we have, any health program that we have, any small business or economic development program that we have, we will write into it a gender equality component to it. This is not just going to be some side note. This will be part of everything that we do.”⁹⁴

The United States is already taking significant steps to apply a gender lens to the development programs it supports. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Feed the Future, launched in 2010, makes gender a key focus area. For example, gender analysis is con-

ducted continuously through all phases of its projects to ensure that women have truly equal opportunity to participate, and Feed the Future has piloted the WEAI (Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index). With some adaptation, WEAI could be used in U.S. development programs beyond agriculture. Another possibility is to take another look at the other tools developed to capture multidimensional aspects of poverty that WEAI itself is adapted from,⁹⁵ to identify other ways they could be used to improve how U.S. programs integrate gender-related factors.

There are several other specific things the United States could do to help African countries close gender inequalities. For example, the United States has not ratified the Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), adopted in 1979 by the UN General Assembly. All but seven countries have ratified CEDAW and the United States has the dubious distinction of being one of these.⁹⁶ CEDAW is more than a symbol. Not ratifying it while publically supporting the MDGs, which include among other goals benefiting women and girls, a stand-alone goal to achieve gender equality, is a remarkable inconsistency. For example, the United States could help ensure that the need to end discrimination against women is fully incorporated into the post-2015 development framework that is currently being finalized and will replace the MDGs when they expire in December 2015.

Presently there is no single entity in the U.S. government responsible for coordinating the efforts of the multiple agencies with programs that seek to level the playing field for women and girls, but the Office of Global Women's Issues in the State Department is a strong candidate for that role. To do this, however, the office would need to be given the permanent status and mandate it currently lacks. One proposed definition of its mandate is that it design, support, and implement activities to remove barriers to the empowerment of women inter-

Participants of the Mandela Washington Fellowship for Young Africans at the Presidential Summit of the Washington Fellowship in Washington, D.C., on July 28, 2014.



U.S. State Department

nationally. The office's Ambassador-at-Large would coordinate U.S. government efforts on gender integration and advancing the status of women and girls in U.S. foreign policy.

Violence against women, as mentioned earlier, is not only a shockingly common violation of women's rights, but poses significant barriers to development in general and to ending hunger and malnutrition in particular. Ending violence against women is thus part of U.S. anti-hunger efforts, just as Feed the Future, U.S. emergency food aid, and school feeding programs are.

Changu Siwawa understands the connection between gender-based violence and hunger all too well. She is the Outreach Coordinator for the Kagisano Society Women's Shelter in Botswana. When she asked the president about the U.S. commitment to help Africa in closing gender inequalities, she highlighted the need for U.S. development assistance to strengthen African countries' efforts to end violence against women.

Local NGO capacity building is one of the most important ways for U.S. development assistance to support partner countries. It is up to people from the country and the cultures concerned to figure out how to end gender discrimination. No one else can, despite how ubiquitous gender inequality is around the world, because the inequalities are highly situation specific and embedded in culture. Thus, the United States can be a more effective partner with Botswana by providing support to build the capacity of institutions such as women's shelters, schools, and government offices so that they are able to succeed in closing gender inequalities in their country.

The Kagisano Society Women's Shelter is an example of how U.S. development assistance can support the building of such local capacity. The shelter is funded in part by the U.S. President's Emergency Program for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR). Botswana has one of the highest HIV/AIDS rates in the world, and the web of connections among HIV/AIDS, sexual

BOX 1.5

YOUTH ALLIANCE AGAINST Gender Based Violence

YOUTH ALLIANCE AGAINST Gender Based Violence started because of a need to inform, advocate and conduct research that reflects multi-sectoral and intergenerational approaches to prevent and ultimately end gender based violence in Africa. During the 1st Mandela Washington Fellowship for Young African Leaders in Washington, DC, eight of the participants from different countries who work on development issues related to women and girls came together to discuss ways of addressing pertinent issues that impede development efforts in our countries. A consensus was reached to focus our efforts on solutions to gender based violence.

According to a 2013 global review of available data, one-third of women worldwide have experienced physical, sexual or emotional violence. However, some national violence studies show that up to two-thirds of women

have experienced physical and/or sexual violence in their lifetime from an intimate partner. More than 64 million girls worldwide are child brides; 41 percent of women aged 20–24 in West and Central Africa report that they married before the age of 18. Women are already two to four times more likely than men to become infected with HIV during intercourse. Forced sex or rape increases this risk.

Every day our work across sub-Saharan Africa reveals that these sad statistics are real. We are determined to reduce this trend and ultimately end it through our advocacy, action and research. We are making a call for organizations and individuals across Africa to join this alliance so as to increase the reach and impact of our work. Our goal is to make Africa a continent where all men and women, boys and girls are equally involved and informed to take action to end all forms of gender based violence.

violence, and poverty is omnipresent there. PEPFAR supports the work of a Peace Corps volunteer at the Kagisano Society Women's Shelter. Danielle Tuft has a master's degree in public health and was placed at the shelter to work on capacity building. She assists Changu in outreach to children through school-based programs, developing a curriculum that gets primary- and middle-school students to reflect on the power relations they witness in their homes between mothers and fathers, and on how those relations are shaping their own experiences with the opposite sex.⁹⁷

U.S. government assistance has also provided technical support for the creation of a national database of victims of domestic violence, which Kagisano Society Women's Shelter is using to identify people to refer to services such as health care and food assistance. U.S. development policy gives PEPFAR the flexibility to broaden its mandate to include disentangling the complicated web of connections among HIV/AIDS, gender-based violence, and hunger. U.S. assistance also provided a space for Changu and other young African leaders to come together in Washington, DC, where they founded a pan-African alliance against gender based violence. Read more about this in Box 1.5.

Looking Forward

A complex interaction of social norms, gender roles, and economic conditions produces barriers that stand in the way of women's exercising agency in the family, in the public sector, and as economic actors. One of the primary barriers is an inequitable distribution of unpaid work, particularly raising children, which restrict their economic and political participation. Improving women's bargaining power absolutely depends on recognizing, reducing and sharing their unpaid work. This is the subject of the next chapter.

In order to achieve the goal we will be implementing these activities in the next two years:

- Hold a biennial conference with policy makers, practitioners and researchers to discuss progress made on indicators.
- Training for program staff at civil society level.
- Publications of material and toolkits for education.
- Use of traditional and social media to advocate.
- Youth and male involvement in interventions.

In addition, we plan to launch a campaign to collect 100,000 signatures compelling African leaders to implement policies that will protect survivors of gender based violence and vulnerable groups and also ensure they receive justice.

www.facebook.com/groups/youthagainstgbv
@youthagainstgbv

Founding members from the 2014 Mandela Washington Fellows

Names	Country
Changu Siwawa	Botswana
Isaiah Owolabi	Nigeria
Brian Magwaro	Kenya
Faith Nassozi	Uganda
Samuel Duo	Liberia
Mweta Katemba	Malawi
Jestina Simba	Sierra Leone
Mirielle Muhigwa	DRC Congo

A VOICE AT THE ECONOMIC TABLE

Elise Young, Women Thrive Worldwide

Donors, implementing partners, researchers, and advocates are finally asking how to increase women's participation in economic development. But few are asking how women living in poverty figure into this. Until low-income women are invited to the table and given the opportunity to share their concerns and solutions, none of our investments in economic growth, poverty alleviation, or gender equality will be able to achieve their full potential. In adjusting our ears to what low-income women have to say, we will also have to rethink how we design, implement, and evaluate economic development programs.

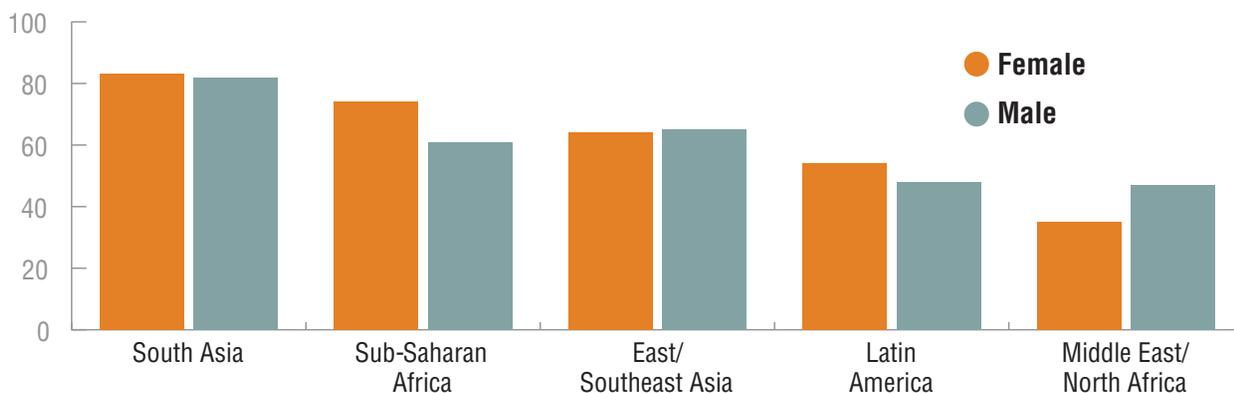
In 2013 and 2014, Women Thrive reviewed 17 ongoing studies, conducted focus groups with more than 200 grassroots women and men in Haiti and Ghana, and interviewed 40 experts from both the Global North and Global South. In our recent report, *Less Than Two Dollars a Day: Creating Economic Opportunity for Women and Men Living in Extreme Poverty*, we identify major barriers and openings to women's economic development. These include access to and control over crucial assets such as land, capital and markets. In addition, we highlight four strategies for stakeholders to adopt.

1. Prioritize the informal economy
2. Invest in leadership development
3. Maximize the impact of collectives
4. Engage those living in extreme poverty

Prioritize the Informal Economy

Most people living on less than \$2 per day work in the informal economy. See Figure 1.6. In sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia, informal labor makes up 66 percent and 82 percent of non-agricultural employment, according to the International Labor Organization (ILO). Women,

Figure 1.6 **Informal Employment as a Percentage of Non-Agricultural Employment by Sex, 2004-2010**



Source: WIEGO/ILO, 2013

more so than men, are concentrated in lower-skill, lower-capital, and lower-income segments of the informal economy.

Workers who earn their livelihood in the informal economy have few outlets to ensure that their rights are being upheld. One organization working to address this challenge is WIEGO (Women in Informal Employment, Globalizing and Organizing.) WIEGO is a network of development practitioners, researchers and member-based organizations seeking to increase the voice, visibility, and validity of individuals in the informal sector, especially women.

One of the greatest challenges to addressing women's (and men's) needs within the informal economy is the gap in quality data. Very little donor funding exists for data collection at large, and even less for the informal economy. Few countries collect data, much less sex-disaggregated data, on informal economic activity. As a result, millions of workers around the world go uncounted in economic statistics. Groups like WIEGO, working with the ILO, have made important inroads in this space. More sex- and age-disaggregated data on the informal economy could lay the necessary groundwork for finding sustainable solutions to poverty. A better understanding of the informal economy would have profound implications for improving regulations and worker protections.



Vicente Jaime "Veejay" Villafranca

Countries with the largest populations in poverty also have high rates of agricultural employment.

Invest in Women's Leadership Development

Women who have had few opportunities to realize their full potential deserve a more comprehensive action plan to support their leadership transformation. Leadership development programs are few and far between for women living on less than \$2 per day. Leadership includes proficiency in soft skills such as public speaking, networking and the ability to negotiate. Soft skills can help women gain access to more sustainable income generation, including within the formal sector. In addition to strengthening formal sector participation, leadership skills often make the difference in whether women have a say in how economic development programs are designed. A lack of leadership skills is one reason donors give for not putting more women in management roles within development projects.

A VOICE AT THE ECONOMIC TABLE

When interviewing focus groups in the Northern region of Ghana in 2013, Women Thrive gained greater insight into how leadership skills can effectively be transferred. One grassroots leader explained how visiting the commercial farm of a woman farmer/entrepreneur in the Southern region of Ghana allowed her to build her skills. According to her, 'it is one thing when you tell me about what I can do to become a better leader for my community. It is another thing when you can show me and help me to practice it.' She advocates for mentoring and learning exchange programs to build low-income women's capacity. Her economic potential greatly expanded when she witnessed first hand how a successful agricultural business operates. However, knowledge transfers are not as successful if they remain stand-alone exchanges. They must be part of a longer, ongoing system of support, continued training and consistent check-ins. The grassroots leader we spoke with in Ghana continues to learn from the woman farmer/entrepreneur she visited, and this is helping to transform her as a leader.

New economic opportunities in Bangladesh have meant more educational opportunities for girls.

Maximize the Impact of Collectives

Women spend at least twice as much time as men on domestic work, and when paid and unpaid work are considered together, women work longer hours than men do. Women Thrive's



Todd Post/Bread for the World

global south partners consistently highlight the vital role collective action plays in managing care responsibilities for both children and the elderly, accessing capital from loans to land, and finding creative ways to process and market their products when loans do not come through. Women with few resources of their own are often able to multiply their economic opportunities and safety nets exponentially when concentrated in groups.

The same applies to mixed groups and associations of men and women. For many mixed collectives, shared responsibility and leadership between men and women is transforming lives for the better. A farmers' movement in Haiti with whom Women Thrive partners, for example, launched a series of gender sensitivity trainings and women's leadership classes several years ago that have had a real impact on gender dynamics within the movement. Joint male-female leadership has created new possibilities for them in accessing resources, attaining crucial knowledge, and mobilizing mass community support.

Despite strong anecdotal evidence pointing to the power of collectives, they remain a significant gap for researchers, policymakers, and practitioners alike. Nor are collectives a major focus of funding, either through direct procurement or indirect engagement. Small investments yield huge results with women's and mixed collectives.

The power of a few cell phones and the transportation and resources necessary for regular meetings can often make the difference in women's ability to organize their way out of poverty.

What's needed is nothing less than a gendered revolution in the way that we design, implement, and evaluate economic development programs.

Engage Those Living in Extreme Poverty

The dominant discourse and programming on women's economic empowerment often does not make sufficient distinctions between populations of women. Even when poverty reduction is a stated goal, many donor funded efforts face challenges in reaching those living in extreme poverty. Corporate philanthropy in particular can skew toward middle- and upper-income people. Women with relatively higher-incomes, more education, and fewer social barriers present lower risk and can get faster, more impressive returns on donor investments.

Selecting participants requires forethought about how to engage with marginalized groups of women. It takes time to build the trust needed to get honest, helpful input into development solutions and to generate a sense of ownership among participants. It is this level of ownership that will advance sustainable poverty solutions. What's needed is nothing less than a gendered revolution in the way that we design, implement, and evaluate economic development programs.

Women living in extreme poverty need to be guaranteed a place at the table to share their views on reducing gender barriers to economic prosperity. The international development community needs to ensure that the table is big enough, a seat is set for these women, and that everyone else at the table is listening.

eng is the Vice President for Policy and Government Affairs at Women Thrive.



The Care Gap: Reducing Gender Inequality in the Realm of Unpaid Work

Chapter Summary

Caregiving is vital to the social and economic development of all societies. The development of a nation's human capital—the productivity and creativity of its workforce—is a direct result of the care that children receive. Yet caregiving is taken for granted because it is seen as women's work. This chapter argues for collecting more data about women's care responsibilities, a better accounting of the value of caregiving, and for “care-sensitive” policies that remove barriers to women's empowerment.

Care responsibilities drain many national economies of their female workforce. Market-based activities account for only one-third of women's work in developing countries, compared to three-quarters of men's.¹ The gap is widest for workers between the ages of 25 and 49, when childcare responsibilities make it difficult for women to continue their paid work.² One reason that elderly women are so vulnerable to hunger and poverty is they were providing unpaid care during their most productive years.

As the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) draw to a close in December 2015, advocates are organizing to ensure that the issue of unpaid care work remains front and center in the post-2015, post-MDG development framework that is now emerging in global negotiations. “Recognize, reduce, and redistribute”³ is a veritable mantra of top advocacy priorities.⁴ Care is a public good in the same way that education, clean water, clean air, and a safe food supply are all public goods. Every country should measure and thus recognize the amount of time women and men spend on unpaid care work. Public services can reduce the amount of unpaid care work women do by taking on a greater share of the responsibility for providing it.

But improvements in public services are not enough—caregiving duties must be divided up so that no one has to do more than her or his fair share. Unfortunately, women's willingness to share men's breadwinning responsibilities has not been matched by men's willingness to share unpaid caregiving responsibilities. Redressing the inequality will require public initiatives that lead both men and women to examine and challenge their perceptions of what an equitable division of labor looks like. Equally important, public policies should not, consciously or unconsciously, reinforce and strengthen stereotypes that force men into breadwinner roles and women into caregiver roles. Men stand to gain from closer family ties as well as from women's increased earning power.

MAIN RECOMMENDATIONS IN THIS CHAPTER

- Challenge male and female stereotypes that perpetuate gender inequalities and discrimination.
- Recognize the economic and social value of unpaid care by counting it as work that contributes to economic output.
- Share care responsibilities more equitably between men and women in a household and between the state and families.
- Reduce the burden of unpaid care by investing in labor-saving technology and infrastructure; social protection and cash transfers; and childcare and early education.

Recognizing Unpaid Care Work

Around the world, women are the caregivers. They take care of children, look after sick and elderly family members, and prepare meals for the family—but these are only a few of many care responsibilities. Care work encompasses all activities that are necessary to maintain a household, including chores such as fetching water and firewood.⁵ Social norms dictate

that women do these things for their families. (In this chapter, we are talking only about unpaid care work—although paid caregivers are overwhelmingly women as well). Low-income women in developing countries must struggle to balance unpaid care work with earning income, usually from agriculture or a small enterprise.

It is true that many women gain fulfillment from some of their care work. But this does not justify caregiving status as a socially prescribed and unequal responsibility, with women having no choice but to assume most or all of it. According to time-use surveys in developing countries, women are responsible for 85-90 percent of the time their households dedicate to unpaid care.⁶ In low-income house-



afreecom/Idrissa Soumaré

In 2014, women were more than twice as likely as men to become infected and die from Ebola. Because women are the main caregivers in their family, they are especially vulnerable to infection from contagious diseases.

holds, this adds up to many more hours than in middle- or high-income households that can afford to hire help and purchase labor-saving technology. It takes up to 13 hours to pound enough maize to feed an average family in sub-Saharan Africa.⁷ The time required to fetch water is a perfect illustration of the old expression “a woman’s work is never done.” A woman or girl with a jug of water balanced atop her head is a fixture in the landscape of rural poverty. In Africa alone, women spend an average of 200 million hours a day collecting water⁸—that is 8,333,330 days or 22,816 years’ worth of water carrying every single day that could have been put to better use.

A study in South Africa found that women who collect water and firewood spend only 25 percent of the time in paid employment as women who do not have these responsibilities.⁹ In addition to the routine tasks associated with fetching water to cook and clean, caring

Globally, women devote **1 to 3** hours more a day to housework than men; **2 to 10** times the amount of time a day to care for children, elderly, and the sick; and **1 to 4** hours less a day to income-earning activities.¹



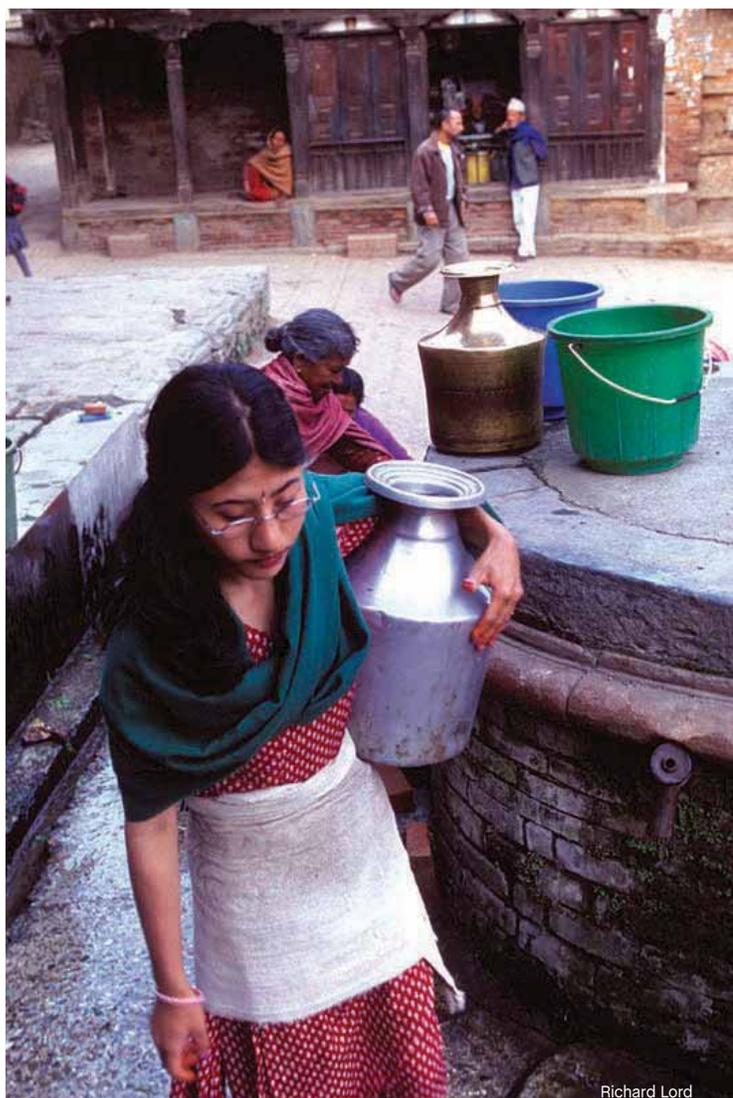
In some countries, women and girls spend up to **6 hours** of every day just fetching water.²

for a family member with AID increases the workload substantially. Another study found it takes an additional 24 buckets of water each day to care for an AID -affected family member.¹⁰

Economist Marzia Fontana of the University of London calls women the “safety net of last resort to ensure their family’s well-being when household income is reduced and social provision by state and local institutions is insufficient.”¹¹ When public services are reduced or not available at all, it creates a double bind for women, forcing them to take on more unpaid care work that limits their ability to do work that generates income¹²—and this, in turn, further jeopardizes the family’s economic security.

Often, “women’s empowerment” programs do not fully recognize these tradeoffs. They risk undermining their own effectiveness by not taking into account participants’ unpaid care responsibilities when they promote increased participation in market-based activities. For households in poverty, it is never an inconsequential decision to sacrifice paid work. It could cost the household its food security. But when a woman begins to spend more time earning income, caregiving still needs to be done. She cannot neglect fetching firewood or cooking or looking after young children. This work often shifts to an eldest daughter, whose education may be interrupted or simply end, and who is often not able to fulfill all the responsibilities of her mother. It is difficult to make lasting progress against hunger and malnutrition in a context that overlooks unpaid work and the time it takes.

The first step in making unpaid care an integral and essential part of development is to ensure that reliable information on the scope of the issue is available to policymakers. Currently, there are yawning gaps in the data; advocates in some countries are working in what amounts to a vacuum. “Collecting data on all women’s work, both paid and unpaid, is critical to improving the design of social policies and the allocation of resources to address poverty and inequality,” write Deborah Budlender and Rachel Moussi for ActionAid.¹³ Until unpaid care is made plainly visible to policymakers, it will not attract the attention it deserves or the investments that are needed in sharing care responsibilities more equitably.



Richard Lord

In rural areas of developing countries, women and girls are responsible for retrieving water used in cooking, drinking, cleaning, and washing.

**four
per
minute**

Two million women and children, four per minute, die prematurely every year due to illnesses caused by indoor air pollution, primarily from smoke produced while cooking.³

Women exposed to intimate-partner violence are **twice as likely** to be depressed, **almost twice as likely** to have alcohol use disorders, and **1.5 times more likely** to have HIV or another sexually transmitted infection.⁴

WATER: FUEL FOR WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP

Church World Service

Lobuin Lokadio Lokol is 43 years old and a mother of seven children. She lives in Naipa village of Turkana, in Kenya, and is the first wife in an extended family of three wives and 18 children.

In 2011, during the election of the village water management committee, she challenged the men in the village who felt that only a few women should be included as token members of the committee.

Per their customs and tradition, men are the leaders and therefore should make up the majority of the committee.

Of all the groups in the area, Lobuin remarked, none has had women in leadership. She pointed out that water is predominantly women's responsibility and they should therefore be allowed to manage it. With remarkable confidence she explained how all tasks involving access to water in the community are done by the women: walking 7.5 miles round trip to fetch water; carrying 5 gallon containers on their heads for cooking and to ensure the entire family has water to drink; watering the livestock; and bringing water to their husbands while they work in the grazing fields. She concluded by saying that since the program was aimed



Curt Carnemark/World Bank

Traditionally, women in the Turkana community in Kenya have not been asked to engage in decision-making nor to speak their mind.

at alleviating the suffering of women and children—especially girls, who help in fetching water—women were therefore supposed to manage the water project as they are the ones who feel the thorn in their flesh. She added that when the men do not get drinking water at home they beat their wives.

All present agreed with Lobuin's argument and applauded her for speaking up. Now women lead the water management committee of Naipa village.

For example, in partnership with local organizations, the World Bank is working to support sustainable development, meet emergency needs, help the displaced, and address the root causes of poverty, hunger and powerlessness.

Counting Unpaid Care

Assigning monetary value to unpaid care recognizes it as an essential component of human societies and economies. When it is clear that unpaid care makes vital contributions to nations, businesses, and families, the rationale will also be clear for more equitable sharing of responsibility for care among government, employers, and households, and between men and women.

There are two main ways of calculating the value of unpaid care. One way some countries handle the question is to figure the amount that the unpaid caregiver could have earned in paid work. That of course depends on the type of work each caregiver is qualified to do. The opportunity costs for a lawyer are not the same for a small-holder farmer. The other method—the one used in countries such as India and South Africa¹⁴—is to calculate the value based on the wage rates of paid caregivers.

Among all countries that are now trying to measure the value of unpaid care work, estimates range between 15 percent and 60 percent of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP).¹⁵ In India, unpaid care is estimated to be 35 percent of GDP; in South Africa, it is estimated at 15 percent.¹⁶ High-

income countries are more likely to analyze the value of unpaid care than developing countries. The problem for developing countries is related to their capacity to collect the data, but this is no different than the challenges they face collecting data on other development indicators such as income, nutrition, health, or education.

Despite its role in maintaining the labor force and assuring the functioning of a market economy, unpaid production of services for consumption in one's home is not counted in measures of GDP. GDP is said to be a measure of all goods and services produced, but presently care work counts only if it is done in other people's homes or in public or private institutions. Rosalind Eyben of the Institute of Development Studies, along with other economists and advocates, points out the absurdity: "When a man marries his housekeeper, he no longer has to pay her and therefore the nation experiences a decline in GDP."¹⁷ Rules do change.

Some unpaid production of goods is included in measures of GDP. In 1993, after intensive advocacy, subsistence agriculture (production of a good (food) to be consumed primarily in the home) was added to measures of GDP.¹⁸



UN Photo/Tobin Jones

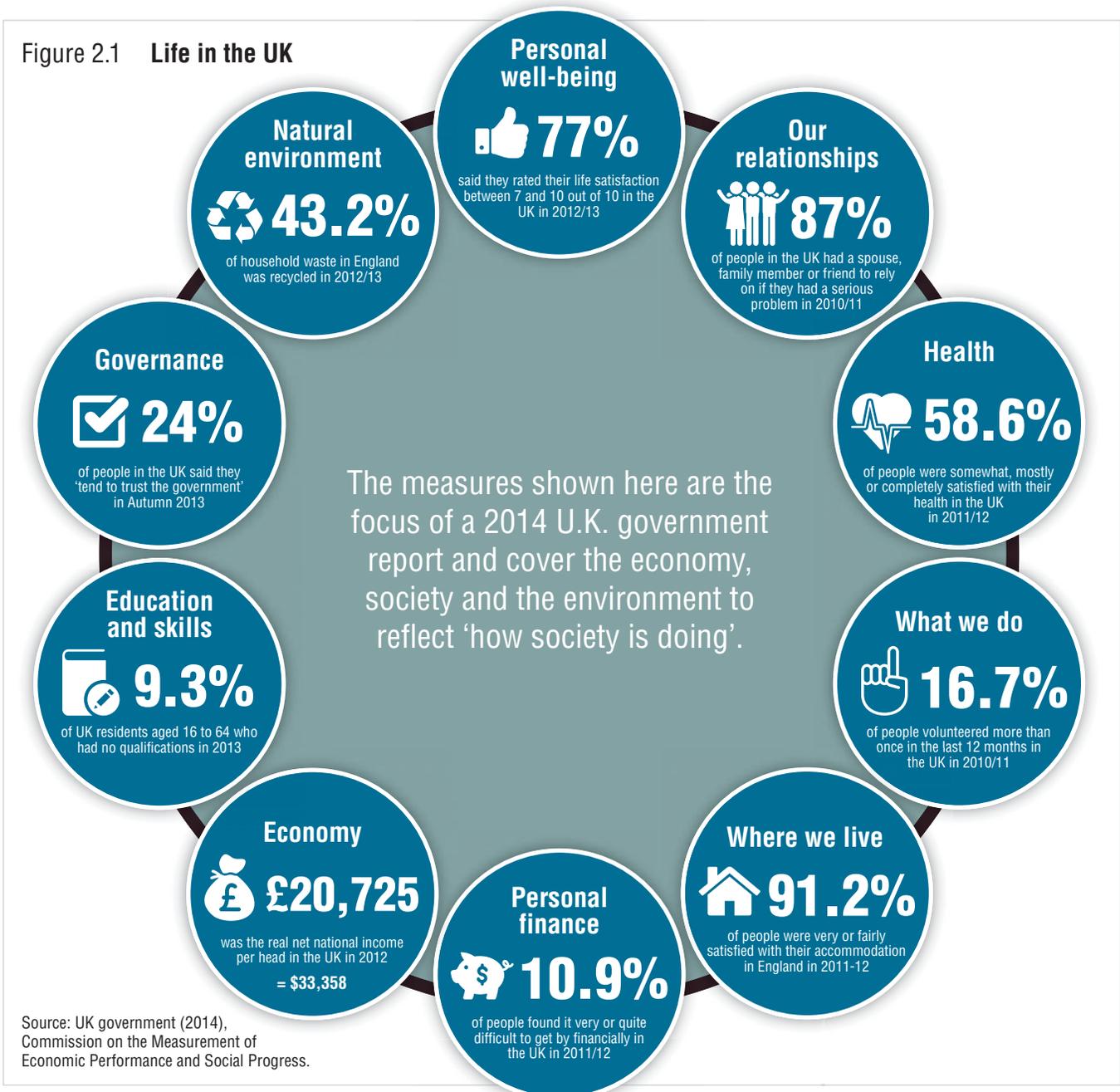
In order to ensure that girls are able to attend school, they must be liberated from the time-consuming tasks such as fetching water every day.

Why is unpaid care not part of GDP? According to international standards, it does not qualify because (1) it has limited repercussions on the rest of the economy; (2) it is difficult to impute monetary values to unpaid care services; and (3) its inclusion will disturb the historical trends.¹⁹

A substantial body of research challenges the first claim.²⁰ Care produces wellbeing and is a critical input in human capital formation. We don't have a lot of quantitative data or metrics to help researchers understand its precise role, but the attitude that it is not important to collect this information appears to be waning.

In 2010, Prime Minister David Cameron of the United Kingdom announced the establish-

Figure 2.1 Life in the UK



ment of the Measuring National Well-Being program. “This measure that we are setting out today reaffirms the fact that our success as a country is about more than economic growth,” he said. “It will open a national debate about how together we can build a better life. It will help bring about a re-appraisal of what matters, and in time, it will lead to government policy that is more focused not just on the bottom line, but on all those things that make life worthwhile.”²¹

Cameron’s announcement followed the release of a report by the Commission on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress, established in 2008 by Nicolas Sarkozy, then president of France. The commission had a similar objective—coming up with a more expansive set of metrics to give countries more information about how they are doing than just their GDP. Both Cameron and Sarkozy are conservative politicians; their initiatives indicate that alternate measures of social and economic progress already have broad support. Figure 2.1 shows the results of a nationwide survey conducted by the U.K. government on a range of well-being indicators. Twenty-eight other countries in the European Union collect data on well-being.

Beyond these explorations of “measuring beyond GDP,” several countries are already showing how monetary values can be assigned to unpaid services. The main tool being used to collect data is the time-use survey, which quantifies how much time a person spends on various activities over the course of a day or a week. Such surveys have been used far more widely since the Beijing Platform for Action was launched in 1995, because it called on all countries to “recognize and make visible the full extent of the work of women and all their contributions to the national economy, including their contribution in the unremunerated and domestic sectors.”²²

Time-use surveys do have well known limitations.²³ For example, people tend to underreport the time dedicated to care work. Someone may not be actively engaged in caregiving but must still be required to be present in a supervisory role—what is often described as “passive care.”²⁴ She may fail to report this as caregiving—but it is still a constraint on her time for doing other types of work.

Lastly, it may well be the case that inclusion of unpaid care will disturb historical trends in GDP, but that is not a reason to exclude important data and prevent policymakers and the public from seeing its true economic value. A gradualist approach is sometimes a workable compromise. For example, one way to promote change without calling into question the validity of the historical data is to use side-by-side measures for a time. In the United States,



UN Photo/Muzafar Ali

Women in Afghanistan gather bundles of kindling to heat their homes.

researchers' dissatisfaction with the methodology used to calculate the official U.S. poverty rate led to the creation of a supplemental Poverty Measure. This is now released alongside the official measure,²⁵ and it is a matter of time until the supplemental Poverty Measure replaces the older measure and becomes the new official version.

GDP is at best an inexact measure of social and economic progress. A 2014 study by a team of researchers from the United States, Germany, Switzerland and India found that economic growth (measured in GDP) has little to no effect on the nutritional status of the world's poorest children.²⁶ The study covered 36 low- and middle-income countries and data from national health surveys from 1990 to 2011. It traced the effects of GDP growth on the proportion of children younger than 3 suffering from stunting, underweight, and wasting.

"Our study does not imply that economic development is not important in a general sense, but cautions policymakers about relying solely on the trickle-down effects of economic growth on child nutrition," said Sebastian Vollmer, assistant professor of development economics at the University of Göttingen, Germany, and lead author of the study.²⁷ Getting the right nutrients to very young children is an absolutely essential part of caring for them. The results of this research and earlier studies with similar findings tell us that we must start looking carefully at unpaid care—beyond counting how many hours it takes, we need to know what shapes the quality of care that families provide and how this care can be improved.

Why Improving Care Is Central to Ending Hunger

"Care practices must be integrated into our understanding of context and causes of malnutrition," states Cécile Bizouerne in her 2005 study *Conceptual Models of Child Malnutrition*.²⁸

Malnutrition kills more than three million children each year—that's nearly half of all the children under 5 who die.²⁹ Those who survive malnutrition as babies or toddlers usually suffer stunting, the effects of which include permanent damage to their health and develop-

ment. The damage extends to how well they do in school and even their lifetime earnings.

With mounting evidence that economic growth by itself will not ensure improvements in children's nutrition, community-level and household-level efforts to prevent malnutrition, such as behavior change communication (BCC), become more important than ever. BCC trains caregivers in good nutrition practices and in how to incorporate such practices into care practices and norms. The nutrition principles that are emphasized include, for example, regular prenatal care for pregnant women, exclusive breastfeeding for

A mother and child at a hospital in Cambodia built with the support of the World Bank.



Chhor Sokunthea/World Bank

six months after birth, adequate complementary foods, proper hygiene, and identifying and responding to hunger cues. In other words, BCC is about improving the quality of care as it affects nutrition. Figure 2.2, reproduced from *Conceptual Models of Child Malnutrition*, illustrates how care practices and nutrition are interrelated.

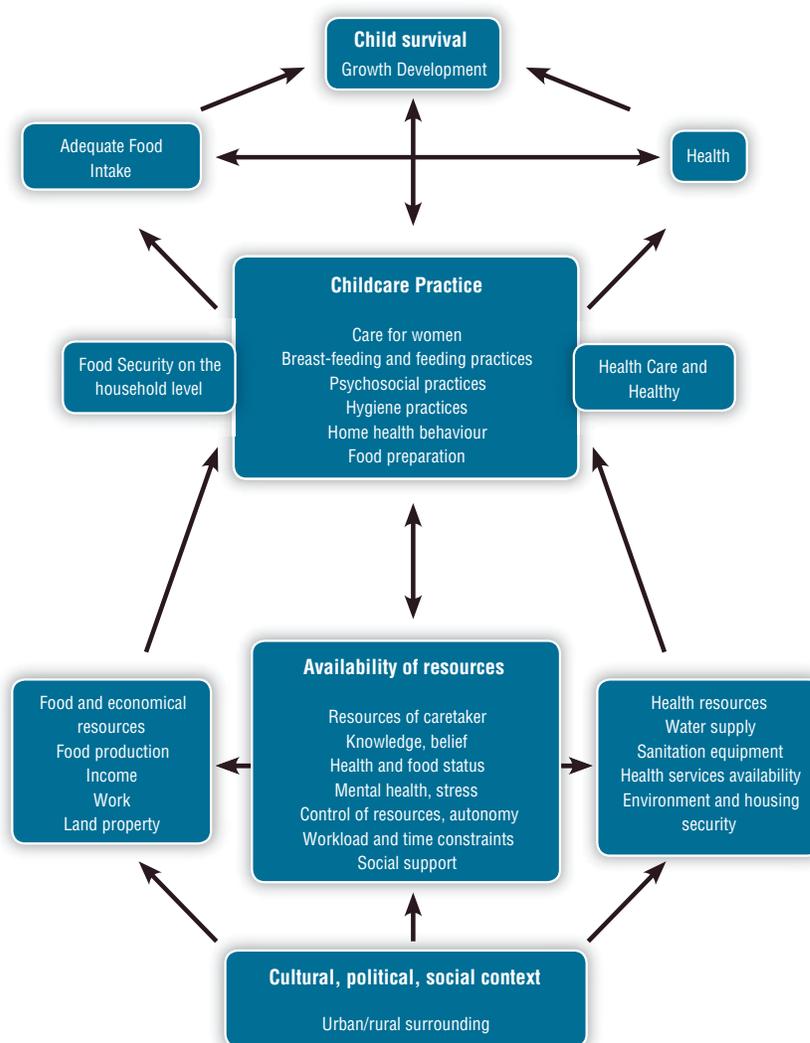
By the “context” of malnutrition, Bizouerne means the environment in which children are raised, which of course varies from culture to culture. Cultural norms have a strong impact on the nutrition context. In Vietnam, for example, where nearly one-third of children under the age of 5 are stunted, 97 percent of mothers breastfeed their babies, but only 17 percent breastfeed exclusively for the first six months as the medical experts recommend.

Somehow the culture has grabbed onto—and does not want to let go of—the misperception that Vietnamese women cannot produce sufficient breast milk for six months.³⁰

Decisions about birth spacing are another area where cultural norms impact the quality of nutritional care. A cultural preference for sons, for example, may cause a woman to stop breastfeeding an infant-daughter too soon in order to conceive again in hopes of having a son. This puts the baby girl’s health at risk. “Kwashiorkor,” a clinical term for a dangerous type of child malnutrition, has a much different meaning in the language of the Ashanti, a people who live predominantly in West Africa. There, kwashiorkor means a young child who has become sick due to her mother ceasing to breastfeed when she becomes pregnant again.³¹

The deep poverty and isolation of some contexts virtually creates the conditions for poor care practices. For example, imagine the context for a young mother in Niger, a country with one of the highest rates of child marriage in the world. Some people there believe that malnourished children stop eating as a result of sorcery, so taking a child to a health clinic is

Figure 2.2 **Extended Care Model**



Source: Cécile Bizouerne (2005), *Conceptual Models of Child Malnutrition: The ACF Approach in Mental Health and Care Approaches*, ACF International. Adapted from Patricia L. Engle, Purnima Menon, and Lawrence Haddad (1997), *Care and Nutrition—Concepts and Measurement*, International Food Policy Research Institute.

regarded as shameful. After all, the family must have done something egregious to provoke the sorcerer's spell.³² How effective will it be for a "wife and mother" who is 14 or 15 to argue? How does a young mother, as Bizouerne asks, "have the courage to go against the fears and beliefs of her family circle by bringing her child to hospital, and furthermore facing the shame of getting her child treated for malnutrition?"³³

As mentioned earlier, social and cultural norms are hard to change, and so are the mistaken nutritional care practices that stem from them. This does not mean, of course,

that care methods do not need to change, nor does it mean that no one should bother trying to change them. In some cases, in fact, national efforts have caused care to improve rather suddenly. In Vietnam in 2012, for example, the advocacy efforts of UNICEF, the World Health Organization, Alive and Thrive, and others, combined with support from the Ministry of Health, convinced the government to enact legislation banning breast milk substitutes for children younger than 24 months and extending the right to paid maternity leave for up to six months. Both provisions remove barriers so that women may continue to breastfeed.³⁴

Nepal achieved dramatic prog-

ress against childhood stunting in only 10 years. From 2001 to 2011, the rate of stunting fell from 57 percent to 21 percent³⁵—all during a protracted civil conflict. One of the keys to Nepal's success was scaling up its Female Community Health Volunteer (FCHV) program, a government initiative first launched in 1988. With financial support from the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and several nongovernmental partners, Nepal had nearly 50,000 FCHVs working all over the country by 2006. That year the FCHVs distributed Vitamin A capsules to more than 90 percent of the country's preschool-age children—an especially impressive accomplishment given Nepal's mountainous terrain.

The volunteers also educated pregnant women, parents, and caregivers about nutrition; distributed micronutrient powders; provided iron and folic acid tablets to pregnant women; and participated in community-based integrated management of childhood illnesses (diarrhea, acute respiratory infections, and measles).³⁶

The success of the FCHV program is due in large part to the support provided by local communities.³⁷ The community's role in training caregivers is crucial, particularly in rural areas where the number of professional health care providers is limited. The support of other women can also enable individuals to overcome lack of bargaining power in their household,



UNFPA/Anna Adhikari

In Nepal, women who are about to or have recently given birth meet with community health volunteers.

which in turn help them to better nourish their children. A 2003 study by the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), using data from sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia, looked at what factors determined whether babies of ages 6 months to 12 months were given complementary foods to supplement breast milk, as the medical community recommends. The study found a direct correlation between a woman's decision-making power and the probability that her child received complementary foods. Unlike breastfeeding, complementary feeding depends on a woman's control of resources and on her options when it comes to selecting foods for her children.³⁸

"A mother's ability to make decisions at home and in her community not only affects the care she receives and thus her own nutritional well-being," said the IFPRI report, "but also enables her to provide better care and nutrition for her children."³⁹

Community is perhaps even more important in extremely difficult times. Few Americans can imagine living through the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. When Bread for the World Institute staff visited in March 2014, a woman explained to us how the community enabled her to care for her child. In 1994, she had been barely more than a child herself when she survived rape by genocide perpetrators. She



Crystalline Randazzo for Bread for the World

became pregnant as a result. After her child's birth, she refused to breastfeed at first, unable to bear the shame and stigma of raising a child fathered by a perpetrator. It was through the support of other women in her community, many of whom had endured similar crimes, that she was able to accept and raise her child. In a sense, her community taught her how to love her child despite the horrific circumstances.⁴⁰ For more on Rwanda, including our meeting with rape survivors who have supported each other as a group since 1994, see Chapter 3.

The Rwandan genocide is an extreme example, but it illustrates the fact that good mental health is essential to parenting. Parents who have witnessed or been victims of violence are far less able to care for their children, who are at much higher risk of malnutrition than their peers.

In late 2013, the Central African Republic descended into chaos as ethno-religious violence uprooted communities of Muslims targeted by Christian militias. The NGO Action Contre la Faim (ACF/Action Against Hunger) began to collect data at its clinic for severely malnourished children. Most of the parents of the children being treated for malnutrition were suffering from post-traumatic stress, according to an ACF psychologist who worked at the clinic. As one mother explained, "I often have flashbacks about my brother and the

Rwandan women, members of the group Step Forward, have created a community of care to support one another in coping with the traumas experienced during the 1994 genocide.

way that they killed him. I lost my appetite and couldn't care for the child when it had difficulties eating.”⁴¹

Post-traumatic stress resulting from exposure to violence is associated with severe depression.⁴² A review of 20 years of research in the United States linked maternal depression with lack of adequate care and supervision of children.⁴³ “Even if they are present

physically, they are not psychically available,” says Bizouerne. “They do not respond adequately to other people and, consequently, to their own child and misinterpret their needs or do not meet them at all.”⁴⁴

addly, survivors of war or other large-scale violence are a huge group of people at risk for post-traumatic stress and whose children are therefore at risk of hunger and malnutrition.

But an even larger group is women who have been the victims of violence, particularly gender-based violence, in peacetime. Based on data from 86 countries compiled by UN Women, up to 70 percent of women experience physical or sexual violence in their lifetimes, and the majority of the offenders are husbands, intimate partners, or someone the women knew.⁴⁵ Among women between



UN Photo/Martine Perret

In Timor Leste, mothers and their children wait to receive health services from a mobile clinic.

the ages of 15 and 44, acts of violence cause more death and disability than cancer, malaria, traffic accidents, and war combined.⁴⁶ There can be little doubt that battered women, by definition subjected to repeated abuse, are at greater risk of depression. Studies reviewed for this report show that they suffer depression at two to four times the rate of women who are not abused.⁴⁷

Clearly, the persistence of gender-based violence, especially on such a staggering scale, is a major problem in and of itself. A human rights violation that is suffered by most people who fit into the targeted category (in this case, females) demands urgent and concerted action. It is now clearer than ever that gender-based violence perpetuates hunger and malnutrition. That is just one more reason for the international community, national governments, communities, and individuals from every walk of life to make the problem a priority. The post-2015 development agenda negotiations, and the goals that ultimately emerge, are an important opportunity to elevate gender-based violence as a priority for everyone.

Men Who Care

There are many men who feel they should—and want to—be involved in caring for their children, but admit they are inhibited by cultural norms. And those norms are instilled beginning at an early age, as the following exchange demonstrates.

a oyo oy n a o an wa ng a a y a e re ear er.
 eop e wo ay e a w y wo e wa a a y w en ere a wo an
 o a er ere oo a e re ear er.
 o ey on oo .
 y
 eyw o e er gn y. ⁴⁸

Murgesu teven from Sri Lanka, a husband and father of two small children, initially felt depressed and isolated as his children's primary caregiver. His wife Jeevarani migrated to find work so that they could afford to build a home for their family. They had been asked to leave the home where they were living with extended family because it was too crowded for all of them. His wife suggested she find work abroad where the wages are better. Nearly one in four Sri Lankan adults works abroad and the majority of them are women. The Middle East is the most common destination, where about nine in 10 are employed as housemaids.⁴⁹ On a visit to a clinic when his children were ill with fever, the doctor asked, "Don't they have anyone to look after them?" and then laughed when teven explained that it was he who looked after them.⁵⁰

Eduardo Munyamaliza, Executive Director of Rwanda Men's Resource Center (RWAMREC), shares a story of how the women at the health clinic where he brought his child took pity on him. He was the only man among 300 to 400 women there with the children on the designated vaccination day. The women thought he must be a widower. When they learned that was not the case, they advised him that his wife must have bewitched him. Eduardo shares this story because it not only says something about the women's attitudes, but it also explains why men would feel self-conscious or embarrassed about bringing their children to the clinic.⁵¹



Crystalline Randazzo for Bread for the World

Rwandan men participate in a training program to prevent gender-based violence and learn how to be more actively involved in caring for their children.

BOX 2.2

SISTERHOOD IS POWERFUL: HIV-POSITIVE WOMEN IN MOZAMBIQUE STAY HEALTHY THROUGH COMMUNITY ADHERENCE

Eric Bond, Elizabeth Glaser Pediatric AIDS Foundation

Lily Tivane is a proud mother of three living with her husband in a village 10 kilometers from the Chicumbane Health Center in Mozambique. Although she is living with HIV, her two older daughters, Lucia, 14, and Emilia, 9, were born without the virus thanks to Lily's adherence to antiretroviral (ARV) treatment.

But Lily sometimes struggled to maintain her treatment because of difficulties getting to her clinic. In this rural community, the main mode of transportation is feet. In addition, farming and childrearing duties make it hard to visit the clinic regularly. During a period when Lily was not receiving her treatment, she became pregnant and transmitted HIV to her youngest child, Rudivania, who is now 4 years old. This was a wake-up call.

Lily wanted to keep her daughter alive and maintain her own health, so she became a pioneer member of an HIV/AIDS community adherence support group, which ensures that she and Rudivania take their ARVs regularly. *Grupos de Apoio a Adesão Comunitária* (GAAC) bring women together for emotional and logistical support with the primary aim of collecting and distributing medication to families affected by HIV. GAAC is based on a model established by Doctors Without Borders and implemented through the Elizabeth Glaser Pediatric AIDS Foundation.

While pediatric AIDS has been nearly eliminated in the United States, around the world nearly 700 children are born with the virus each day. Without treatment, a child with HIV has a 50 percent chance of dying before the age of 2.

Women are the front line in this battle. More than 13 percent of Mozambican women of childbearing age are living with HIV. Fortunately, transmission of the virus from mother to child can be virtually eliminated if an HIV-positive woman adheres to treatment during pregnancy and breastfeeding. And a child who becomes infected can expect to live a long, healthy life if he or she receives treatment.

However, as Lily's situation makes clear, distribution of medication can be difficult in rural locations—where the virus has the strongest hold. GAAC groups improve the odds by bringing

“We decided to create this group once we understood how it works and its importance.”

together women, the traditional caregivers in the communities, to organize and lead support efforts. They gather at a common point of contact—in their neighborhood, at work, or at church.

Every month, one person from the group visits the local health center and picks up antiretroviral medication for herself and for the other members of the group. While she is at the facility, the designated group member will consult with her provider for her six-month check-up. Upon returning from the clinic, she then distributes the ARVs to her peers. Each month a different group member makes the trip to the health facility.

“We decided to create this group once we understood how it works and its importance,” said Cristina Cuna, the leader of Lily’s GAAC group. “The time spent before on ARV pickup is now spent on other activities, such as farming, selling in the market, and sewing,” she said.

In addition to benefits to their own health, budgets, and schedules, group members say that they are pleased that GAAC helps them educate their neighbors about the importance of HIV testing and treatment.

The women in Lily’s village are taking a traditional and common occurrence, the gathering of women, and using it to save lives.

Arne Hoel is a senior writer with the Elizabeth Glaser Pediatric AIDS Foundation.

The Elizabeth Glaser Pediatric AIDS Foundation has provided 20 million women with services to prevent transmission of HIV to their babies.



Arne Hoel/World Bank

RWAMREC was formed to help men cope with these emotions and encourage them not to reject the natural caregiving urge they feel. RWAMREC is spearheading MenCare's campaign in Rwanda. Now operating in more than 20 countries, MenCare was launched in 2011 by the *Ukonke Gender Justice Network* and *Instituto Promundo*, nongovernmental organizations founded in South Africa (2006) and Brazil (1997) respectively. Both now have offices internationally. MenCare is an extension of the work the groups were already doing to more actively engage men in promoting gender equality, recognizing the need for a campaign that is global in scope. The objectives are threefold: inspiring men to become full partners in maternal and child health, empowering fathers to raise daughters and sons equally, and reducing gender-based violence.⁵²



Crystaline Randazzo for Bread for the World

Gender roles in Rwanda have undergone a rapid transformation since the 1994 genocide, especially regarding women's involvement in government decision-making (see Chapter 3 for more on this). Rwanda ranks highest among sub-Saharan countries on key gender-equality indicators.⁵³ And yet a 2010 nationally representative household sample found that traditional attitudes about men's and women's household and social roles remained strong.⁵⁴

Women and men both stand to gain as gender inequalities break down. But that message is not usually shared with men. Gender equality seems like a zero-sum

Cultural norms discourage men from sharing their emotions, but the group provides them with a safe environment to do this.

game, with men expected to make concessions but receive nothing in return. "The norms are there to protect a man's privileges," says Eduardo of RWAMREC. "If you tell him to give these up, what are you giving him in its place?" When men do not see how they gain, women become vulnerable to reprisals. Men who already feel marginalized economically may attempt to hold onto their role as head of the household more tightly than ever and lash out against what they experience as one more form of humiliation. A multi-country survey of more than 15,000 men in 10 countries—the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGE), coordinated by Instituto Promundo and the International Center for Research on Women—found that men who commit violence against women "tend to buy into stereotypical notions of masculinity."⁵⁵

What men stand to gain by participating more in caregiving are happier, closer relationships with their wives and children. Beyond these less tangible benefits, men's own mental and physical health will improve as maternal health-related outcomes improve and child development outcomes improve.⁵⁶ A man we spoke with who is training other men in the MenCare campaign in Rwanda discussed his transformation since participating in Men-

Care. His father was a violent man who had ruled the household by force during his childhood. Although he was not a violent man like his father, he thought of his role as strictly providing his wife with financial support to manage the household. He used not to think it was his responsibility to accompany his wife on visits to the clinic. But he was there with her when their son was born. He had felt conflicted about what seemed to be expected of him as a man in caring for his wife and child. MenCare helped him to realize there is no shame in wanting to hold his baby. He now bathes the baby. He even sings to the baby, something his father would never have done.⁵⁷

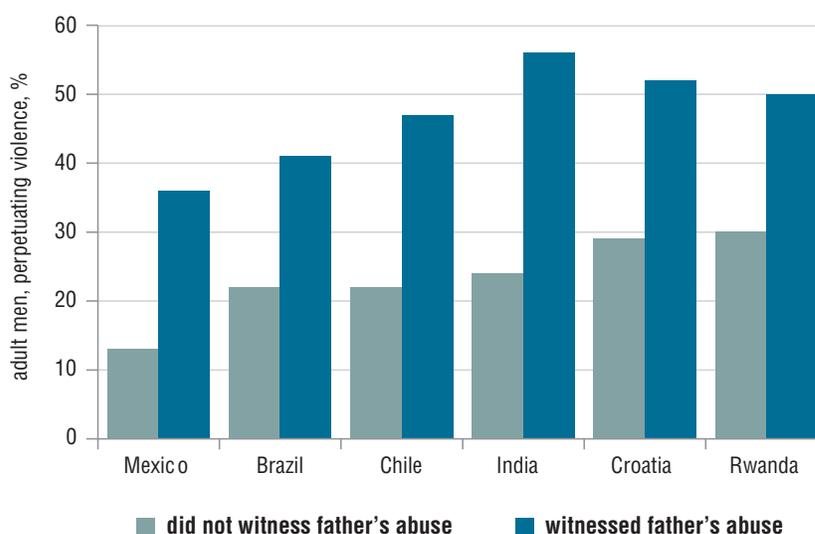
“Men remain mostly invisible in discussions of gender equality,” according to the World Bank’s 2012 World Development Report, *Gender Equality and Development*. “Programs and policies for gender equality are generally designed for women, and if they involve men it is often to limit or constrain their behavior.”⁵⁸ Men such as those participating in the MenCare campaign are the keys to reaching other men and changing attitudes, about caregiving specifically and gender inequality more broadly. Their own transformation occurred when they worked in a group with other men wrestling with similar issues. Cultural norms discourage men from sharing their emotions, but the group provides them with a safe environment to do this.

In sharing their experiences, they can also help each other cope with the emotions associated with

experiences that are common but have scarred them emotionally and continue to exert a powerful influence over their behavior. According to a 2010 study by UNICEF, three out of four children between the ages of 2 and 14 in low- and middle-income countries experience violent discipline at home.⁵⁹ Girls are more at risk of sexual abuse than boys, but boys are more likely to experience violent physical punishment.⁶⁰ Research shows that men from homes where their father used violence are more than twice as likely to use violence against their own partners as men who did not experience such violence growing up.⁶¹ See Figure 2.3.

Now is the time to ask what men’s role will be in moving toward gender equality, because the post-2015 development agenda is being debated and targets for a gender equality goal are on the table. The achievements of the MDGs, which end in December 2015, give us several reasons to believe that a gender equality goal is more important than ever. The positive trends in girls’ school enrollment, a direct result of the MDGs, will almost certainly translate into rising professional aspirations. These young women saw how care responsibilities

Figure 2.3 **Witnessing Violence as a Child is Associated with Perpetrating Violence as an Adult**



Source: World Bank (2011), *Gender Equality and Development*.

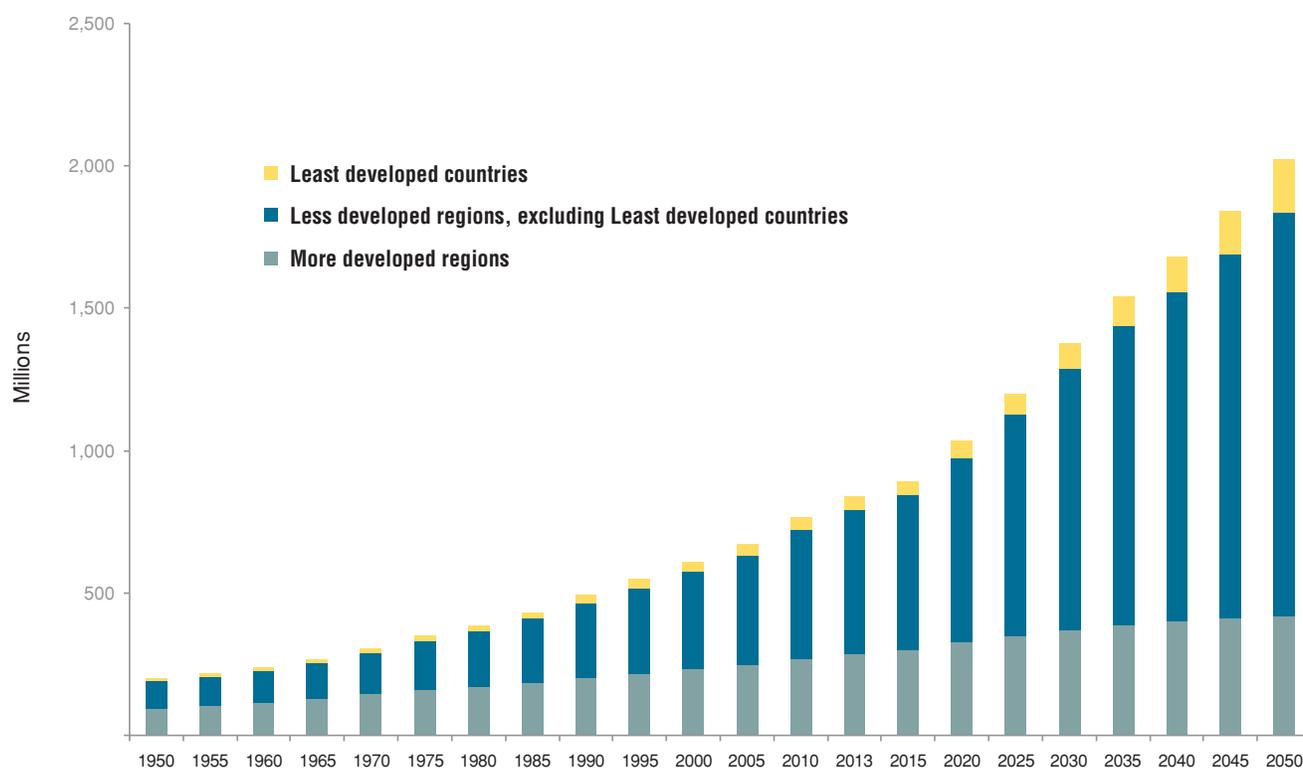
made their mothers economically dependent on men, and how unpaid care made it more difficult to leave abusive men. With better economic opportunities available to them than their mothers had, they may very well not be willing to sacrifice the bargaining power their education has given them.

Meanwhile, the MDG focus on improving health is contributing to people around the world living longer. In fact, many countries face an emerging care crisis as populations everywhere are aging. The difference between life expectancies in developed and developing countries has narrowed and is expected to continue narrowing.⁶² See Figure 2.4. Currently, 60 percent of older people live in developing countries, but by 2050, that share will increase to 80 percent.⁶³ Yet so far, governments seem to be assuming that there will be an inexhaustible supply of family caregivers willing and able to provide care to elders. These are just two of the reasons that now, as the post-2015 development agenda is being set, is a very timely opportunity to consider how women's caregiving responsibilities can be shared with their male partners as well as with government and the private sector.

Reduce and Share Unpaid Care

In addition to efforts such as MenCare that reach out to and encourage men to be more involved in caring for their children, we will review three other strategies to reduce women's

Figure 2.4 Population Aged 60 Years or Over by Development Region, 1950-2050



Source: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2013), *World Population Aging*.

unpaid care work and share it more equitably between women and men and between households and the state.⁶⁴ The strategies include labor-saving technology and infrastructure; social protection and cash transfers; and child care and early education.

Technology and Infrastructure

There are cost-effective technologies available to significantly reduce the time spent on unpaid care work. For example, a clay stove that's roughly the size of an outdoor planter can save women thousands of hours a year in harvesting firewood. A stove such as this is far more environmentally sustainable. In Malawi, where village women were each spending about 10 hours a week collecting firewood, clay stoves priced at a little over \$1 have reduced the amount of time to less than an hour each week. This is largely because the stoves require a fraction of the firewood of open fires, which was the previous cooking method.

In Malawi, the stoves were supplied by the National Smallholder Farmers Association of Malawi (NAFAM), a local organization that receives support from USAID on some of its other development programs. In addition to the stoves, NAFAM gave the women tree

seedlings so they could grow trees right outside their homes. Large swaths of land all over Africa have been deforested to collect firewood for cooking, and deforestation, of course, contributes to global climate change. With the reduced need for firewood and the nearby trees, the women in this village have all the firewood they need without getting it from the forest.

But here's the best part of the story: the women are now building stoves themselves and selling them in volume to a buyer who in turn sells them in other villages. At a cost of a little more than \$1, the stoves are quite affordable to people in poverty. With the additional income the women earned as a result of saving time gathering firewood, they purchased molds to make the stoves and have built a kiln. The enterprise is lifting families out of poverty, increasing their food intake, diversifying diets, and making it possible to keep children in school. As this example shows, a little bit of technology can go a long way.

Other countries report similar boosts from investments in simple technology. In Tanzania, a study of the effects of improving the public infrastructure available for water and fuel collection estimated that women saved the equivalent of 4.6 million full-time jobs and men saved the equivalent of 209,000 full-time jobs.⁶⁵ This is in accord with other research that has



Todd Post/Bread for the World

The clay stove this Malawian woman is pictured with has reduced the amount of time she spends collecting firewood by hundreds of hours per year. Alongside the stove she shows off the mold used to make it.

found that infrastructure investments in rural areas increase women's earning potential more than men's. In India, for example, a rural electrification program increased employment for women by more than 17 percentage points and by 1.5 percentage points for men. Electricity enabled women to work later in the evenings on their small businesses.⁶⁶ The improved access to electricity made it easier for women to combine paid work with unpaid care responsibilities. Previously, supplying electricity to areas that did not have access required costly and time-consuming extensions of the physical electricity grid. Now, renewable energy technologies make it possible for communities to leapfrog over the structural barriers presented by older technology.

“I’d put my money on the sun and solar energy. What a source of power!”

— Thomas Edison

Time-saving technologies can thus offer big payoffs to women's earning power. On the other hand, women may choose to dedicate the extra time to

other types of care. Feeding and nurturing children is surely more personally rewarding and a bigger contribution to the community than fetching water. The quality of the care provided to children, as we've seen in this chapter, has a great deal to do with their nutrition, health, and learning potential. Since market-based activities are not all that matter to development, there should be no expectation that all time savings be devoted to them.

As our examples show, improving infrastructure and technology does not have to be complex and expensive, unlike large-scale investments in roads, water and sanitation systems. Policymakers who point this out and say that the country cannot afford it, however, rarely say much about what it costs not to make the improvements. It is places with the weakest infrastructure that have the highest infant and child mortality rates. We saw in the United States in the early 20th century that making clean water and sanitation widely available brought rapid reductions in infant and child mortality.⁶⁷ And the cost-benefit ratio of these infrastructure investments was estimated at \$23 in benefits for every \$1 in cost.⁶⁸

A USAID-supported project providing solar energy illumination to households in Indian villages, resulting in improved life quality and better livelihood opportunities.



HPP/USAID

POWERING AFRICA

Less than a third of sub-Saharan Africa's population has access to electricity. In 2013, President Obama announced a \$7 billion, Power Africa, to spur private sector investment that will provide electricity to many more communities over the next five years.

Rural areas are the furthest off the grid and the most energy deprived of all, and women and girls bear the heaviest burdens of what is sometimes described as “energy poverty.” As we've highlighted in this chapter, they are primarily responsible for collecting the firewood that is used as cooking fuel. Lack of electricity also constrains women's options to earn income and run businesses, puts mothers and babies at risk during childbirth, and limits the kinds of services that rural health facilities can provide.

U.S. development assistance programs such as Feed the Future are recognizing the importance of using gender analysis throughout a project's planning and implementation. Power Africa should adopt this strategy too so that a project's implications for women and men are identified through a systematic process.

Power Africa includes support for off-grid solutions, meaning those that rely on renewable energy sources such as biogas, hydro, solar, and wind power. This is crucial since the International Energy Agency estimates that in order for all Africans to have access to electricity by 2030, more than 50 percent of the continent's energy will need to come from off-grid sources. Expanding the electrical grid takes longer to reach rural areas and may not prove feasible or practical, particularly when off-grid solutions can reach the same populations. Moreover, plugging into the grid does not guarantee reliable or affordable access.

Power Africa's emphasis should be on providing affordable energy to the largest number of people who now lack electricity. The allocation of Power Africa's resources between on-grid and off-grid solutions will affect the initiative's ultimate reach. Another such factor is the balance between “tied aid,” meaning goods and services must be provided by U.S. contractors, and funding without such restrictions. The U.S. government is becoming more flexible as to how much of aid must be tied, but the great bulk of it remains tied to U.S. contractors, raising questions about how much of the benefits of Power Africa will be going to U.S. contractors versus the ultimate beneficiaries—Africa's energy poor communities.

Renewable technologies such as these solar panels make it possible for rural communities to leapfrog over costly barriers to building out a nation's energy infrastructure.



Todd Post/Bread for the World

Social Protection and Cash Transfers

Social protection is a broad term; we use it here to mean a minimum income floor that no one is allowed to fall below. For example, the minimum wage is a form of social protection for workers. Old-age pensions are another form of social protection, one that is of particular relevance in a chapter about unpaid work. Pensions can reduce the financial insecurity (and its debilitating effects, such as hunger and malnutrition) that makes elderly people dependent on their caregivers. Low-income families generally cannot afford any paid caregiving for elders, so elder care may well continue to be provided mainly by younger family members. In these situations, pensions can help pay for food and other necessities and help offset

the opportunity costs of the person providing care.

All developed countries have some form of universal pension scheme—for example, social security in the United States—but it is much less common in developing countries. In sub-Saharan Africa, only 17 percent of the population receives a pension to provide some level of income security during old age.⁶⁹ This percentage is low because of the vast size of the informal economy in the developing world, making it much harder for states to collect the revenues needed to pay for pension programs. In high-income economies, 91 percent of the labor force contributes to a



Arne Hoel/World Bank

Pension programs discriminate against women by not counting the years they spend out of the labor market to care for children and other family members.

pension scheme, while in lower-middle-income and low-income countries it is 15.2 percent and 5.7 percent, respectively.⁷⁰

Women's caregiving responsibilities mean that they have historically participated less in the formal sector than men and accrued less in pension contributions. Hence the percentages of older women covered by pensions are lower than those of men. See Figures 2.5 and 2.6 on page 99. A person who has sacrificed earning an income to care for children or other vulnerable family members should not face greater financial insecurity in her old age. She ought to be entitled to government retirement benefits in exchange for helping to build the nation's human capital. This is a clear example of how economies discriminate against women. To make matters worse, women live longer than men: 54 percent of people 60 years of age and older are women, a proportion that rises to almost 60 percent at age 75 and older, and to 70 percent at age 90 and older.⁷¹

Social protection policies have been growing by leaps and bounds in developing countries, but the emphasis tends to be on children and working-age populations. In some countries, old-age pensions come to less than \$1.25 per day.⁷² In 2008, the Bolivian government established a universal pension, Renta Dignidad (the Dignity Pension), providing U.S. \$340 annu-

ally (thus, less than 1 per day) to people 60 years or older with no other pension income, and 75 percent of this to those with another pension.⁷³ Renta Dignidad reduced the extreme poverty rate in Bolivia by 5.8 percent.⁷⁴ Funding for the program, which costs 500 million a year, comes from a tax on hydrocarbons; Bolivia is the second largest exporter of natural gas in Latin America.

One of the most popular social protection schemes is the conditional cash transfer (CCT), discussed in detail in Chapter 1, starting on page 53. The most common CCTs provide a small allowance to mothers of school-age children. The conditions are generally reasonable-

Figure 2.5 Proportions of Women and Men in Employment Contributing to a Pension Scheme, by Area of Residence (Percentages)

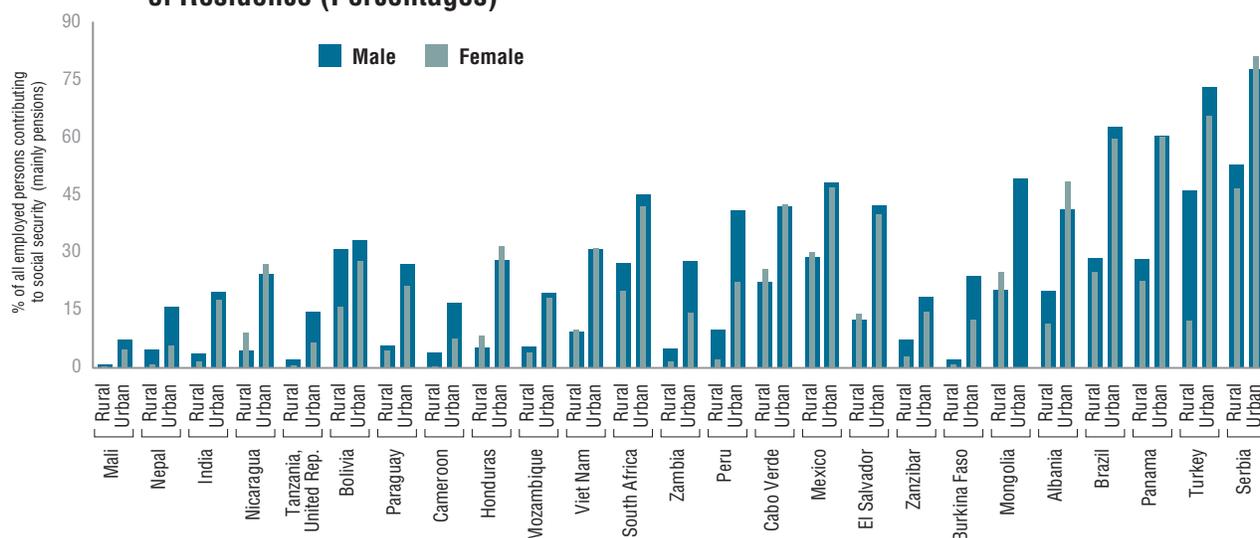
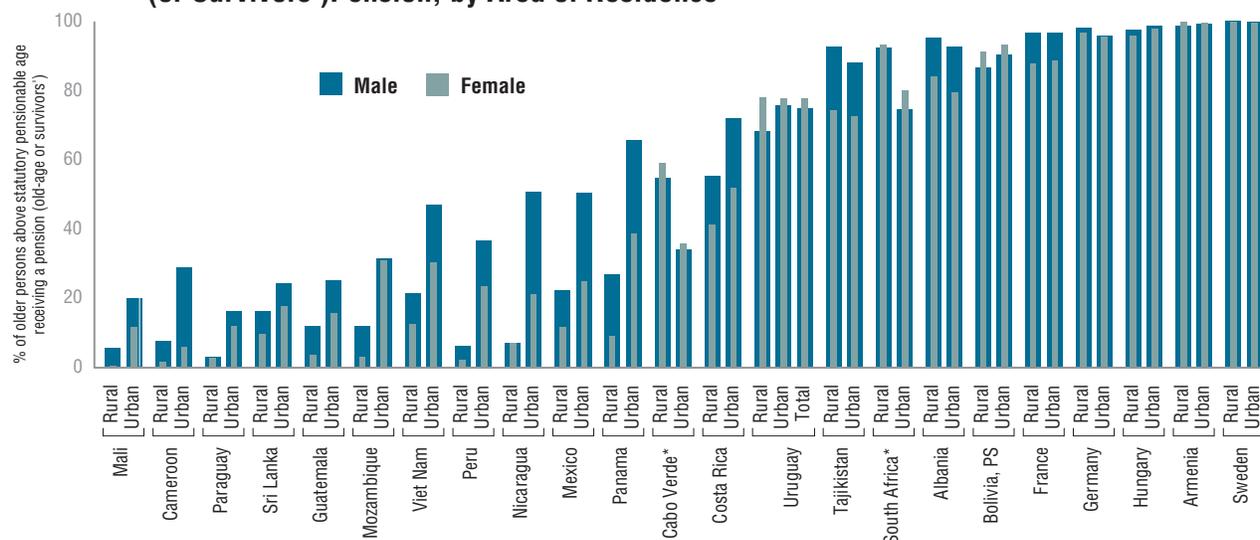


Figure 2.6 Proportions of Women and Men Above Statutory Pensionable Age Receiving an Old-age (or Survivors') Pension, by Area of Residence



*Percentages based on non-contributory pension only.

Source: ILO (2014), *World Social Protection Report 2014/2015: Building economic recovery, inclusive development, and social justice*.

-regular school attendance and health checkups for children—and CCTs do increase school enrollment for girls. One criticism of CCTs is that they reinforce gendered divisions of labor that allow fathers to “check out” of child-rearing responsibilities.⁷⁵

CCT programs first became popular in Latin America. Today, they are found in every region of the world. Seventeen of 20 Latin American countries initiated CCTs between 1989 and 2010; by 2010, CCT programs in the region were reaching 129 million people.⁷⁶ In Latin America’s experience, CCT programs are as likely to originate from governments on the right as on the left. The costs of these programs range from 0.1 percent to 0.6 percent of GDP⁷⁷—so it is hard to argue that the country cannot afford to launch one.

In an analysis of a range of social protection policies in 53 low- and middle-income countries, the UK-based Institute of Development Studies (IDS) categorized CCTs as “care-insensitive.”⁷⁸ In other words, policies that increase a woman’s care work or do not reduce it are insensitive, and those that reduce it are sensitive. If the overall amount of care work increases, it could still be a “care sensitive” policy if it were shared more equally between women and men. This appears to be only a theoretical possibility at present—the IDS study found no policies in the countries that sought to share women’s care responsibilities more equitably.⁷⁹ This tells us

a great deal about what remains to be done to solve the problems caused by inequitable care responsibilities.

Unconditional Cash Transfer (UCT) programs are not as popular with governments because of concerns that the money could be misused.⁸⁰ But they are “care sensitive” and there is little evidence that women misuse them. Poor parents understand the value of education or health care.

Supply-side underinvestment in these institutions seems to be a bigger problem than enrolling willing parents on the demand side. Bolivia offers another example. Bono Uana Azurduy, a CCT program for expectant and new mothers, was launched in 2009. Two years after the program was launched, the proportion of expectant mothers making the mandatory four prenatal visits decreased by just 0.5 percent.⁸¹ The poor performance of the program was due to the lack of institutional capacity to deliver the services. After long walks in the cold mountain air, pregnant women routinely had to wait at clinics for 7 hours to see a doctor or nurse.⁸² Out of 20 Latin American countries, Bolivia ranked 18th in physicians per capita and 13th in nurses per capita.

Programs that require school attendance or visits to a health clinic assume those institutions to be functioning properly. Generally, areas where extreme poverty is concentrated are precisely where a country’s health and education systems are weakest. CCT programs do not mean that governments can avoid institution building; in fact, it is a prerequisite. The same disconnect occurs with microloan schemes. The assumption that all women need is a little money to start a business and they will become successful

A conditional cash transfer program for expectant and new mothers in Bolivia provided the women with a small allowance if they received pre- and postnatal health care.



Richard Lord

entrepreneurs doesn't happen at nearly the expected rate—and this will not change as long as the institutions the women need to support their ventures remain as discriminatory as ever.

Women in low-income communities know how to use resources to care for their children. An unconditional cash transfer program in Kenya found that some women chose to spend the money they received on replacing a thatch roof with a metal one.⁸³ The donor was concerned because this did not seem to have much to do with poverty reduction. But the recipients knew what they were doing: a metal roof makes it possible to collect rainwater, dramatically reducing the time women and girls have to spend collecting water elsewhere; the new roof also makes the home safer and more secure and improves children's health by preventing leaks. The donor now identifies potential new participants according to which homes still have thatch roofs.

Applying conditions to men could make a lot more sense for CCT programs. The reason that these programs circumvent men to give money directly to women is that the evidence shows that men do not invest enough of their income in their children. Rather than write the men off, prodding them with conditions might be the stick some of them need to see the good of sending both daughters and sons to school. And if the objective of the cash transfers is to see that unpaid work is shared more equally between women and men, it would make even more sense to target fathers as well, using the program to promote positive behavior change. That doesn't nullify the other objectives of improving children's health or school attendance; instead, it clarifies that the quality of care children receive should be measured by what other parents provide.

A World Bank study found that early childhood programs help children learn more in rural Africa.

Child Care and Early Education

As any parent knows, young children (up to about age 5) require more direct care than school-age children. In developing countries, taking care of young children limits women's ability to earn income. Older daughters may be pressed into service as babysitters so their mothers can work. Both of these problems can be addressed through subsidized child care and preschool programs.

In developing countries, lack of affordable child care pushes women into the informal sector so that they can work close to home and have flexible schedules.⁸⁴ Informal sector work does not provide steady employment or income, workplace protections, or the other benefits of a formal sector job. And for governments, it's a



Save the Children

classic catch-22, because it is only taxes paid on earnings in the formal sector that provide the revenue for public services and safety nets such as pensions for elderly people, teachers in public schools, doctors in clinics, and subsidized child care for families with young children. Thus, the income women earn in the informal sector doesn't support the institution building necessary to fund an expansion of subsidized child care, and the institutions crucial to development remain weak because of chronic budget shortfalls.

Most of the research done so far about the effects of subsidized child care on women's labor market participation in developing countries has taken place in Latin American urban contexts. A detailed study of the Hogares Comunitarios (Community Day Care) Program, a government sponsored child care program in Guatemala City, showed the program's

positive effects on women's labor market participation and significant improvements in children's nutritional status.⁸⁵ Another study, conducted in Rio de Janeiro, also found that low-cost child care increased women's labor force participation.⁸⁶

Other studies, mainly done in developed countries, show high rates of return on investments in child care when it emphasizes early education. It is always risky to extrapolate outcomes from programs in developed countries onto developing countries, but young children's brains develop rapidly no matter where they live. Cognitive development cuts across culture.

India offers another example of how access to affordable child care has had positive effects on women's

earnings potential. The Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) represents more than one million women in rural and urban areas who work in the informal economy, as do 90 percent of all employed women in India. SEWA supports its members by providing crèches (nurseries) onsite in workplaces when feasible. A survey of women construction workers whose children attended an onsite crèche found that because of the crèche, women who had been employed part-time were able to work full-time, and 75 percent reported that older daughters were attending school because they no longer had to look after their younger siblings. The crèches themselves also offer jobs, as well as training for women and men interested in a career in early childhood development.⁸⁷

The employment opportunities for women that subsidized child care and preschool open up in the broader economy are perhaps an underappreciated effect thus far, but we have seen these improvements with other public services. For example, the expansion of secondary schools for girls in Pakistan created a cohort of female primary school teachers. As described in the World Bank's 2012 report *Gender Equality and Development*, "An institutional



Todd Post/Bread for the World

A preschool in Bangladesh allows these children's mothers to dedicate time to enterprise development. The preschool was established by women participating in a microfinance program administered by Grameen Bank.

improvement (public secondary schools for girls) enabled a household response (more girls with secondary education) that then played out in a change in the market (private schools and more female employment opportunities) one generation later.”⁸⁸ Calling up investments in child care and preschool could lead to similar results—particularly important as most developing countries are struggling to provide jobs for a generation of better-educated youth.

Child care programs, even ones that emphasize education, are not synonymous with preschool. Not all women will avail themselves of a child care subsidy. “Child care is not just a service for which one pays or doesn’t pay,” write Rosalind Eyben and Marzia Fontana, “but is embedded with values and meaning that shape the character of its provisioning.”⁸⁹ An educational setting is more attractive to mothers who are troubled by the idea of handing over responsibility for caring for their children to outsiders. It also means that government is invested not only in making care available, but also ensuring that it has quality services to offer the children who participate.

All children benefit from preschool, but studies confirm that children from low-income, disadvantaged households benefit most.⁹⁰ In fact, the earlier investments in education start, the better because the children are already far behind others of their age by the time they enter primary school. Of course, we can’t expect preschool to ensure a child’s seamless progression all the way to tertiary education, but it can supply momentum that enables

children to take advantage of later opportunities—a sort of kickoff to educational success. The students who are the hardest to propel forward are those who arrive at preschool stunted by malnutrition before turning 2. While there is no way to reverse the effects of stunting after age 2, this is also no reason to give up on anyone so young. The longer society waits, the costlier it is to try to reverse early delays in child development.⁹¹

In 2007, the British medical journal *The Lancet* published a groundbreaking series on child development in developing countries. Just one of its startling statistics: 61 percent of children younger than 5 in sub-Saharan Africa were stunted, living in poverty, or both.⁹² Sub-Saharan Africa also has the lowest preschool enrollment rate of any region: 18 percent in 2011 (which is, however, up from 10 percent in 1999).⁹³ Latin America leads the developing world with 73 percent in preschool. The enrollment rate in South Asia, 50 percent, is also the world average. The highest income countries, members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)—which include the United States—average 87 percent.⁹⁴

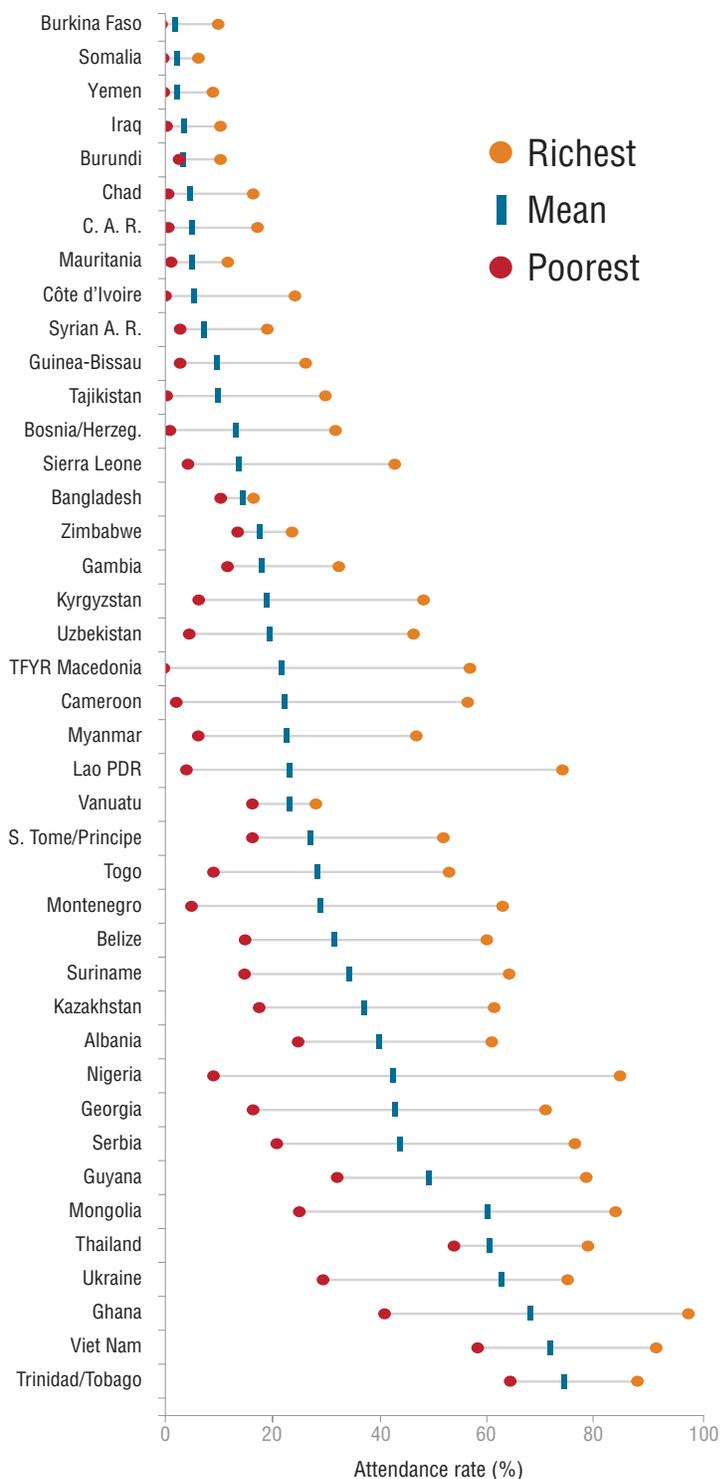
Since 1999, developing countries have made much greater progress than developed ones, which makes sense since they had more unenrolled children to start with. It may come as quite a surprise to many Americans that there are so many children attending preschool



Save the Children

Evaluations of a World Bank/Save the Children preschool program in Mozambique found that students had more improved cognitive skills and mothers were more likely to have worked outside the home.

Figure 2.7 Few poor 4-year-olds receive pre-primary education



Source: United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (2014), *Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2013/2014: Teaching and Learning: Achieving Quality for All*.

in developing countries. What is probably less surprising is that enrollment rates vary widely based on family income. See Figure 2.7.

The MDGs focus on getting more children into primary school, and developing countries have focused their resources there as well. In Mozambique, for example, primary school enrollment increased from 52 percent in 1999 to 86 percent in 2012.⁹⁵ Our example is Mozambique because of something else happening in education there: in 2008 the World Bank and Save the Children launched a rural preschool program. Only about 4 percent of Mozambican preschool-age children are actually enrolled in preschool, almost all of them in urban areas and among affluent families.⁹⁶ Given the very limited research on preschools in developing countries, particularly in rural areas, the World Bank/Save the Children program is quite important.

The preschool program in Mozambique involved the construction of 67 classrooms in 30 communities, each with 500-800 residents. The children who attended were between the ages of 3 and 5. The communities provided the space, the construction materials, and 100 percent of the labor to construct the classrooms. The program trained 134 teachers (93 percent of them female) in age-appropriate instruction. Trainees had to have a minimum of four years of schooling themselves; the average for the teachers was 6.2 years of education.⁹⁷ Half of the

teachers had a child enrolled at the school where they taught. Parents were required to participate in training in health, hygiene, and nutrition.

According to surveys of 2,000 households conducted at the beginning of the program and two years later, the preschoolers' caregivers were 26 percent more likely to have worked outside their homes at the end than at the beginning. Older children, ages 10 to 15 at the end of the program, were 6 percent more likely to have gone to school when a younger child in the household was attending the preschool. At the beginning of the program, more than 40 percent of the students were stunted. At its conclusion, an evaluation showed that the students had made improvements in their cognitive and problem-solving abilities, fine motor skills, and socio-emotional and behavioral skills.⁹⁸

The program did not provide the children with food, since it was decided that a meal component would significantly increase the costs of the program. The addition of a healthy meal would almost certainly make a big difference to the program outcomes—with a stunting rate of 40 percent, the children clearly needed more nourishment than they were receiving at home. The entire cost of the preschool program was estimated at \$2.47 per child per month.⁹⁹

One way that the United States supports partner countries' efforts to increase primary school attendance and improve children's nutrition is through the McGovern-Dole Food for Education program, whose objectives include reducing hunger and improving literacy and primary education, especially for girls.¹⁰⁰ The McGovern-Dole program currently provides \$183 million in U.S. agricultural commodities to feed 2.7 million children in 10 countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.¹⁰¹ It was established in 2002, not long after the launch of the MDGs, when researchers found that parents were more inclined to allow daughters to attend school when a meal was served.¹⁰²

The McGovern-Dole program is the ideal vehicle to build U.S. support for nutritious meals for schoolchildren at all levels. The program is authorized to do much more than its current funding allows—for example, “improving children's health and learning capacity before they enter school by offering nutrition programs for pregnant and nursing women, infants and preschoolers.”¹⁰³ As the post-2015 development agenda is solidified, it appears that the new goals will encompass more ambitious education targets, including one to increase the share of children able to access and complete pre-primary education and early childhood development programs.¹⁰⁴

Looking Forward

This chapter showed that unpaid care work falls disproportionately on women's shoulders and limits their ability not only to work outside the home, but also to participate in any activities outside the household. This means that they are marginalized in politics and civil society. Women are not just workers and caregivers. Gender equality must also include lifting the barriers to their full participation in government and other decision-making bodies. Citizen participation in democratic institutions strengthens governance; hence women's voices are needed for the good of all. Women's empowerment and leadership in politics and civil society—and why this is important to the goal of ending hunger—is the subject of the next chapter.

“A mother's ability to make decisions at home and in her community not only affects the care she receives and thus her own nutritional well-being, but also enables her to provide better care and nutrition for her children.”

— International Food Policy
Research Institute

PROMOTING GENDER EQUALITY IN INDIA'S SCHOOLS

Gillian Gaynair, for International Center for Research on Women

There was a time when Prachi and her older brother, Dhiraj—who live in a slum community in Mumbai, India—never played together. She couldn't affectionately call him "Dada" in public because Dhiraj made it clear he didn't want to be associated with his sister, a girl. And they didn't talk much at home.

All of that and much more shifted after the two participated in the groundbreaking Gender Equity Movement in Schools (GEMS) program in India, implemented by International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) in partnership with Mumbai's Committee of Resource Organizations for Literacy and Tata Institute of Social Sciences. The school-based effort targeting 12- to 14-year-olds champions equal relationships between boys and girls, dissects social norms that tend to define men's and women's roles in India, and addresses different forms of violence and how to intervene.

Launched in 45 Mumbai municipal schools, GEMS reached more than 8,000 students, including Prachi and Dhiraj, over two years. Since the pilot phase kicked off in 2008, key elements of GEMS have been incorporated into the curriculum for nearly 25,000 public schools in Maharashtra state, where Mumbai is located. GEMS is also being replicated in 20 schools in Vietnam's Da Nang province and 40 schools in Jharkhand, India.

"In a deeply gender-divided society like India, girls and boys are segregated from early on in their lives," says Pranita Achyut, ICRW's senior adolescent and gender specialist. "Schools validate this by limiting how and where boys and girls interact. This kind of segregation only stands to limit boys' and girls' understanding of each other. We think it's critical to challenge these practices within the school system, where children learn to socialize."

An Unconventional Approach

GEMS challenges gender stereotypes by using role-playing, games, debates, school campaigns and candid

discussions. In India's traditionally hierarchical school setting, these stereotypes are formally and informally reinforced.

ICRW's evaluation of GEMS showed that the program has helped transform adolescents' attitudes toward men and women's roles in society and moved them to become less tolerant of gender discrimination. Specifically, students grew more supportive of girls pursuing higher education and marrying later in life, and of boys and men contributing to household work. However, students' behaviors and attitudes around reducing violence—a key component of GEMS—demonstrated mixed results.

To help determine whether GEMS was making a difference, ICRW researchers developed a scale to measure students' attitudes about gender equality as part of a questionnaire youth completed before and after the program. The scale included statements about gender roles, attributes and violence. For instance, students were asked whether they agreed, disagreed or weren't sure about statements such as: "Only men should work outside the home;" "Girls cannot do well in math and science;" and "There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten."

After six months in the program, the proportion of boys and girls who had high gender equality scores more than doubled—a significantly greater increase than in the control group that ICRW studied.

Generally, boys and girls showed the greatest change in their attitudes about the roles expected of and restrictions placed on women and men in society. For instance, a higher percentage disagreed with traditional notions that say only mothers can bathe or feed children, and that men need more care because they work harder than women. Meanwhile, over the course of GEMS, a significant number of students who participated in group activities and school campaigns consistently supported the idea that girls should wait to get married. At first, most students said that girls should be at least 18 years old; over time, that increased to 21.

"The program has helped transform adolescents' attitudes toward men and women's roles in society and moved them to become less tolerant of gender discrimination."

“In several sessions, facilitators discussed the issue of gender discrimination, girls’ value in society and how both affect girls’ growth and development,” Achyut said. “The findings reveal that classroom discussions helped students think about and question social norms. Facilitators also encouraged them to challenge stereotypical ideas about men and women. Those interactions clearly moved students to look at their world differently.”

GEMS activities around violence, however, yielded mixed results.

Experts found that physical and emotional violence at school was an integral part of young people’s lives, especially boys. Sixty-one percent of boys and 38 percent of girls reported experiencing physical violence in the three months before they responded to the questionnaire. Almost as many students admitted to carrying out violence at school.

After the first six months of the program, researchers found an increase in a proportion of boys and girls who reported physically abusing school peers in recent months. However, among those students who participated in another round of the program, the rate declined.

“A possible explanation for the decline is that GEMS sensitized students to behaviors that they thought were normal and perhaps even playful, like hitting or pushing,” said Ravi Verma, director of ICRW’s Asia Regional Office in New Delhi. “So in the first year of GEMS, the students became aware of their own behaviors, and in the second year, they began to develop skills to avoid resorting to violence.”



DFID

A Real Change

For Prachi and Dhiraj, taking part in GEMS inspired them to start navigating their world differently. Now, brother helps sister with household chores. They study together. And they’ve learned how to negotiate the things that once caused them to bump heads, like sharing TV time.

But for Prachi, a more subtle change happened: She found her voice.

“I used to think that only boys can study, they could grow. They get the respect,” Prachi said. “There’s nothing for girls; they have to be home and take care of household chores.”

Now, she said she realizes her outlook was based solely on what she’s observed in her society. She’s discovered that doesn’t necessarily have to be her reality.

“It’s a girl’s right to get an education. She can do anything boys can do,” Prachi said. “She can get an education, get a good job, work outside and take care of her parents. Why should girls be restricted only to household work?”

Ganayna owns Mallett Avenue Media, a Washington, D.C.-based firm specializing in content that shows how foundations, nonprofits and corporations effect change globally. nerna ona en er or Rear on o en is a glo al research institute hose mission is to empower omen, advance gender equality and fight poverty in the developing world.

Key elements of the Gender Equity Movement in Schools (GEMS) have been integrated into nearly 25,000 public schools in India’s Maharashtra state, where Mumbai is located.



Collective Voice: Reaching Critical Mass for Women's Empowerment

Chapter Summary

Social norms determine who has a voice in society. When the norm is for women to be excluded from decision making, then they will have little say over policy formation that is in the best interest of everyone. This chapter considers how women's collective voice in politics and civil society can promote gender equality, remove barriers to women's empowerment, and bring an end to hunger and extreme poverty.

Women are grossly underrepresented in government decision-making bodies nearly everywhere in the world. They are half the global population but hold an average of just 22 percent of seats in national parliaments.¹ The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) set a target of 30 percent representation by the end of 2015, but the world is clearly nowhere close to reaching it. Progress has been slow for a number of reasons discussed earlier: discriminatory laws, underinvestment in women's human capital, traditional beliefs and social norms that cast doubt on women's capacity as decision makers, and a highly inequitable burden of unpaid care work.

Post-conflict periods are typically where we see women's share of political power increases suddenly. Post-conflict reconstruction, an unsettled but peaceful time, is an opportunity to redress previous gender inequalities.² The collaborative leadership style and conflict resolution skills of many women are assets that countries are belatedly beginning to recognize. We will have a closer look at post-genocide Rwanda, the only country where women hold a majority of seats in parliament.

More than 80 countries—including Rwanda—reserve a share of seats in parliament for women.³ India's Gram Panchayats (village governing councils) use these set-asides to ensure that women are represented in local government. In a country the size of India, a nationwide institution that brings more women into government deserves attention. Do women govern differently from men? While this question is clearly too broad to have one definitive answer, researchers have found, for example, that women on India's village councils place greater emphasis than men on some social services—particularly education and also clean water and sanitation.⁴ The Gram Panchayats are discussed later in this chapter.

Beyond government, we also look at how women are acting in civil society to overcome discrimination. In Chapter 1, we considered how producer groups can give women the “strength in numbers” they need to increase their economic power. Here we consider how women can lift their voices collectively in nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to influence policy. In Cambodia, women garment workers have organized to protest low wages and unsafe working conditions, sometimes working together with men and sometimes—when they find that men marginalize their female coworkers—without them. In Malawi, young men and women, better educated than their parents' generation and more open to working together, struggle to make their voices heard and their priorities for their country known. Chapter 3 includes case studies from each of these countries.

MAIN RECOMMENDATIONS IN THIS CHAPTER

- Make it easier for women to run for public office at all levels of government.
- Increase the proportion of women peace negotiators.
- Create more space for women-led civil society groups to participate in public policy debates.
- Build a generation of women leaders in government and civil society, especially young women.

Rwanda: A Majority Speaks

Most people in the United States know this small East African country only for three months of savage killing in 1994. Rwanda's extraordinary rise from the ashes of genocide has everything to do with women's empowerment. The carnage that took place must never be forgotten as a reminder of the horrors human beings are capable of inflicting on each other, but Rwanda also deserves our attention for its achievements since then. Perhaps most

strikingly, Rwanda is the only country to elect a parliament that is majority female.

After the genocide, women and girls made up 70 percent of the population.⁵ The disproportionate slaughter of men left Rwanda a country of widows and orphans. Women, who had always been important as Rwanda's farmers, caregivers, and workers, stepped forward not only to rebuild their country but to lead and govern it. Notably, women from all walks of life took the nontraditional step of running for public office. Before the genocide, women had never held more than 18 percent of the seats in Parliament.⁶ In the most recent election, women's majority



UN Photo/John Isaac

Rwandan refugees returning home in 1994 after the months of genocide ended.

increased from 56 percent to 64 percent.⁷ Member of Parliament (MP) Evariste Kalisa says, "Rwandan society [formerly] regarded women as good for nothing else than caring for children and households, but now since we have them at the top, it is encouraging future generations to be ambitious and to follow in the footprints of their mothers. They are role models to children, to girls."⁸

In 1996, when the post-conflict transition was still in its early stages, female elected officials established the Forum of Rwandan Women Parliamentarians, uniting women from different political parties. The goal, as Roxane Wilber explains, is "to discuss issues facing women and the nation as a whole, to formulate policy priorities, and to amplify women's voices in a newly shared agenda."⁹ Today, every piece of legislation that comes before Parlia-

Between 1930 and 1990, about **20 countries** adopted quotas to increase female representation in political office.

1930

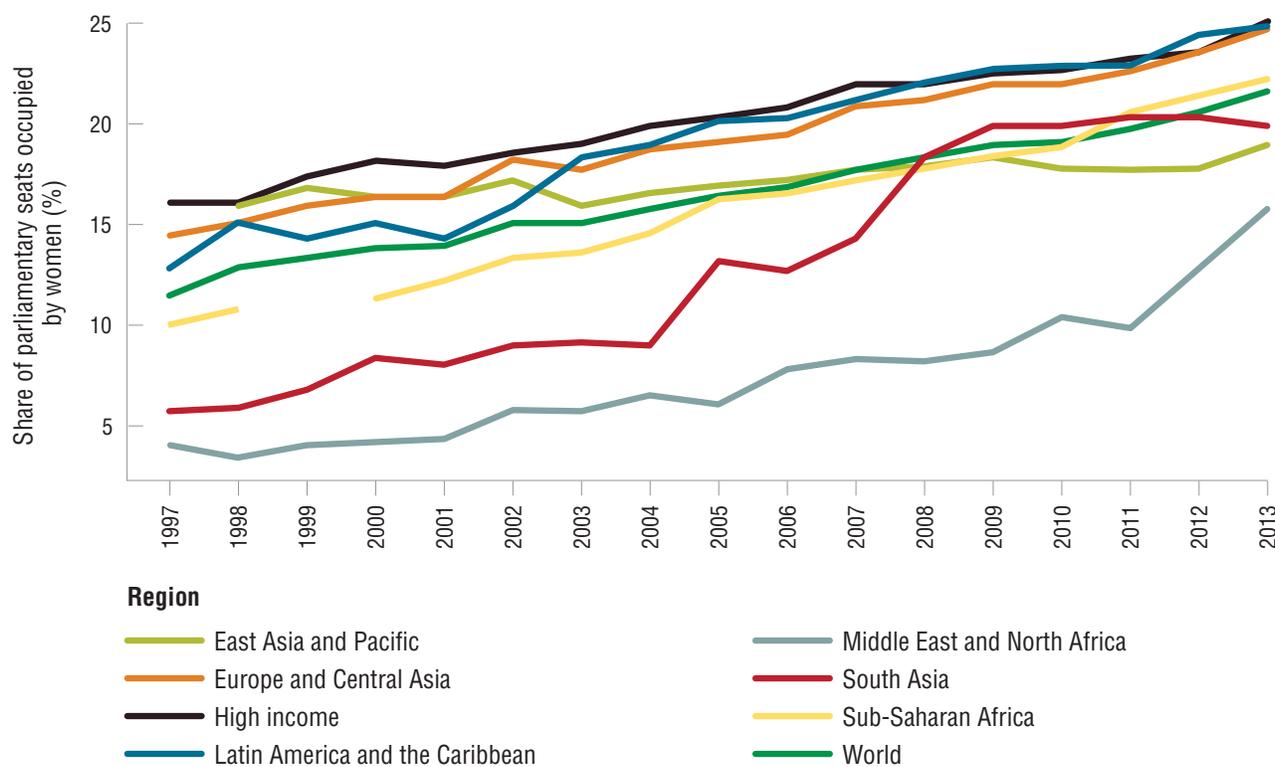
Since then an additional **100 countries** have adopted gender quotas.¹

Between 1990 and 2010, only **16 percent** of peace agreements contained at least one reference to women or gender.²

1990

2010

Figure 3.1 Share of Women in Parliament by Region and World, 1997–2013



Source: World Bank (2014), *Voice and Agency: Empowering Women and Girls for Shared Prosperity*, estimates based on *World Development Indicators 2013*.

ment is analyzed in terms of its fairness to women and men. This deliberate attention to gender issues has brought gains for women under the law and in society. The legal system treats them no differently than men.¹⁰ Daughters are entitled to inherit property every bit as much as sons, women can access financial services and buy and own land, and girls and boys attend school at the same rate.

The law that codified women's inheritance rights did not pass without debate, as one female MP recalled: "We had a long, long sensitization campaign .we were asking [male parliamentarians], "Ok, fine, you think only men can inherit, not girls. But as a man, you have a mother who might lose the property from your father because [your uncles] will take everything away from her. Would you like that?" When you personalize things, they tend to understand. When [the issues] remain just in the abstract women and men become two distinct people, but the moment you personalize it, they do understand."¹¹

Women are the **majority of trade union members in one-third of nations** for which data are available and **in another third women are over 40 percent** of the membership.³



In a survey of more than 50,000 people in 34 African countries, nearly **70 percent** of women said they believe that women are as capable of being political leaders as men, while **29 percent** of women think only men should be elected as political leaders.⁴

Equality before the law—particularly the right to buy, own, and inherit land—brings direct benefits for food security. Women produce at least as much of the country’s food supply as men, and owning land enables them to use it in more sustainable and productive ways. The effect of land reform and the other moves toward legal equality on the country’s psyche is harder to gauge. Change in the family is clearly moving more slowly than change in the law. For example, Rwanda has progressive laws against sexual and gender-based violence, but

when researchers held workshops to gauge the effects of these on relations between the sexes in the home, the comments suggested that individuals and households have not caught up with the legislators.¹² According to Rwanda’s 2010 Health and Demographic survey, 41 percent of women between the ages of 15-49 have been the victims of gender-based violence.¹³

MP Judith Kanakuze, the former head of the Rwandan Forum for Women Parliamentarians, led the drafting of a bill outlawing domestic violence and imposing harsher punishment for rape. “We don’t want to just make a law,” she said in 2005¹⁴—the legislation was part of a larger effort



Crystaline Randazzo for Bread for the World

Bread for the World Institute staff Faustine Wabwire and Todd Post, alongside translator Issa Higiuro, during interviews with survivors of the 1994 genocide.

to change cultural norms that condoned violence against women. Before Kanakuze passed away in 2010, she finally saw the legislation she had championed signed into law. The fact that passage took years—until 2008—suggests that a woman’s right to protection against gender-based violence was a hard sell to male MPs, just as inheritance equality had been. Not by coincidence perhaps, 2008 was the year women crossed the 50 percent threshold to become a majority in Parliament.

Rwanda still has a long way to go; it started as one of the least developed countries in the world. Its most recent composite score on the Human Development Index ranks it 167th out of 194 countries.¹⁵ But its standing on gender equality is much better, ranking 76th overall and first among the nations of sub-Saharan Africa.¹⁶

One reason that women were able to become a parliamentary majority is that they got their “foot in the door” of the legislature from a provision in the new Rwandan constitution that reserves 30 percent of seats for women. After they were elected, of course, they had to prove themselves just like male politicians.

With women now occupying nearly two-thirds of the seats in Parliament, is it time to retire the policy of reservations for women? In March 2014, Bread for the World Institute staff asked this question of parliamentarian Connie Bwiza, who represents the Nyagatare district in Rwanda’s Eastern province of the country, during a conversation in her office. She was

adamant that it is far too early to end the reservation policy. Bwiza was 26 at the time of the genocide and fought alongside men in the Rwandan Patriotic Front to end the slaughter. Afterward, she directed the Ministry of Rehabilitation's program for orphans and unaccompanied children. She ran for office in 1998 and has served as an MP since then.

Bwiza does not take for granted the progress women have made in Rwanda. Being the most progressive nation on gender in sub-Saharan Africa does not mean that Rwanda has achieved gender equality.

She mentioned a parliamentary vote that had been held just days before in Kenya, another East African country that reserves 30 percent of seats in Parliament for women. The female MPs tried, but were unable, to prevent the male majority from passing legislation to legalize polygamy, a bill that was later signed by the president.¹⁷ Without the 30 percent guaranteed, it would have been even more difficult to advocate in Kenya's Parliament for women's rights. Reservations remain necessary to ensure that women hold onto bargaining power once they gain it. Bwiza also cited an example from the developed world, recounting how surprised she was to find out,

at an International Women's Day conference in Austria, that even women in wealthy countries have not yet won the struggle for equal pay. She also bristles at the notion that anyone outside of Rwanda should know what's best for Rwandans, not a surprising view having lived through the international community's abandonment of the country during the genocide.

Rwanda's struggle against gender inequality is unfolding very much in its own context and culture, just as in every other country, yet the fact that women and men share power in government makes it a pioneer. The implications of equal political representation for gender equality in the home and workplace—and the take-away messages for women and men in other countries—are still emerging, but steps such as equal land rights and stricter laws against gender-based violence hold the promise of further improvement in the near future.

Rwanda: Lessons in Post-Conflict Reconstruction

Ending global hunger and extreme poverty by 2030 will require much more attention to post-conflict and fragile countries, precisely because war is a major cause of hunger: these nations' vulnerability to a relapse into violence makes them one of the greatest threats to sustaining a hunger-free world. Thus, the international community has a key role to play in post-conflict countries—supporting their reconstruction efforts, improving living conditions, and facilitating a more rapid transition to economic stability and growth.



Member of Parliament Connie Bwiza at her desk during a session of the Rwandan parliament.

One way of helping countries recover from war is to push for gender equality in the realm of public affairs. The suffering that women endure during armed conflict drives their priorities for the reconstruction agenda. For example, we mentioned that in Rwanda, female members of Parliament pushed through reforms that mandate much stronger protections against gender-based violence.¹⁸ Yet few women participate in peace processes and most peace agreements fail to even mention women's rights or gender equality.¹⁹ Donors, governments, U.N. agencies, and civil society organizations should all work to promote women's visibility and

influence in peace-building and conflict resolution.

Not only are women's voices more important than ever in post-conflict environments, but such situations—with so much being rebuilt—are opportunities to build institutions that will reinforce gender equality. Post-conflict states need all the help they can get to restore and improve infrastructure and institutions that were destroyed in the fighting and may have been dysfunctional before the violence even started. It can take many years for a country to recover and put itself on a sustainable development path. Rwanda was a shattered nation in 1994—and for many years thereafter. Both female



Crystaline Randazzo for Bread for the World

Twenty years since the genocide, Rwandans continue to experience post-traumatic stress. These women participate in a support group called Step Forward.

and male MPs have helped drive some very impressive development initiatives, but the fact is that Rwanda needed and continues to need a great deal of assistance from the international community. Donors have provided steadfast support. In 2000, the government relied on donors for 86 percent of the national budget.²⁰ Now, 20 years after the genocide, donors supply 40 percent of the budget.²¹ It is not uncommon for fragile and post-conflict nations to need so much support from outside. It simply takes a long time to recover from war.

Too often, war normalizes violence, so that when the fighting stops, women and girls remain extremely vulnerable. For example, Rwandan women and girls suffered appalling levels of sexual violence during the genocide. Grief, frustration, and post-traumatic stress, combined with hunger and poverty, make women and girls easy targets for predators in any post-conflict setting. Most perpetrators escape prosecution, fueling a culture of impunity. Some women, with no way of earning a living and desperate to feed their children and themselves, are forced to resort to prostitution. And while the fighting may be over, the shattering of a society by war makes any form of normalcy illusory.

Despite the fact that the G-8 (Group of 8 developed economies) issued a long overdue statement, the “Declaration on Preventing Sexual Violence in Conflict,” in 2013,²² there is little the international community seems willing to do to respond to the normalization of

sexual violence in conflict. The threat of violence to women and girls sometimes comes even from men who are charged with protecting them, but who instead exploit the chaotic conditions—and the war survivors. Cases of abuse by U.N. peacekeepers have been reported in the DRC, Liberia, South Sudan, Sierra Leone, Haiti, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and others.²³

Donors deserve credit for all the help they've given Rwanda, but the hard work of rebuilding institutions depends on leadership within the country itself. Consider the impressive progress Rwanda has made in reducing the stunting rate of children under 5, which was reduced from 52 percent to 44 percent between 2005 and 2010.²⁴ Much of the pace of progress can be credited to the fact that many of Rwanda's female members of parliament are also mothers.²⁵ As parliamentarian Preciose Mukandutiye explained, "In normal family life, you will find that [women's] first priority is children. When one of my children is sick, I am suffering too. So when we are fighting for women's right, we are fighting also indirectly for children's rights."²⁶

UNICEF concluded that Rwanda's progress against stunting was primarily due to the community-based nutrition programs established around the country. "This was all done with the help of food grown locally, and not packaged interventions provided by donors," explained Fidele Ngabo, a director in the Ministry of Health. "Each village comes up with community-based approaches to tackle malnutrition and food insecurity that don't cost money—we [the government] are at the center to provide support and play a monitoring role."²⁷

Rwanda's health care system remains in fragile condition.²⁸ In 2010, there were just 625 doctors in the country, serving 12 million people. To help address the unavailability of even basic health care, 45,000 community health workers were recruited and trained. There are three in each village, all elected by their community.²⁹ One of the community health workers is a man named Theo Ntaccumura, who is one of the men selected by district officials to participate in the first group trained in the MenCare program (see Chapter 2, page 89, for more about MenCare). When he meets with husbands, he advises them on how to be most helpful to their pregnant wives and explains the importance of ensuring that pregnant women have transportation for prenatal care appointments and opportunity to rest after giving birth. Between 2000 and 2010, the percentage of women who gave birth under the care of a skilled health worker jumped from 39 percent to 70 percent.³⁰

Rwanda has benefited from the support of donors such as the Clinton Foundation and U.S. AID, but it is the Rwandan government who drives these development initiatives. The



Crystalline Randazzo for Bread for the World

The Rwandan government copes with a shortage of doctors in the country by training thousands of community health workers, such as Theo Ntaccumura, pictured with his wife, Triphine, in their home.

country's ambitious development goals are all clearly spelled out in Vision 2020, a document used to drive progress and serve as a touchstone for leaders to hold themselves accountable. Donors and their implementing partners tailor their approach and programs to the country's development plan.

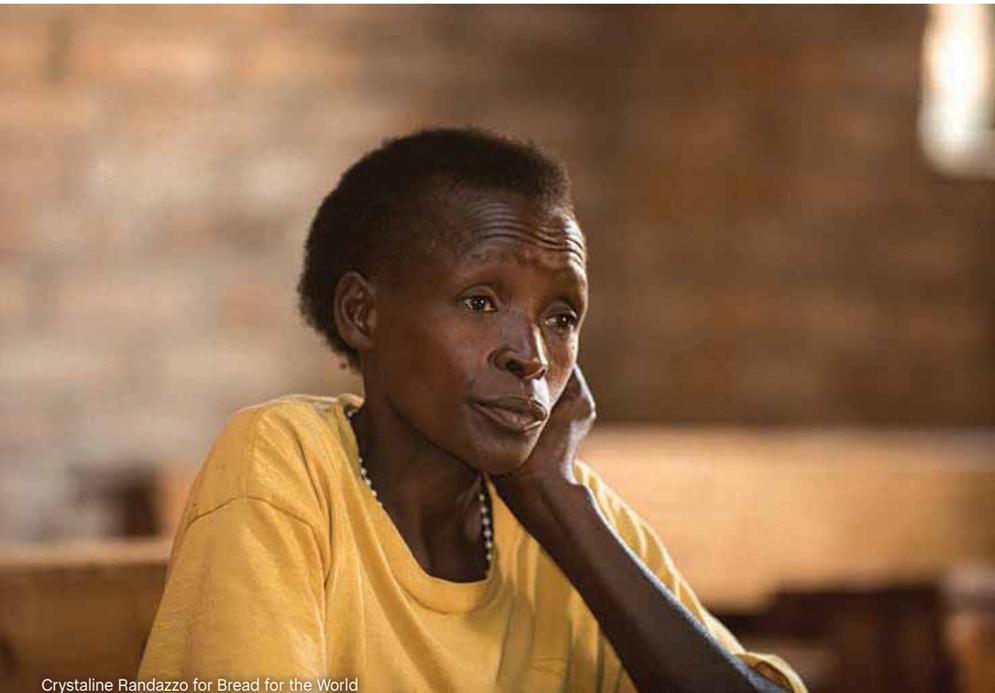
*Rwanda: Lessons in Post-Conflict Reconciliation*³¹

Karama, Rwanda, 1995: Less than a year after the genocide, the priest directs members of his congregation to offer a sign of peace to their neighbors. The reaction in this town 150 kilometers south of Kigali, the Rwandan capital, was one that was mirrored in many other

communities: Tutsi women sat on one side of the church, Hutu women sat on the other, and they never so much as looked at each other. This moment in the service passed the same way every week for years.

The Tutsi women in the congregation were widows from the genocide. The husbands of the Hutu women had raped the Tutsi women and killed their husbands and other relatives.

Months after the genocide, Hutu women had started to return to their villages. Their husbands had participated in the genocide, and they were in prison either waiting to be tried for their crimes or already serving sentences.



Crystaline Randazzo for Bread for the World

Winnifred Nyiranzimana, a member of the survivor support group, The Courage of Living, never expected to forgive the Hutu women whose husbands raped her and other Tutsi women in their community during the 1994 genocide, but that changed when the Hutu women asked for forgiveness.

When the wives brought their husbands food at the prison, they were stoned by Tutsi women and children.

1998: The wives of the perpetrators approached a nun at the church and asked her to arrange a meeting with the Tutsi women. Several dozen Tutsi women agreed to meet.

As one of these women recounted years later when Bread for the World Institute visited the community, she was scared and as soon as she entered the church, she wanted to leave. "I saw them as their husbands," she said. Her baby had been killed by one of these men; for days, she continued to carry the child on her back. The nun who had brought them together said, "You accepted and they are here. This is hard for them as well."

A Hutu representative said, "We know we didn't help you when your relatives were being killed, but we want you to listen to us." The Hutu women had come to ask forgiveness. "It took more than three years to work up the courage to ask for this meeting. We've carried around our shame ever since we returned."

The Tutsi women did not forgive them initially, but slowly their hearts softened. They were caring for many orphans from the genocide, and the Hutu women offered to help

them by cleaning their homes, fetching water and firewood for them, working in their gardens, and caring for the children when the Tutsi women had to be away.

The turning point for the Tutsis came when they asked the Hutus to find out from their husbands where their victims, the Tutsi husbands and relatives, were buried. The Hutu women went to their husbands in prison and returned with the information.

The Tutsi women had formed support groups as early as the first months after the genocide to cope with their suffering. Now, they invited the Hutu women to join their groups. “I never thought I would be able to forgive them,” said the woman who had longed to run out of the church at the first meeting. “But I truly forgive them from the bottom of my heart.”

The women wanted their children to learn to get along, and for the first time allowed them to play together. The children have grown up as friends, and recently some of them have married each other.

“Today, we share everything,” explained one of the women. “We live like sisters.” The group continues to expand, consisting of more than 1,700 members.

Word began to spread around the country and to other parts of Africa about these women. They call themselves The Courage of Living. In 2010, The Courage of Living was honored by the national government, and in 2012, the group received a delegation of Kenyan women parliamentarians to discuss ways to reunite Kenyans who remained divided by post-election violence in 2009.

Since the year 2000, Rwanda has cut maternal and child mortality rates by more than half.



Crystalline Randazzo for Bread for the World

“WOMEN ARE SUPPOSED TO NEED MEN”: GENDER NONCONFORMING WOMEN

Michele Learner, Bread for the World Institute

In most countries, the situation is grim for gender nonconforming women. Women whose appearance, behavior, or emotional and sexual attractions do not fill an expected and accepted role are one of the most vulnerable groups in any society: lesbian, bisexual, and transgender women, collectively known as gender nonconforming women.

Reactions from the larger community range from disdain and ridicule to rage that fuels violence. Winning respect and acceptance is certainly not a hopeless cause. As we’re seeing in the United States, attitudes and laws can change quickly. A couple of decades ago, lesbians here were also largely hidden, but now many are visible and have some protections under the law. Transgender women still suffer appalling abuse and discrimination, but there are signs that society has at last begun moving toward better understanding and greater acceptance.

There is very little research on how lesbians or transgender women fare in developing countries. One study of more than 2,000 adolescents in five provinces of Thailand found that girls who were recognizable as lesbians were bullied at far higher rates—frequently, severely enough to force victims to drop out of secondary school. Heterosexual girls who were perceived to be lesbians suffered less bullying than lesbians but more than heterosexual or lesbian girls who did not “look like” lesbians. This finding explains why, all over the world, the tendency is for women who can conceal their sexual orientation or gender identity to do so. Those who can “pass” as heterosexual are simply safer. They are more likely to receive an education, more likely to be accepted by their families, and more likely to be able to earn a living rather than fall into hunger and poverty.

“Winning respect and acceptance is certainly not a hopeless cause. As we’re seeing in the United States, attitudes and laws can change quickly.”

Violence against gender nonconforming women is widespread. Perpetrators have used such language as “corrective rape.” Another motivation for such attacks is the belief—*not* supported by evidence—that sexual orientation and gender identity can be changed. In South Africa, a mother who feared that her 12-year-old daughter was a lesbian invited a stranger to live with the family and be the girl’s “husband.” But several years of near-daily rapes, until the girl escaped, failed to turn her into a heterosexual. Also in South Africa, there has been a wave of vicious murders of women who openly dated or lived with other women—at least 30 in the past few years, according to human rights groups. Among the victims was one of South Africa’s top female soccer players, Eudy Simelane.

What can bring change? Education—that homosexuality is present in every society and, like heterosexuality, cannot be changed; that gender nonconforming women are human beings who contribute to their communities and have the same rights and aspirations as other people. Visibility is another key: when opponents of equal rights learn that a beloved son or daughter is one of “those people,” their attitudes often change.

At this writing, there are several proposals, including one introduced in the Senate, that the Obama administration appoint a first-ever Envoy for Global Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) Rights. Such an envoy can not only champion lesbian, bisexual, and transgender rights at the international level, but also throw our country’s support behind education efforts and other measures that will make it safer for gender nonconforming women to be who they are.

e Learner is an associate editor in Bread for the World Institute.

India: Empowered to Speak

In 1993, the Indian government passed a law requiring that one-third of seats in local governing councils (Gram Panchayats) be reserved for women and that one-third of council leaders (Pradhans) also be women. It was both an effort to decentralize power so local jurisdictions had greater say over funding for public goods, and to enable more women to participate in governing their communities.³² The broader law applied to every level of government, but we focus here on the local level and the impact of women's presence in Gram Panchayats.

More than 20 years since the law passed, it is clear that the reservation policy has had significant effects on the provision of public goods such as schools, roads, and better access to clean drinking water and sanitation.³³ As the term suggests, public goods benefit everyone in a community. But women and girls, with their far heavier household responsibilities and close day-to-day involvement in children's well-being, tend to benefit more than males from investments in public goods. As we saw in the previous chapter, women spend an inordinate amount of time carrying daily water supplies for their households. Having more sources of clean water

closer to their village saves them time as well as enabling them to drink clean water. UNICEF estimates that as many as 1,400 children die daily from diarrheal diseases linked to poor sanitation and lack of access to drinking water.³⁴ Poor sanitation also contributes to stunting,³⁵ and a lack of proper sanitation in schools is one of the main reasons girls stop attending.³⁶ Women's clearer recognition of the importance of investing in clean water and sanitation has indeed meant that female members of the Gram Panchayats are more inclined to call for investments in improving water and sanitation.³⁷

In Bihar, one of India's poorest states, 50 percent of Gram Panchayat seats have been reserved for women since 2006. Researchers have found that this reservation policy is positively associated with an increase of births in health facilities. The researchers argue that these results reflect women's greater concern about child health, as well as better information available to representatives on the Gram Panchayat.³⁸

"A world run by women would look decidedly different,"³⁹ says economist Esther Duflo, whose research on women's political participation in the Gram Panchayats has contributed a great deal to the knowledge on the subject we have today. Her comment seems to hold true even in areas where women traditionally have very little power and female literacy rates are quite low.⁴⁰ Research shows that the reservation policy has had positive effects on the



UN Women/Gangajit Singh Chandok

The Constitution of India mandates the reservation of one-third seats for women on local governing councils. Many states now have 50 percent reservations for women.

aspirations of teenage girls, for example. Exposure to women leaders coincides with a desire to marry later, have fewer children, and obtain jobs requiring higher education.⁴¹

“India has nearly 1.5 million elected women representatives at the local level—in terms of numbers, this is the highest globally,” says Anne Stenhammer, program director at the South Asia Sub-Regional Office of UN Women. “However, even more important than the numbers is the issue of actual leadership and action on women’s rights.”⁴² The actual leadership and action is certainly what matters, but it is the fact that women are allotted one-third of the seats that creates the opportunities for leaders to emerge. The Hunger Project, an international NGO based in the United States, has been documenting examples of women’s leadership on Gram Panchayats since the law was enacted. In 2013, the organization published its 8th volume of stories titled *Thus Spoke the Press*, collecting dozens of articles published in the Indian press that document women’s leadership. Several of the examples that follow are drawn from *Thus Spoke the Press*.

*“My mission is to help the poor as I am poor myself.”*⁴³

Perceptions do not change overnight. The reservation policy was initially met with suspicion, Duflo says, because it was assumed that women would be ineffectual leaders, too weak to assert themselves or easily manipulated by their husbands and the men on Gram Panchayats with whom they share power.⁴⁴ And it still is viewed suspiciously to an extent. But 20 years of experience has shown that women leaders are embracing their role as decision makers in their communities. Moreover, local opinions of women as decision makers have changed, including the opinions of men, who appear to have become more favorably disposed to sharing political power with women.⁴⁵

“India has nearly 1.5 million elected women representatives at the local level—in terms of numbers, this is the highest globally.”

— Anne Stenhammer,
UN Women

Many of the women who’ve been elected to village councils have little formal education. But that doesn’t prevent them from championing education for girls. The women understand that it was their own parents’ attitudes that education for girls is not valuable that prevented them from continuing past the early primary grades of school. Since the reservation policy went into effect and women reached more of a critical mass

in the village councils, female members have made it a priority to dispel such prejudices. As one elected representative put it, “I hold meetings with parents, mostly mothers, in small groups and try to explain to them that if they do not educate their daughters, their fate, too, will be sealed like them and the vicious cycle of struggle for survival will continue for generations together. Their daughters will remain shackled by household work.”⁴⁶

When Panchayat representative Radha Devi visited the secondary school in her village, she found girls carrying buckets of water from the hand pump outside the compound to the kitchen for preparation of the school’s mid-day meal. This seemed odd because the school employed workers for this task—and because while the girls were carrying water, boys were at their desks receiving instruction. The girls told Radha that if they objected or refused, the principal threatened to fail them. She confronted the principal and said in no uncertain terms that he must stop making the girls carry water, or he would be dismissed. “I realize the importance of education,” said Radha, whose own formal education ended at grade 5.

“The government is doing so much for education so it becomes our duty to make sure that nothing comes in the way. There should be no discrimination in schools, and in the last three years since I have been the sarpanch [the village head], I have made sure this doesn't happen in my village.”⁴⁷

Radha and other women elected to the Gram Panchayats have good reason to visit the schools and comment on standards. In 2009, India passed the Right to Education Act, which guarantees girls and boys equal rights and equal treatment. “I want to be true to my people,” says Rani, the first female sarpanch of the Gram Panchayat in Siddapur. “I am answerable for every rupee I spend. I tell them that they can enter my office any time and check the account books.”⁴⁸ Rani's sense of responsibility and accountability, and the transparency she insists on in managing the panchayat's resources, are not uncommon in the stories collected in *Thus Spoke the Press*. Broadly speaking, we often find reduced levels of corruption when women have a greater decision making role in public life.⁴⁹

The women who've been elected to the panchayats have boldly taken on some of the most difficult and sensitive issues in Indian society. One example: alcoholism. It is a pervasive problem. Women elected to the Gram Panchayats understand better than their male counterparts the consequences for a family of the toddy shops where men go to drink with their fellows and of bootleg alcohol. They know from their own experience, or from the stories other women tell them, of men returning home drunk and beating their wives and children. In some villages, women acting in their capacity as elected officials to curb alcohol abuse have received death threats. Yashodha, president of a Gram Panchayat in Puttur Taluk, gained national attention for fighting alcoholism. “I have enrolled over 80 [men] to de-addiction camps and now they are teetotalers and are leading a decent life,” she says with pride.⁵⁰

Another consequence of the reservation policy is increased reporting of crimes against women and more arrests for such crimes.⁵¹ Panchayat leaders have also taken on another common form of gender-based violence: child marriage. India has had a law banning child marriage since 1929. Meanwhile, it is still the country with the greatest number of child brides, with girls as young as 7 forced into marriages.⁵² Where tradition and poverty are strong, the law is a weak deterrent.

One of the most difficult struggles against gender-based violence for the Indian government has been female infanticide and feticide (pregnancy termination). Female feticide is a nationwide problem, but of course that means it's a local problem too, which involves the Panchayats. And it cannot be blamed simply on poverty

Women in the state of Bihar in India, where 50 percent of seats on village councils are reserved for women, actively participate in campaigns to motivate other women to stand for local elections despite the risk of violence that women candidates face.



UN Women/Ashutosh Negi

or lack of education. The state of Uttarakhand, for example, with a female literacy rate of 70 percent, has a lower child sex ratio (ages 0-6) than its poorer and less educated neighbor, Uttar Pradesh⁵³: only 886 girls are born there for every 1,000 boys. When a boy is born, there are drumrolls and the proud parents distribute sweets. The birth of a girl may elicit condolences instead, as the parents' obligation to start saving for a dowry begins at once.

"Missing women" is a term coined by the Indian economist Amartya Sen. It is not exclusively an Indian problem, but India and China are missing the most number of women. The "missing" are girls and women who would not have died had they been born in a high-income

country and benefited from access to health care, or had they not been victims of blatant gender discrimination.⁵⁴ Of the 4 million women and girls under the age of 60 who go missing *annually*, 37 percent are missing at birth. The single biggest reason for this is parents' preference for boys.⁵⁵ "Better to pay 500 rupees now than 50,000 later," reads a sign outside a clinic in Mumbai that offers ultrasound tests—the 50,000 figure referring to the dowry.⁵⁶

"Let Girls be Born," a campaign launched in 2011, enlists the support of Gram Panchayat leaders. In the Bakshi ka Talab block in Uttar Pradesh, for example, female



UN Women/Ashutosh Negi

Women on village councils gather to discuss priority issues and find solutions to problems such as alcoholism, lack of roads or drinking water.

members of 20 Gram Panchayats⁵⁷ have joined activists to crack down on hospitals and other medical centers that violate the 2002 Pre-Conception and Pre-Natal Diagnostics Techniques Act, which prohibits the misuse of pre-natal testing for sex selective feticide.⁵⁸ Once again, the existence of a law doesn't independently change cultural norms, but the statement it makes that it is not acceptable is at least a start and a prerequisite for progress. And the reservation policy, in supporting the formation of a critical mass of female leaders, creates the opportunity for the emergence of committed leaders who will dare to confront the country's most malignant attitudes.

National Agenda, Local Authority: The Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act

The discrimination women face in labor markets, including a lack of bargaining power, is one of the biggest hurdles to economic empowerment. The Indian constitution guarantees equal pay, but this is almost impossible to enforce when 90 percent of employed women work in the informal sector, where there is little job security and virtually no bargaining power.

In 2006, the Indian government passed the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, later renamed the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA). It is perhaps the most ambitious public works program in the world. MGNREGA

guarantees up to 100 days of minimum-wage employment (equal to \$2 per day) and benefits approximately 50 million rural households annually.⁵⁹

Unskilled workers (particularly women) and people with disabilities are the primary target groups. Those who apply for work and are accepted receive a job card and must be assigned to projects within 5 kilometers of their home. Projects are determined by what villagers and the Gram Panchayat jointly believe would most benefit their community. In line with the national government's intention of transferring more authority to local bodies, MGNREGA uses a bottom-up approach. The program costs only 0.3 percent of GDP,⁶⁰ and with the multiplier effects—wages being reinvested in the local economy as workers buy goods and services—the real costs are even lower. One study in different districts of the state of Karnataka reports multiplier effects of between 3.1 and 3.6.⁶¹ Typical work projects include building and repairing roads, digging ponds, and reforesting land. A 2013 study of empirical evidence from 40 sample villages “shows that MGNREGA works are generating multiple environmental and socio-economic benefits, leading to improved water availability and soil fertility resulting in increased crop production, increased employment generation, and reduced migration.”⁶²

MGNREGA requires that at least 33 percent of the job cardholders be women. Women's participation rates vary across the country, but overall they made up 53 percent of participants in 2012.⁶³ This is a

“remarkable” achievement, according to a 2013 report by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the United Nations Development Program,⁶⁴ and a clear indication of the pent-up demand for work in the formal sector. Wages are paid by the national government. The law includes a legal guarantee to 100 days of work; if they do not receive this, workers are entitled to an unemployment allowance. Because state governments must pay for the unemployment insurance, it is in their interest to make sure people are employed.

MGNREGA requires that men and women be paid the same wage. Equal pay for equal work has the potential to dramatically improve women's decision-making power in the household. But “potential” remains the key word. Equal pay has been difficult to enforce since men demand to be paid more. In 2011, the Overseas Development Institute reported that MGNREGA has, however, had some positive effect on women's intra-household decision-making power.⁶⁵ Women are earning more but still receiving little help on unpaid tasks, including care responsibilities. This could be addressed in various ways. MGNREGA has no provision for flexible work schedules, a disadvantage especially to women with young children; the law calls for the provision of crèche facilities at work sites, but implementation has been very limited.⁶⁶



Simone D. McCourtie/World Bank

The earnings gap between Indian men and women has narrowed since establishment of the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, the largest public works program in the world.

But MGNREGA has succeeded in reducing the gender wage gap in rural areas and boosted all workers bargaining power.⁶⁷ See Figure 3.2. Since the law was passed, average wages in the rural economy grew by 9.7 percent from 2006 to 2009, and then by 18.8 percent from 2010 to 2011, according to India's Ministry of Rural Development in 2012. Compare this to growth of just 2.7 percent from 1999 to 2005.⁶⁸ A 2012 survey of 250 female participants in the Rohtak district in the state of Haryana found that 37 percent used their earnings to increase expenditure on children's education, 62.7 percent to increase spending on medical expenses, and 69 percent said the money they earned helped to avoid hunger by increasing their spending on food.⁶⁹ The same survey criticizes the program's reach, however, showing that only 11 percent of households in Haryana completed 100 days of work.⁷⁰ In Assam, another Indian state,

only 3.7 percent of participants in 2011-12 worked 100 days.⁷¹

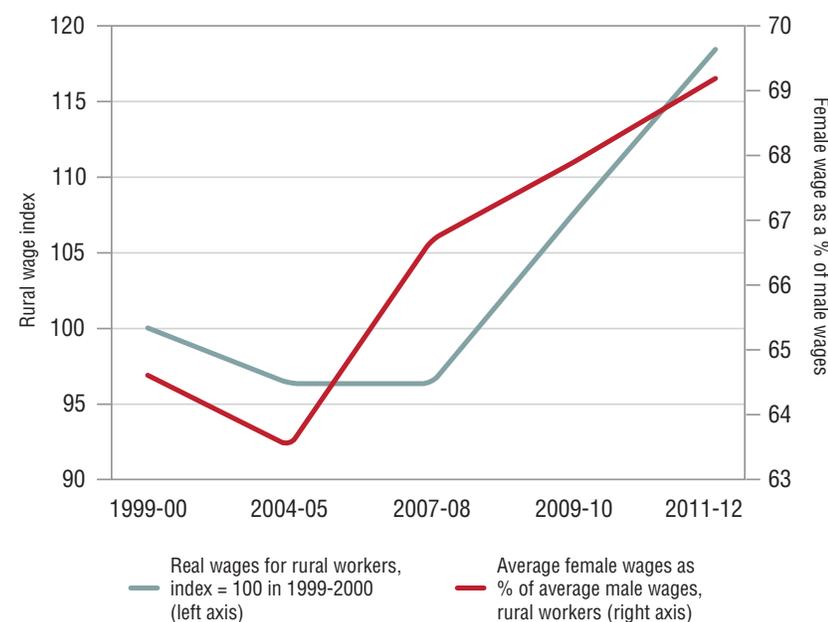
The panchayats are responsible for planning, implementing, and monitoring MGNREGA projects, but many lack the skills to fulfill these functions. NGO involvement can help to build this capacity and, in fact, the central government has directed state governments to select NGOs to assist panchayats with these tasks. But these are not soft skills, and the low literacy level among both men and women is a barrier that is not easily overcome.

When capacity is lacking in the panchayats, support is supposed to be available at the district level, but there too, there are gaps in capacity. Anjali Godyal, a program leader in the eMgal Foundation, paints a stark picture of the reality on the ground

in Mewat, where "Gram panchayats do not assume the roles of planners, decision makers, or supervisors in the MGNREGA implementation process. Instead, it's district administrations that do most of the work. To make things worse, the district administration lacks human resources to support panchayats for the efficient management of [MGNREGA]. There are not enough panchayat secretaries, accountants, computer operators, junior engineers, and sub-divisional officers at the district level to provide technical support to panchayats."⁷²

Realistically, however, MGNREGA will need more time to overcome shortcomings such as these and live up to its transformative vision. Ambitious is too mild a description of what the program sets out to achieve. Its scale is unmatched anywhere in the world, and its potential to support women's empowerment is one of the major reasons to strengthen it and to apply the lessons from its implementation to similar efforts in other countries. More than 350 mil-

Figure 3.2 Real Wages for Rural Casual Work (1999-2012)



Note: The figure includes rural casual work other than employment associated with public works.

Source: International Labor Organization (2014), *World of Work 2014: Developing with Jobs*, page 129

lion Indians work at wage rates that don't put them over the poverty line.⁷³ Like some other middle-income countries, India's middle class is growing rapidly while its working poor lag behind. Education is a catalyst to economic empowerment, but its orientation is towards the future. Regular employment at fair wages better defines empowerment in the here and now.

Cambodia: Sounds of Solidarity

In addition to the political realm, civil society organizations also offer an opportunity for women to use a collective voice to shape policy. Chapter 1 considered how producer groups can strengthen women's bargaining power in the household and marketplace. While there are several other kinds of civil society organizations through which women can increase their bargaining power, we focus here on trade unions.

A recent report by the International Labor Organization on Cambodia's ready-made garment sector, where women make up 90 percent of the workforce, explains why trade unions are important: they "can give voice to women workers at the workplace and empower them to challenge the discrimination they face at the workplace and beyond."⁷⁴ In Cambodia, agriculture employs the largest share of the female workforce; the manufacturing sector, in particular the garment industry, is second and the largest formal sector employer.⁷⁵

It may appear on the surface that female workers in the garment industry would have considerable bargaining power with employers, since the industry brings in more than 70 percent of Cambodia's export revenue⁷⁶ and employs about 500,000 people. Yet every improvement in working conditions, from higher wages and benefits to better health and safety conditions, has been a hard-fought battle. Women's lives have been lost in the struggle.

On January 3, 2014, military police opened fire and killed five protesters in the capital city of Phnom Penh during a demonstration calling for higher wages. More than 40 others were injured in what the *Cambodia Daily* called indiscriminate shootings. Workers were demanding that the government raise the minimum wage to 160 per month. A month earlier the Labor Ministry announced that it would raise the minimum wage from 95 to 100.⁷⁷ This was neither the first time workers had protested poverty-level wages, nor the first time protests had been forcibly ended by a government crackdown.

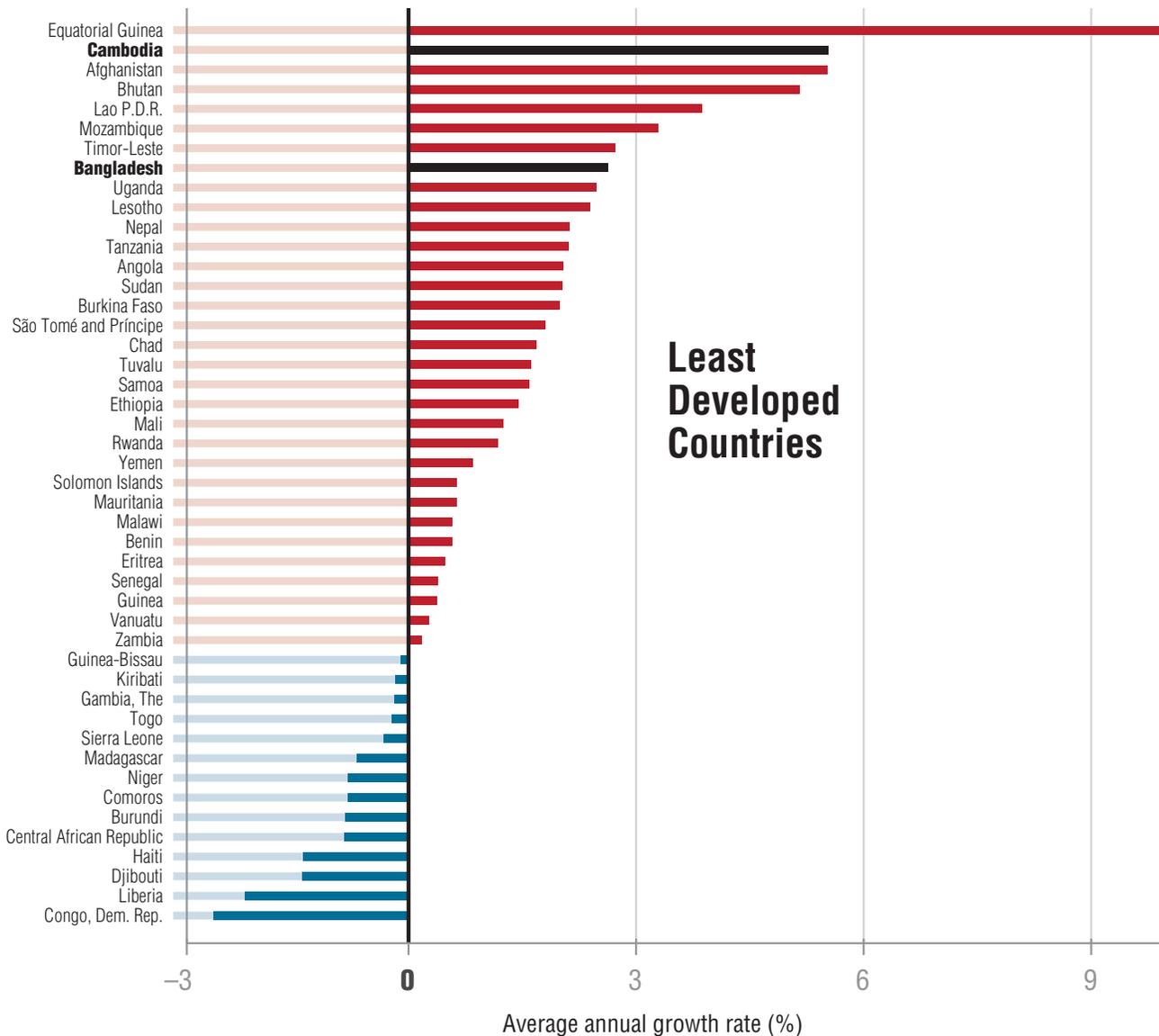
On April 24, 2013, the collapse of the Rana Plaza building in Bangladesh killed 1,138 garment workers, mostly female, and drew international media attention. In two incidents in Cambodia less than a month later, on May 18th and 20th, the ceiling collapsed at a shoe



Masaru Goto

A mother lives with her baby on the streets of Phnom Penh, the capital city and manufacturing hub in Cambodia.

Figure 3.3 GDP Per Capita, Average Annual Growth Rate, 1980–2011



Source: International Labor Organization (2014), *World of Work 2014: Developing with Jobs*.

factory and an overloaded storage bin collapsed at a garment factory, killing two and 23 workers respectively.⁷⁸ But these tragedies scarcely got a mention in the Western press—because the death toll was tens of people rather than hundreds. Despite the laws and regulations in place, workplace health and safety violations are routine in both countries.

Cambodia and Bangladesh have made stunning progress in reducing poverty, particularly given their condition less than a generation ago. See Figures 3.3-3.5. Cambodia is likely to meet all of the MDGs,⁷⁹ and in some ways, what Bangladesh has accomplished is even more impressive: Bangladesh has close to 160 million people in an area the size of Wisconsin, compared to Cambodia’s 15 million. The share of the Bangladeshi population living on less

than 1.25 a day shrank from 70 percent in 1992 to 43 percent in 2010.⁸⁰ Once regarded as a development basket case, Bangladesh created a model of export-driven growth for Cambodia and other low-income countries.

These are not like the earlier pioneers in “basket case to prosperity” development, the Asian Tigers (South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore). While there is no longer widespread hunger in the Tigers, Bangladesh and Cambodia are counted as Least Developed Countries—where hunger remains quite widespread. Just like Rwanda, Cambodia has its own dark history. During the reign of the Khmer Rouge (1975-1979) as many as 2 million people may have been killed—the fact that there has never been a detailed count of the dead is a chilling indication of what the country was like. A Vietnamese invasion drove out the Khmer Rouge but set off a 13-year civil war, and Cambodia has only recently come off the World Bank’s list of fragile and conflict-affected countries.⁸¹ Earlier, Bangladesh fought a bloody war for independence from Pakistan, which it won in 1971 at the cost of lives whose number is also not precisely known but surpasses 1 million.

Women’s rise to leadership in the garment industry collective bargaining movements did not follow the same path in the two countries. In Bangladesh, women have found it to their benefit to establish their own informal unions rather than join male-dominated unions.⁸² These exist in Cambodia as well, but are far less common. At the factory level in Cambodia, women dominate union leadership positions.⁸³ At the federation level, however, which brings many factories together under one structure, their share in leadership positions pales by comparison⁸⁴: women hold only 10 percent of leadership positions in union federations—the exact opposite of the 90-percent-female workforce.⁸⁵

There are six major union federations, of which only one is run by women: the National Independent Federation Textile Union of Cambodia (NIFTUC), with 25,000 members in 32 factories.⁸⁶ Morn Nhim, president and founder, formed the union in 1999, which was still during the early years of the industry’s rapid growth. Nhim was repelled by the blatant gender bias she discovered among male leaders of the garment unions. She says that women have not been welcome as leaders because Cambodian men are not predisposed to trusting them with handling money. Women do not push for inclusion in the leadership ranks because Cambodian culture prefers women to be shy, not courageous. Her own family was nervous about her becoming a union leader. Leadership in union activities requires women to take risks, including being fired or verbally and physically intimidated—and union leaders have been killed. Nhim herself has received death threats for protesting working conditions. “More women are becoming brave enough to be leaders,” she says, “but there are still not enough.”⁸⁷



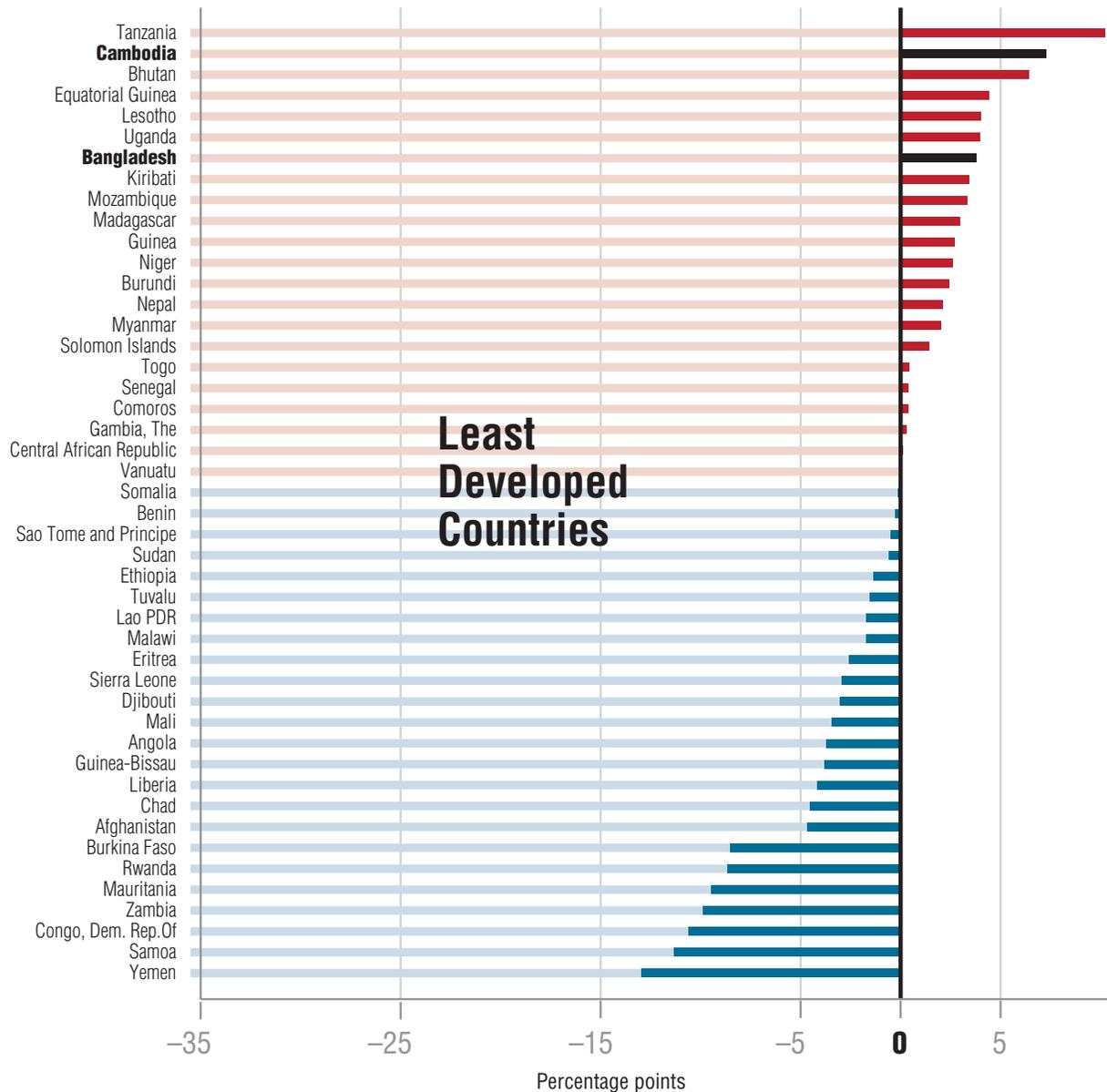
UN Photo/Kibae Park

A woman works in a garment factory in Gazipur, Bangladesh. Up to 90 percent of garment workers in Bangladesh and Cambodia are women.

From Deferential to Demanding

Phnom Penh, Cambodia's manufacturing hub, is one of the fastest growing cities in the world—a fact attributed to the rapid expansion of the garment industry. Virtually all of the country's exports leave through here. As in many growing cities, people are migrating from rural areas faster than infrastructure to support them can be built. There are dormitories along the factory-lined streets for the women who work in the garment industry. Women crowd into rooms to save money, sleeping together on pallets. Those who do not live within walking distance travel to work packed shoulder to shoulder in

Figure 3.4 **Change in the Share of Manufacturing Contribution to GDP, 1980-2011**



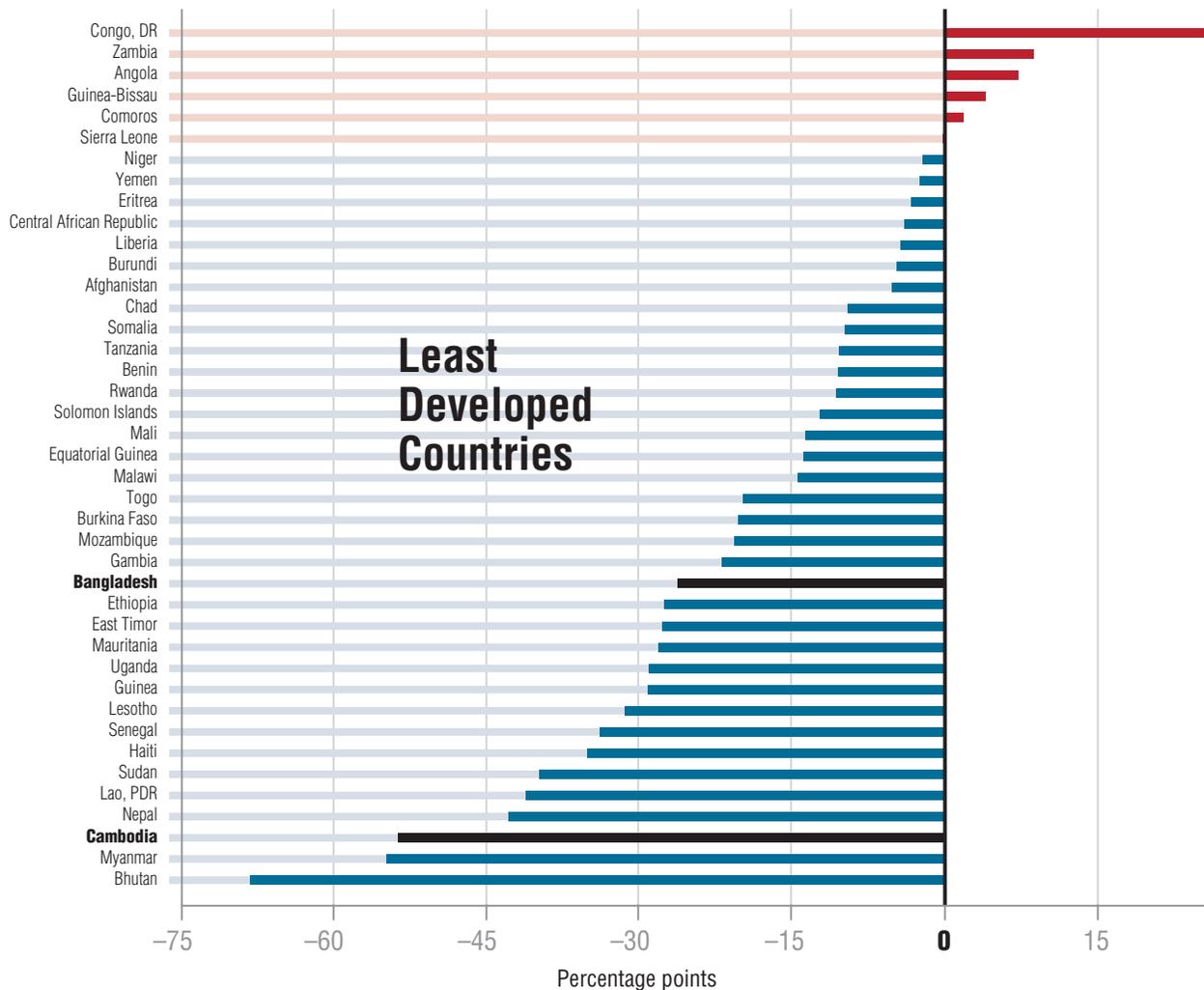
Source: International Labor Organization (2014), *World of Work 2014: Developing with Jobs*.

the back of open trucks. In 2013, 69 workers riding in the backs of trucks were killed in road accidents.⁸⁸

The main reason garment workers leave their villages for the urban factories is to support their families and ensure that younger siblings get an education.⁸⁹ Some begin work in the factories at 15 years old or younger and most are single. They leave their families behind in rural villages, sometimes including young children that they may only get to see once or twice a year. The culture shock is significant, and they must rely on each other for support as they adapt. The money they send home helps millions of people in rural areas, but the women working in the factories keep barely enough to survive.

The wages paid by the garment industry in Cambodia are some of the lowest in the world. Of the major garment-producing countries, only factories in Bangladesh pay less.⁹⁰ The real value of wages (purchasing power) fell by 19.1 percent between 2001 and 2011.⁹¹ In addition to the poverty that the workers endure in the city, they face stigma attached to being a factory

Figure 3.5 Change in the Share of Working Poor (<US \$2 per day), 1991-2013



Source: International Labor Organization (2014), *World of Work 2014: Developing with Jobs*.

worker. “City residents look down on the garment factory workers,” according to Ly Phearak, a former garment worker and labor leader. “They are being accused of destroying the culture of Cambodian women.”⁹² It is true that the garment workers do not always behave like traditional Cambodian women. Rather than being shy and deferential, they wave signs saying “WE ARE WOMEN NOT LAVE.”⁹³

Temperatures inside the cavernous halls, where up to 2,000 sewing machines are operating at once, soar as high as 100 degrees Fahrenheit.⁹⁴ In 2010, 50 separate incidents of mass fainting occurred, affecting 4,000 workers.⁹⁵ Workers faint not only because of the oppressive conditions inside the factories, but also because they are malnourished. On days off, workers forage for food, searching for small animals and insects to eat.⁹⁶ In 2011, Ken Loo, representing factory owners as the General Secretary of the Garment Manufacturers Association of Cambodia, said that while the minimum wage “provides enough nutrients to survive” it doesn’t mean you won’t feel hungry.”⁹⁷

The actual number of workers fainting because of malnutrition is probably under-reported,⁹⁸ since this would be bad publicity for factory owners and their customers, many of them multinational brands. After the January 2014 demonstration where protesters were killed, some of the brands most widely recognized in the West—such as Adidas, Gap Inc., H M, and Levi Strauss Co.—signed a joint letter to the Cambodian government expressing their concern about the violence.⁹⁹ That is all well and good, says Liana Foxvog of the International Labor Rights Forum, but it is the multinationals that are driving the “race to the bottom” on wages that force workers to take to the streets. The garment industry in Cambodia

is virtually 100 percent foreign-owned. Foxvog argues there should be “a system that is different from the current business-as-usual model where brands and retailers will shop around to different factories and say who will make this shirt for two dollars. If a factory won’t, they can find one that will.”¹⁰⁰

Corporate social responsibility is not a system. The only existing mechanism for change is the right of workers to bargain collectively. This is threatened in Cambodia. Despite the legal right to form unions, workers face threats and intimidation from factory owners at the slightest hint of union organizing. Instead, women take their organizing off site to the dormitories and neighborhoods where workers live. The Workers Information Center (WIC) is run by and for women in the garment factories, educating them about labor laws and their rights. WIC is not a union but identifies itself as part of the Cambodian workers’ movement to mobilize collective action for workers’ rights. Through its Drop-In Centers on the outskirts of Phnom Penh, WIC provides a safe space for women to gather and get information and helps them build the confidence to speak out about conditions in the factories.



ILO/Livingston Armytage

Two sisters, both employed in Phnom Penh’s garment factories, pictured here with their children. Altogether 10 family members, ages 5 months to 55 years-old, occupy a room of less than 50-square feet.

WIC works in partnership with other women's organizations in the United Sisterhood Alliance, composed of grassroots women's groups ranging from garment workers and other low-wage workers to self-employed women, farmers, students, and artists. Through its collective strength, the alliance is strengthening Cambodia's civil society and enabling women to better represent themselves so that they can hold the state accountable.

On May 25, 2014, the United Sisterhood Alliance staged a fashion show, "Beautiful Clothes, Ugly Reality," at the WIC headquarters, where garment workers wore the name-brand clothes they make in the factories.¹⁰¹ The only difference between the lovely young women on the catwalk that evening and the fashion models they were mimicking were their pointed messages on the exploitive nature of the garment industry. At one point, men dressed in riot gear reenacted the repression of the protests in January of 2014 and the killing of a worker. Meanwhile, outside the venue, organizers had to negotiate with police not to stop the show.¹⁰²

Better Factories and Better Trade Deals

In July 2012, then-Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton met with 12 female union leaders in Cambodia and heard their grievances. Clinton was in the country for a "gender equality, women's empowerment policy dialogue" with women leaders as part of a larger tour of several countries in the region.¹⁰³ "The international community and international law recognize that workers everywhere, regardless of income or status, are entitled to certain universal rights, including the right to form and join a union and to bargain collectively," she said at the end of the meeting. "Defending these labor rights and improving working conditions is a smart economic investment, but it's also a very important value."¹⁰⁴

Few in the international community would question the idea that workers' right to organize for fair wages and decent working conditions is an important value. But in Cambodia, as well as in other countries in the region whose economies depend on exports to the United States, it is safe to say the concept of workers' rights is often forgotten. What can the United States and other large importers do to prod governments to respect workers' rights? The U.S. government should have a considerable amount of leverage since half of Cambodia's garment exports go to the United States.¹⁰⁵

An earlier U.S.-Cambodia textile trade agreement, in effect from 1998 to 2004, was linked to improvements in working conditions. In exchange for Cambodian government guarantees to improve working conditions and respect labor rights, the U.S. government agreed to increase quotas on textile imports from Cambodia. By all accounts, the agreement was hailed as a best practice in the regulation of international labor standards. Jason Todd of the AFL-CIO called it "more beneficial to [Cambodian] workers than any anti-sweatshop campaign."¹⁰⁶ When the garment workers had grievances about low wages and unsafe working



Chhor Sokunthea/World Bank

The garment industry is Cambodia's largest formal sector employer and brings in 70 percent of the country's export revenue.

conditions, they could use this agreement as a means of holding the Cambodian government accountable for meeting its responsibilities.

The agreement expired in 2005 when the textiles sector was brought under the aegis of the World Trade Organization. One of its unique features is still in effect—Better Factories Cambodia (BFC), under which the International Labor Organization monitors working conditions. But since the expiration of the U.S.-Cambodia agreement, the U.S. government no longer reviews BFC reports. In fact, since the agreement expired, BFC reports go instead to firms doing business in Cambodia.¹⁰⁷ These companies have no incentive to protest deteriorating working conditions, except after a tragedy such as the collapse of the Rana Plaza Building in Bangladesh.

According to a 2013 report by Stanford University Law School and the Worker Rights Consortium, “BFC has been increasingly powerless to address longstanding labor rights problems in the Cambodian garment industry or to prevent a slow backward slide in certain conditions for workers.”¹⁰⁸

The United States still has bargaining chips to prod trading partners to improve working conditions and respect labor rights. One of these is the Generalized Systems of Preferences (GSP), under which the U.S. government exempts hundreds of articles produced in low-income countries from import tariffs. In the aftermath of the Rana Plaza tragedy, the Obama administration suspended Bangladesh’s benefits under GSP.¹⁰⁹ But this was little more than an empty gesture, because

GSP does not apply to articles of clothing. More than 90 percent of the products exported from Bangladesh and Cambodia are textiles and apparel that are subject to a 15 percent tariff.¹¹⁰

The United States could offer trade incentives, such as abolishing the tariff on textiles and apparel, to encourage countries to improve factory conditions and respect labor rights. Low-income African countries and Haiti might be concerned about this, since they are granted duty-free, quota-free access to U.S. markets on textiles and apparel. Five of the very poorest countries in Asia are excluded from such preferences. They are Cambodia, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Yemen, and Nepal.¹¹¹ The increased competition from Asia could reduce market share for African countries and Haiti, but these countries would not be significantly harmed because textiles and apparel products make up such a small share of their exports to the United States.¹¹² Abolishing the tariff for Cambodia should be contingent on resumption of Better Factories reporting directly to the U.S. government. Other Asian low-income countries that stand to benefit should be required to establish their own Better Factories program. It is in the interest of firms that do business in these countries to support this policy change, since it would effectively reduce production costs by 15 percent. Given the large volume of exports that would be affected, companies would be getting enough additional revenue to cover a generous wage increase for the garment workers.



Chhor Sokunthea/World Bank

Workers living in neighborhoods on the outskirts of Phnom Penh ride buses to get to the garment factories.

Cutting off trade with these countries is not the solution. As we mentioned earlier, neither the crackdown on workers in Phnom Penh nor the collapse of the Rana Plaza building in Dhaka have done much to discourage young women from leaving rural areas for the jobs and independence they find in the factory cities. “They’re taking these jobs by choice—this is not forced labor—because it’s better than any other alternative they have,” explains Kimberly Elliott of the Center for Global Development. “The alternative is getting married at 14 or 15 and starting to have kids at a very young age.”¹¹³

There are many paths to take to help remove obstacles to women’s empowerment. Trade is one. As we’ll see in the next section, supporting civil society groups in their efforts to help more women get elected to public office is another.

Malawi: Yearning to Be Heard

When Bread for the World Institute staff came by to visit, smallholder farmers Alec and Lucy Banda received us in a field behind their modest home. We came to talk about extension services but we couldn’t resist questions about their family. Alec and Lucy, ages 28 and 26, have three children, including a baby girl whom Alec was holding as we spoke. When asked what kind of future he thinks is possible for his daughter, Alec smiled and said he believes she could be the president of the country someday.¹¹⁴

Since there are many more positions available in national parliaments than as Heads of state, the number of women who have ever served as a Head of state is very limited in comparison. As 2014 opened, there were 18 female Heads of state—leading less than 10 percent of all countries.¹¹⁵ In May 2014, President Joyce Banda of Malawi (no relation to Alec and Lucy Banda) was voted out of office. The number of women Heads of state in low-income countries is so few and their ascent so recent that we are not used to talking about them as losers of elections rather than winners. When a woman is elected Head of state, it is generally celebrated as a triumph for all women in society. Does the loss of an election also have implications for all women, or is it simply the outcome for an individual?

The National Democratic Institute (NDI) is a U.S. NGO that promotes democracy and civic engagement in developing countries around the world. In Malawi, NDI is administering a grant for the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). On the eve of the 2014 national election, NDI conducted focus groups across 24 of Malawi’s 28 districts.¹¹⁶ Although the focus groups included less than 500 of Malawi’s 16 million people, NDI found something interesting about public attitudes on gender and politics.

The focus groups were broken up into age categories of 18-25, 26-35, and 36 and older. Few people in any of the focus groups admitted that gender would determine their choice of candidate.¹¹⁷ But when the results of the election were tallied, it turned out that not only



Todd Post/Bread for the World

Malawian farmers Alec and Lucy Banda, with their infant daughter, in a field behind their home.

THE SUN COMES UP IN MALAWI

Scott Bleggi, Bread for the World Institute

Malawi was the first country to join the Scaling Up Nutrition (SUN) movement at its founding in 2011. SUN is a global initiative led by national governments of countries with the highest burden of maternal/child malnutrition—53 member countries at last count.

Child stunting remains a significant problem in Malawi, with four in 10 children under the age of 5 stunted in 2010. But this is progress from the 48 percent rate of 2000. The children who are stunted will not grow to their full physical or intellectual potential. They will do more poorly in school, be more susceptible to illness for the rest of their lives, and earn less in their lifetimes.

Clearly, malnutrition on this scale reduces the whole country's long-term development prospects.

Each SUN country has identified a government “focal point,” usually a senior official, who is responsible for coordinating a multi-stakeholder network of donors, U.N. agencies, technical experts, civil society, and private business. In Malawi, the Permanent Secretary in the Office of the President and Cabinet, where actions across various ministries are coordinated, serves as the nutritional focal point. This helps in the effort to integrate nutrition into a number of development sectors, such as agriculture, health, education, women's empowerment, and social protection.

Malawi's civil society is active on nutrition issues. The National Nutrition Education and Communication Strategy (NECS) aims to strengthen the position of civil society and community-based organizations in advocating for

a national nutrition agenda. The Civil Society Organization Nutrition Alliance (CSONA), consisting of 26 nutrition stakeholder groups, promotes nutrition education across the country. The CSONA was an active voice in Malawi's *Civil Society National Budget Consultation Advocacy Meeting* in March 2014, noting that nutrition was being treated primarily as a health issue and championing the idea of separate analyses for nutrition funding. As a result, CSONA was invited to work with government officials to plan nutrition-sensitive activities in sectors other than health.

In May 2014, civil society groups in SUN countries participated in a Global Day of Action, right on the eve of Malawi's national elections. Civil society exhorted candidates to make a commitment to strengthening the government's role in supporting nutrition. This laid a foundation for holding the next set of elected officials accountable for progress against childhood malnutrition.

o egg is the senior policy analyst for maternal/child nutrition in *Bread for the World Institute*.



Todd Post/Bread for the World

Malawian school children returning home at lunchtime for their mid-day meal.

did Banda fare poorly, but so did most of the other female candidates competing in local and national races. Women's representation in Parliament fell from 22 percent to 16 percent. At the local level, the results were even worse: women made up just 12 percent of the government councilors elected.¹¹⁸ One positive outcome of the election is that the Malawi Electoral Support Network, a coalition of 75 civil society organizations that assisted NDI in organizing the focus groups, is now calling for legislation to mandate that a quarter of parliamentary seats be reserved for women.¹¹⁹ But for the near future, the election certainly means that women have a less powerful voice in electoral politics.

At this writing it is too early to tell what the effects of the election will be on the government's commitment to fighting hunger and malnutrition. In 2013, Malawi was ranked second out of 45 low-income countries on its government's commitment to fighting hunger and malnutrition.¹²⁰ The Hunger and Nutrition Commitment Index (HANCI), produced by the U.K.-based Institute of Development Studies, ranked Malawi high again in 2014, at third out of 45. The significant steps taken in recent years by Joyce Banda and her predecessors are not likely to be reversed, however. These include Malawi's participation in the Scaling Up Nutrition (SUN) movement (see Box 3.2) and the government's work with the U.S. Feed the Future program (Chapter 1 has more information on Feed the Future).

A Younger Generation of Female Leaders

From an early age, Patience Chifundo saw no reason a Malawian woman should be denied the same opportunities as a Malawian man. Her mother embodied this principle. She owned and drove a minibus, an unusual occupation for a woman in this country.

Patience's mother eventually sold the minibus and took a job as assistant to a Member of Parliament, a woman later chosen to be Joyce Banda's Minister of Environment and Climate Change. One of her mother's tasks was to meet with constituents who stood outside the MP's home and pleaded for help—they didn't have any food, or the clinic was out of medicine, or they couldn't afford school fees for their children. These constituents were always women, and the faces changed but the needs were the same. This made a strong impression on Patience, who was incensed by the fact that government debates rarely mentioned these women and their concerns—until politicians wanted their votes.

Patience saw the discrimination women faced in Malawi but had experienced little of it herself until she was a student at the elite Chancellor College and ran for student president. She had always been a precocious student and started college at the age of 15. Tradition is held in high regard at Chancellor College, and no woman had ever run for student body president. Patience did not win the election, but the discrimination she experienced as a candidate was a life-changing experience. When it became clear to her opponents—all of them male—that she had a formidable intellect, they agreed to all support one of their number who had the best chance of winning against “the girl.”

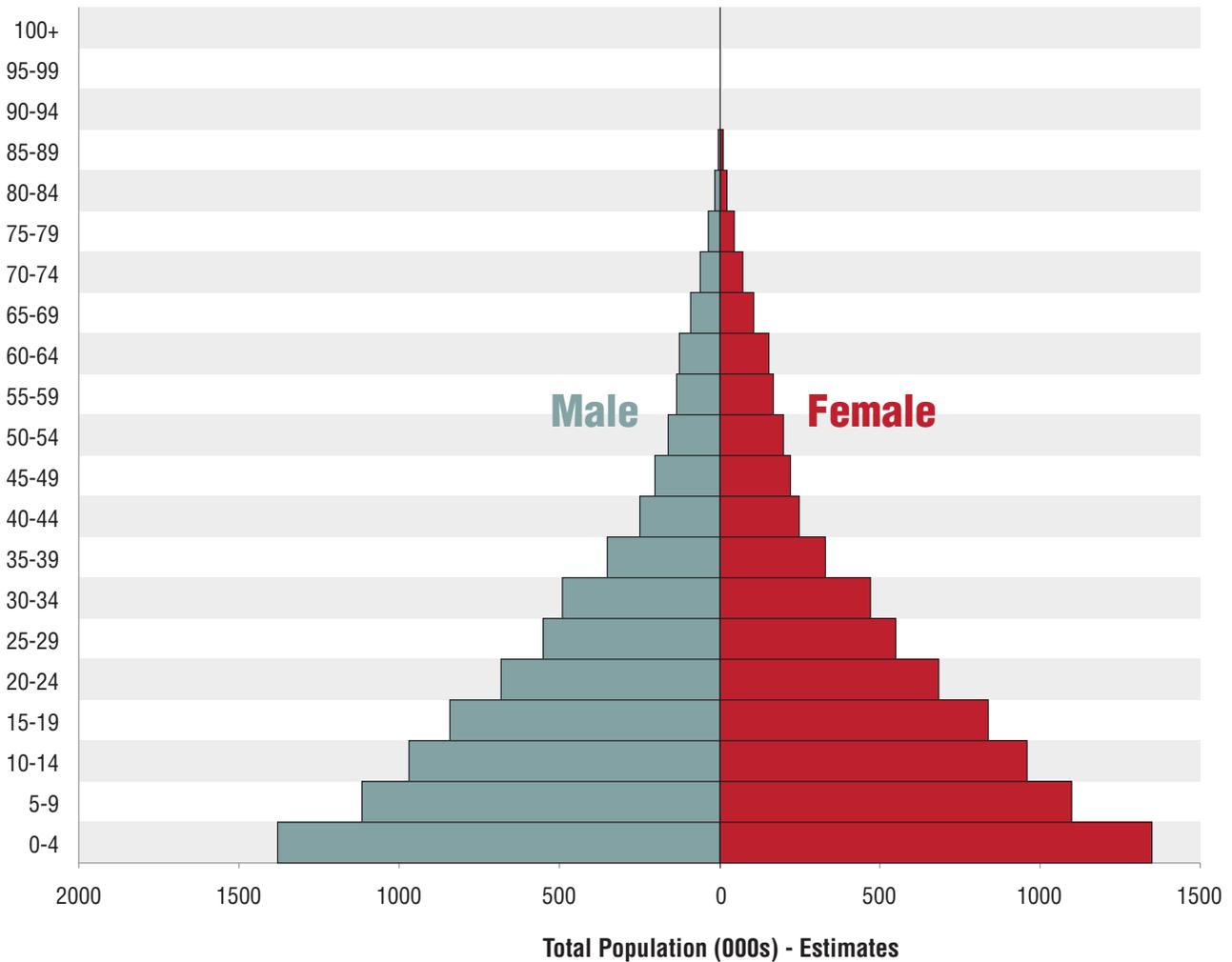


Todd Post/Bread for the World

Patience Chifundo has political ambitions, but believes Malawian women of her generation still face many disadvantages being accepted as capable leaders.

After graduation, Patience worked as a program officer for the German NGO Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KA) managing a grant to the Young Politicians Union, an organization of people from her own generation as passionate as she was to invigorate political debate in Malawi. Seventy percent of Malawi's population is under the age of 30. See Figure 3.6. One of the first things she did at KAS was to produce a radio talk show for which she was also the host. She invited parliamentarians and political party officials to come on the show to speak directly with Malawian youth about political issues. Callers were passionate, informed, and not about to settle for canned answers. This caused many of the show's guests, who had imagined that they would be asked "softball" questions, great anxiety. The German Ambassador to Malawi was forced to contact KA and advise the organization to pull the show off the air. But there was such an outcry from listeners that the station agreed to sponsor the show. It continues to air, although Patience has moved on.

Figure 3.6 **Malawi's Population By Age and Sex, 2010**



Source: youthpolicy.org, based on 2012 data from United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs–Population Division.

Patience describes her experience with the Young Politicians Union as the practicum to her classroom education in political theory at Chancellor College. Most of the other women affiliated with the organization had none of the background in political theory that she did. But they inspired her so much, she said. Through them she learned how politics actually works at the grassroots level. These women came to meetings with nursing babies and little else besides bus fare home.

One such woman is Annis Luka, a subsistence farmer from the Phalombe district in the southern region of the country, who ran for a seat on her local council in 2014 but lost. When Annis finished secondary school, she could not find a job and was forced to return home to farm with family members. She lives with 12 family members, including her parents, siblings, and a 7-year-old daughter. They grow maize, rice, sugar cane, and groundnuts, but do not earn enough to provide a buffer against the annual hungry season.

When students at Chancellor College needed to raise money for an event, they invited political leaders, candidates, intellectuals, and artists to speak or perform, and they could count on a paying crowd. Annis funds her activities by dedicating a share of her maize production to pay the expenses, but first ensures that no one else in the household has to go hungry to support her political work. The intergovernmental agency Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance recommends: “Invest in leadership development and mentoring, especially for young women. Strive to make politics an accessible arena for low-income women and women from rural areas, whose representation has been constrained by the high cost of campaigning.”¹²¹ Annis Luka of the Young Politicians Union typifies the women this statement has in mind.



Todd Post/Bread for the World

Annis Luka, a member of the Young Politicians Union, ran for a seat on her district council in 2014.

Strengthening Democracy and Governance

In spite of being only the second African country with a female president, Malawi struggles to make progress against so-called harmful traditional practices, such as child marriage. The nation has one of the highest such rates in the world,¹²² with half of all girls married before they turn 18.¹²³ Where child marriage is common, so are high rates of maternal mortality. Many births take place in the home without skilled attendants.

The Malawian government has been struggling to reduce maternal mortality since before Joyce Banda became president.¹²⁴ Banda tried some astute ways of tackling the problem. One strategy was to work with chiefs, who are predominantly male. In 2012, Kwataine, a chief in central Malawi, was named head of Banda’s Presidential Initiative on Maternal Health and Safe Motherhood. A charismatic leader, he has been a critical factor in gaining the support of other chiefs for the Safe Motherhood initiative. Kwataine hosts a radio show where he scolds men for not being more attentive to their partner’s needs during pregnancy.¹²⁵

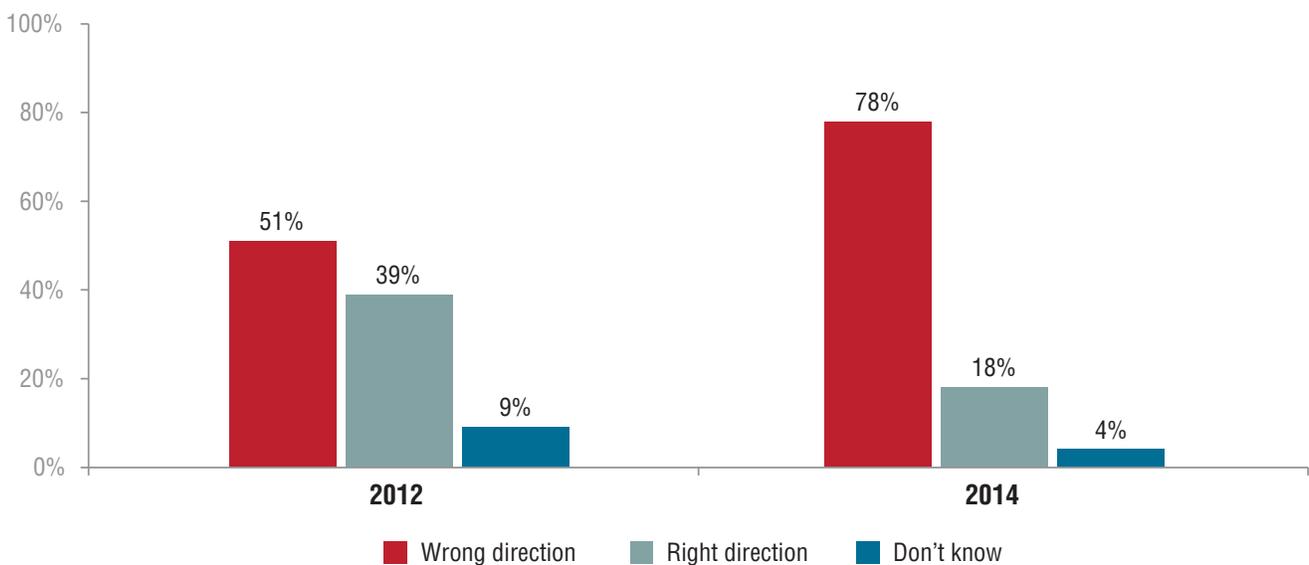
Banda also introduced a program called “secret mothers.” The secret mothers are older women who monitor pregnancies within their village, ensuring that pregnant women receive

prenatal care and go to a health facility for the birth. Secret mothers are important because in Malawi, it is considered inappropriate for women to share information about their pregnancy with anyone but their immediate family, who may not have the knowledge to advise them on health and safe motherhood. Women were being discouraged from seeking out prenatal care. The “secret mothers” program dramatically improved the quality of prenatal care in the rural areas while preserving, at least to some extent, the tradition of secrecy.¹²⁶ The NDI report highlighted widespread support for Banda’s programs to reduce maternal mortality.¹²⁷

The election outcome and Banda’s loss had far less to do with maternal mortality rates than it did a corruption scandal that dogged her from the time it surfaced in late 2013 and cast doubt over her ability to lead the government. See Figure 3.7. The scandal was serious enough to cause donors such as the International Monetary Fund and the U.K. government to suspend support temporarily—a significant blow to a country where 37 percent of the government’s budget comes from foreign aid. Although Banda was not tied to the scandal directly, the suspension of aid just months before the election reminded Malawians of how dependent on donors the country remains.¹²⁸

Elections rarely go smoothly in Malawi, and the 2014 national election was no exception. Election day began and ended in chaos. Irregularities were recorded at 42 stations. The BBC reported that in one constituency, more than 184,000 votes were counted but there were only 38,000 registered voters.¹²⁹ Two days later, as voting was still taking place in some parts of the country and as reports of irregularities continued, Banda tried to nullify the election but did not have the constitutional authority to do so. It would not have mattered to the final outcome. Once all the irregularities were sorted out, the winner was clear and Banda finished a distant third.

Figure 3.7 Malawian Public Opinion Regarding Overall Direction of the Country, 2012-2014



Participants were asked: ‘Would you say that the country is going in the wrong direction or going in the right direction?’

Source: Carolyn Logan, Michael Bratton, and Boniface Dulani (May 2014), “Malawi’s 2014 Elections: Amid Concerns About Fairness, Outcome is Too Close to Call,” Afrobarometer.

Danielle Resnick of the International Food Policy Research Institute has analyzed donor funding for governance in Malawi and found it to be concentrated almost exclusively in electoral periods.¹³⁰ This focus on elections has had little lasting impact on building the capacity of civil society to hold the government accountable between election cycles. Resnick quotes a frustrated official with Malawi’s Center for Multiparty Democracy (CMD): “Some civil society organizations only operate during [the election cycle].”¹³¹

The Obama administration’s 2012 Presidential Policy Directive for sub-Saharan Africa calls for strengthening democratic institutions, especially at the local level, by working with civil society organizations.¹³² This requires identifying local partners that are “known quantities” already operating in communities. Practicing nondiscrimination should be a prerequisite for civil society groups seeking to work with U.S. development programs. Young women face discrimination because of both gender and youth, so enabling them to participate fully requires a specific focus on ending discrimination.

With its agenda of enhancing the role of women and youth in leadership and decision-making, the Young Politicians Union of Malawi and similar groups in other sub-Saharan countries would seem to epitomize the kinds of partnerships called for in the policy directive. These groups are not hard to find. Shortly before Malawi’s 2014 presidential election, Patience Chifundo received a call from the Vice Chancellor of the University of Malawi asking her to take a job with the European Union Election Observation Mission for Malawi. The EU had requested the names of 15 Malawians to represent the country on its observer team. When the Vice Chancellor contacted his advisors, Patience’s name was mentioned repeatedly because of her affiliation with the Young Politicians’ Union.

In the summer of 2014, the U.S. government hosted 500 Mandela Washington Fellows as part of the Young African Leaders Initiative (YALI). These are some of the best and brightest people between the ages of 25 and 35 on the African continent, and it is an express purpose of the initiative to “strengthen democratic governance.”¹³³ In their biographies, all posted on the YALI website, dozens of Mandela Fellows identified working to improve democracy and governance in their countries as part of their current and future plans.¹³⁴ Among this talent pool will be many women and men committed to working together to ensure that all voices are heard.

Looking Forward

We’ve been looking at women in developing countries who are working to have a greater say in politics and policies—but it is notable that women in high-income countries have little representation or influence either. Higher incomes don’t necessarily mean much in this case—developed countries will also fail to meet the MDG target of 30 percent female representation in national parliaments.¹³⁵ In fact, women in wealthy nations have only slightly higher levels of political representation than those in developing countries. The next chapter is about the United States. Although it is the richest country in the world, women’s decision-making power in government is low by developed-country standards. Within its focus on women’s empowerment in the United States, Chapter 4 will cover politics, unpaid care work, bargaining power, and other issues we have raised in the context of developing countries.

“Invest in leadership development and mentoring, especially for young women. Strive to make politics an accessible arena for low-income women and women from rural areas.”

— Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance

CENTRAL AMERICAN EXODUS

Andrew Wainer, Bread for the World Institute

Between October 2013 and August 2014, 63,000 unaccompanied child migrants (UACs) arrived at the U.S. southern border.¹ During roughly the same time, 22,000 children travelling with at least one parent also arrived from Central America.^{2,3} Mothers traveling alone with small children, mostly from Honduras, were the fastest growing number of immigrants detained at the border.

United Nations (U.N.) interviews with child migrants found that they are typically fleeing a combination of poverty and violence, sometimes combined with a desire to reach family or friends in the United States. Among Honduran UACs, the UN found that 44 percent included violence as a reason for migration.⁴ Reports from the Northern Triangle—a region comprised of El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala—indicate societies overcome with poverty, fear, and violence.

More than 20,000 people are trafficked every year in Mexico—80 percent of them women, typically Central American undocumented migrants between 8 and 22-years old.

With the highest number of homicides per capita, Honduras is considered the “murder capital of the world.”⁵

Between 2005 and 2013, Honduras experienced a 263 percent increase in the number of violent deaths of women.⁶ With an estimated 95 percent impunity rate for sexual violence and femicide crimes in Honduras, it shouldn’t be surprising that Honduran women are compelled to flee the country.⁷ “The climate of fear, in both the public and private spheres, and the lack of accountability for violations of human rights of women, is the norm rather than the exception,” said Rashida Manjoo, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on violence against women, during a trip to Honduras.

The particular threat facing women and girls is fueling an increasing numbers of girl UACs within the overall surge of child migrants. During FY 2014 there was a 77 percent increase in unaccompanied girls going to the United States compared to an 8 percent increase for boys.⁸ See Figure 3.8. During FY 2014 more than 13,000 Honduran girls under 18 traveled unaccompanied to the United States compared with just over 7,000 in FY 2013—an 86 percent increase. For girls 12 and younger the increase was even greater—140 percent.⁹

A Dangerous Transit

Even if women and girls are able to escape violence in their country-of-origin, their migration to the United States brings a new set of risks. Unauthorized migrations also make women vulnerable to human trafficking. More than 20,000 people are trafficked every year in Mexico—80 percent of them women, typically Central American undocumented migrants between 8 and 22-years old.¹⁰ Trafficked women are often sold to organized crime groups that force them into prostitution or domestic work. Because of their strong incentive to enter the United States, female unauthorized migrants are often at the mercy of traffickers who promise them an easy way into the country.¹¹

From the moment that Central Americans leave their hometowns they are vulnerable to human trafficking. They enter into a shadowy world,” as a U.N. report states. While some women and girls may see this as a temporary situation to help them continue their journey to the United States, many find it difficult to extricate themselves. They are threatened when they want to leave and if the traffickers know the victim’s hometown and family, they have more power over her.¹²

In response to the surge of UACs, the Obama Administration began “fast tracking” deportations of families during the summer—mostly women with children—back to the Northern Triangle.¹³ To stay in the United States, migrants generally have to convince a judge that they qualify for asylum based on a well-founded fear of persecution on account of their race, religion, ethnicity, political opinion, or social group. Despite horrific tales of gang intimidation and violence coming out of Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador, migrants usually can’t prove they were targeted because of membership in one of these groups.¹⁴

Back Home

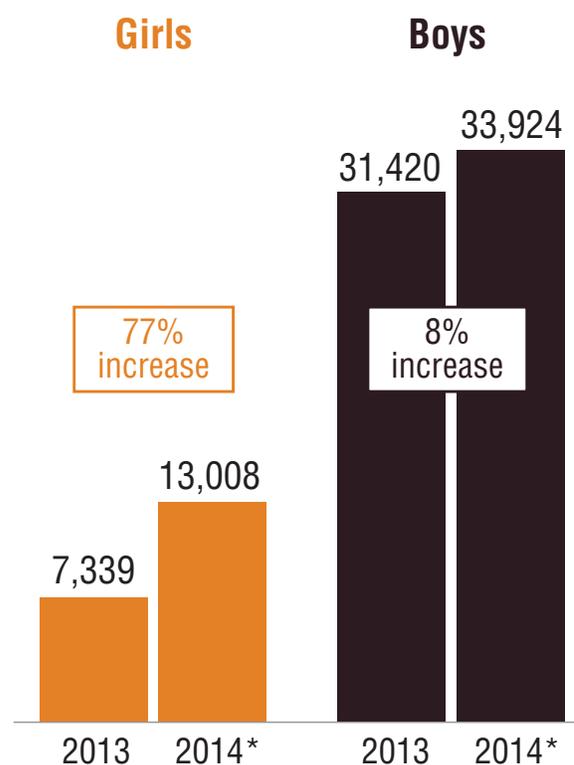
In July 2014, a planeload full of deported mothers and children arrived in Honduras. Forty people—18 mothers, 13 girls and 9 boys were scheduled to be on the flight, but two didn’t travel because they were ill.¹⁵ There were camera crews and aid workers handing out suckers and balloons to toddlers.¹⁶ But the women were clearly not happy to be back. “We could see on their faces that this is a defeat,” a UNICEF spokesman said.¹⁷

According to a *Los Angeles Times* report on the deported mothers, Angelica Galvez said she expected little from the government. “They haven’t helped me before,” said Galvez, who returned with her 6-year-old daughter, Abigail. “Why should I believe them now?”¹⁸

n rew a ner is senior immigration policy analyst for Bread for the World Institute.

Figure 3.8 **More Unaccompanied Girls Caught at the Border**

Apprehension of unaccompanied minors on the U.S.-Mexico border, by gender



Note: Fiscal Year 2013 is Oct. 1, 2012 - Sept. 30, 2013. *Fiscal Year 2014 data is Oct. 1, 2013 - May 31, 2014.

Source: Pew Research Center analysis of U.S. Customs and Border Protection, Enforcement Integrated Database records



The Feminization of Hunger and Poverty in the United States

Chapter Summary

Gender discrimination is a major cause of hunger and poverty in the United States. In order to reduce hunger and poverty in our country, we must identify and adopt policies that help eliminate entrenched and interconnected sexism and racism.

In our 2014 Hunger Report, *Ending Hunger in America*, Bread for the World Institute offered a comprehensive plan to end hunger here at home by 2030. That plan is the backdrop to this report. Ending hunger in the United States is not a pipe dream. It is a goal we can reach within 15 years. A more detailed summary of the plan offered in the 2014 Hunger Report appears on pages 172-175. While this chapter assumes and incorporates all of the elements in the plan, here we zero in on gender discrimination and institutions that can work against it.

This chapter focuses on how some of the same issues discussed earlier—lack of bargaining power, unpaid care work, insufficient political representation—apply to the United States. As in all other countries, women in the United States are paid less than men. They struggle to balance work and caring for their children with too little help from their partners and their government. Policymakers undervalue their experiences and their opinions on policy matters, at least partly because they are proportionately underrepresented in government.

As in the rest of the report, the focus is on low-income women, those most vulnerable to hunger and poverty. Unfortunately, this is not a small group. One in every *three* people in the United States spent part of the Great Recession in poverty. For most it was a short-lived experience, others cycled in and out, and still others were stuck there. It doesn't take long for hunger to harm body and soul, and it is completely unnecessary for this to happen to anyone in the United States.

MAIN RECOMMENDATIONS IN THIS CHAPTER

- Eliminate the wage gap by sex and race, enforce anti-discrimination laws.
- Support women's ability to work by raising the federal minimum wage to a livable standard, protecting collective bargaining rights, mandating paid sick leave and family leave, and providing high-quality, affordable child care with sufficient public and private funding.
- Eliminate mandatory minimum sentencing and support reintegration of returning citizens.
- Reduce poor maternal and child health outcomes by making affordable health care available to all.
- Increase women's representation in public office and other decision-making bodies critical to building a more just and equitable society.

Women Are Still Paid Less

The Equal Pay Act was signed into law in 1963. At the time, women were paid 59 cents for every \$1 that men were paid.¹ Since then the wage gap has narrowed, but wages are still far from equal. At the average pace of improvement since 1963, it would take more than an additional 50 years to reach pay equity. So far the 21st century has been an era of wage stagnation for the majority of the nation's workforce, both women and men. Since 2001, there has been little change in the wage gap. The most recent data show that women who work full-

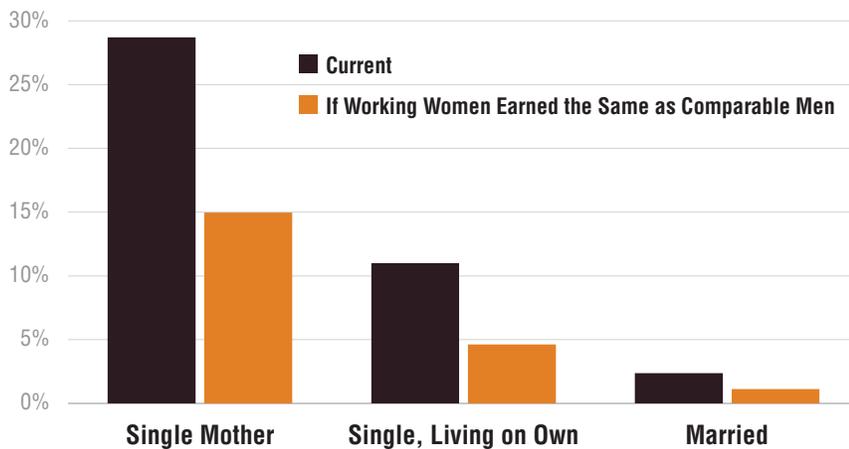
time, year-round are paid about 78 cents for every \$1 that men in a comparable position are paid.² Even in the 10 largest categories of low-wage jobs, where women comprise the overwhelming majority of workers, there is a wage gap of 10 percent favoring men.³

In 2014, the Institute for Women's Policy Research released a study showing that closing the wage gap between men and women would cut the poverty rate among working women and their families by half.⁴ The poverty rate for working single mothers would fall from 29 percent to 15 percent.

See Figure 4.1. According to the authors, "The total increase in women's earnings with pay equity represents more than 14 times

Figure 4.1 Equal Pay Would Reduce Poverty by Half for Families with a Working Woman

Current Poverty Rate and Estimated Rate if Women Earned the Same as Comparable Men



Source: Heidi Hartmann, Jeff Hayes, and Jennifer Clark (January 2014), *How Equal Pay for Working Women would Reduce Poverty and Grow the American Economy*, Institute for Women's Policy Research.

what the federal and state governments spent in fiscal year 2012 on Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF).⁵

The majority of minimum-wage workers are women, and women hold 76 percent of the 10 low-wage jobs that employ the most people. Here, "low-wage"⁶ means jobs that pay \$10.10 an hour or less. That is the proposed minimum wage in a bill introduced in 2013 by Sen. Tom Harkin (D-IA) and Rep. George Miller (D-CA). The current minimum wage is \$7.25 an hour. Childcare workers and home health aides, job categories that are 95 percent and 90 percent female respectively, are two of the lowest-paid yet fastest-growing jobs in the

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention report that 1 in 4 U.S. women have experienced severe physical violence by an intimate partner.¹

More than **1 million women** are under the supervision of the criminal justice system—in prison or jail or on probation or parole.²

country. Restaurant servers, 70 percent of whom are women, are paid a subminimum wage of \$2.13 an hour—the same dollar amount as in 1991. Tips raise their actual earnings, but only to a median wage of \$8.92 an hour, according to the Department of Labor’s Bureau of Labor Statistics.⁷

The real value (purchasing power) of the minimum wage peaked in 1968. Adjusted for inflation, it is currently worth two-thirds of its value back then. Low-wage work pays so little that a full-time job is no assurance that a parent can keep food on the table until the next paycheck. Raising the minimum wage would, of course, put more money in the hands of minimum-wage workers right away. But it also sets the stage for improving the wages and earning potential of the rest of the low-wage workers in the United States.

As we mentioned, this chapter focuses mainly on women at risk of hunger and poverty. Recently two “exceptions” to the wage gap have appeared. One is among the highest-paid women, whose median earnings continue to gain ground on those of the top earning men. At the same time, the growth in earnings of both women and men at the top outpaces that of other workers. Thus, there is a widening gap between the highest-earning women and all other women. “The equalizing effect

of the Equal Pay Act and other measures that removed the most blatant forms of gender discrimination has been to some extent countered by the growing economic divide between the affluent and everyone else,” says sociologist Leslie McCall of Northwestern University. “Being at the top now outweighs being a woman.”⁸

The second exception is that the wage gap between African American and Hispanic women as a group and African American and Hispanic men as a group is now smaller than the gap between African American and Hispanic women as a group and white women.⁹ This may say more about depression of the wages of men of color than about advances among women of color; the change in the wage gap is most likely due to a combination of these



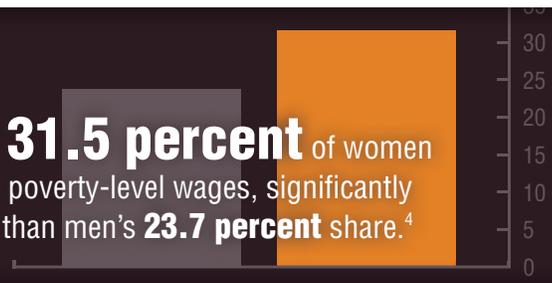
Annette Bernhardt

Women represent a larger share of low-wage workers than men. Women are also the majority of minimum-wage workers.

Even though women are the majority of pediatricians in the United States, they earn only **66 percent** of what male pediatricians earn.³



In 2013, **31.5 percent** of women earned poverty-level wages, significantly higher than men’s **23.7 percent** share.⁴



and other factors. In any case, a rising proportion of women living in poverty are women of color, although many white women live below the poverty line as well. African American and Hispanic women would benefit most from an increase in the minimum wage.

Motherhood comes with a wage gap all its own. Mothers with the same job as their childless female peers—with the same experience and the same level of education—are paid an hourly wage that is 5 percent lower for each child they have.¹⁰ Motherhood is costly

in other high-income countries as well, but the effects are cushioned by expansive public childcare programs.¹¹ Fathers experience no such penalty versus their childless male peers. In fact, men with children tend to earn more than men without children.¹²

Save the Children's 2014 edition of *State of the World's Mothers*—its 15th annual—ranks the United States 31st in the world on how mothers and their children fare.¹³ European countries and Australia consistently rank in the top 10, while the United States has not been in the top 10 since 2006. Since 2000, its position has dropped the farthest of any country.

A job, as we've discussed, helps

improve women's bargaining power at home. In 1990, the United States had the sixth highest rate of female labor force participation among high-income countries. By 2010, it had fallen to number 17, mainly because, according to a study by Cornell economists Francine Blau and Lawrence Kahn, our country failed to adopt family-friendly labor policies as other high-income countries have done.¹⁴ When low-income men are asked why they work fewer hours than they wish, they are likely to say they cannot find a job that offers more hours. When the same question is put to low-income women, they are more likely to say they cannot find a job with the flexibility they need to balance it with family responsibilities.¹⁵ Women's far greater responsibility for children and child care makes the difference.

When TANF was established in 1996, it marked a major change in social policy. From then on, government assistance to the most vulnerable families in the country was conditional on adults working. These were mostly low-income single mothers and their children. In its first years, TANF seemed to be successful in moving single mothers into the workforce, although this did not necessarily make them better off financially. In hindsight, the increase in the number of single mothers in the workforce was driven mainly by an economy operating at full employment. When this period of growth ended, it made little difference if government assistance was contingent on work requirements. When the economy is depressed, many people simply can't find jobs.



Otto Yamamoto

A 2013 rally in New York City to raise the minimum wage from the current rate of \$7.25 per hour.

Gender, Race, and Mass Incarceration

According to reports from the United States Conference of Mayors, joblessness leads the list of causes of hunger and homelessness in U.S. cities.¹⁶ No family is more at risk of hunger and homelessness than one with a parent who has been incarcerated for a felony crime.

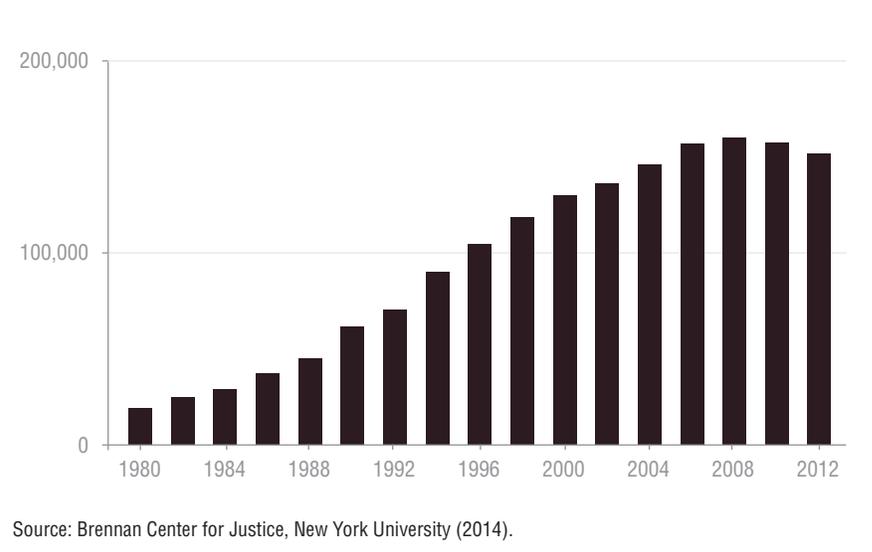
Since 1991, the number of children with a mother who has been to prison for a felony conviction has more than doubled.¹⁷ See Figure 4.2. The end of a prison sentence does not complete the punishment phase for people convicted of a felony. People who have been arrested or convicted are discriminated against for employment. A 2010 survey by the Society for Human Resources Management found that 92 percent of employers conduct criminal background checks.¹⁸ Laws prohibit returning citizens from a successful reentry to their communities and contribute to high recidivism rates—ex-offenders prefer the term “returning citizens” to highlight rights denied them as citizens of the United States.

Laws that ban people with felony drug convictions from receiving TANF or food stamps (hereafter called SNAP, the abbreviation for Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, formerly the Food Stamp Program) are the

most direct links between hunger and the criminal justice system. People with felony drug convictions are permanently barred from receiving TANF in 12 states, while 25 states and the District of Columbia have shorter bans or provide some exemptions.¹⁹ In nine states, a felony drug conviction prohibits people from ever receiving SNAP again.²⁰ Georgia is one of the states that impose a lifetime SNAP ban after felony drug convictions; the threshold for felony drug possession there is 1 ounce of marijuana.²¹ Criminal convictions make it harder to obtain federal student aid;²² this is especially true of drug-related offenses.²³ Twelve states impose a lifetime ban on the right to vote; thirty-five states impose post-sentence restrictions on voting rights.²⁴

By now it is common knowledge that the United States imprisons more people per capita than any other country in the world.²⁵ The U.S. prison population has increased by 500 percent over the last 40 years.²⁶ The number of men in prison remains much higher than the number of women but since 1980 the rate of women imprisoned has been increasing 50 percent faster than the rate of men.²⁷ Two-thirds of incarcerated women are serving sentences for nonviolent offenses, most of these for drug offenses whose lengthy sentences are mandated by punitive policies enacted in the name of a War on Drugs.²⁸ Law enforcement focuses on communities of color and the justice system on meting out punishment disproportionately

Figure 4.2 Children With an Imprisoned Mother



to people of color. “Small race and class differences in offending are amplified at each stage of criminal processing,” says Harvard sociologist Bruce Western, one of the foremost experts on mass incarceration in the United States.²⁹ African Americans are 14 percent of regular drug users and 37 percent of those arrested for drug offenses.³⁰

Mothers in Chains

Motherhood was the common bond that united the women at the federal prison in Danbury, Connecticut—the separation from their children and the insurmountable sorrows it caused them. Most of the women were imprisoned for nonviolent drug offenses and serving mandatory minimum sentences. In their bunks late at night, women lay awake and wept for their missing children, praying for God to watch over them and shorten the time in which they remained apart.

Desseray Wright was serving a 10-year mandatory minimum sentence for selling drugs when her eldest child and only daughter, 16-year-old Shanisha, was murdered on Mother’s Day 2010 while trying to protect another young woman being taunted by a man with a gun.³¹ When her two sons lost their sister, who was a student at the Bronx Leadership Academy and had helped to look after them, they began to spiral out of the control of their grandmother, who had been caring for them ever since Desseray went to prison.

Andrea James, head of Families for Justice As Healing, drafted a “compassionate release” request for Desseray so that she could return to parenting her sons before their lives were destroyed by violence or they ended up in prison themselves. Although Desseray was in a prison for women who pose the least security threat, and had served more than half of her sentence, the Federal Bureau of Prisons denied the request. See Box 4.1 on page 152 for more about Andrea, a former attorney who wrote the book *Upper Bunies Unite* about her time at the federal women’s prison in Danbury, CT.

Children are the collateral damage in the War on Drugs, during which first fathers and

then mothers have been handed harsh mandatory sentences for drug offenses. Table 4.1 shows the decline in employment rates for African American men of prime working age between 1970 and 2010. Many of the manufacturing jobs that contributed to the growth of an African American middle class vanished during this period. Urban neighborhoods deteriorated as higher wage manufacturing jobs were replaced by

lower paying jobs in services or no jobs at all. At a time when jobs were vanishing, one might have expected an increase in support for education and retraining to counter the changes in the labor market. This did not happen, and cuts to social welfare programs in the 1970s and 80s made it harder for affected communities to cope. After doing time in prison, men return to their communities, where their criminal record leaves them with worse employment prospects than before.

Table 4.1 Mean Black Male Employment Rates in Large Metropolitan Areas, 1970-2010

Age Cohort	1970	1990	2010
16-64	72.3	62.0	54.1
25-54	83.3	70.3	64.9

Source: U.S. Census Bureau data, reprinted in Marc V. Levine (January 2012), “Race and Male Employment in the Wake of the Great Recession: Black Male Employment Rates in Milwaukee and the Nation’s Largest Metro Areas 2010,” Working Paper, Center for Economic Development, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee.

Children whose parents are incarcerated experience higher rates of trauma-related stress, depression, aggression, and other anti-social behaviors including truancy, drug use, sexual promiscuity, and dropping out of school.³² Most of the women who have served time in federal prison for a drug felony are mothers of minor children.³³ This describes most of the women at the Danbury prison. Some had used selling drugs as a survival strategy to feed their children and themselves. In New York, nearly 75 percent of incarcerated women were the primary care giver of their children prior to their arrest.³⁴

One recent improvement for returning citizens has been access to health care, including mental health care, under the Affordable Care Act. Women in prison report a higher rate of mental health problems than men. More than 70 percent of mothers in prison report having sought out mental health treatment or counseling before incarceration, a much higher percentage than in the general population.³⁵ At this writing, many people who could benefit from healthcare reform are not; see pages 169-170 to learn about the role of Medicaid in the implementation of the Affordable Care Act.

Some states are focusing on mental health care as a crime prevention strategy and using the Affordable Care Act to expand the availability and affordability of mental health services.³⁶ For example, the Affordable Care Act includes the largest expansion of substance use disorder treatment coverage in a generation.³⁷ According to Bureau of Justice statistics, 80 percent of women in prison have a history of substance use disorder.³⁸ A post-prison treatment program for 1,182 female returning citizens in California reduced recidivism rates by 80 percent.³⁹ It costs much more to keep a person in prison than provide treatment. In New York, a community-based program for women with substance use disorders designed to keep families together cost an average of \$34,000 per year to house a mother and two children, compared to \$129,000 for incarceration and foster care.⁴⁰

Public opinion is strongly in favor of treatment programs rather than incarceration for drug users.⁴¹ Treatment is a cost-effective alternative to incarceration, makes it possible for families to stay together, and improves public safety by reducing recidivism. Since the victims of crimes committed by people with substance problems are disproportionately residents of low-income communities, treating substance use disorder as a public health problem rather than a crime would make an important contribution to the well-being of these communities.



On June 21, 2014, people from across the country gathered on the National Mall in Washington, DC, at the Free Her Rally organized by Families for Justice as Healing, calling for an end to mass incarceration.

Second Chances

The federal Second Chance Act was enacted in 2008 to reduce recidivism and improve outcomes for people returning from prisons, jails, and juvenile detention facilities. Between 2009 and 2013, it provided \$255 million to 49 states and the District of Columbia for programs such as career training, mentoring, and community supervision. There are also programs geared specifically to people with substance use disorders and mental health conditions.⁴² Since the Second Chance Act was enacted, the size of the prison population has continued to grow, but at a slower rate than in previous years.⁴³ A weak economy and its effect on state budgets offered governors a reason to experiment with Second Chance funding to reduce incarceration and its financial costs.

Working against the idea of second chances, for either women or men, is what scholar and activist Angela Davis called the “prison industrial complex.”⁴⁴ Like the “military industrial complex,” the term carries a warning of the dangers of bringing commercial interests and motivations into public policy decision-making—in this case decisions about criminal justice. The prison industrial complex explains a lot about why the United States imprisons people at a higher rate than any other country in the world.

In a review of 62 private prison contracts with state and local governments, the nonprofit In the Public Interest found that two-thirds of



Joseph Moieni/Bread for the World

Nate Gordon is a member of the HELP program for male returning citizens in Cincinnati, OH. HELP was featured in Bread for the World Institute's 2014 Hunger Report, *Ending Hunger in America*. Gordon is shown here with his daughter.

contracts contained “lockup quotas.” In other words, correctional facilities run by private contractors must be kept full. When occupancy quotas are not met, taxpayers are obliged to pick up the cost to reimburse contractors for a loss in revenue.⁴⁵ In Colorado, crime rates were down by a third in a decade, but occupancy requirements at three state prisons meant taxpayers owed contractors an additional \$2 million.⁴⁶ As the Corrections Corporation of America, the largest private prison company, told its shareholders in 2010: “The demand for our facilities and services could be adversely affected by the relaxation of enforcement efforts, leniency in conviction or parole standards and sentencing practices, or through the decriminalization of certain activities that are currently proscribed by our criminal laws.”⁴⁷

Legislation such as the Second Chance Act provides a vehicle to broaden cost-effective and humane alternatives to incarceration. Just one of many examples: in Texas, a community-based treatment program cost an average of \$12 a day, versus \$137 per bed in a correctional setting.⁴⁸ Treatment programs can help individuals heal, but they do not generate the jobs needed to revitalize communities with few viable economic opportunities. The rising costs of mass incarceration strain public budgets and curtail what policymakers are willing and

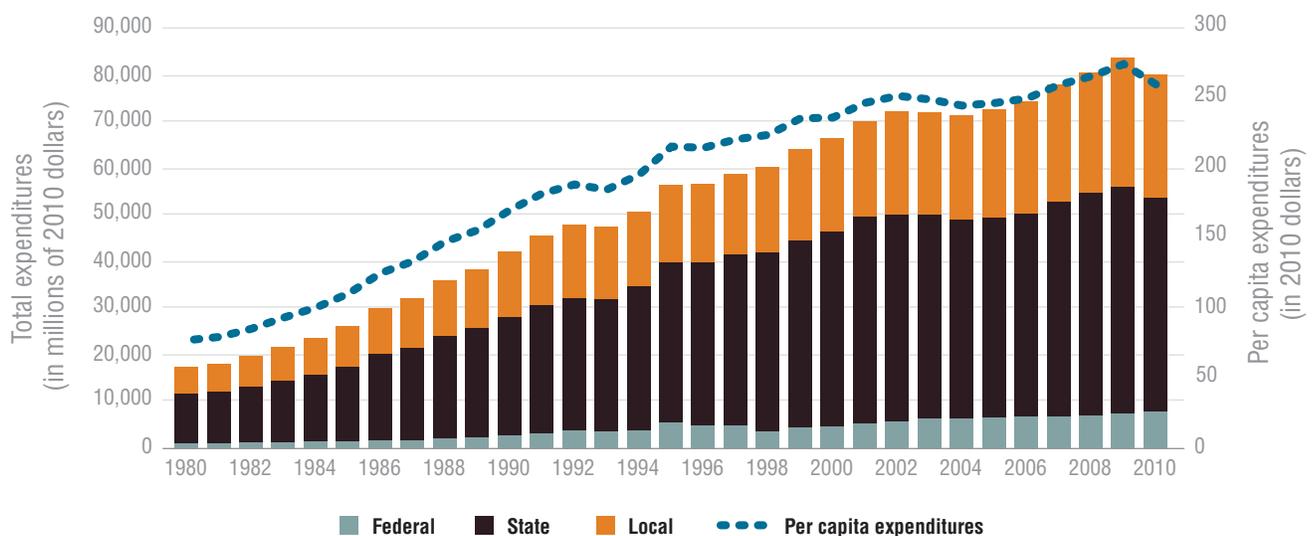
able to invest in community revitalization. Figure 4.3 shows how per capita expenditures on corrections more than tripled between 1980 and 2010.⁴⁹

In the early 2000s, the Justice Mapping Center (JMC) identified “million-dollar blocks”: a geographic breakdown of places where incarcerating residents was costing the government more than 1 million a year.⁵⁰ By using new tools to visualize data geographically, MC matched the home addresses of incarcerated people with street maps to show how the costs of mass incarceration could be pinpointed to a small number of zip codes or census tracts. In Pennsylvania, taxpayers were spending upwards of 40 million to imprison residents of one Philadelphia zip code.⁵¹ New York City had a much lower crime rate per capita than Houston, but the maps that MC produced showed identical patterns, where a small number of neighborhoods had the highest share of incarcerated people. Million-dollar blocks helped to refocus conversations about crime prevention on the re-entry of residents when they were released and what could be done to improve conditions in these communities.

Connecticut was one of the first states to seize on JMC’s work. In the early 2000s, Connecticut prisons were so overcrowded that the state was contracting with Virginia to house 500 prisoners it had no room for, costing Connecticut taxpayers millions of dollars. It turned out that half of Connecticut’s prison population was drawn from a small group of neighborhoods in three cities. The Hill neighborhood in New Haven was costing the state 20 million annually to imprison 387 people— 6 million for parole violations alone.⁵² In 2004, the state government approved a plan to reinvest 13 million of its corrections budget into targeted strategies to improve conditions in the high-incarceration neighborhoods. Much of the money

Figure 4.3 Total Corrections Expenditures by Level of Government and Per Capita Expenditures, 1980-2010

In real terms, total corrections expenditures today are more than 350 percent higher than they were in 1980, while per capita expenditures increased nearly 250 percent over the same period.



Source: Melissa Kearney and others (May 2014), *Ten Economic Facts about Crime and Incarceration in the United States*, The Hamilton Project, Brookings Institution.

FAMILIES FOR JUSTICE AS HEALING

Andrea James has fought for justice within the criminal justice system for more than 25 years, including many years as a criminal defense attorney. But in 2009 she was disbarred and sentenced to a 24-month federal prison sentence for wire fraud. Even after a career defending the rights of disenfranchised people, she was stunned at what she saw upon entering the federal prison system.

“During my incarceration I was deeply affected by the great number of women who are in prison,” Andrea said. “Most of these women are serving very long mandatory minimum or guideline sentences for minor participation in drug possession or sales. Most of them are mothers. Their sentences are unreasonably long, the average being 10 years. They have been in prison long after what should be considered fair sentences while their children, left behind, struggle to survive.”

Andrea has committed herself to fulfilling the promise she made to women who remain in prison. Families for Justice as Healing (FJAH), the organization she founded in 2010 inside the federal prison for women in Danbury, CT, brings formerly incarcerated women together to be part of a movement to create alternatives to incarceration. FJAH rejects U.S. drug policies that prioritize



Joseph Moleri/Bread for the World

Andrea James, founder and head of Families for Justice as Healing, speaking at Bread for the World's 2014 National Gathering about the effects of mass incarceration on women and their families.

criminalization and incarceration, advocating for a shift toward community wellness. The organization believes that to seriously confront drug-related illness, crime, and violence, the nation's leaders must commit to evidence-based solutions that address poverty, addiction, and trauma.

When Andrea was released in 2011, she carried FJAH back to her home community in Roxbury, MA. Since then, FJAH has been active in building coalitions, advocating in legislatures, and raising awareness among policymakers of the need to end the War on Drugs. From national rallies to summer camps for girls, FJAH is continually expanding and evolving. On June 21, 2014, FJAH led the FREE HER rally on the National Mall in Washington, DC. People from across the country used their collective voice to raise awareness of the devastating impact that overly harsh drug sentencing policies have had on women and their children and how mass incarceration and the War on Drugs has directly impacted communities.

was used to increase support for mental health and addiction services. A study of more than 25,000 incarcerated men and women in Connecticut found it cost the state twice as much to treat a person with a serious mental illness while incarcerated as treatment alone.⁵³ The initiative had an immediate impact on reducing the incarceration rate of men and women, and between 2003 and 2005 probation violations were cut in half.⁵⁴ But the early success did not last; within a few years, incarceration rates began to rise again. In a review of the effort, the research and advocacy group The Sentencing Project found that there had been too little focus on improving employment opportunities.⁵⁵

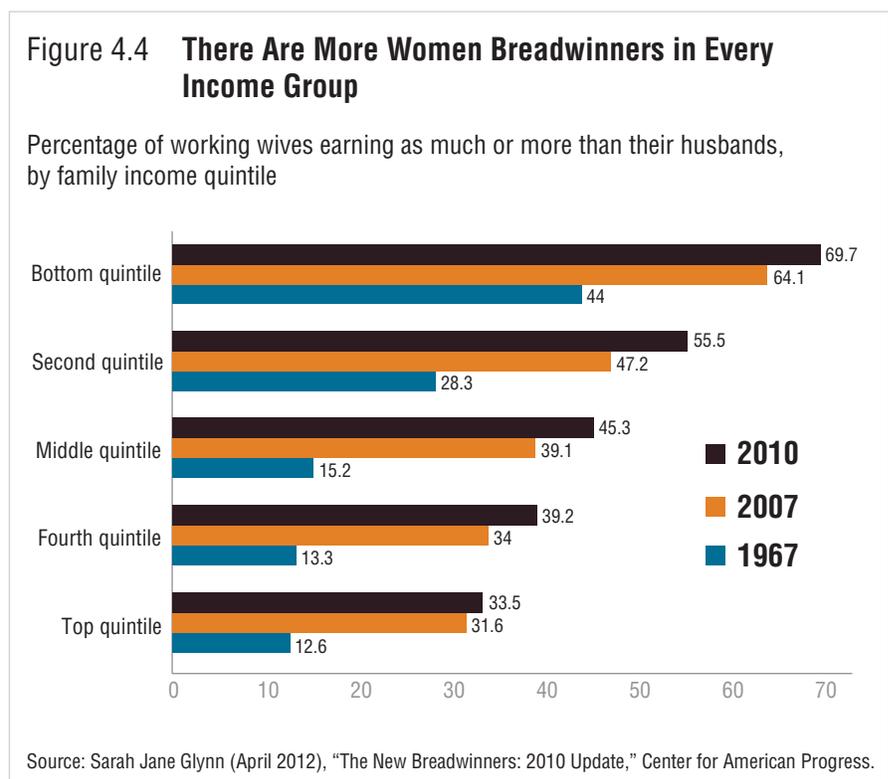
Balancing Act at Home and in the Workplace

Many women besides returning citizens are struggling to find a job that pays enough to support themselves and their families. Most jobs that have been created in the wake of the Great Recession are in low-paying sectors. Usually, holding such a job means not only that money is very tight but that employees have few benefits such as paid sick leave and little flexibility in their schedules.

How to piece together child care is perhaps the biggest problem of all for women who work in low-wage jobs. Of course the adult in single-parent families must be the breadwinner as well as the caregiver, but in the low-wage sector, even two-parent families are struggling. Married couples in low-income families least of all can afford to spare a wife's salary to stay at home and care for their children. See Figure 4.4. But this is what some decide given the cost of care and the fact it is rising at a much faster rate than family incomes.⁵⁶ Meanwhile, federal and state support for child care has

stagnated, failing even to keep pace with inflation, at the same time the size of the low-wage workforce is increasing. The average number of children receiving federal childcare assistance each month in 2012 (the most recent year for which data are available) was at the lowest level since 1998.⁵⁷

Childcare subsidies to low-income families reach just one in six families that are eligible under federal law.⁵⁸ Nationwide, families in poverty who pay for child care spend an average of 30 percent of their incomes on it.⁵⁹ To a family with young children, child care routinely costs more than housing, utilities, transportation, or food. High-quality care provided by trained professionals in early childhood development is expensive for all families. In 31

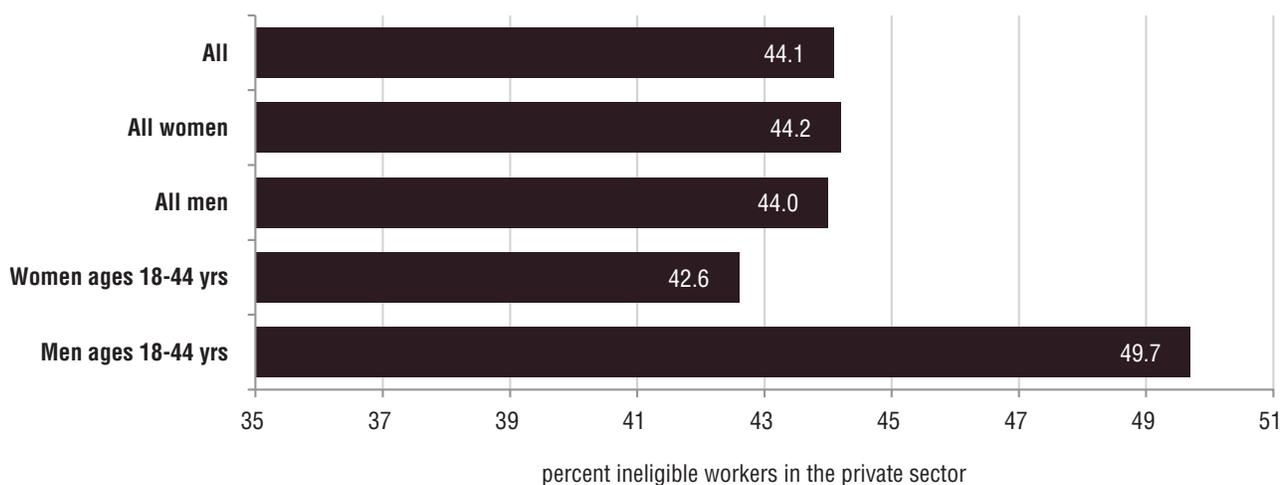


states, the average annual cost for an infant in center-based care is higher than a year's tuition and fees at a four-year public college.⁶⁰

Child care is just the largest of a number of critical work supports that are in short supply for parents who struggle to balance work and job responsibilities on low incomes. Another is paid sick leave, which, although of course it cannot replace affordable child care, can also help make a job more flexible for parents. High-income workers are four times as likely as low-income ones to have paid sick leave⁶¹—and 40 million workers go without.⁶² In a poll commissioned for the Shriver Report, 96 percent of working single mothers who were asked what workplace policy would help them most named paid leave to care for themselves or a sick family member.⁶³

The Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) grants workers the right to 12 weeks of unpaid leave after the birth or adoption of a child, but it has several critical shortcomings. Most low-income families cannot afford to take unpaid leave, so any other concerns are a moot point. But in addition, FMLA does not apply to all workers. See Figure 4.5. In 2012, 44 percent of private sector workers were not eligible, either because they worked for a company with fewer than 50 employees or they had not worked the required 1,250 hours over the previous 12 months.⁶⁴ Helene Jorgenson and Eileen Appelbaum of the Center for Economic and Policy Research have shown that amending FMLA to cover all workers in companies of every size would not impose an undue financial hardship on employers.⁶⁵ According to a 2012 Department of Labor survey of nearly 7,000 small firms (fewer than 50 employees) that offer FMLA on a voluntary basis, only 1 percent said that offering FMLA benefits to all employees affected them negatively. One-third reported a positive effect, and the other two-thirds reported no noticeable effect.⁶⁶ Leave policies are some of the most important work supports, but we must underscore that better leave policies do not address parents' ongoing childcare needs.

Figure 4.5 **Percentage of Private-Sector Employees Who Are Not Eligible for FMLA, 2012**



Source: Helene Jorgenson and Eileen Appelbaum (February 2014), "Expanding Federal Family and Medical Leave Coverage: Who Benefits from Changes in Eligibility Requirements?" Center for Economic and Policy Research.

In 1971, the United States very nearly had a comprehensive federal childcare policy. The Comprehensive Child Development Act (CCDA) passed with broad bipartisan support in both the House and Senate, but President Nixon vetoed it. Since then childcare policy has been fragmented and focused mostly on low-income families. There are minimal tax credits available to middle-income and high-income parents. But tax credits do not address issues of quality. High-quality care is necessary for proper child development. In fact, early childhood education is inseparable from child care. Child “Development” was the point of the CCDA. Presently child care is treated as custodial and left to parents to figure out, while early education is treated as developmental and worthy of investment, even though child care should and often does offer children opportunities to learn. At this point, few members of Congress would say a disparaging word about early education—although the growing recognition of the benefits of early education has not yet been accompanied by significant new resources. All children benefit from high quality care, but families in poverty benefit the most.⁶⁷ Society benefits as well. Research on brain development makes clear



Marge Nea

these are the years when investments in children yield the highest return in everything from increases in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to reductions in crime.⁶⁸

The reason President Nixon gave for vetoing the CCDA was that it would “ Sovietize the American family.”⁶⁹ Far more than global politics has changed since 1971—both the composition of the U.S. workforce and American social norms are also dramatically different. When CCDA was before Congress, 40 percent of married women with children under 18 were in the workforce.⁷⁰ By 2010, it was 70 percent.⁷¹ In the late 1960s, husbands were the sole wage earners in 36 percent of married couples, compared to 19 percent in 2010. For at least the bottom half of household incomes, women earn as much or more than their husbands.⁷²

A study in Denmark found that women who continue to work because of government support for their children’s care contribute more to the national tax base than the cost of that care to the government.⁷³ OECD (developed) countries in Western Europe, Asia, and Latin America spend a larger share of their GDP on child care and early education than the United States.⁷⁴ In European countries the actual cost of the care is not significantly higher than in the United States—and, because providing it is a government function, quality standards are higher and resources are more equitably distributed.⁷⁵ In the United States, parents foot

The United States is the only developed country without paid maternity leave.

most of the bill for what should be thought of as a public good—simply an extension of the well-accepted idea that a free public education is an investment in the future.

There is much the United States can learn from Britain in particular, argues Jane Waldfogel, a sociologist at Columbia University and author of *Britain's War on Poverty*.⁷⁶ In 1998, the British government launched an ambitious effort to end child poverty that included universal preschool for 3- and 4-year-olds. Universality gave the programs broader political support than if they had targeted only poor families. In the United States, in contrast, the Head Start program serves only low-income children, and it serves less than half of income-

eligible preschoolers (3- and 4-year-olds). Its companion program, Early Head Start, reaches less than 4 percent of eligible infants and toddlers (children under 3).⁷⁷

In addition to preschool, the British government launched a program called Sure Start for infants and toddlers and their parents in the most disadvantaged communities. The program combines high-quality care for the children and support programs for parents in community centers. The program has been so popular and initial outcomes so encouraging that in the early 2000s the government announced its plan to create Sure Start programs in every community by 2010, although the economic downturn later forced the government to scale this back.⁷⁸



Todd Post/Bread for the World

In Cleveland, OH, children in an evening care program. Some of their parents work multiple low-wage jobs to make ends meet.

Early education and Sure Start were part of a broader package that also included work supports that enabled and encouraged parents to work. Within 10 years, the child poverty rate in the U.K. was cut in half. “What implications can the U.S. draw from the British experience?” asks Waldfogel. “In my view, the most important implication is that it is possible to make a sizable reduction in child poverty. If Britain could cut absolute child poverty in half in ten years, the [United States] and other wealthy nations can too.”⁷⁹

Out of the Depths of Poverty, Bright Beginnings for Some

“Deep poverty” is a sub-category that means an annual income of 50 percent or less of the federal poverty line (thus, a maximum of \$11,925 for a family of four).⁸⁰ “Extreme poverty,” on the other hand, is a term that until recently was applied almost exclusively to poverty outside the United States; it includes incomes of \$2 or less per person, per day. By 2011, according to a study by researchers at the University of Michigan and Harvard, in a given month there were 1.65 million households, including 3.55 million children, in the United States living in extreme poverty.⁸¹

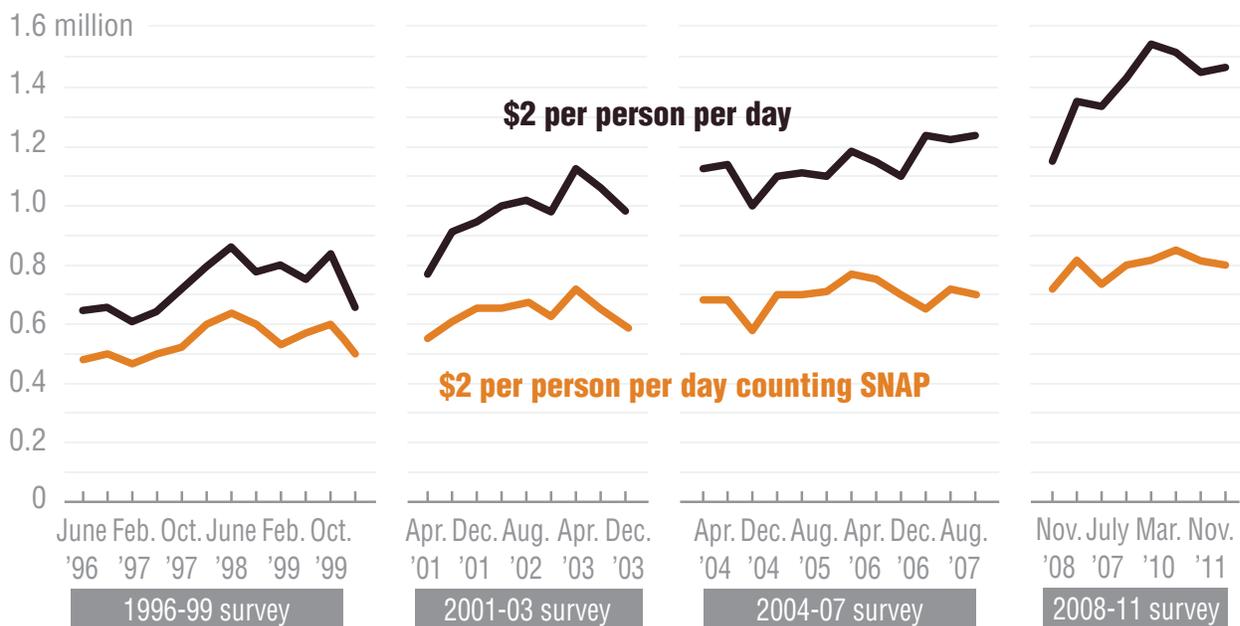
Since 2000, extreme poverty has been rising, particularly among those most impacted by the 1996 welfare reform.⁸² See Figure 4.6. Nearly half of people living in deep poverty are under 25, and more than one-third are single mothers and their children.⁸³ Families headed by a parent under 30 are most at risk of hunger: their poverty rate is more than *five times* as high as that of families headed by an older person.⁸⁴ Deep poverty is also frequently accompanied by homelessness. Homeless families are generally young.⁸⁵

Bright Beginnings in Washington, DC, is the only child and family development center in the city that serves homeless children and their families exclusively. In 2013, Bright Beginnings was able to provide services to 135 children, but the waiting list numbered in the hundreds.⁸⁶ Many of these children are staying at the city's largest emergency homeless shelter, a former hospital that in 2014 housed up to 800 people. Homelessness in Washington, DC reached unprecedented levels in 2014 and its emergency shelters were filled to capacity.⁸⁷ The end of the Great Recession has not given great relief to the city's low-income residents struggling to secure affordable housing.

Research shows that affordable housing ends homelessness. In 2012, the most recent year for which data are available, the total number of homeless students in preschool or K-12 was 1,168,354, the highest ever recorded.⁸⁸ Among children who stayed at a shelter funded by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 42 percent were children between the ages of 1 and 5.⁸⁹ Nationally, more than 2 million low-income families participate in the Housing Choice Voucher program, the nation's largest rental assistance program, but cuts to

Figure 4.6 **Extreme Poverty in the United States**

Number of non-elderly households with children with incomes below \$2 per person per day according to U.S. Census Bureau's Survey of Income and Program Participation



Source: National Poverty Center

the program have reduced the number of families that were served by tens of thousands.⁹⁰ In 2010, before these cuts took place, just less than two-thirds of low-income households in Washington, DC were spending more than half of their monthly income on housing.⁹¹ The lack of affordable housing explains why many of the city's homeless families are also working families.

Housing assistance is “closely linked to educational, developmental, and health benefits that can improve children’s long-term life chances and reduce costs in other public programs,” writes Will Fischer of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities⁹²; and so too

is good nutrition, which makes the meals the children receive at Bright Beginnings absolutely essential protection against the risks they face as homeless children. In 2013, 54 percent of the children served at Bright Beginnings were diagnosed with developmental delays.⁹³ The children are served four nutritious meals each day. The Child and Adult Care Feeding Program (CACFP), a federal nutrition program, provides funding that enables early learning centers serving low-income children to provide them with healthy meals.

Today, lunch is fish sticks, coleslaw, apple slices, and whole wheat bread, washed down with a cup of



Todd Post/Bread for the World

Bright Beginnings in Washington, DC, provides multiple services to homeless families. Here a mother and daughter shop for food with coupons provided by Bright Beginnings.

milk. Good hygiene is taught at every meal. Posters in the classroom convey health messages: “What do you eat to stay healthy? I eat vegetables and fruit and drink plenty of water.” The children are expected to wash their hands; the sink stands about two feet off the ground, and teachers kneel to wash their hands. Each day a different child helps one of the teachers set the tables for meals. He or she also counts the napkins—few opportunities to teach math skills are missed. In another area of the room, the rest of the children are singing a song and the lyrics include counting numbers. Naptime follows lunch.

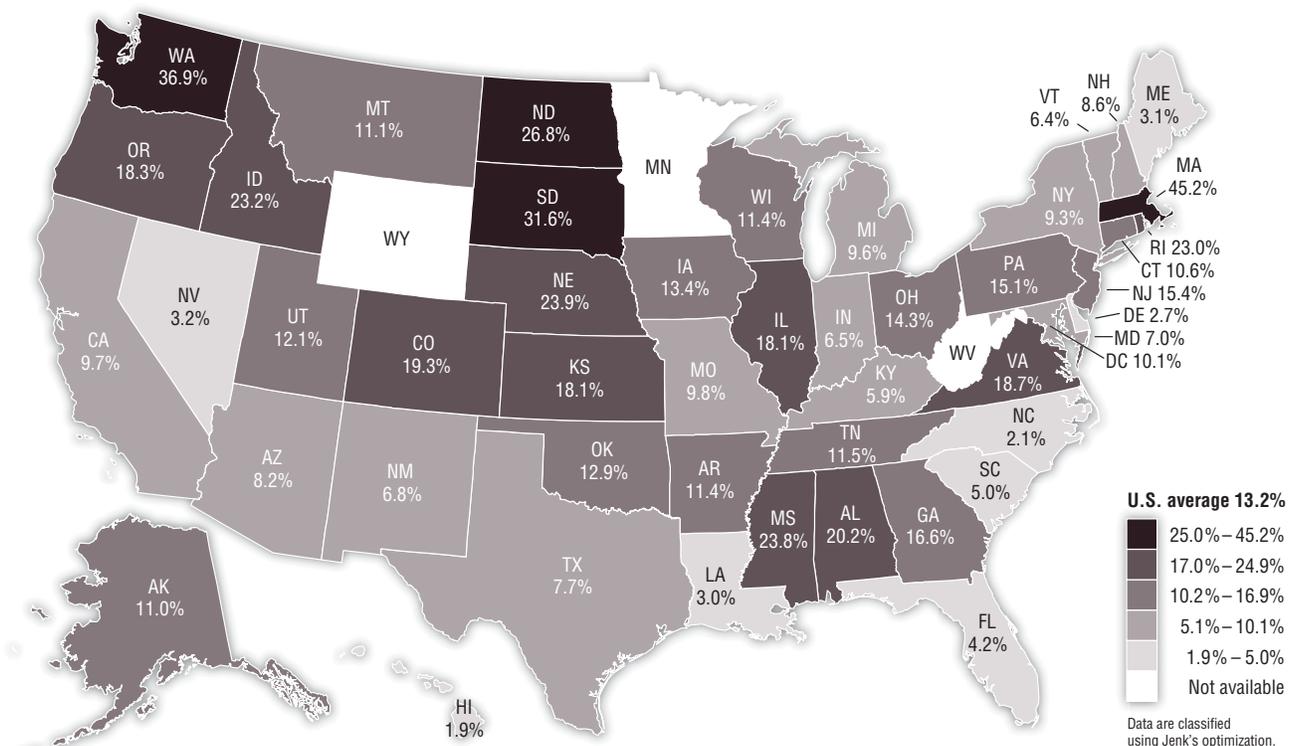
Pictures of children with their mothers are also on the walls. One of the women pictured is Debra (a pseudonym), 30, a single mother of three boys, ages 7, 5, and 2. Debra enrolled her first child in Bright Beginnings in 2010 while they were staying at the large emergency shelter mentioned above. Soon after, she started attending college while also working as a server in restaurants. The evening care program at Bright Beginnings made it possible for her to juggle both school and work. Bright Beginnings also hosted a job fair for parents of its students; Debra landed a job as a teller at a Bank of America branch. In 2014, she graduated from the University of the Potomac with a degree in accounting. She hopes this will lead to a better job soon and finally put an end to the homelessness she has experienced for much of her adult life.⁹⁴

In 2013, 34 percent of the parents of the children attending Bright Beginnings worked during the year; 22 percent were in job training programs; 15 percent were pursuing a high school diploma, GED, or college degree.⁹⁵ Bright Beginnings alleviates a major source of anxiety for homeless parents by providing their children with a safe, secure, and nurturing learning environment while they try to stabilize their lives.⁹⁶ Social workers help the parents find employment, finish their education, and secure permanent housing. Many of these services are also available through other providers, but the wrap-around care families receive through the center allows its social workers to do the case management needed to address interlocking problems affecting the family. See Figure 4.7.

One in four homeless women are homeless as a direct result of domestic violence, and more than 90 percent of homeless mothers have experienced severe physical and/or sexual abuse at some point in their lives.⁹⁷ Gender-based violence is an enormous problem in the United States as it is around the globe. It spans U.S. socioeconomic, racial/ethnic, and generational boundaries, but it is women living in deep poverty, especially those who are young and have children, who have the fewest options to “just leave the guy.” It points to the need for new and renewed efforts to engage men in the conversation about gender equality, violence, family obligations, and male/female relationships.

Terri Watkins is the Health and Nutrition Manager at Bright Beginnings. One of the activities she conducts for parents is a quarterly supermarket trip to a store within walking

Figure 4.7 Percent of Unmet Domestic Violence Shelter Requests (2010)



Source: Institute for Children, Poverty & Homelessness (October 2011), “Housing Assistance Underfunded but Critical for Survivors of Domestic Violence.”

distance of Bright Beginnings, where she shows parents how to shop for healthy foods on a budget. Each family receives a \$50 gift certificate from Bright Beginnings, and over the course of an hour, baskets fill with bananas, apples, salad greens, oatmeal, and whatever else is possible to store under the living conditions of homeless families. Together they read the labels on processed foods. herri explains to parents how to make sense of the information; for example, what sodium, sugar, and other ingredients mean for their family's health and what various vitamins do.

herri joined Bright Beginnings in 2008; soon after, she completed her master's degree in health administration. She herself spent the first 12 years of her life homeless. After getting pregnant in middle school and giving birth to her son at age 14, she went on to finish high school and was elected president of her senior class. She doesn't talk about her past with the mothers she helps at Bright Beginnings, but she believes they can tell what they all have in common.

Similarly, she uses her intuition to know the times to say, "Don't give up." "Find the strength inside of yourself." "You can overcome this."



Sherri Watkins (on left), the Health and Nutrition Manager at Bright Beginnings, shows mothers how to stretch their food dollars and eat healthy.

To overcome the obstacles she faced, herri needed all the help she could get through government programs: TANF, food stamps, WIC, housing assistance, Head Start and school meals for her son, financial aid for herself to go to college—and it paid off. Her son has a mother who is successful and purposeful, and herri knows better than anyone that it is possible for the mothers she works with at Bright Beginnings to get back on their feet and move forward in their lives.

The wraparound, center-based support that families receive at Bright Beginnings is much too rare in the United States. Back in 1993, Bright Beginnings was one of 16 Homeless Demonstration grants awarded by Head Start. In an evaluation of the programs, there was general agreement among all the grantees that early education could not be provided effectively without the additional services homeless families need.⁹⁸

The president has proposed making preschool available free of charge to all four-year-olds in low- and moderate-income families through federal-state partnerships that would be paid for with a tobacco tax increase;⁹⁹ and both the Senate and House have introduced legislation that would incorporate many elements of the president's proposal. So far, Congress has funded only a small new initiative that provides competitive grants to states to start or expand preschool programs.

In addition, the administration proposed, and Congress funded, a new initiative to encourage partnerships between Early Head Start and child care, aimed at scaling up pro-

grams that provide high-quality early care and education for infants and toddlers and meet the needs of working families. The administration has also proposed revised regulations for the federal Child Care and Development Block Grant (CCDBG), and the Senate has passed changes to CCDBG. Both of these include provisions that would make the process of accessing and retaining childcare assistance more family-friendly.

The reality is that it will take a substantial increase in federal and state investments in all components of the child care and early education system, as well as revised policies, to make these programs available to all who need them. The most vulnerable are also the most difficult to reach. For example, homeless children are already categorically eligible (“eligible by definition,” or because they are homeless) for Head Start. But less than 5 percent are enrolled.¹⁰⁰ In 2013, less than half of children in Head Start were in programs for six or more hours a day, five days a week.¹⁰¹ And according to national surveys, 25 percent of mothers who have experienced homelessness reported leaving jobs or school due to lack of child care.¹⁰²

Care Jobs: Where 21st Century Families Meet the 21st Century Economy

As earlier noted, 95 percent of childcare workers in the United States are women. The fact that these workers are generally paid wages that leave them below the poverty line speaks volumes about our priorities as a society. James Heckman, a Nobel Prize-winning economist, has shown that every \$1 invested in the education of a child under 3 can produce up to \$9 in future productivity gains.¹⁰³ The Bureau of Labor Statistics identifies child care as one of the fastest growing occupations in the United States,¹⁰⁴ the demand fed by the increasing numbers of families who cannot afford to sacrifice any loss of income.

Childcare workers are joined by direct-care workers for elderly or disabled adults—a field also dominated by women—as some of the lowest-paid workers in the United States. The pay is so meager that nearly half of all direct-care workers rely on safety net programs such as SNAP or Medicaid.¹⁰⁵ The median income for childcare providers is \$19,512, or just over \$9.38 per hour, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.¹⁰⁶ At \$19,512 per year, a family of four would fall \$4,000 short of the federal poverty level. Thus, many childcare workers are eligible for the same subsidies as some of the families who rely on their services.¹⁰⁷

Nearly four in ten in-home childcare workers are women of color.¹⁰⁸ One of these is Odalis Gaskins-Ginarte, who provides child care out of her home in

Odalis Gaskins-Ginarte, an early education specialist in Syracuse, NY, was an architect in Cuba before arriving in the United States with her family as political refugees in 2002.

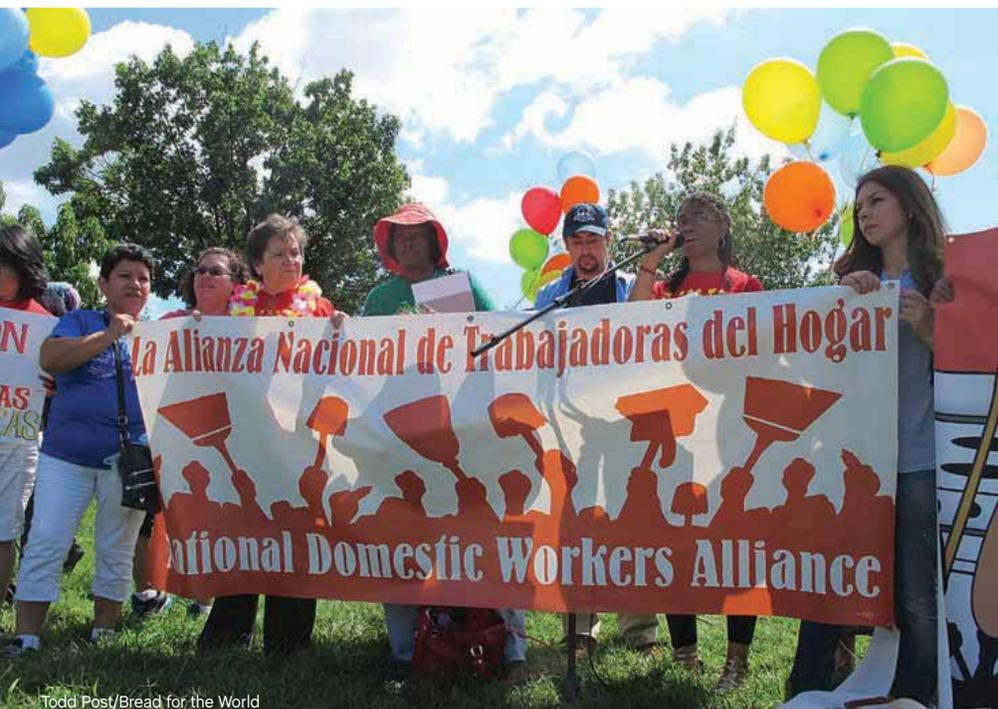


Jill R. Asencio

Syracuse, New York. Odalis and her family arrived in the United States from Cuba in 2002. Syracuse receives approximately 1,000 refugees per year¹⁰⁹ and is one of the main resettlement locations in New York, the third largest resettlement state in the nation.¹¹⁰ Families who are resettled in Syracuse come from dozens of countries around the world, most of them fleeing violence and oppression. The West Side Learning Center in Syracuse, New York,

serves new immigrants to the city, providing English language classes and training programs to help families adapt to life in the United States. The center not only provides childcare to the families learning English but also trains women who are interested in making a career of child care.

Soon after moving to Syracuse, Odalis began both English classes and job training that helped her become a licensed childcare provider. Today, Odalis is a member of the Voice of Organized Independent Childcare Educators (VOICE), one of 7,200 registered group childcare providers in Local 100A of the Civil Service Employees Association.¹¹¹



Todd Post/Bread for the World

Hundreds of domestic workers from around the country rallied in Washington, DC, in July, 2013. Domestic workers include caregivers of children, people with disabilities, the elderly, and the sick; housekeepers, maids, and other household occupations.

When she left Cuba with her husband and 2-year-old son, Odalis was not expecting to make a career of child care and early childhood education. In Cuba, she was an architect, as was her husband. In the United States, they lived in poverty. The transitional assistance they received from the U.S. government ended after six months, and their immediate concern was to keep a roof over their heads and food on the table. They went to the Salvation Army for clothes and to church pantries for food.¹¹² They could not continue to work as architects because it cost too much money and time to meet U.S. licensing and other requirements.

The skills she acquired as an architect in Cuba she puts to use every day teaching the children under her care. As a leader in her local union, Odalis speaks not only for herself and the other childcare providers, but also for families of the children whom they provide care. It's not that immigrant families can't speak for themselves or don't have the skill; parents are mostly struggling to make a living and scarcely have time to lobby elected officials. There are few better examples than the childcare sector where the livelihood of a service provider is so directly linked to the livelihood of a recipient.

In recent years states have shifted more of the cost of child care to parents, due to budget shortfalls in the wake of the Great Recession and the federal government's own cuts to childcare assistance. The bargaining power that comes with being part of the union has made it possible to forestall attempts to cut government assistance for child care.¹¹³ In 2013 in Onondaga County, where Syracuse is located, the average annual cost of care for one child

ranged from 7,852 to 10,491 a year, depending on whether the care was home-based or center-based.¹¹⁴ Nationally, average annual costs range from 4,863 in Mississippi to 16,430 in Massachusetts.¹¹⁵

Among childcare workers across the nation, just 6.2 percent are members of a union.¹¹⁶ Unions clearly benefit workers and women workers in particular. During the period 2009

“The Equal Pay Act is often presumed to be an accomplishment of the feminist movement of the 1960s. In fact, it was spearheaded by female trade unionists.”

— Ruth Milkman

to 2013, according to a study by the Center for Economic and Policy Research, women workers in unions earned an average of 12.9 percent more than nonunion women.¹¹⁷ But for women in typically low-wage occupations, the union-wage advantage is even larger—for example, 24 percent or 2.75 per hour for childcare workers. The study also found that companies with a union presence are 18 percent more likely to provide paid sick leave, 21 percent more likely to provide paid vacation, and 21 percent more likely to provide paid holidays.¹¹⁸ Belonging to a union does not eliminate the gender wage gap, but it does reduce it by half.¹¹⁹

“The Equal Pay Act is often presumed to be an accomplishment of the feminist movement of the 1960s. In fact, it was spearheaded by female trade unionists, who first introduced the bill in 1945 as an amendment to the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act,” says Ruth Milkman, a sociologist with City University of New York. “The bill was defeated, largely because of staunch opposition from business interests, but a coalition of labor activists reintroduced it every year until it finally passed in 1963.”¹²⁰

Domestic workers are excluded from many of the basic protections guaranteed by the Fair Labor Standards Act to most other workers in the United States like a minimum wage, overtime, sick leave, and vacation pay.



Todd Post/Bread for the World

Union membership as a whole has been on the decline for more than 30 years, but this is more the case for men than for women. See Figure 4.8. Women have a bigger stake than ever in the survival of unions and their continued ability to protect workers' rights. At the time the Equal Pay Act was signed, women made up less than 20 percent of the union workforce in the country. By 2013, they were 46 percent of all union workers, and if the current trend continues, they will become a majority by 2025.¹²¹ See Figure 4.9.

Odalis is more than an example of a refugee who transitioned to a successful second

career. He has found not only a career but also a calling in child-care and early education. The United States may have lost a trained architect, but the country gained a committed nurturer and advocate who is helping both her new city and refugees from all over the world.

National Policymaking and Gender

When women gained the right to vote in 1920, government spending on public health increased dramatically, particularly on maternal health. Policy changed not as a result of a change in conviction, rather because members of Congress knew this was important to their female constituents and would factor in how they voted.¹²² U.S. women consistently turn out to vote at higher rates than men.¹²³ See Figure 4.10. But women are significantly underrepresented as policymakers in government.

Compared to other high-income countries, the United States has a much lower percentage of women elected to gov-

ernment office. At the start of 2014, women held a total of 18.5 percent of seats in Congress—18.2 percent in the House of Representatives, 20 percent in the Senate. And this is the highest percentage in history.¹²⁴ Other high-income countries now average 25 percent women in national parliaments,¹²⁵ with Nordic countries closest to equal representation with consistent shares of one-third or more.¹²⁶

Figure 4.8 Unionization Rate, 1983-2013

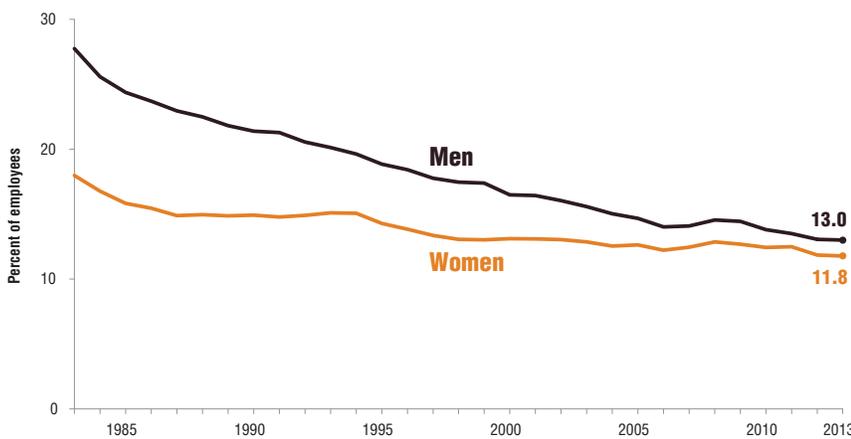
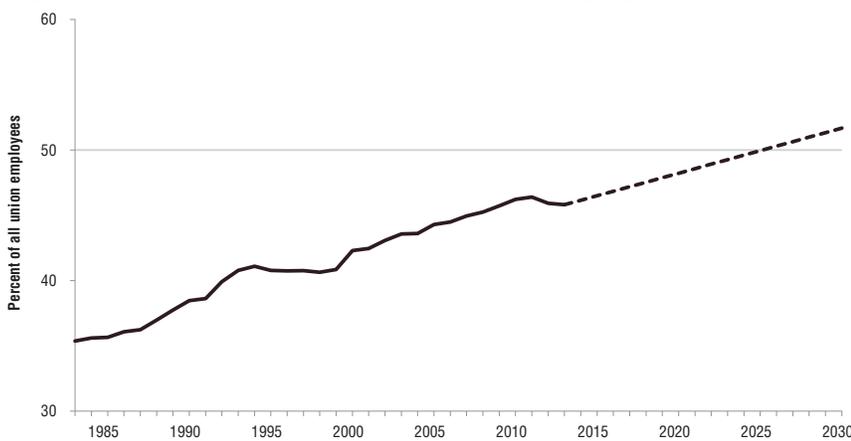


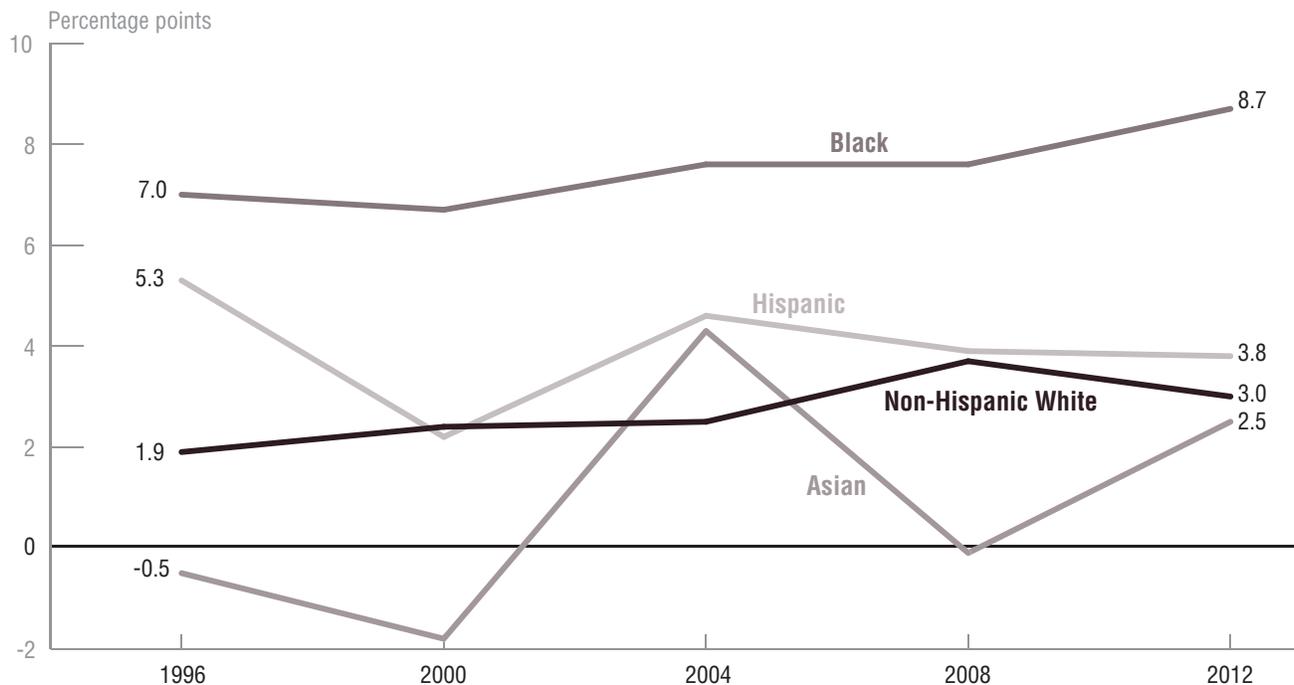
Figure 4.9 Women's Share of Total Union Employment, 1983-2030



Source: Janelle Jones, John Schmitt, and Nicole Woo (June 2014), *Women, Working Families, and Unions*, Center for Economic and Policy Research.

Figure 4.10 Gender Voting Gap Over Time, By Race and Hispanic Origin

(Female voting rates in comparison to male voting rates)

Source: U.S. Census Bureau (2013), *The Diversifying Electorate—Voting Rates by Race and Hispanic Origin in 2012 (and Other Recent Elections)*.

Many countries around the world, rich and poor, designate a specific share of seats for women in order to help ensure that women are not isolated from political life, but the United States does not do this. High-income countries began adopting reservations in the 1980s, middle- and low-income ones after the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action called for increasing women's participation in government. There are currently 95 countries with larger shares of women representatives in national parliament than the United States, of which 68 use some form of reservation system to increase women's representation.¹²⁷ In the United States, people tend to recoil from the idea of "quotas." During the fight over the Equal Rights Amendment in the 1970s, the possibility of legally mandated gender quotas was used to attack the amendment and ultimately helped defeat it.¹²⁸ To this day, rarely if ever do policymakers or officials suggest using reservations to increase women's representation in government.

It is interesting—and may sound counterintuitive—that research finds that female candidates generally get just as many votes as men and can raise just as much money.¹²⁹ If women stand just as good a chance of raising money and winning elections, why are they so underrepresented? One factor is the incumbency advantage—because almost all members of Congress win their reelection races, it is very difficult for challengers to win seats, and, with so many more male incumbents, women are more likely to be challengers.¹³⁰ Other factors are less structural and more a matter of political "culture." Women are less likely than men to consider running for office¹³¹ and they are recruited to run less often.¹³² Moreover, women—

particularly women of color—are underrepresented in the types of jobs that traditionally lead to elective office, such as business ownership,¹³³ military service and leadership,¹³⁴ and partnership in large law firms.¹³⁵

Another factor is that women are expected to do most of the child care and housework.¹³⁶ Like all working parents of young children, many women in Congress must balance commutes, child care, and careers—but it can be even more challenging when the commute crosses several time zones,¹³⁷ or when a business trip requires travel to Afghanistan on Mother’s Day.¹³⁸ However, as Rep. Cathy McMorris Rodgers (R-WA) noted, elected officials have funds and flexibility that many other workers do not. “I don’t have to punch the clock,” she said in 2009, when her son was a toddler, “so I can carve out time to help meet Cole’s needs.”¹³⁹

When women do decide to run, there are several training programs specifically designed for them at whatever level they enter: national, state, or local. Among the nonpartisan options are the Yale Women’s Campaign School, founded in 1993,¹⁴⁰ and Ready to Run,¹⁴¹ a national network started 15 years ago at the Center for American Women and Politics at Rutgers University. Of the more than 1,700 Ready to Run alumnae, more than a quarter have run

Eleven of the 20 female senators in the U.S. Congress gather for a bipartisan workshop in 2013. Bipartisan workshops were established in 1992 as an opportunity for newly elected women to learn how to get started in the Senate.



Office of Barbara Mikulski

for office and 70 percent of those won their races. Ready to Run's Diversity Initiative has increased the number of women of color who run for and take elective office.¹⁴²

The evidence shows that women who are elected to office have different priorities and see very different results than their male counterparts. Women legislators introduce many more bills on health care, education, and child care than men do.¹⁴³ Women also tend to work harder than their male counterparts to keep legislation they've sponsored alive, and they are more collaborative, seeking consensus so the bills will pass.¹⁴⁴ In a study of the U.S. House of Representatives, these factors made female legislators more effective than males at getting their legislation advanced and passed.¹⁴⁵ Also, the more directly an issue affected women, the more likely female lawmakers were to vote together across party lines; the clearest example of this bipartisan consensus-building is women's health issues.¹⁴⁶

At a time when it's been hard to find signs of civility between congressional Republicans and Democrats, the female senators have set an example by holding a monthly bipartisan supper club. Dining together in one another's homes helps build the camaraderie necessary to handle the inevitable conflicts over legislation¹⁴⁷ and get things passed.

One example of a time that a collaborative approach led by female legislators proved critical to the whole country was when Congress, by failing to act, caused the entire federal government to shut down in October 2013.

Republican senators Susan Collins of Maine, Lisa Murkowski of Alaska, and Kelly Ayotte of New Hampshire teamed up with Democratic senators Barbara Mikulski of Maryland and Patty Murray of Washington to discuss some potential compromises. These helped pave the way for a deal that re-opened the government and avoided a default on the national debt.¹⁴⁸ Important portions of the compromise, such as a tax on medical devices and adjustments to the proposed farm bill, were hammered out during a bipartisan meeting of all the women senators hosted by Sen. Jeanne Shaheen (D-NH).¹⁴⁹ "The 20 women in the Senate have formed such strong friendships of trust, even though we come from different places," said Sen. Amy Klobuchar (D-MN).¹⁵⁰ Male members of Congress noted their colleagues' success in ending the shutdown. As Sen. John McCain (R-AZ) said, "Leadership, I must fully admit, was provided primarily by women in the Senate."¹⁵¹

Although we can't stereotype and pigeonhole all women as more "nurturing," female members of Congress have proven to be more collaborative and more focused on social issues. It makes sense that electing more women could help reduce political polarization and potentially advance an agenda of ending hunger and poverty in the United States.

State and Local Leadership

In 2014, women held 24.2 percent of seats in state legislatures¹⁵²—a little better representation at the state level than the national level. Five states had female governors in 2014.

Smaller cities are slightly more likely than big ones to elect a woman as mayor: 13 of the 100 largest American cities had female mayors in 2014, but 18.4 percent of mayors of cities with 30,000 or more residents were women.¹⁵³ Women of color are a minority within a minority in American politics. Of the 238 cities in the United States with more than 100,000 residents,

"I am very proud that these women are stepping forward. Imagine what they could do if there were 50 of them."

— John McCain,
U.S. Senator for Arizona.

48 of them had female mayors in January 2014.¹⁵⁴ Only four were African American, one was Latina, and one was Asian American.¹⁵⁵

It's not just in Congress that women legislators often act differently than men. Sara Howard was elected to the Nebraska State Legislature in 2012, representing District 9 in Omaha. At 32, she is the youngest woman in the legislature. Of the 49 members of Nebraska's unicameral legislature, 10 are women, making Nebraska 34th in the nation for gender parity among legislators.¹⁵⁶

Sen. Sara Howard was elected in 2012 to serve in the Nebraska Legislature representing District 9 of Omaha.

Youth and a personality that seems to enjoy a brisk pace mean Sara has energy to lead campaigns that would exhaust many of her colleagues. She told Bread for the World Institute about how, in the previous session of the legislature, she had introduced a bill to reduce carbon monoxide poisoning. The risk of poisoning is much higher in areas of high poverty and in properties owned by landlords, so the bill was designed to improve

building codes. She was nervous when she needed to bring together homeowners, landlords, realtors, building code inspectors, and activists to air out their differences on carbon monoxide regulation and reach a compromise acceptable to all. She had never done anything like this before, but she turned out to be good at it. "The theory is that women are better at relationship building," she says, and this has indeed been her experience as a member of the legislature. "Unfortunately people don't think about that as much as they should when they consider who to vote for," she added.

Sara followed her mother into the Nebraska state legislature when her mother's two-term limit, imposed by state law, expired. She had not envisioned herself running for office and shaping public policy directly. Instead, she had finished law school in Chicago and taken a job as a staff attorney with the Illinois Maternal and Child Health Coalition, advocating for better maternal and infant health policies. But she became involved in politics when she moved back home to Omaha following a tragedy in her family.

Sara feels that not only does she represent the people in her district, but other constituencies as well—notably a younger generation of Nebraskans who came to adulthood under very different financial conditions than their parents or grandparents. By the time Sara her-



Nebraska Legislature

self finished law school, she had accumulated more than \$100,000 in student loan debt. Of course men have student loan debt too, but women bear heavier debt burdens. See Figure 4.11. Women use a greater share of their salaries than men to pay off education debt.¹⁵⁷ This is not surprising when we consider that women earn less than men. Women are also more likely than men to borrow money to pay for college.¹⁵⁸

Women worry about their student loan debt more than men, according to a 2013 study by the Urban Institute, and this and other studies have found that they are generally less confident about their financial condition than men.¹⁵⁹ This, too, is not surprising given the pay gap.

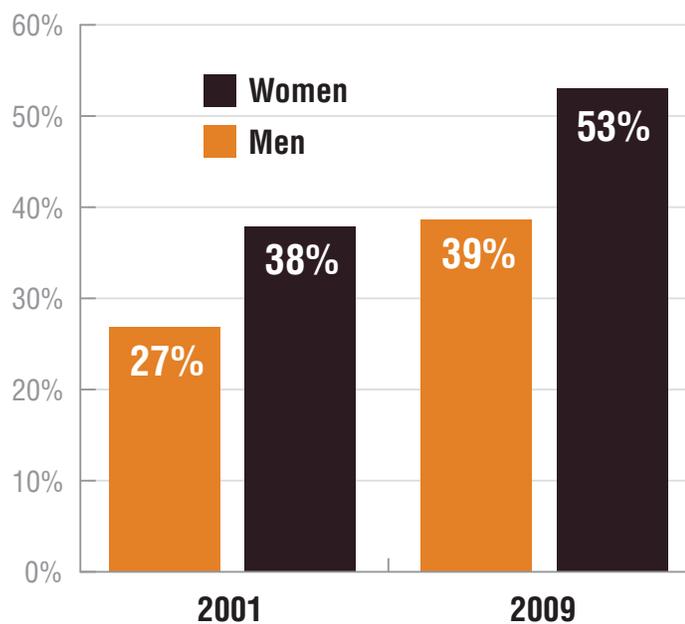
But the heavier debt burdens and greater financial uncertainty of women make them less likely to make the commitment to raise money and run for public office. The unprecedented levels of student loan debt carry repercussions nationwide. One of these is that, for years to come, fewer women will be able to run for office.

ara is planning to run for chair of the legislature's Health and Human Services Committee. Health care is the issue she is most passionate about. During her time as a legislator, she has fought for Medicaid expansion under the Affordable Care Act. The law allows states to expand Medicaid coverage to anyone whose income

is below 139 percent of poverty. For Nebraska it would increase the number of people with health insurance by 48,000.¹⁶⁰ Moreover, Medicaid expansion would create jobs for an additional 2,200 workers in the state and add \$380 million to the state's GDP.¹⁶¹ So far ara has been unsuccessful—at this writing, Nebraska is one of 24 states that have refused to expand Medicaid coverage.¹⁶²

ara works full-time as the development director of OneWorld Community Health Centers, the largest provider of primary healthcare services in South Omaha. OneWorld was founded in 1970, when it was known as the Indian-Chicano Health Center, providing services to the most underserved members of the community. This remains its mission.¹⁶³ Half of the

Figure 4.11 Share of Women and Men with High Student Loan Debt Burden One Year After College Graduation, by Year



Notes: Student loan debt burden is the percentage of earnings devoted to student loan payments. This chart shows the share of 1999–2000 and 2007–08 bachelor's degree recipients working full time and making non-zero payments on their student loans one year after graduation who were paying a higher proportion of their earnings toward student loan debts than a typical individual could reasonably afford. We estimate that, in 2009, a typical man could reasonably afford to devote 8.9 percent of his earnings to student loan payments, and a typical woman could reasonably afford to devote 7.8 percent of her earnings to student loan payments. In 2001, those percentages are estimated at 9.5 percent and 8.5 percent for men and women, respectively. This analysis excludes graduates older than age 35 at bachelor's degree completion.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, reprinted in Christine Corbett and Catherine Hill (October 2012), *Graduating to a Pay Gap: The Earnings of Women and Men One Year after College Graduation*, American Association of University Women.

children served do not have health insurance, and OneWorld must turn away 500 patients every month because it cannot meet the demand for care.¹⁶⁴

Omaha is the county seat of Douglas County, where the Latino population increased by nearly 90 percent between 2000 and 2010.¹⁶⁵ Latinos are the group most likely to lack insurance in the United States, and their insurance rates nationwide have grown fastest since the implementation of the Affordable Care Act. The Commonwealth Fund reports that by June of 2014, the proportion of people living below the poverty line who lacked health insurance had fallen from 28 percent to 17 percent in states that expanded Medicaid coverage under the law, while the rate remained unchanged at 36 percent in states that did not.¹⁶⁶

“The theory is that women are better at relationship building. Unfortunately people don’t think about that as much as they should when they consider who to vote for.”

— Sara Howard,
State Senator,
Nebraska’s District 9

This chapter focuses on how gender bias impedes efforts to end hunger in the United States by 2030. The Affordable Care Act is the biggest advance in social welfare policy in a generation and raises the chances to end hunger. It could make even more progress if the remaining 24 states expanded Medicaid to cover more of the uninsured population. Passage and implementation of the Affordable Care Act has also been a bruising political fight that shocked many Americans. Would it have been possible to have a more rational debate about the law, its advantages, and its costs if more women had been in Congress to help steer the debate? Clearly there is no way to know, but at this point, women have the better track record. This may be yet another example of how women’s representation in Congress in proportion to their numbers in the population would be good for the country.

Clearly there is no way to know, but at this point, women have the better track record. This may be yet another example of how women’s representation in Congress in proportion to their numbers in the population would be good for the country.

Looking Forward

At the end of 2015, when the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) expire, U.N. member states are expected to agree to a new set of global development goals. The United States and other developed countries considered their MDG role to be helping developing countries achieve the goals—not achieving the goals themselves. Perhaps not coincidentally, most of the world made steady progress against hunger and poverty during the MDG era, while the United States and some other developed countries went the other direction.

The post-MDG, post-2015 goals should be universal, calling on every country to end hunger and poverty. As we demonstrate throughout this report, doing so means that every country will need to put ending gender discrimination at the top of its priority list

Setting goals along with the rest of the world and working together to find and scale up the best ways of ending both hunger and gender discrimination will give the United States a clearer sense of purpose—a boost in energy and momentum to help us regain the lost progress of the past decade and start to move forward. Gender and gender bias affects the life of every person in the United States. That’s why it will take the engagement of all to remove the barriers to women’s empowerment so that we can at last eliminate hunger in this wealthy country.

THE POWER OF COLLECTIVE VOICE

Stacy Cloyd

Running for office isn't the only way women can make their voices heard. Advocating for a law or supporting a candidate can be as simple as writing a letter to the editor, and many groups provide advice on how best to do that.¹⁶⁷ A study called *Vote With Your Purse* noted that in 2010, 74 percent of donations to federal candidates, parties, and political action committees came from men. Moreover, the share of contributions made by women has been on the decline since 2006.¹⁶⁸ See Figure 4.12 for additional details from the study.

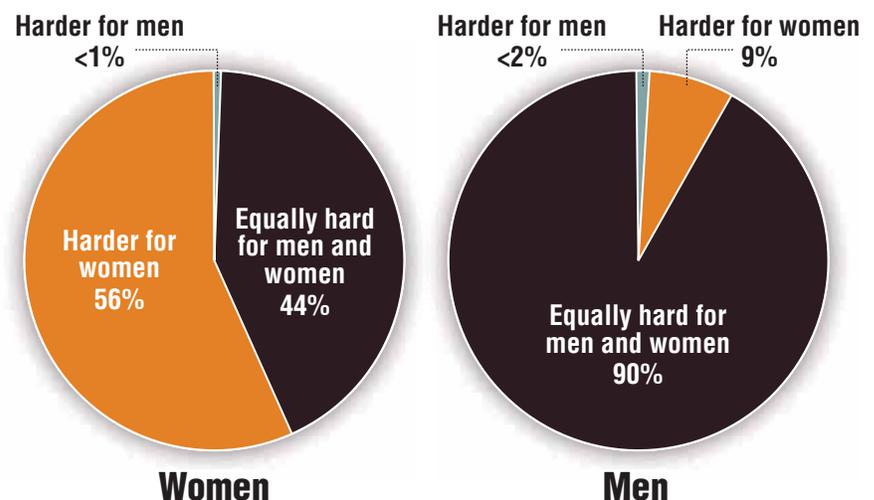
There are many gender-focused advocacy organizations in the United States. One example of women working together to reduce hunger and poverty is Bread for the World's Women of Faith for the 1,000 Days Movement. The Women of Faith, who represent a wide range of religious backgrounds and traditions, facilitate conversations in their own communities about the critical importance of nutrition for pregnant women and young children and about how American women can help ensure that U.S. foreign assistance makes nutrition during this 1,000-day window (from pregnancy to a child's second birthday) a priority.

Another advocacy group is the Women, Food, and Agriculture Network, whose mission is to "link and empower women to build food systems and communities that are healthy, just, sustainable, and that promote environmental integrity." This includes mentoring and training for female farmers and women interested in agricultural careers, as well as a Plate to Politics program that aims to educate Congress and communities about food issues.¹⁶⁹

Of course, women also make a difference as advocates for organizations and causes that are not gender specific. For example, not all cafeteria workers are "lunch ladies," but many are. In Chicago, both female and male cafeteria workers were able to collaborate to win a contract that secured their employment and wages while allowing more public schoolchildren to enjoy freshly-prepared meals.¹⁷⁰

In 2011, Stacy Cloyd served as Senior Domestic Policy Analyst at Bread for the World Institute.

Figure 4.12 **Women and Men Hold Very Different Opinions About Whether it is More Difficult for Women to Raise Campaign Funds.**



Source: Kira Sanbonmatsu, Susan J. Carroll, and Debbie Walsh (2009), *Poised to Run: Women's Pathways to the State Legislatures*, Center for American Women and Politics.

A PLAN TO END HUNGER IN THE UNITED STATES BY 2030

Bread for the World Institute's 2014 Hunger Report, *Ending Hunger in America*, urged President Obama and Congress to lead the country in setting a goal to end hunger in the United States by 2030, and it offered a four-part plan to accomplish this: 1) a jobs agenda, 2) a stronger safety net, 3) human capital development, and 4) public-private partnerships to support innovative community-led initiatives against hunger.

2030 is not an arbitrary date. The international community is planning to announce a set of global development goals once the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) expire in December 2015. In 2000, every country agreed to support the MDGs, which included cutting global hunger and poverty rates in half. The exciting news about the MDGs is that we have already achieved the poverty goal and could reach the hunger goal as well with a big push this year.

The United States and other developed countries contributed to the MDGs as donors, but were not expected to reduce hunger and poverty at home as were developing countries. The post-MDG goals should be universal, requiring every country to effectively end hunger and poverty.

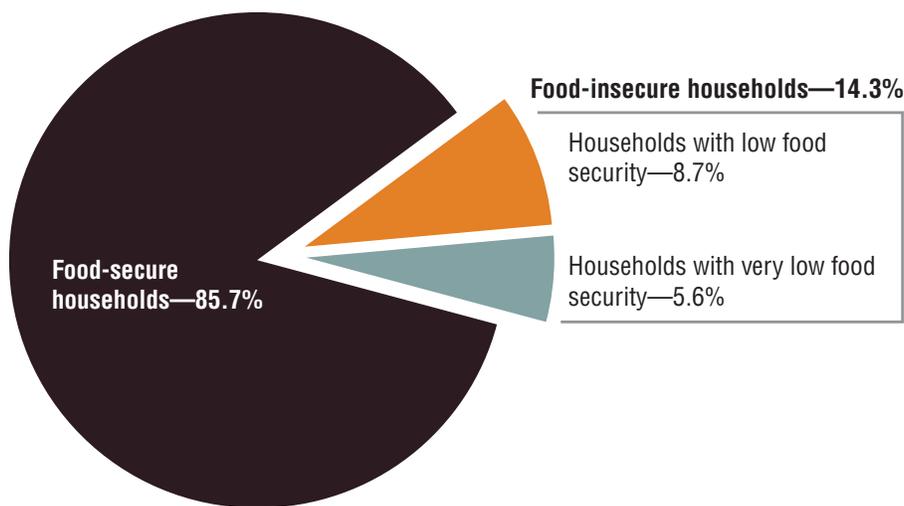
Part One of Our Plan to End Hunger in America: A Jobs Agenda

When a household's breadwinner is out of work or can't find full-time work, everyone living under the same roof is at risk of hunger. Presently, 14.3 percent of U.S. households are considered less than food secure. See Figure 4.13. "Low food security" and "very low food security" are the terms the federal government uses to describe households that experience hunger or are at risk of hunger. The United States is not a food secure nation because the economic recovery from the Great Recession has been sluggish.

A strong recovery capped by a return to full employment would significantly improve the

U.S. food security rate. The Federal Reserve manages the country's monetary policy; it has a dual mandate of controlling inflation and promoting full employment. Since the start of the Great Recession, the Fed has prioritized increasing employment over reducing inflation. As long as the economy continues to operate well below its full capacity, the risk of inflation is minimal and so the Fed needs to keep the focus on returning to full employment.

Figure 4.13 U.S. Households by Food Security Status, 2013



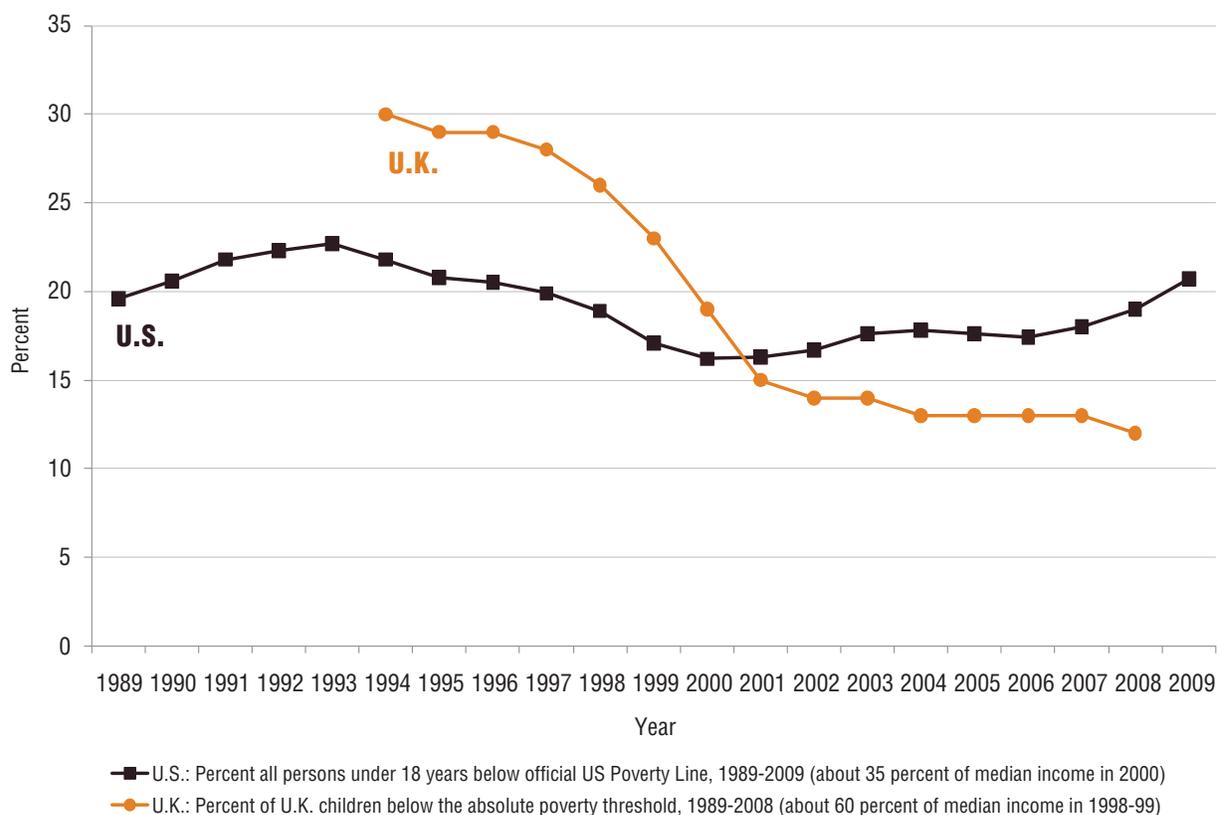
Source: Calculated by USDA, Economic Research Service using data from the December 2013 Current Population Survey Food Security Supplement.

Low-wage jobs pay far too little to ensure food security to any breadwinner with additional mouths to feed. Raising the minimum wage is critical because it sets the floor on all low-wage work. Public opinion is solidly behind a federal increase in the minimum wage from the current level of \$7.25 an hour.¹ In the 2014 Hunger Report, we proposed raising the minimum wage to \$12.00 an hour. In 2014, \$12.00 an hour is what it would take for a single breadwinner to pull a family of four over the poverty line, working full-time, year-round. Currently, about a third of all workers earn less than this.²

RAPID PROGRESS AGAINST HUNGER AND POVERTY IS POSSIBLE

In 1997, the U.K government launched an initiative to eliminate child poverty by 2020. When the campaign began, the child poverty rate in the United Kingdom was roughly equal to the U.S. rate. Within a decade the United Kingdom cut the child poverty rate in half, while in the United States the child poverty ended up where it had begun. The U.K. example demonstrates that rapid progress mainly requires political commitment. Read more about the U.K. program to end child poverty in the section “Balancing Act at Home and in the Workplace,” in Chapter 4.

Figure 4.14 **Child Poverty Rates in the United States and United Kingdom**



Source: Jane Waldfogel (December 2010), “Tackling Child Poverty & Improving Child Well-Being: Lessons from Britain,” First Focus.

A PLAN TO END HUNGER IN THE UNITED STATES BY 2030

Parts Two and Three: A Stronger Safety Net and Human Capital Development

Sustainable reductions in hunger will depend on strengthening the safety net and investing in human capital. Economic downturns are all but inevitable. We all know people who have fallen on hard times—lost a job, suffered an illness, or seen their retirement savings disappear in the Great Recession. And, of course, there are those who cannot or should not work—elderly people, people with disabilities, children.

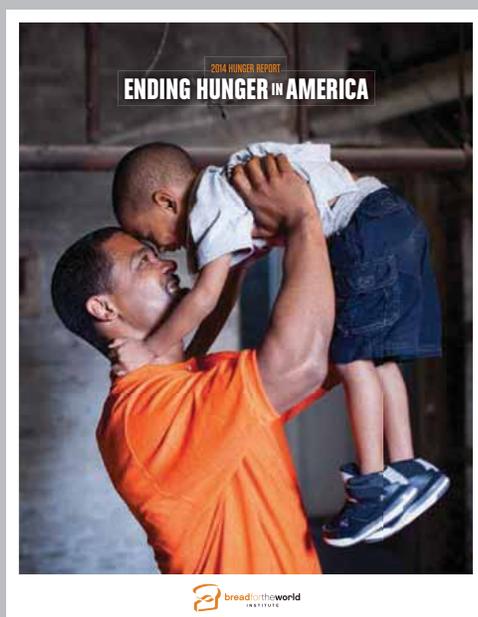
The Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP, formerly food stamps) is the nation's flagship nutrition program and the main safety net preventing families from going hungry. SNAP enrollment has declined as the economy improved and fewer people remain

unemployed, but improvements in the economy last year were diluted by cuts to SNAP. In November 2013, Congress allowed the SNAP benefit boost that was part of the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009 to expire. The nation's food safety net needs to be a *nutrition* safety net, one that offers not only assistance to prevent starvation, but the means to afford the nutritious foods people require to remain healthy. Cuts to SNAP only make it harder for recipient families to maintain good health. A typical food-insecure household spends 26 percent less on food than a typical food-secure household of the same size and composition.³

In addition to livable wages, people need to be able to balance their work and family responsibilities. More than two-thirds of poor children

live in families that have at least one wage earner,⁴ and 40 percent of low-income parents have no access to any paid time off (no sick days or medical leave, no parental leave, no vacation), making it difficult to care for sick children, or even newborn children.⁵ Public opinion strongly supports extending paid sick leave to all workers.⁶

One of the biggest differences between U.S. society today and a half-century ago is the incredible increase in the number of women in the paid workforce. But this major change is not reflected in government policies. The United States lags behind every other developed country in the world in recognizing the need for government to assist families in affording quality child care. And child care that includes an educational component has three payoffs: it strengthens the safety net for low-income working families; adds to children's human capital development; and builds a stronger future for America.



In 2014, the Obama administration proposed, and Congress funded, a new initiative to encourage partnerships between Early Head Start and childcare to provide high-quality early care and education for infants and toddlers and meet the needs of working families. This is a noteworthy accomplishment, but in order to make economic mobility a real possibility for children born to low-income families, human capital development needs to start with early education and go all the way through college.

Public-Private Partnerships

Ending hunger in the United States will require leadership not only at the federal level but also at the state and local levels. There are countless examples of locally-led initiatives that are achieving great success in their communities. At their core, these initiatives are formed around the belief that to end hunger in a community, a broad range of stakeholders must unite behind a common vision and strategy. Churches may be talking to other churches, but not to anybody else. The heads of key government offices like the Departments of Education and Health and Human Services may not know anybody on the volunteer side.

The 2014 Hunger Report profiled several such initiatives—for example, the Indy Hunger Network (IHN). In a city the size of Indianapolis, any social infrastructure will be fragmented—not by intent, but by sheer numbers and logistics. IHN provided a space for all the parts of the anti-hunger infrastructure in the city to come together and solve problems. Dave Miner, executive director of IHN, has been an anti-hunger activist for more than 30 years. From 2007 to 2012, he chaired Bread for the World’s board of directors. In 2008, he retired after a career with the pharmaceutical giant Eli Lilly, first in science, then in management. Now, he is using the skills he learned over a career in leadership positions at Lilly and its affiliate company Elanco, plus 30 years of advocacy training through his involvement with Bread for the World, to help Indianapolis become a hunger-free community.

A sense of community ownership is critical to finding sustainable solutions to hunger. Partnerships at the local level, and between local initiatives and state and federal government, build that ownership. Local partners do more than feed people; they feed information to leaders in government, and they make informed suggestions as to how partners can work together to fight hunger more effectively. Setting a national goal to end hunger would place independent local efforts within a wider framework. Connecting community-led anti-hunger efforts would enable them to develop a broadly shared narrative—the story of why it is critical to end hunger in America.

Reality Check

Ending hunger in America is possible. It is not an impossible dream. If we decided we really wanted to do it, we could wake up one morning in 2030 and be living in a country where hunger is rare and temporary, not the shared experience of millions of Americans as it is today.

Low-wage jobs pay far too little to ensure food security to any breadwinner with additional mouths to feed.



Let Women Flourish

Asma Lateef, Bread for the World Institute

In 1948, Eleanor Roosevelt chaired the committee that drafted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Ultimately adopted by all nations, the Declaration lays out a vision of a world where all people “without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth, or other status,” would have basic rights—with basic human needs met—and equal rights under the law.

That vision remains just that—a tantalizing vision. True, women and girls have made progress, but the world is still not living up to the promises made in the text of the Declaration. The inequalities women and girls suffer are magnified even more for most, once we add on the additional layers of discrimination based on race, ethnicity, religion, class, and more.

Most countries now have laws that recognize women as equal in every way—yet women disproportionately suffer from hunger and poverty; they carry out much more than their half of the unpaid work on which families, communities, and economies depend; and a third of all women and girls are victims of violence during their lives, most times at the hands of a husband or male partner.

Building on the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action, with its focus on ending gender inequality, the U.N. Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) linked the welfare and well-being of women and girls to the goals of ending hunger and extreme poverty. In addition to a stand-alone goal of promoting gender equality and empowering women—with targets for women’s secondary and tertiary education, literacy, wage employment in a non-agricul-

“Women and girls asked in particular for protection of their property rights, their access to land, and to have a voice and to participate in economic and political life.”

— High Level Panel on the Post-2015 Development Agenda



UN Photo/Mark Garten

Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon (center) greets British Actor and UN Women Goodwill Ambassador Emma Watson at a special event organized by UN Women in support of their HeForShe campaign. To the right is Yoo Soontae, Mr. Ban's wife.

tural sector, and seats in parliament—the MDGs included universal primary education for all boys and girls and a goal with targets for reducing maternal mortality.

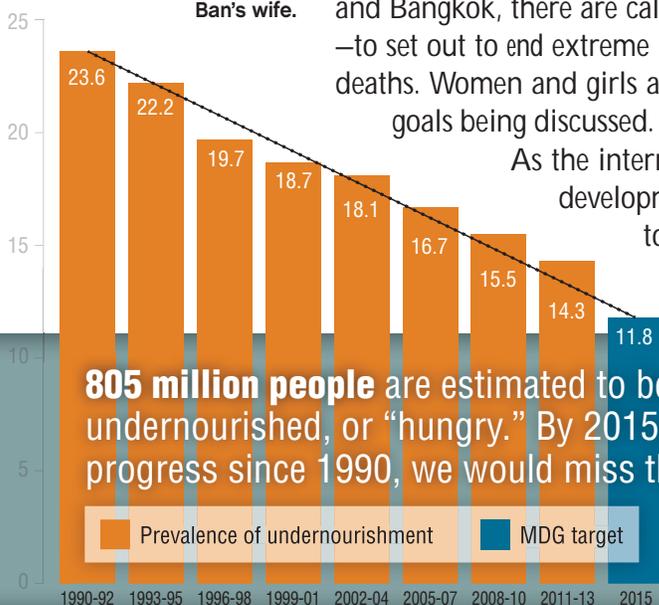
Progress towards these goals and targets has been mixed and uneven. A progress chart on page 213 shows how regions are doing. The MDG experience underscores that the inequities women and girls face are persistent, deep-seated and self-reinforcing. They are embedded in the inequities and discrimination faced by poor and hungry people as a group, but issues specific to women often go unrecognized by governments and society writ large. As this

report has shown, gaps in access to health care, education, and financial assets are still pervasive. A “business as usual” approach is not acceptable and has not led to sufficient progress so far because gender bias affects so much and has proven so resistant to change.

Unfinished Business

As the deadline for the MDGs approaches at the end of 2015, from the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Ban Ki-moon, to “people on the street” in Baku, Bogota, Bamako, and Bangkok, there are calls for a post-2015 development framework to be more ambitious—to set out to end extreme poverty, end hunger and malnutrition, and end preventable child deaths. Women and girls are essential to achieving these goals as well as all the rest of the goals being discussed.

As the international community prepares to launch a new set of sustainable development goals (SDGs) to succeed the MDGs, this is a critical moment to set a transformational agenda to achieve for equality of women and girls. Early in 2015, negotiations on the SDGs begin in



805 million people are estimated to be chronically undernourished, or “hungry.” By 2015, at the current rate of progress since 1990, we would miss the MDG target of cutting hunger in half by just **1 percentage point.**¹

Every **\$1** invested in preventing chronic malnutrition returns **\$30** in economic output.²

earnest. Since 2012, the United Nations has coordinated consultations on future goals in 88 developing countries, working with governments, civil society, universities, and the private sector. The intention was to hear from a range of people, especially those who live in extreme poverty and are typically excluded from such discussions. There have also been 11 thematic consultations, including one on food security and nutrition, and an online global survey filled out by more than 800,000 people.

In 2012, the U.N. Secretary-General also convened a High Level Panel of Eminent Persons on the Post-2015 Development Agenda (HLP). The 27-member panel was charged with developing a set of recommendations on MDG successor goals. Its report, released in 2013, describes the priorities named by women and girls at its various consultations: “Women and girls asked in particular for protection of their property rights, their access to land, and to have a voice and to participate in economic and political life. They also asked the Panel to focus on ending violence against women and discrimination at work, at school, and in the law.”¹

The HLP report concluded that “Women across the world have to work hard to overcome significant barriers to opportunity. These barriers can only be removed when there is zero tolerance of violence against and exploitation of women and girls, and when they have full and equal rights in political, economic, and public spheres.”² The HLP report calls for a stand-alone goal on gender equality and women’s empowerment, but also proposes gender targets as part of other goals as well, recognizing that the issues connected to gender bias are cross-cutting.

In addition to the U.N.-sponsored consultations in developing countries and the HLP, another process that is feeding into the final negotiations on the goals is the Open Working Group on Sustainable Development Goals (OWG).³ It was launched at the Rio 20 Summit in June 2012 with the goal of helping U.N. member states develop a set of sustainable development goals to be integrated into the post-2015 development agenda. The OWG was made



New York Times columnist Nicholas Kristof with Rozina Haque of BRAC and Diah Saminarsih of Guiding Lights of the Archipelago in 2013 at the MDG Countdown event: “Women and Girls Transforming Societies.”

In 1990, almost half of the population in the developing world lived on less than **\$1.25 a day**. This rate dropped to **22 percent** by 2010, achieving the MDG target of reducing the percentage of people living in extreme poverty by half.³

By 2012, **ALL DEVELOPING REGIONS** had achieved, or were close to achieving, gender parity in primary education.⁴

up of 30 member states of the U.N. General Assembly, including the United States. Over a 15-month period, the OWG held a series of consultations and 13 week-long sessions to draft and prioritize proposed goals. It was a transparent process in which the draft goals and the agenda were made available online ahead of each session so that civil society groups and others could react and provide feedback. Each session was also webcast so the public could hear the debate among member states. In July 2014, the OWG issued its final Outcome Document. The OWG also proposed a stand-alone goal on women’s empowerment with six targets to help measure success. See Box C.1.

Paving the Way to a Sustainable Future

In the next year, civil society and the faith community have an important role to play in ensuring that policymakers, governments, and everyone involved in negotiations on the SDGs remain committed to setting an ambitious agenda for the goals. The SDGs must include stand-alone goals to end extreme poverty, hunger, and malnutrition. The next set of goals must also include a stand-alone goal to end gender inequality and empower women. This goal should include a target to both reduce the burden of unpaid care work that disproportionately falls

on women and to ensure that unpaid care responsibilities are shared more equally by men and between families and social support systems. It should also include targets to end gender-based violence, including child marriage; to ensure that all women have the right to inherit and own property; and to ensure that all women and girls have access to quality education and health care.

The next set of goals must be universal—they should apply to all countries, all people. As the HLP report underscores: no one should be left behind. This is extremely important to address gender inequities everywhere. As the 2015 Hunger Report shows, discrimination against women and girls is not an issue that stops at national borders.

We will not end hunger and poverty by 2030 without ending the discrimination that

women and girls face day in and day out. Civil society organizations, churches, and faith-based organizations in every country are well placed to make the connections between ending hunger and poverty and women’s empowerment. They can help change social and cultural norms and practices that are harmful to women and girls. They can speak out against gender-based violence. They can pave the way for the SDGs to be embraced and supported by everyone. Now is a unique moment in history to stand up for women and girls. It is not only the just and right thing to do—it is essential to ending hunger and malnutrition.

Asma Lateef is the director of Bread for the World Institute.



David Popham/IPPRI

Asma Lateef speaking at the International Food Policy Research Institute at the release of its 2013 Global Food Policy Report.

PROPOSED POST-MDG WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT GOAL

OPEN WORKING GROUP, UNITED NATIONS

Goal 5. Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls

- 5.1 - End all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere.
- 5.2 - Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation.
- 5.3 - Eliminate all harmful practices, such as child, early, and forced marriage, and female genital mutilation.
- 5.4 - Recognize and value unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure, and social protection policies, and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate.
- 5.5 - Ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic, and public life.
- 5.6 - Ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights as agreed in accordance with the Program of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development and the Beijing Platform for Action and the outcome documents of their review conferences.
 - 5.a - Undertake reforms to give women equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to ownership and control over land and other forms of property, financial services, inheritance, and natural resources in accordance with national laws.
 - 5.b - Enhance the use of enabling technologies, in particular information and communications technology, to promote women's empowerment.
 - 5.c - Adopt and strengthen sound policies and enforceable legislation for the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls at all levels.

HIGH LEVEL PANEL ON THE POST-2015 DEVELOPMENT AGENDA

Goal 2. Empower Girls and Women and Achieve Gender Equality

- 2a. - Prevent and eliminate all forms of violence against girls and women.
- 2b. - End child marriage.
- 2c. - Ensure equal right of women to own and inherit property, sign a contract, register a business, and open a bank account.
- 2d. - Eliminate discrimination against women in political, economic, and public life.

CHRISTIAN STUDY GUIDE - 2015 HUNGER REPORT

LEADER'S RESOURCE

Bread for the World Institute's 2015 Hunger Report: *When Women Flourish We Can End Hunger* offers information, insight, and challenges to people of faith. This guide invites Christians to study it together and to ask the Holy Spirit for guidance as they share their hopes, concerns, and responses to the problems identified and the solutions proposed in the report. Session leaders need no specific expertise on the report's content to facilitate discussion.

When Women Flourish We Can End Hunger is filled with detailed analysis, statistics, and stories; it can be accessed on line at hungerreport.org along with additional resources that will enrich your conversation, but are not required. This guide directs participants to read short sections of the Hunger Report during the sessions.

The 2015 Christian Study Guide includes four small-group sessions rooted in the content of *When Women Flourish We Can End Hunger*. Session 1 introduces the report's overall theme and the other three sessions develop specific topics emphasized in the Hunger Report. If your group cannot do all four sessions, we recommend that you do Session 1 and then as many others as you can.

Each session includes

- The Word: Biblical reflection materials with suggested reflection questions.
- The Issue: A summary of the theme as presented in the Hunger Report with suggested reflection questions.
- The Application: Activities to engage group members in analyzing current realities, using content from the Hunger Report, hungerreport.org, and their life experiences.

Planning your study

- Review Sessions 1-4 and refer to the 2015 Hunger Report for more detail.
- Consider your own goals and feel free to adapt the guide to enhance the experience for your group. The guide is designed for Christians of many theological and political viewpoints.
- Consider your current knowledge and beliefs about these issues and familiarize yourself with the report.
- Develop your schedule—select one or all of the sessions for your group.
- Confirm the dates, times, and location of your meeting and invite participation.
- Bring a Bible to each session. Encourage participants to bring additional translations to enrich the biblical reflection.

MILESTONES OF WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT IN THE CHURCH

1815

Clarissa Danforth is the first woman ordained in the Free Will Baptist Church. She served Chepachet Baptist Church in Chepachet, RI.

Sarah Allen creates the Daughters of the Conference, which later becomes the Women's Missionary Society of the American Methodist Episcopal Church. Missional duties begin with mending ministers' clothing.

1824



CHRISTIAN STUDY GUIDE - 2015 HUNGER REPORT

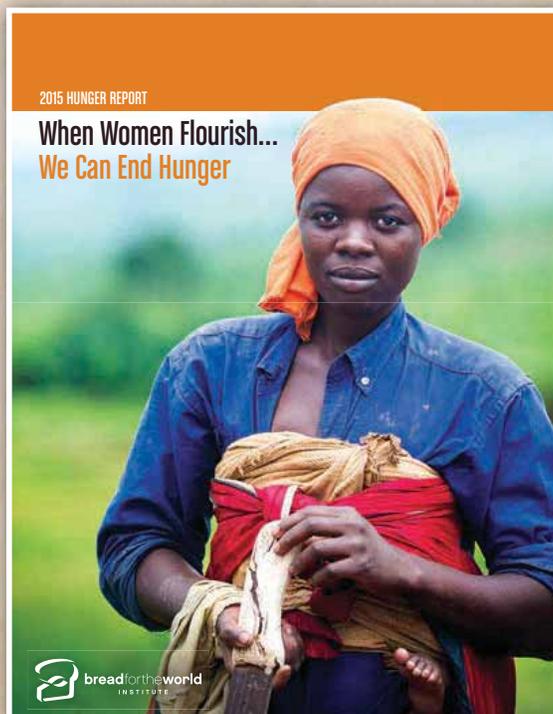
LEADER'S RESOURCE

- Bring session materials for activities using newsprint, a flip-chart, or a whiteboard. Most sessions also include an activity requiring access to the Internet. If your group will not have Internet access, have someone print out relevant pages or data.
- Plan for each session to include time for prayer, especially remembering those most affected by the topics that you discuss. Sessions as outlined in this guide may take an hour to 90 minutes each, but may be modified to meet your scheduling needs. After familiarizing yourself with the outline of the sessions, adapt the activities to best serve the needs of your group. A sample session is available at hungerreport.org.
- Direct members of the group to an online survey at hungerreport.org. The survey should be completed following the last session.

Group expectations

If you haven't led an adult learning group before or it has been a while, consider these suggestions:

- Adults want to know what they're going to be discussing. Be clear and focused about your goals and your schedule.
- As you begin, help the participants make connections with each other—through introductions and a short response to a question like “What do you hope for from our time together?” Making sure your sessions include time for prayer will also build community.
- Encourage all participants both to speak and to listen. Provide for each person who wants to talk to be given the time to do so.
- Encourage “I” statements (I feel..., I wonder..., etc.) instead of “you” or “they” statements (you don't know..., they always..., etc.).
- Adults bring lots of experience to the conversation. Appreciate their need to integrate new material with what they already know, but also be prepared to keep the conversation focused.



1827

Sojourner Truth, after emancipation, co-founds Kingston Methodist Church and becomes a prominent figure during the abolitionist movement.

Harriet Beecher Stowe writes *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which is credited with changing the country's view of the African enslavement.



1852

CHRISTIAN STUDY GUIDE - 2015 HUNGER REPORT

LEADER'S RESOURCE

- At the start of each session, invite participants to write down one question they would like to have answered. Before the closing prayer, invite participants to return to the question and write a response—new information or perhaps new questions.

Facilitating discussion

The study guide includes a number of questions for discussion. To encourage full participation, consider using one or more of these techniques to stimulate discussion:

- Divide the group into smaller groups and ask each group to discuss and report on one assigned question. Give them a set time and then have them report to the larger group. Ask the individuals in the larger group to comment on (add to or question) the report.
- Ask each person to consider the question at hand, write down a word, phrase or other response in 1-2 minutes. Then pair them up and share their responses. Allow 3-4 minutes. Then pair up the 2-person teams to create groups of four to report out. After another 3-4 minutes, invite participants to say what they heard. Were key words used? Is there shared interest in one particular issue?
- Divide the group into teams of 3-4. Place poster paper on the walls, one sheet for each question. Give the teams 8-10 minutes to discuss the assigned questions and post their “answers” on the poster paper. Give a 2-minute warning. At the end of the allotted time, review the responses, noting similarities, themes, concerns, or ideas.

For more information, interactive stories, data, or to download full chapters of the Hunger Report, see www.hungerreport.org

Additional resources

For more social policy resources, search the website of your denomination or national group. Throughout the year, hungerreport.org is updated with new stories and statistics, and Bread for the World's website, bread.org, includes even more resources. Another Bread publication that may be of interest is the Biblical Basis for Advocacy to End Hunger, which can be downloaded or ordered at bread.org/biblicalbasis.

MILESTONES OF WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT IN THE CHURCH



1853

Antoinette Louisa Brown is ordained as a minister in the Congregational church, which is a predecessor of the United Church of Christ.



1865

The Salvation Army is founded. From the beginning, it ordains both men and women.

CHRISTIAN STUDY GUIDE - 2015 HUNGER REPORT

SESSION 1: EMPOWERING WOMEN

1

The Word

Read John 1-

Women in biblical times were marginalized—their freedom and possibilities were limited by religion and society. Jesus broke with convention by reaching out to a wide variety of women, accepting them as students (Luke 10:38-42), touching those deemed unclean (Matthew 9:20-22), and welcoming them as his followers (Luke 8:1-3). The Gospel according to John tells how Jesus confounded even his disciples by seeking out a Samaritan woman who was alone at a well in the middle of the day. Jews did not speak to Samaritans, and men did not speak to women in public. This woman was most likely scorned, as women typically went to the well in groups at the beginning and end of the day. Jesus showed that he understood the woman's situation, but respected her enough to give her valuable information. By telling her that he was the messiah, he gave her a powerful resource—information which she could share with others; and by sharing it, she would be seen in a new light.

- How did the Samaritan woman's life change and how were others changed because of her empowerment? What can we learn from Jesus?
- Who is marginalized in your community or seems to lack power? Who is reaching out to them? What is your connection with them?

The Issue

The 2015 Hunger Report shows how policies and programs that empower women contribute directly to ending hunger. Discrimination against women around the world creates inequality. The Hunger Report argues for policies in the United States to close the male/female wage gap, and for programs in developing countries such as conditional cash transfers that provide cash allowances to parents who send their sons and daughters to school.

When women gain access to resources, they invest them for the wider good. Earning an income of their own is clearly important to women's empowerment and their children's wellbeing. Research in a number of countries has shown that women invest a greater share of their own income than men do in their children's health and education. For instance, when a woman's income increases, she generally spends it on food for her whole family. "Womenomics" is the theory that the advancement of women in society promotes economic growth. A well-known study found that if female farmers had equal access to productive resources, they

1888

The Executive Committee of the Woman's Mission Societies is founded, becoming the foundation for the Women's Mission Union, an auxiliary of the Southern Baptist Convention.

Julia A. J. Foote is the first woman ordained as a deacon in the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church.

1894



SESSION 1: EMPOWERING WOMEN

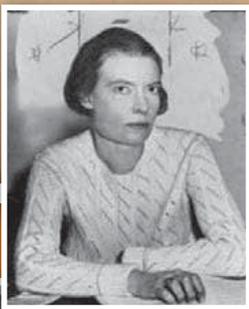
1

would be able to produce enough additional food to free 100 million to 150 million people around the world from hunger.

In the United States, there has been little change in the wage gap, with the most recent data showing women working full-time, year-round paid 78 percent of what men are paid working in a comparable full-time, year-round situation. If women were to receive pay equivalent to what men receive for comparable work, poverty among families with a working woman would be cut in half (see Figure 4.1). Motherhood produces another wage gap. Mothers in the same job as their childless female peers—with the same qualifications—are paid an hourly wage 5 percent less per child. This occurs in other high-income countries as well, but to a lesser degree in those with expansive public childcare programs.

Ending hunger depends on gender equality. Gender-related concerns figured prominently in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The period covered by the MDGs ends in 2015. Building on the MDGs, a post-2015 global development agenda can elevate women's empowerment as a global imperative and show how outcomes for women and girls are closely linked to other sustainable development goals. The United Nations has defined a set of 52 indicators essential to women's empowerment. Society and faith communities can play an important role in changing policies, norms and behaviors that are harmful to women and girls.

- The Hunger Report argues for programs and policies which reduce discrimination against women and increase their empowerment. Look at Figure I.3 on page 27. What is the difference between “gender aware” and “gender transformative” programs?
- Read *The Crucial Role of U.S. Assistance in Women's Empowerment Around the World* by Rep. Kay Granger and Rep. Nita Lowey on pages 10-11. What would you like to ask them? What would you like your own congressional representative to know about this article?
- Read *Violence: The Ultimate Disempowerment* starting on page 19 in the Introduction of the Hunger Report. The report highlights the problem of early marriage (some girls are married as young as 7 years old) and the fact that around the world, 1 in 3 women has experienced violence at the hands of an intimate partner. In the United States also, more than 1 in 3 women (35.6 percent) and more than 1 in 4 men (28.5 percent) have experienced rape, physical violence, and/or stalking by an intimate partner in their lifetime. What other connections can you make between violence and disempowerment? How are women in your experience conditioned to accept violence rather than to protest it?



MILESTONES OF WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT IN THE CHURCH

1933

Dorothy Day co-founds *The Catholic Worker*, an issues newspaper which was sold for a penny and inspired the Catholic Worker Movement that continues today.



Church Women United gathers 84,000 signatures on a petition urging the United States to join the United Nations.

1941

CHRISTIAN STUDY GUIDE - 2015 HUNGER REPORT

SESSION 1: EMPOWERING WOMEN

Activities

- Read Box 1.4 to learn about gender balance trees. Have each person in the group draw a gender balance tree for the household in which he or she grew up. Compare your drawings. What did you learn? How does that gender balance tree reflect your current household?
- Make a list of the developing countries with which members of your group are connected through your church, denomination, or other organizations. Then read An Incomplete Picture Missing Data on Women's Empowerment in the Introduction and visit hungerreport.org/missingdata. Use the online tool to visualize the state of women's empowerment data in the countries you listed through the lens of 52 indicators defined by the United Nations. For each of the countries which you identified, rate the availability of data as "excellent," "good," "fair," or "poor."
- Read about conditional cash transfers in Chapter 1 starting on page 53 and review Table 1.1 on page 55. Now imagine that your group is creating a conditional cash transfer program for your community or state. Who would be the beneficiaries? Make a list of the conditions that you would recommend, being especially aware of not reinforcing gender stereotypes.
- Read the Faith Leaders' Statement on page ii of the Hunger Report and review the scriptures that are referenced in the statement. Reread the second-to-last paragraph. On a flip chart or white board, make your own list of times that Jesus "treated women with dignity and love." Now make a list of times that you feel that the church has "encouraged social and cultural norms that prevent women from flourishing." Looking at your two lists, discuss how your group or church can help remove "barriers that prevent women from participating fully in society."



1946

Corrie Ten Boom, freed from prison for hiding hundreds of Jews from the Nazis, begins her mission of proclaiming the gospel.

The first convention of the Lutheran Women's Missionary Society takes place in Winona, MN.

1964

SESSION 2: VALUING CARE

2

The Word

Read Luke 10:1-12

Jesus offers a powerful image of God's caring love when he expresses his desire to gather Jerusalem's children "as a hen gathers her brood under her wings" (Matthew 23:37). From the trusting way that young Mary of Nazareth embraced her unexpected pregnancy, it is easy to imagine her faithfully caring for Jesus throughout his earthly life. The gospels help us imagine Mary caring for Jesus as an infant (Luke 2:1-7ff), searching for him when he was a boy (Luke 2:41-51), encouraging him before his first miracle (John 2:1-12), and remaining with him at the cross. John's gospel reports that following Jesus' death, Mary joined the household of one of his disciples (John 19:25b-27). The Acts of the Apostles identifies Mary as present with Jesus' followers after his ascension (Acts 1:26) and seems to describe the early believers as a community of care by noting "there was not a needy person among them" (Acts 4:34).

- How do we avoid taking for granted ministries of presence and caregiving?
- How do you balance care for others and good stewardship of yourself?
- What are some of the caregiving ministries in your church and community?

The Issue

Around the world, women are the caregivers. They mind the children, look after

the sick and elderly, and prepare meals to feed their families, among their other care responsibilities. The fundamental challenge of all assistance that seeks to empower women economically is negotiating a balance between their income-generating work and their time caring for children and other family members.

The Hunger Report notes that caregiving is essential for social and economic development and for national well being, but is often taken for granted because it is seen as women's work. Countries trying to measure the value of unpaid care work estimate it is equal to between 15 percent and 60 percent of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). GDP is said to be a measure of all goods and services produced, but service in one's home is not counted in measures of GDP; care work currently counts only if it is done in other people's homes or in public or private institutions. The Hunger Report argues for a better accounting of the value of caregiving.

Women's willingness to share men's breadwinning responsibilities has not been matched by men's willingness to share women's unpaid caregiving responsibilities. In the United States, when low-income men are asked why they work fewer hours than they wish, they are likely to say they cannot find a job that offers more hours. When the same question is put to low-income women, they are more likely to say they cannot find

MILESTONES OF WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT IN THE CHURCH

1971

The Leadership Conference of Women Religious, a by-product of the Conference of Major Superiors of Women (1956), becomes a largely connective community of nuns and Catholic women of faith, which turns its focus towards justice issues.

Reverend Yvonne Delk becomes the first black woman to be ordained by the United Church of Christ.

1974



SESSION 2: VALUING CARE

a job they need with the flexibility to manage work and family responsibilities. The Hunger Report argues for sharing care responsibilities more equitably between men and women in households and between the state and families. “Care-sensitive” policies can increase rather than impede women’s empowerment.

- How are caregivers compensated (financially or non-financially) in your community? What happens to our families and our society when we fail to compensate caregivers adequately?
- Read Box 1.3 Empowering Women and Girls in Pastoralist Communities. How are the cultural expectations for girls, as described in the article, similar or different from those for girls in your family? In your community? In your part of the United States?
- Read Balancing Act at Home and in the Workplace in Chapter 4. Which issues discussed in this section feel most relevant to your group or congregation?

Activities

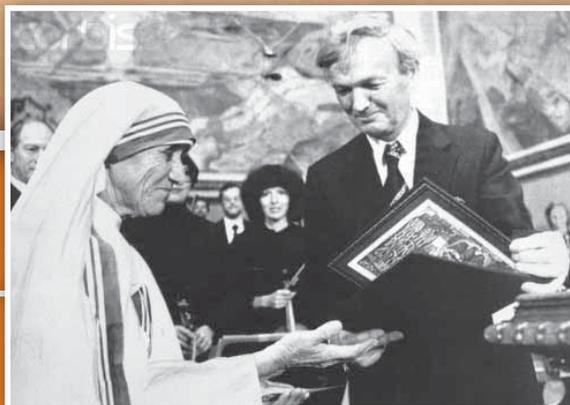
- Have each member of your group make four columns on a piece of paper. Invite them to identify the primary people to whom they offer care (child, neighbors, church member, etc.) and to list the names of those individuals in the first column. In the second column, list the resources (financial and non financial) that they use to care for the individual named in the first column. In the third column, list the benefits of the care being provided: to the caregiver, to the person receiving care, and to others. In the final column, list other options for care. Have members reflect on their results and share their reflections with the group.
- Separate into two groups according to gender. Separately, have the men and the women review Figure 2.1, which highlights 10 areas of well-being that were measured by the United Kingdom in 2014. Have each of your groups write down what measures they would use to evaluate well-being related to health. Compare the men’s answers to the women’s answers. Now visit hungerreport.org/nutrition and explore the interactive graphics which show the connection between women’s empowerment and child malnutrition in developing countries. Make a list of specific actions your full group could take to improve health and well-being in a developing country, your community, and your own homes.



Joseph Molieri for Bread for the World

1979

Mother Teresa receives a Nobel Peace Prize for her work in assisting the poor and needy in Calcutta. She had founded The Missionaries of Charity in 1950.



SESSION 3: ELECTING WOMEN

3

The Word

Read 1 Kings 10 1-1 , Esther 1 and Esther 1-

Political leaders represented in the Bible are primarily male; however, there are a few stories that highlight women in political roles. The book of Kings describes the Queen of Sheba, a monarch in her own right and not by marriage, who so captured public imagination that Jesus referred to her 1,000 years later (Matthew 12:42 and Luke 11:31). The Queen of Sheba visits King Solomon after she hears of his wisdom and his relationship to Yahweh. She is famous for recognizing God's favor of Solomon and Israel. The first chapter of the book of Esther tells of another queen, Vashti, who refused to be objectified by King Xerxes. Her risky refusal led to her ousting and to the later choice of Esther, who took a great risk by revealing her Jewish identity and asking the King to save her people.

- In what ways did these women exercise their power? What were the risks involved in exercising their power? And what were the outcomes?
- In what ways have women in the church exercised their leadership? And at what risk?

The Issue

Although they are half of the adult population, women are grossly underrepresented in government decision-making bodies nearly everywhere in the world. Globally, women hold an average of just 22 percent of seats in national parliaments. The Hunger Report shows the positive effects for a society of women's involvement in government, and it calls for an increase in the proportion of women in public office at all levels of government. It looks particularly at outcomes when seats are reserved for women; for example, India's Gram Panchayats (village governing councils) use reservations to ensure women's participation in governing at the local level. Researchers found women on village councils place greater emphasis than men on improving access to water and sanitation and especially education. They also found that the reservation policy has had positive effects on the aspirations of teenage girls. Exposure to women leaders coincides with a desire to marry later, have fewer children, and obtain jobs requiring higher education. The report also shows elected women as more collaborative and more focused on social issues than men, and as a result suggests that electing more women could reduce political polarization in the United States and help advance an agenda of ending hunger and poverty.



1990

English-born New Zealander Penny Jamieson is the first woman in the world to be ordained a diocesan bishop of the Anglican Church.

1993

Re-imagining: A Global Theological Conference By Women brings together 16 different denominations and breaks barriers for women in the ministry, bringing about a new era of feminist theology. The conference aims to encourage churches to address injustices to women worldwide and promote equal partnership with men at all levels of religious life.

CHRISTIAN STUDY GUIDE - 2015 HUNGER REPORT

SESSION 3: ELECTING WOMEN

- Read National Policymaking and Gender starting on page 164 in Chapter 4. What opportunities and challenges do women in the U.S. Congress face? What did you read that gives you hope?
- Visit again the online tool for mapping women's empowerment at hungerreport.org/missingdata that you used in Session 1. Review the "Public Life" indicators. What connections do you see between the five women's roles measured by the indicators? Which roles could assure that the laws which elected women pass are enforced?
- Read India Empowered to Speak starting on page 119 in Chapter 3. What connections can you make between issues being addressed by elected women in India and issues also facing women in the United States?

Activities

- The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), adopted in 1979 by the UN General Assembly, is often described as an international bill of rights for women. Learn more at www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/cedaw.htm. The United States is one of only seven countries that have not have ratified CEDAW. Divide your group into two separate groups. Have one group make the case for the United States ratifying CEDAW, and have the other group make the case for opposing it.
- Look at figure 4.10. List factors that might influence the rate at which women vote compared to men. Now list trends in various groups. Circle the factors and trends which might positively affect women's ability to be elected to public office. Put an "X" next to the factors and trends which might negatively affect women's ability to be elected to public office. If members of your group were running for office, which voters would they be targeting and why?



Stephan Bachheimer/World Bank



1999

Anne Graham Lotz, daughter of famous evangelist Billy Graham, is named one of the five most influential evangelists in the United States by the *New York Times*.

Bishop Vashti Murphy McKenzie is the first woman to be elected and consecrated as bishop in the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

2000



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SESSION 4: HEARING WOMEN'S VOICES

4

The Word:

Read Mark 16:7-9 or Matthew 23:1-12

In addition to listening for the voice of God, scripture affirms the importance of speaking up for what we believe and for those who are not heard. A woman in scripture who boldly used her voice was the Syrophenician (Canaanite) woman who challenged Jesus on behalf of her daughter. Although she was a Gentile (a non Jew), the Gospel according to Matthew says that the woman began what became a conversation about who could receive Jesus' help by addressing him as "Son of David." Rather than accept the seemingly powerless position of a foreign woman, she modeled persistence and effective advocacy.

- What does the Canaanite woman do that makes her an effective advocate? What attitudes does she demonstrate?
- Recall the people you identified as marginalized in Session 1. What possibilities do you see for them to speak up for themselves? For others to speak with or for them?

The Issue

Social, cultural and religious norms are crucial in determining how women and girls are treated and how well their voices are heard. When the norm is for women to be excluded from decision making, then they will have little say over policy formation that is in the best interest of everyone. 2015 marks the 20th anniversary of the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China—the conference which showed how to unite women from all parts of the globe, and, by the power of collective voice, to create momentum for change.

The Hunger Report also shows how women are collectively raising their voices to overcome discriminatory norms and to influence policy decisions. Examples include cooperatives to increase economic bargaining power and collective bargaining movements for workers.

The Hunger Report also shows the effectiveness of Rwandan women in post-conflict reconstruction and calls for increasing the proportion of women peace negotiators and for increased participation by women-led groups in public policy debates.

- Have members of your group read Producer Groups Strength in Numbers and Changes in Attitudes on pages 57-59 of Chapter 1, and Box 4.1 Families for Justice As Healing and Care Jobs Where 1st Century Families Meet the 1st Century Economy on page 152 and pages 161-164 of



2004

Bishop Minerva Carcano becomes the first Latina to be ordained by the United Methodist Church.

Bishop Katharine Jefferts Schori is the first woman to be elected Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church, USA, and the first woman to be elected as a primate in the Anglican Communion.

2006



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SESSION 4: HEARING WOMEN'S VOICES

Chapter 4. How are these three examples similar? How are they different? Where do you see women effectively lifting their voices together in your community?

- How are women's voices silenced?
- Read *A Younger Generation of Female Leaders* on pages 135-137 of Chapter 3. How do young people in your community exercise their voices? Is there balance between female and male voices?

Activities

- Note the people in your group who have factory or union experience and read *Camodia: Sounds of Solidarity* starting on page 125 in Chapter 3. Then have everyone in the group look at the tags on the clothes they are wearing (including shoes) to identify the countries in which they were made. On a flipchart or white board that everyone can see, list those countries and the names of the manufacturers. Identify the people or organizations with whom your group could advocate for living wages and safe working conditions for garment workers. Pray for the workers and for just leadership from the leaders of the countries and companies you have identified.
- After the genocide in Rwanda, women and girls made up 70 percent of the country's population. Read *Rwanda: Lessons in Post-Conflict Reconciliation* starting on page 110 in Chapter 3. Make a chronological list of each specific action taken by Tutsi and Hutu women (e.g. "admitted they were afraid"). Highlight "the turning point" on your list. In one sentence describe how the actions of the women changed their circumstances. Now identify groups in your state, community, or church who have experienced conflict and for whom the Rwandan women could be a model.



2008

Dr. Jo Anne Lyon becomes the first female General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Church.



2013

Reverend Elizabeth A. Eaton is the first woman to be elected as Presiding Bishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America.

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Glossary

1,000-day window: The 1,000 days from pregnancy through a child's second birthday that is the most crucial in human development. Without adequate nutrition during this period, children can suffer permanent setbacks to their cognitive and physical development.

Affordable Care Act: The U.S. health care law (a.k.a. Obamacare) signed by President Obama in 2010 that aims to improve access to health coverage for low-income Americans.

Ambassador for Global Women's Issues: The head of the Office of Global Women's Issues that was created in 2009 and is located in the U.S. State Department.

Capacity building: Development assistance specifically designed to build skills and/or technical and management capacity among the beneficiaries.

Civil society: The sphere of civic action outside of the government comprised of citizens' groups, such as nongovernmental organizations, religious congregations, academic institutions, labor unions and foundations.

Collective bargaining: A process of negotiation and decision-making that accounts for the interests of both employers and employees.

Conditional cash transfer: A government transfer of cash based on conditions that promote poverty reduction and long-term self-sufficiency, such as enrolling children in schools, regular medical check-ups, vaccinations, or more nutritious eating.

Deep poverty: A level of poverty in the United States defined as household income at or below 50 percent of the poverty threshold.

Developed countries: Highly industrialized nations such as the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany and Japan; also referred to as high-income.

Developing countries: These include low- and middle-income countries, where extreme poverty and hardship are common.

Development assistance: Grants and loans to developing countries by donors to spur economic development and poverty reduction.

Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA): Eligible employees are permitted to take up to 12 weeks of unpaid, job-protected leave for specified family and medical reasons, such as for the birth of a child and to care for a newborn.

Feed the Future: The U.S. government's global hunger and food security initiative, through which the United States works with host governments, development partners, and other stakeholders to sustainably tackle the root causes of global poverty and hunger.

Food insecurity: Uncertain availability or inability to acquire safe, nutritious food in socially acceptable ways.

Food security: Assured access to enough nutritious food to sustain an active and healthy life with dignity.

Fragile state: A low- or middle-income country where the government is at considerable risk of being deposed and/or the potential exists for internal conflict.

Full employment: When everyone willing and able to work can find a job. Full employment does not mean everyone of working age is employed. Some people voluntarily take themselves out of the labor force—for example, to care for a child or to pursue postsecondary education.

Gender: Differences between women and men that are learned, changeable over time, and have wide variations both within and between societies and cultures.

Gender analysis: A process of analysis intended to ensure the benefits of policies and resources are equitably targeted to both women and men.

Gender equality: The different behaviors, aspirations and needs of women and men are valued and treated equally.

Gender wage gap: The gap in earnings between the earnings of men and women.

Governance: The norms by which a government operates, measured in terms such as transparency, accountability, rule of law and strength of institutions.

Great Recession: The worst economic downturn in the United States since the Great Depression. It started in December 2007 with the bursting of a housing bubble that led to a financial crisis and a steep rise in unemployment. The severity of the downturn in the United States spread to other countries leading to a global recession.

Gross domestic product (GDP): The value of all goods and services produced within a nation during a specified period, usually a year.

Group of 8 (G-8): The wealthiest industrial countries: Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, United Kingdom and United States.

Human capital: The education, knowledge, skills, and capabilities people possess that can affect their economic potential and contribute to the economic potential of society.

Human development: An expansion of opportunities resulting from improvements in one's economic, health, and educational wellbeing.

Human rights: Basic rights and freedoms that all people are entitled regardless of gender, race, class, ethnicity, or other status.

Human trafficking: The illegal trade of human beings, through abduction, the use of threat of force, deception, fraud, or "sale" for the purposes of sexual exploitation or forced labor.

Hunger: A condition in which people do not get enough food to provide the nutrients (carbohydrate, fat, protein, vitamins, minerals and water) for fully productive, active and healthy lives.

Income inequality: The unequal distribution of income across major social groups or classes in a given society.

Informal sector: Economic activity that takes place among unincorporated, unregistered enterprises and in which workers have few legal or social protections.

Least developed countries (LDCs): Low-income countries that suffer from long-term hardships to economic growth, in particular low levels of human resource development and/or severe structural weakness.

Malnutrition: An abnormal physiological condition caused by inadequate, unbalanced or excessive consumption of macronutrients and/or micronutrients. Malnutrition includes undernutrition and overnutrition as well as micronutrient deficiencies.

Mandatory minimum sentences: Prison terms of a particular length for people convicted of certain federal and state crimes.

Millennium Development Goals (MDGs): A global agreement officially adopted at the United Nations in the year 2000. The goals serve as a road map for development outcomes to be achieved by 2015.

Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs): Groups and institutions that are entirely or largely independent of government and that have primarily humanitarian or cooperative rather than commercial objectives.

Pastoralists: People whose livelihoods depend on livestock for some or all of their subsistence. They tend to be nomadic.

Poverty: The lack of sufficient money or resources to provide the basic needs of survival for oneself and one's family. The international poverty line is an income equivalent to \$1.25 per day. In the United State, poverty thresholds vary according to family size. In 2014, a family of four is in poverty with annual income below \$24,000.

Producer group: An enterprise in which each member of the group participates in determining the organization of production, sales and/or other work, investments and the distribution of proceeds among the members.

Safety nets: Government policies and charitable programs designed to ensure basic needs are met among low-income, disabled and other vulnerable social groups.

Scaling Up Nutrition (SUN) movement: An international movement uniting people—from governments, civil society, the United Nations, donors, businesses and researchers—in a collective effort to improve nutrition. The partners collaborate to implement programs with shared nutrition goals and mobilize resources to effectively scale up nutrition, with a core focus on empowering women.

Second Chance Act: Federal legislation that provides grants to states and local governments to promote the safe and successful reintegration into the community of individuals who have been incarcerated.

Smallholder farmer: A farmer who works a small plot of land, generally less than five acres. The greatest number of people living in extreme poverty consists of smallholder farmers and their families.

Social norms: A socially constructed set of rules and patterns of behavior defining what is considered normal by members of a particular reference group.

Social protection: A cash or in-kind transfer to a household to protect against financial hardship resulting from conditions such as disability, old age, poor health, unemployment, care of children or elderly, food insecurity, or lack of housing.

Stunting: A result of chronic malnutrition during the formative years of childhood. The most visible sign is when a child fails to grow to normal height, but may also result in decreased mental capacity and long-term health problems for the rest of a person's life.

Subsistence farming: A form of agriculture where almost all production is consumed by the household.

Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP): Previously called the Food Stamp Program, SNAP supplements the food budgets of low-income households with monthly benefits in the form of an electronic benefits (EBT) card that they can use like cash at authorized retail stores.

Sustainable development: The reduction of hunger and poverty in environmentally sound ways.

Sustainable development goals: A set of goals expected to succeed the Millennium Development Goals after 2015 and that will last through 2030. The precise number of goals and their targets remain under negotiation.

Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF): Monthly cash assistance program for poor families with children under age 18, sometimes referred to as welfare, and formerly known as Aid to Families with Dependent Children before Welfare Reform legislation in 1996.

Unpaid care work: The provision of services within a household for other household members.

Value chain: The full sequence of activities or functions required to bring a product or service from conception, through intermediary steps of production, transformation, marketing, and delivery to the final consumers.

Women's empowerment: The process by which women become aware of gender-based unequal power relationships and acquire a greater voice in which to speak out against the inequality found in the home, workplace, and community.

Millennium Development Goals: Progress Chart to Date

This chart provides an overview of progress on the eight Millennium Development Goals. Progress or lack of progress differs in every state, so regional overviews provide a snapshot at an aggregated level. In some instances, trends are driven by high performance or lack of performance by one or a small group of countries.

Goals and Targets	Africa		Asia				Oceania	Latin America and the Caribbean	Caucasus and Central Asia
	Northern	Sub-Saharan	Eastern	South-Eastern	Southern	Western			

GOAL 1 | Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger

Reduce extreme poverty by half	low poverty	very high poverty	moderate poverty	moderate poverty	very high poverty	low poverty	very high poverty	low poverty	low poverty
Productive and decent employment	large deficit	very large deficit	moderate deficit	large deficit	very large deficit	large deficit	very large deficit	moderate deficit	moderate deficit
Reduce hunger by half	low hunger	high hunger	moderate hunger	moderate hunger	high hunger	moderate hunger	moderate hunger	moderate hunger	moderate hunger

GOAL 2 | Achieve universal primary education

Universal primary schooling	high enrolment	moderate enrolment	high enrolment	high enrolment	high enrolment	high enrolment	moderate enrolment	high enrolment	high enrolment
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GOAL 3 | Promote gender equality and empower women

Equal girls' enrolment in primary school	close to parity	close to parity	parity	parity	parity	close to parity	close to parity	parity	parity
Women's share of paid employment	low share	medium share	high share	medium share	low share	low share	medium share	high share	high share
Women's equal representation in national parliaments	moderate representation	moderate representation	moderate representation	low representation	low representation	low representation	very low representation	moderate representation	low representation

GOAL 4 | Reduce child mortality

Reduce mortality of under-five-year-olds by two thirds	low mortality	high mortality	low mortality	low mortality	moderate mortality	low mortality	moderate mortality	low mortality	low mortality
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GOAL 5 | Improve maternal health

Reduce maternal mortality by three quarters	low mortality	very high mortality	low mortality	moderate mortality	moderate mortality	low mortality	moderate mortality	low mortality	low mortality
Access to reproductive health	moderate access	low access	high access	moderate access	moderate access	moderate access	low access	high access	moderate access

GOAL 6 | Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases

Halt and begin to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS	low incidence	high incidence	low incidence	low incidence	low incidence	low incidence	low incidence	low incidence	low incidence
Halt and reverse the spread of tuberculosis	low mortality	moderate mortality	low mortality	moderate mortality	moderate mortality	low mortality	high mortality	low mortality	low mortality

GOAL 7 | Ensure environmental sustainability

Halve proportion of population without improved drinking water	high coverage	low coverage	high coverage	moderate coverage	high coverage	high coverage	low coverage	high coverage	moderate coverage
Halve proportion of population without sanitation	high coverage	very low coverage	low coverage	low coverage	very low coverage	moderate coverage	very low coverage	moderate coverage	high coverage
Improve the lives of slum-dwellers	moderate proportion of slum-dwellers	very high proportion of slum-dwellers	moderate proportion of slum-dwellers	high proportion of slum-dwellers	high proportion of slum-dwellers	moderate proportion of slum-dwellers	moderate proportion of slum-dwellers	moderate proportion of slum-dwellers	—

GOAL 8 | Develop a global partnership for development

Internet users	high usage	moderate usage	high usage	high usage	moderate usage	high usage	moderate usage	high usage	high usage
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The progress chart operates on two levels. The words in each box indicate the present degree of compliance with the target. The colours show progress towards the target according to the legend below:

■ Target already met or expected to be met by 2015. ■ Progress insufficient to reach the target if prevailing trends persist. ■ No progress or deterioration. ■ Missing or insufficient data.

For the regional groupings and country data, see mdgs.un.org. Country experiences in each region may differ significantly from the regional average. Due to new data and revised methodologies, this Progress Chart is not comparable with previous versions.

Sources: United Nations, based on data and estimates provided by: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations; Inter-Parliamentary Union; International Labour Organization; International Telecommunication Union; UNAIDS; UNESCO; UN-Habitat; UNICEF; UN Population Division; World Bank; World Health Organization—based on statistics available as of June 2014.

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American Baptist Churches USA World Relief supports, enables and encourages emergency relief, refugee work, disaster rehabilitation, and development assistance. It is funded by the One Great Hour of Sharing offering. It is the responsibility of the World Relief Committee to designate where donations will go in the coming year. Today, One Great Hour of Sharing serves

people in over 80 countries around the world. Sponsored by nine Christian U.S. denominations and Church World Service, One Great Hour of Sharing makes sure that it can respond to needs as soon as they happen and that tens of thousands of people receive support for ongoing relief, rehabilitation, and development.

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Bon Secours Health System headquartered in Marriottsville, Maryland, is a \$2.4 billion not-for-profit Catholic health system that owns, manages, or joint ventures 18 acute-care hospitals, one psychiatric hospital, five nursing care facilities, five assisted living facilities, and 15 home care and hospice programs. Bon Secours' more than 16,000 caregivers help people in seven states, primarily on the East Coast. The Mission of Bon Secours Health System is to bring compassion to health care and to be good help to those in need, especially those who are poor and dying. As a system of caregivers, we commit ourselves to help bring people and communities to health and wholeness as part of the healing ministry of Jesus Christ and the Catholic Church.

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Canadian Foodgrains Bank is a partnership of all major Canadian

church-based agencies working to end hunger in developing countries. In addition to cash donations, substantial amounts of food grain are donated directly from Canadian farmers and from more than 200 community groups that collectively grow crops for donation to the Canadian Foodgrains Bank. Hunger-related programming is supported by the Foodgrains Bank through its 15 member agencies and includes food aid, food security, nutrition programming, and food justice.

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Winnipeg Manitoba
Canada R3C 2L4
Phone: (204) 944-1993
Toll Free: (800) 665.0377
cfgb@foodgrainsbank.ca
www.foodgrainsbank.ca

Catholic Charities, U.S.A. includes more than 1,700 local agencies and institutions nationwide, providing help and creating hope for more than 8.5 million people of all faiths. More than half of Catholic Charities services are in food services: food banks and pantries, soup kitchens, congregate dining and home delivered meals. For more than 280 years, Catholic Charities agencies have been providing vital services in their communities, ranging from day care and counseling to emergency assistance and housing.

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www.catholiccharitiesusa.org

Church World Service works with local organizations worldwide to support sustainable development, meet emergency needs, help the displaced, and address the root causes of poverty, hunger and powerlessness. Founded in 1946, Church World Service works in partnership with local organizations worldwide to support sustainable development, meet emergency needs, and address the root causes of poverty and hunger.

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New York, NY 10115-0050 USA
Phone: (800) 297-1516
www.churchworldservice.org

Community of Christ engages the church and others in a response to the needs of hungry people throughout the world. Its primary purpose is to support programs of food production, storage and distribution; fund projects to provide potable water; supply farm animals; instruct in food preparation and nutrition; and educate in marketing strategies for produce. It also seeks to advocate for the hungry and educate about the causes and alleviation of hunger in the world.

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Evangelical Covenant Church is an effective and efficient humanitarian aid ministry of the Evangelical Covenant Church with a 60-year history. Covenant World Relief collaborates with partners around the world to provide relief, rehabilitation, and transformational community development. These partnerships empower local ministries, increase local involvement, reduce overhead and facilitate an immediate response to disaster and human suffering. Our charge is to love, serve and work

together with the poor, the powerless, and the marginalized.

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Blog: <http://blogs.covchurch.org/cwr>
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Evangelical Lutheran Church in America World Hunger is the anti-hunger program of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America. It responds to hunger and poverty in the United States and around the world by addressing root causes. Through a comprehensive program of relief, development, education, and advocacy, people are connected to the resources they need to lift themselves out of poverty. The international work of ELCA World Hunger is carried out through ELCA companion relationships as well as through trusted partners like Lutheran World Relief (LWR) and The Lutheran World Federation (LWF). Because of these long-held connections to partners around the world, ELCA World Hunger efforts are efficient and effective. The domestic work of ELCA World Hunger is carried out primarily through the Domestic Hunger Grants Program (relief, development, and community organizing projects).

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Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations was founded with a mandate to raise levels of nutrition and standards of living, improve agricultural productivity and better the condition of rural populations. FAO is also a source of knowledge and information, helping

developing countries and countries in transition modernize and improve agriculture, forestry and fisheries practices.

Viale delle Terme di Caracalla
00153 Rome, Italy
Phone: +39 06 57051
www.fao.org

Foods Resource Bank is a Christian response to world hunger. Its goal is for hungry people to know the dignity and hope of feeding themselves by making it possible for them, through sustainable smallholder agricultural programs, to produce food for their families with extra to share, barter or sell. Foods Resource Bank endeavors to build networks with various agricultural communities in “growing projects” in the United States, allowing participants to give a gift only they can give. These volunteers grow crops or raise animals, sell them in the United States and the resulting money is used by implementing members (denominations and their agencies) to establish food security programs abroad.

4479 Central Avenue
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Phone: (312) 612-1939
www.FoodsResourceBank.org

Lutheran World Relief acts on behalf of U.S. Lutherans in response to natural disasters, humanitarian crises and chronic poverty in some 50 countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East. In partnership with local organizations, LWR supports more than 150 community projects to improve food production, health care, environment and employment, with special emphasis on training and gender equality. LWR monitors legislation on foreign aid and development, and advocates for public policies that address the root causes of hunger and poverty. LWR values the God-given gifts that each person

can bring to the task of promoting peace, justice and human dignity. LWR began its work in 1945.

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Sisters of Charity of the Incarnate Word is an international congregation of women religious. Who we are and what we do is grounded in a dynamic belief that our loving God became fully human in the person of Jesus. In this act of becoming human, God invites all creation to share in Divine Life. This belief compels us to act to make God's love real in the world by promoting human dignity, especially among the most vulnerable.

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United Methodist Committee on Relief is the not-for-profit global humanitarian aid organization of the United Methodist Church. UMCOR is working in more than 80 countries worldwide, including the United States. Our mission, grounded in the teachings of Jesus, is to alleviate human suffering—whether caused by war, conflict or natural disaster, with open hearts and minds to all people. UMCOR responds to natural or civil disasters that are interruptions of such magnitude that they overwhelm a community's ability to recover on its own. We partner with people to rebuild their communities, livelihoods, health, and homes. In times of acute crisis, we mobilize aid to stricken areas—emergency supplies, fresh water, and temporary shelter—and then stay, as long as it takes, to implement long-term recovery and rehabilitation.

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World Relief serves the most vulnerable, regardless of religion, race, ethnicity or gender. In 20 countries and 20 locations in the United States, World Relief's innovative ministries focus on economic development, health and social development, and refugee care. World Relief equips churches to minister to people's physical, emotional and spiritual needs. Since 1944, World Relief has been empowering churches to serve the world's most vulnerable.

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www.whoms.org

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www.wms-amec.org

World Hope International
www.worldhope.org

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www.crwrc.org

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