



Evaluation of Gender within the Livelihoods Programme on Nias Island, Indonesia

Full Report

Oxfam GB Programme Evaluation

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1. Executive Summary

Since the tragedies of the December 2004 tsunami and March 2005 earthquake, numerous international agencies have arrived on Nias Island to implement emergency response, rehabilitation and reconstruction programs. While there has been significant process in rebuilding the island, to date there has been little focus on ensuring gender equitable access to humanitarian or development programming.

The Oxfam livelihood program was established in December 2005. The first phase established community based livelihood groups then expanded to support cocoa and rubber producers in rural and coastal areas. It is due to be completed at the end of 2007.

This report was commissioned by Oxfam Nias in March-April 2007 to assess gender issues as they relate to livelihoods on Nias, with the aim of recommending ways that Oxfam can further support women in targeted rural and urban communities. The primary source of information was a series of focus group discussions with groups of women and groups of men in villages where the Oxfam livelihood programs currently operate, focusing on issues including the gendered division of labour, asset ownership and decision making processes within households and the community.

While women and men in Nias share a range of livelihood responsibilities, there are clear patterns of gendered division of labour in regards to many domestic, agricultural and other income generating activities.

A central finding, contrary to commonly held views, is that both men and women are involved in all aspects of rubber production. Rubber is one of the largest cash crops in Nias undertaken primarily by small-holder farmers. Women have the lead role in tapping, collecting and processing rubber. While men are involved, they are more likely in some areas to undertake off-farm livelihood activities such as fishing or paid employment. This leaves the bulk of the rubber farming and management to women. It is a similar case for cocoa production, where women are actively involved in maintaining cocoa plots, harvesting and processing. Where men do not have off-farm work they are more involved in these sectors.

However in both sectors, Oxfam's support to farmers has primarily been targeted at men, who have benefited from training and inputs.

Women have the responsibility for looking after all aspects of pig production, a vital economic and social resource for Christian communities on Nias. They grow the fodder, feed the pigs and look after their general health. However it is the men who sell the pigs or pig products.

The two sectors that are male dominated are fishing and paid employment. Men undertake all aspects of catching and selling fresh fish, although women are involved through drying, salting and selling any excess. The women in this study did not have access to paid employment.

Domestic labour in and around the home is overwhelmingly the role of women, and is done in addition to the many other working roles they are responsible for. While they are helped by their children, their working days may be up to 5 hours longer than men, who have little involvement in domestic work.

Men have ownership and control over most household assets. Land is the major productive assets of most households, being the source of most household food and cash income. Sons inherit land through the patriarchal family line, with women having no inheritance entitlements. Women have a major role in managing the land, although men maintain control over decisions regarding its use, whether the land is considered a shared asset or not.

Cash income is a major household assets produced by both men and women. Money that men earn is considered to pay for the daily needs of the household, while the women's income is saved to use in times of shortage. Overwhelmingly cash is looked after by women. Women will purchase household needs, although will need to discuss any purchases with their husbands prior to spending anything. Men and women in some communities suggested that women would be hit by their husbands if they spent any money without permission. Men often keep part of the money they earn, particularly for cigarettes and alcohol.

The only productive assets that women have control and ownership over are the equipment for sewing and cake making. This was said to be the case both because women had purchased these items themselves, and that the men had no involvement in utilising this equipment.

Women in the Transitional Living Centres (TLC's) face many of the same issues as women in rural areas. However, there are some differences given that most families are landless with very few productive assets. In particular, most men have external employment or are fishermen. Because there is a lack of productive land or other income generating opportunities, some women do have some free time, allowing them to work on small scale income earning activities during the day. If men were not engaged in work in the afternoons, some said they passed the time 'smoking, sleeping and walking around'.

Many community decisions are made at community meetings, including those facilitated by agencies such as Oxfam. However, these forums are overwhelmingly dominated by men. If women do have the time to attend, they are given little space to participate, with their input potentially vetoed by the men. The experience of Oxfam staff confirms this, with some finding it difficult to engage women in these forums. In addition, communities in Nias have had little experience with consultative processes, particularly consultation with women. Some men have challenged the need to speak separately to women at all.

One of the issues discussed with community members was whether they had suggestions on how households and particularly women might improve their livelihood activities. Few people could see alternative livelihood outside of the current types of activities undertaken in their area, which reflects the limited livelihood experience or access to information for many people in these communities. This was most evident in the remote rural areas.

However there were some suggestions of areas women thought they could improve. These included increasing skills in traditional areas of such making cakes and sewing, increase their knowledge of pig and other livestock health and rearing, increase their skills in growing vegetables, improve knowledge on cocoa and rubber diseases and management, support to set up small shops or other businesses, or access credit to do so, and for men to access improved fishing equipment or increase their farming skills. While some women did not feel they had the time to learn new skills, most women and men were eager to take on new skills or receive inputs that would help their livelihood prospects.

There have been efforts to support the livelihoods needs of women into the first phase of Oxfam's livelihoods program, which is demonstrated by the number of female participants in the program. However there have also been many challenges to implementing gender equitable programs on Nias such as entrenched gender discrimination, staff capacity and support issues and the sheer size of scale up in the Aceh Nias program, which has led to gaps, some of them serious.

Some areas where the role and needs of women have not been addressed include the program assessment process, community consultation processes, targeting of livelihood groups, targeting of the rubber and cocoa sector, which have very few women beneficiaries and the capacity building of community facilitators.

While one aim of this report was to recommend ways to further support women within Oxfam's livelihoods program in Nias, there are limitations of how the program can be amended to appropriately target women at this late stage. However there are some opportunities; Oxfam should ensure that the remaining livelihood programming addresses the needs of women where possible by -

- Consulting Women
- Targeting women, not just men, for community training
- Ensuring Livelihood Groups better address options for women
- Ensure that women are supported in pig rearing activities
- Ensure women are involved in the planned vegetable, cocoa and rubber demonstration plots
- Community facilitators trained in gender awareness
- Dedicate time for mentoring staff in the field
- Promote the sharing of information on gender issues within other actors Nias
- Holding BRR accountable to its Aceh-Nias gender strategy.

2. Introduction

Since the tragedies of the December 2004 tsunami and March 2005 earthquake, numerous International Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) and International Government agencies have arrived on Nias Island to implement emergency response, rehabilitation and reconstruction programs. While there has been significant process in rebuilding the island, to date there has been little focus on ensuring gender equitable access to humanitarian or development programming.

Oxfam began working in Nias immediately following the March 2005 earthquake, initially through an integrated public health program. In December 2005, Oxfam's livelihood program was established focusing on increasing the livelihood opportunities of cocoa and rubber farming communities and Internally Displaced People (IDP) populations.

This report was commissioned by Oxfam Nias in March-April 2007 to assess gender issues as they relate to livelihoods on Nias, with the aim of recommending interventions that will support the livelihoods of women in targeted rural and urban communities. It accompanies a gender assessment for Oxfam's Public Health program in Nias, which was completed in February 2007.

The report begins with a broad overview of gender within Oxfam's mandate and the context of the Oxfam Nias livelihoods program. From there it details information gathered from a series of community consultations with female and male beneficiaries of Oxfam's program related to gendered division of labour, asset ownership, community decision making and other issues relevant to livelihoods in Nias. This is followed by a review of how gender considerations have impacted on the current livelihoods program, and concludes with a set of recommendations that would assist the remainder of Oxfam's livelihoods program to target women and men in an equitable way. Unless indicated, the information is sourced directly from community members of Nias.

3. Gender Policies at Oxfam

Oxfam has strong policies on gender mainstreaming in recognition that women make up the vast majority of the people around the globe living in extreme poverty. Oxfam GB's gender policy includes the four key principles that -

- Throughout the organisation, we will base our work on a common understanding that gender equality is key to overcoming poverty and suffering
- We will work with both women and men to address the specific ideas and beliefs that create and reinforce gender related poverty
- Women and girls will be empowered through all aspects of our program and ways of working, and we will often prioritise work which specifically raises the status of women
- Our own internal practices, and ways of working, will reflect our commitment to gender equality

There are non-negotiable minimum standards for integrating gender equity into all aspects of the agency's work. Program non-negotiables dictate that all new Program Implementation Plans¹ must properly address gender issues, which will, inform the program objectives, projects, monitoring indicators and budget.

The information gathered from this gender analysis will be able to inform Oxfam Nias's livelihoods program so that women can be targeted in the ways most relevant to their livelihood activities and aspirations, that Oxfam can uphold the rights of women, promote gender equality in Nias and meet its organisational commitments for the remaining duration of program implementation.

4. Oxfam Nias Livelihood Program

Oxfam's livelihood program began in December 2005, focusing on villages and Transitional Living Centres (TLCs, formerly IDP camps) that were impacted by the natural disasters and where Oxfam was already implementing its public health program. The project design was based on a three day assessment undertaken in June 2005, which recommended that the focus be on supporting small scale producers and

¹ Program Implementation Plans are Oxfam GB's program design document and authorisation mechanism

the marketing infrastructure for cocoa, rubber and fisheries. It also recommended that Oxfam support financial service infrastructure to increase investment capital for processing facilities in Nias. This would increase value adding to the primary produce on Nias, creating higher sale prices for small holder farmers. The outcomes as stated in the 2006 program logframe are -

1. 1500 vulnerable primary producer households in five sub-districts have increased income due to better access to market and are benefiting from new technology and skills.
2. 60 groups of women and men in five sub-districts have improved access to financial services for business development
3. 1 medium scale processing facilities increasing profit margin for local producers

The program did not begin until December 2005 due to staffing and recruitment issues. The first phase of the project focused on establishing livelihood micro credit groups in rural areas and TLCs, capacity building for the groups and undertaking a value chain analysis for the rubber and cocoa sectors.

During 2006, the livelihood program expanded to support cocoa and rubber producing communities in coastal and hinterland areas. Support to household in these communities included inputs of improved stock varieties, training in farming practices and crop diversity and the establishment of producer livelihood groups. In the TLCs, Oxfam continued its focus on supporting livelihood groups, which included support to groups working on activities such as cake making, tailoring, fishing and goat rearing.

In 2007 the livelihoods program continues to work in the districts of Gido, Tuhemberua, Idanogawo, Bawalato, Sawo and TLCs in the Gunung Sitoli Idanoi area.

While the program plan states that it aims to support vulnerable women and men and to increase women's control over household income, there has been no gender analysis undertaken to date to base this on.

5. Methodology of Gender Analysis

This study was undertaken over a six week period from 12th March 2007 to 20th April 2007. Several sources of information have been drawn on.

The primary source of information was a series of focus group discussions (FGD) with groups of men and groups of women in villages where the Oxfam livelihoods program currently operates. Locations were chosen on their geographical spread, to cover a diverse range of livelihood activities and availability of Oxfam staff. The FGD format is provided in Annex One. All participants were either direct beneficiaries of Oxfam's livelihoods program or their family members. Meetings were held in five villages and two TLCs, as listed below.

Village/Camp	Subdistrict	Sector
Islamic Centre	Gunung Sitoli	IDPs
Möawö	Gunung Sitoli	IDPs
Hilalawae	Idanogawo	Cocoa and rubber
Hiliduruwa (women only)	Tuhemberua	Rubber and some Cocoa
Silimabanua	Tuhemberua	Rubber and some Cocoa
Sisarahili (women only)	Tuhemberua	Rubber and some cocoa
Lauri	Gido	Rubber and Cocoa

A total of fourteen meetings were held – eight with groups of women and six with groups of men. Between five and twelve people in total attended each meeting, with a total of over one hundred participants. Group discussions focused on the gender division of labour, asset ownership and control, community participation and livelihood aspirations.

Discussions were undertaken with staff from other NGOs operating in Nias and with Oxfam's Livelihood staff, looking at issues such as the knowledge of gender relations in Nias, the experiences of working with men and women in the communities and how women could be further targeted in the programs.

Information was also sourced from Oxfam's Household Situation Analysis survey that was undertaken in March 2007 with seventy households, and a review undertaken of all relevant program documentation from

the design process and earlier phases of the program, program notes and sitreps from former Oxfam Livelihood staff and other internal and external documentation on programs in Nias.

It is important to note that the community members who participated in this survey may not necessarily be a representative sample of the whole island. Participants were Oxfam beneficiaries who had been selected against a specific set of criteria, from specific regions and sectors. While it is unlikely that there would be major differences between the participants in this study and the general population, there may be variation in local livelihood activities across the island.

Constraints

Focus groups discussions were undertaken with the aid of a male interpreter. English speaking interpreters are in short supply in Nias and as a result we were unable to recruit a female interpreter. This was not ideal for talking to groups of women and may have had an impact on what the women were prepared to say. Additionally the interpreter was inexperienced, which may have resulted in some misinterpretation in both the questions asked of community members and the answers provided by them.

Many meetings were held in communal areas with easy access for other community or family members. At some of the meetings with women, the Kepala Desa, (village leader) and other inquisitive men would sit nearby and listen in and at times make their own comments. While subtle attempts were made to have them leave or to be quiet, staff did not think it appropriate to directly ask the village leader or others to leave. Some women may have found this somewhat intimidating and may have self-censored their answers.

Few people in the communities in this study had much spare time, so spending up to two hours in a group discussion was not possible for many. Most work in their gardens or fields for most part of the day, only returning to their villages for lunch. As such, most meetings were held during the lunch break. In a number of instances people could only come to part of the meeting, either leaving or arriving during the discussions. In two villages it was not possible to hold meetings with groups of men as they had returned to their work by the time the meetings with the women had finished.

6. The Gender Context in Nias

Nias is a very patriarchal society. However, there are several key issues that particularly impact on the social and economic status of women in Nias society.

Jujuran – Bride Wealth

One of the most important gendered issues in Nias is a dowry system, known as *Jujuran* or Bride Wealth. Under this tradition, men are expected to pay significantly large amounts of money, pigs, gold and other valuables to their prospective wife's male family members. The amount is negotiated between the couple's family members, and can be up to 70 - 100 million rupiah. Given the average daily income for an unskilled worker on Nias is currently 25,000 IDR², this creates a large financial strain for families. Often the husband and his family will borrow money or sell land and other assets to cover the cost which the family unit, including the wife are expected to repay. This results in women often being considered as a commodity, as paying the *Jujuran* is effectively purchasing the women from her family³. She will leave her family home and become part of her husband's family, with the expectation that she will support him and his extended family members. A number of women in the FGDs described themselves as 'just the workers', reflecting their status as a commodity. This attitude is more entrenched in the rural areas.

Inheritance

Inheritance of assets, including land is patrilineal, being shared by the sons in a family; female children have no inheritance entitlement as they are considered to belong to the husband's household once married. The exception to this is inheriting a husband's debts. If a woman is widowed, she will still be responsible for paying any debts that the husband had accumulated through paying the *Jujuran*⁴. If a woman is widowed she may still be able to live off the productive assets of her husband, but ownership will go to her husband's family or to her sons.

² Save the Children 2006 – *Nias Island Livelihoods; An Overview*, Save the Children, Nias.

³ UNDP 2007 – personal comment

⁴ UNDP 2007 – personal comment

Education and Literacy

The literacy and education levels of women in Nias are lower than men. While there are few sources of statistics on illiteracy rates, some villagers indicated around 40 percent illiteracy rates for women, and slightly lower from men. However this varies between locations, with rural areas having higher illiteracy rates for women, some up to 70%. Most elderly people are illiterate. In addition, many women do not speak Bahasa Indonesia, the official National language of Indonesia.

Nias has a limited education facilities and qualified teachers. While most villages now have access to elementary level schooling, there are few facilities for high school or technical training. To attend school many children would either have to walk long distances to the closest school or board at the nearest town with school facilities. The cost of doing this is prohibitive for many families, although those with some resources for education will give priority to boys over girls⁵. This was been confirmed by some community members who participated in this research. Instead of schooling, girls will support their mothers with domestic and farm labour, or will be responsible for looking after smaller siblings when their mother is working in the fields.

7. Gendered Division of labour

While women and men share a range of livelihood responsibilities, there are clear patterns of gendered division of labour in regards to many domestic, agricultural and other income generating activities. The main activities undertaken by the participants are described below, with a table format of the division of labour provided in Annex Two. While there were some clear patterns of labour described by both men and women, there are variations between different locations and within families. There were few differences in the responses given by men and women, although men tended to claim they did a larger proportion of the work than the women said they did.

One point of note is that a number of participants, both men and women stated that men do the heavy work that requires strength. This was primarily clearing and hoeing fields, pruning, house maintenance and at times help to carry firewood. However, this discounts work that women undertake on a daily basis that is not considered hard labour. Women have the prime responsibility for collecting and carrying heavy loads of water and firewood, they walk long distances to their fields, transport large loads on their heads all the while taking responsibility for children, some carrying the smaller ones. In addition they often work along side the men doing the 'heavy' work, although their work tends not to be defined as such.

7.1 Rubber production

Rubber production is one of the main sources of income for many households, and is one of the key sectors of this study. A detailed gender breakdown of the activities in rubber production is provided in Annex Three. Men and women are involved in all aspects of rubber production, although the extent of labour contributed by men is variable.

In fishing communities men spend most days or evenings out on their boats, leaving most of the work in the rubber plantations to women. In the dry season women go out early to tap the trees, which takes several hours. Women also have a greater role in maintaining the rubber plantations, through activities such as weeding, with men helping if they do not go out fishing. The latex is collected once or twice a week either by women or their children. Women will prepare the latex in a block, with very little additional processing done in Nias. In fishing villages it is common for the women to deal directly with the rubber traders who visit the villages every week, although if men are at home they will undertake any trading transactions. When men are not out fishing, they may help with the tapping.

In the hill areas where men's livelihoods are farm based, they are more involved in rubber production. They will participate in tapping and collecting rubber, although women still tend do the majority of this work. Men are more involved in weeding, site maintenance and the basic processing, and have a greater role in dealing with the traders who regularly visit the villages. Women may sell small amounts of rubber to the traders, although some women suggested that they do not have the capacity to deal with larger amounts as the traders may cheat them on the prices.

⁵ Save the Children 2006 – *Household Economy and Access to Education and Health, Nias Island*, Save the Children, Nias.

In all cases seedlings or other inputs are usually sourced by men, although often seedlings are cared for by women until they are planted out. Men are involved in the decision making and labour of site preparation and planting out of seedlings, with the work shared by women and children.

For the highest production levels, rubber needs to be tapped early in the morning. However in most areas women said that at times they do not have time in the morning as they have domestic, childcare and other work to attend to. They may instead go out in the afternoons, although this reduces amount of latex produced by the rubber trees.

7.2 Cocoa Production

Cocoa is a major export crop in Nias; it has been widely planted over the last decade, and is one of the sectoral focuses of Oxfam's livelihood program. Men and woman are involved in all aspects of production, although do focus on different areas. A table format for the gendered breakdown of activities is provided in Annex Four.

Men have the primary role in sourcing and selecting new seed or seedling stock for cocoa. However women share the role of sowing seeds, including into the Oxfam supplied polybags, and caring for the seedlings. The whole family will work together to clear fields and plant out seedlings as it is a large job, although men will usually select and plan the sites.

Weeding and basic maintenance of cocoa plantations is a regular and on-going task that is undertaken by both men and women, although women tend to do more of this work. They are often helped by their children, both boys and girls. While women have a major role in managing the trees, some stated that they had very little knowledge on the common diseases and insects that can attack the trees and pods, so were unable to prevent or treat these attacks. However men had a similar lack of knowledge in this area. Very few people applied fertiliser as the price is prohibitive and they do not have experience in producing compost.

Pruning is a job that is almost exclusively done by men. Many said that men do this task as they are taller, stronger and that it is difficult work. However it is not a common task, with Oxfam's evaluation indicating that less than forty percent of farmers who received training went on to prune their cocoa trees. This was confirmed by visits to several cocoa plots where there was little evidence of regular pruning.

Harvesting and processing the cocoa pods are activities primarily carried out by women. Men may help at times to harvest, as do boys and girls, particularly if there is a lot to do. On average pods are harvested once per week, with very basic processing such as drying of the beans. The cocoa and rubber assessment undertaken by Oxfam indicate that very little processing is done by farmers, which impacts on the quality of the cocoa beans they produce⁶.

Both women and men are involved in selling cocoa; there is no clear gender distinction. Some villages have traders that come to the villages, others take their produce to the traders at the pekan, the local weekly market. Both men and women were involved in transporting cocoa and dealing with the traders. In some villages men took the lead role in selling, particularly if it is sold at the pekan.

7.3 Pig Rearing

In Christian communities pigs are a major household asset and have great social and cultural importance. Pigs are a sign of wealth, are traditionally eaten at celebrations and form part of the jujuran payment. They are both a status symbol as well as an investment that is sold in times of need.

Women have the sole responsibility for managing all aspects of pig rearing. They grow, harvest and prepare the fodder (namely sweet potato leaves, which needs to be chopped for the pigs to eat), feed their pigs up to three times a day, and provide general care for the animals. Women are often helped by their children, particularly girls. The extensive sweet potato gardens in urban and rural areas across Nias are testament to the importance of pigs in Nias communities and the workload it entails.

The role of men varied from no help at all, to helping at times, particularly if rain or other factors prevented them from undertaking other work. It is not uncommon to see men helping to carry loads of sweet potato leaves. However, although women manage all aspects of pig rearing, men take control of any decisions to

⁶ Michael Schultz and Purwanto Adi Nugroho, 2006. *Oxfam Nias Strategy to Help Poor Cocoa and Rubber Farmers*. Oxfam, Nias.

sell the pigs, and will be the one who makes the sale transaction either at the market or with a trader. They negotiate the price and take the cash. A number of women suggested that they were 'just the labour', while men received the money.

7.4 Fishing

The fishing sector is dominated by men. In fishing communities men spend much of their time out at sea, often accompanied by sons who are not at school. It is uncommon for fishermen to undertake other livelihood activities, and will go out most days unless hampered by storms. Many fishermen would go out in the late afternoon and stay out until early in the morning or up to days at a time, although this varied between locations and seasons. In a number of villages it was said (by women and men) that when the men are not out fishing they are "sleeping, smoking or walking around", and only assist with other work if they feel so inclined. However, some men do engage in rubber tapping in addition to fishing.

All aspects of fishing, including the sale of fresh fish, are done by men. On the odd occasion when there is a large haul, women may help to bring in and sell the fresh fish. It is rare for women to engage in fishing – in only one village it was said that two women were fishers.

However, women have the prime responsibility for drying and salting any unsold fish, both for their own consumption and to sell at the pekan. Men are not involved in either of these activities.

7.5 Domestic Work

Domestic labour in and around the home is overwhelmingly the role of women, and is done in addition to the many other income generating and working roles that women are responsible for. Girls also help with domestic work, with boys providing some assistance. Work includes procuring household necessities, preparing meals, cleaning in and around the home, collecting water (few villages have piped water), boiling drinking water, collecting firewood and washing clothes. It has been noted that women will carry out heavy domestic activities such as collecting water, late into their pregnancies, and that the poorest households in the villages are the furthest from water points, some up to 3km each way⁷. A number of men said they did help with domestic work at times, although many women indicated that men helped only when necessary, such as when the woman was sick or had just given birth.

The domestic work done by women in the household may take four to five hours every day. Women begin their working day before sunrise and continue until the evening, when they clean up after the evening meal and prepare for the next day. Given men's very limited role in domestic labour, their working days are shorter than that of women.

7.6 Childcare

Caring for children is a role primarily undertaken by women, with assistance from older children (mostly girls) and older relatives. Men help at times when they are in and around the house, but bathing and feeding children is done by women and older girls in the family. Women also look after the health care of their children.

If women have older children who are not at school or elderly relatives who do not work in the fields, they may leave small pre school-age children with them when they are out working. However, many women will take small children with them to the fields, either carrying them or setting up small temporary huts to provide them with shelter.

7.7 Other Livestock

Women have the primary role in looking after other animals such as chickens, cattle and goats; goats being more common in Muslim communities. They are helped by their children, both boys and girls, and sometimes helped by the men when they have spare time. The main task for livestock is ensuring they have land to graze on, and it is not uncommon for boys and girls to walk their goats to overgrown areas to feed. Women and their children also collect chicken eggs, with women selling any excess at the pekan.

⁷ Stokes 2007 – *Oxfam's Public Health Project in Nias, Gender Rapid Assessment*, Oxfam, Nias.

Some communities have reported their goats becoming ill and dying, although there is evidence that some people are hesitant to vaccinate their goats as they believe this will cause them to become sick and die⁸. Some women stated that they do not think they have enough knowledge or information to manage the health of the goats.

7.8 Vegetable and Fruit Production

Most households grow some vegetables, such as taro, cassava, chillies, cucumber or corn and may have banana or fruit trees to harvest. Bananas are particularly important in some rural communities, being an important cash crop. Men's role in food garden production is to hoe the fields as this is considered difficult work, although women and children often assist.

Women are primarily responsible for propagating and planting out seedlings, weeding, watering and harvesting, and are helped by both boys and girls if required. Men sometimes help in this work if they have free time. Some women said that they had tried to grow new crops but had not been successful as they do not have enough skills or knowledge.

If excess produce is grown women will sell it at the local pekan, usually transporting it by foot. In some areas this involves women carrying very heavy loads for several kilometres. Men do not usually help to carry the goods unless there is a particularly large quantity; women in one village said that men would be too embarrassed to help.

7.9 Small Business

There were some people in this study who ran small businesses such as small retail outlets, a hairdressing salon or selling cakes. A majority of these were managed by women and had been established with the support of the Oxfam livelihood groups. However in villages that did not have supported livelihood groups there were few small businesses apart from small shops. There were comments from several people, particularly men, that they would like to establish small businesses but lacked the capital to do so.

7.10 Rice Production

Rice is not a major form of income for most villages in this study, with some not engaged in rice production at all. Where grown, the division of labour in the rice field is similar to vegetable production. Men hoe the rice fields, while women undertake the work related to propagation and planting, with both involved in harvesting. Where men are not engaged in other livelihood activities they will share the workload with women, and children will help at busy times.

7.11 Formal Employment

Some men are engaged in formal employment, mostly in unskilled labour. This includes working in building construction, in shops (only in the Gunung Sitoli area) and on coconut plantations. Much of this employment is in earthquake reconstruction activities or seasonal/daily labour, it is not the main form of cash income. None of the women in this study had access to formal employment.

8. Asset Ownership and Control

The communities where Oxfam operates are asset poor. This section describes the major assets owned by community members, who uses and who controls them. A detailed table is provided in Annex Five. It is interesting to note that during many of the group discussions, women stated that they had joint ownership of assets with their husbands. However, most also stated that although they may discuss the use or control of the assets, men had the final decision making power and control.

⁸ Report from Oxfam Livelihood Staff member

8.1 Land

Land is the major productive assets of most households, being the main source of household food and cash income. Sons inherit land through the patriarchal family line, with women having no inheritance entitlements. Many men have inherited their land with tree crops such as rubber or coconuts that were planted by previous generations of owners. Land estates are often comprised of a number of smaller agricultural plots in the village district, which can be kilometres apart, as well as the land for their homes. Where there is no land ownership, such as in the TLCs, some households rent land to graze animals or grow food crops. While some men and women were explicit that men wholly owned and controlled land assets, many described land as being shared by the household.

Women have a major role in managing and producing food, fodder and cash crops from the land, although men maintain control over decisions regarding its use, whether the land is considered a shared asset or not. While decisions may be discussed with women in the household, men generally decide what land is used, which crops are planted, alternative uses for land and whether it is to be purchased or sold. Women cannot sell the family land.

8.2 Cash

Cash income is a major household asset produced by both men and women. Money that men earn is considered to pay for the daily needs of the household, while the women's income is saved to use in times of shortage, for larger purchases or to pay debts. Women earn cash through the sale of vegetables, fruit, cakes, salted fish and clothing at the local pekans, and often make the sale transactions for rubber and cocoa. Men earn cash income through the sale of fresh fish, pigs and other livestock, rubber and cocoa. However, much of the income that was considered men's income (such as rubber or cocoa) was based as much on the labour of women as of men, lowering the value placed on women's income earning role.

Overwhelmingly cash earned by both men and women is looked after by women; it is common for women to be referred to as the 'treasurer'. Women will purchase household needs, although will need to discuss this with their husbands prior to spending. In a number of villages both men and women stated that if a woman spent money without the approval of their husband, the husband would get very angry and may hit their wife. Oxfam staff have confirmed that domestic violence is an issue across Nias. Men usually keep part of the money they earn for cigarettes (most men in Nias smoke) and some for alcohol. This may be discussed with their wives, but the wife's permission was not required for men to spend money. In one village it was stated that the money men spent on themselves was more than what was spent on food and other household needs.

8.3 Credit

Both women and men have access to credit, although through different means. Some men, particularly those who have access to formal employment, have been able to borrow money from formal banking institutions although this is primarily in urban where there are more employment opportunities. Credit had been secured for items such as motorbikes or housing, although by very few people. Other men had been able to use credit from the Oxfam Livelihood groups for income generating activities. Men particularly borrow from family members and traders to cover their jujuran costs.

It is common for women to utilise credit to cover the needs of the household. Some have used credit from families, the local store or from local traders. While women may negotiate and manage this credit, this would not be done without consultation with their husband. Credit for household needs is only used as a last resort as it is expensive, with a 10 per cent interest rate common.

As there were no women in this study who had access to formal employment, they had no opportunities to access credit from finance institutions. However women had been able to access credit from the Oxfam livelihood groups for income generating activities.

8.4 Pigs and Other Livestock

In Christian communities, pigs are a common asset and investment, holding both social and economic importance. They are sold when cash is required either for large expenses or when there are shortfalls for daily needs, and are considered as one of the top three sources of income. It is a women's role to manage pigs, and undertake all work involved in their keep with the help of their children. Most men and women

agree that women are the owners the pigs. However, the decision making and control over the asset lies with the men. Although it will often be discussed with women, men decide when to sell or purchase a pig, will make the transaction at the market or with a trader and control the money made from the pigs. Many women have said they are just the 'labourer' who looks after the animals.

Women typically manage other livestock such as chickens, and in Muslim communities may have goats. As with pigs, women undertake most of the work involved in managing the animals, although decisions on their sale or use of the animals, while often discussed between men and women will ultimately lie with the men.

8.5 Cooking and Sewing Equipment

The only productive assets that women have control and ownership over is the equipment for sewing and cake making, which members of the Oxfam livelihood groups have purchased through a revolving fund. This was said to be the case both because women had purchased these items themselves, and that the men had no involvement or interest in utilising this equipment as the activities were considered to be completely the domain of women. The women were confident that they could utilise these assets at their discretion, with some women saying that they did not discuss the purchase of the items with their husbands, which is the only example of this happening.

8.6 Fishing Boats and Equipment

Fishing boats and equipment are important productive asset in coastal communities. While women do very occasionally assist with fishing, it is considered men's work, and all assets are owned and managed by the men. Women play no part in any decision making regarding these assets. In some cases boats are owned jointly by two men, so use of the asset and decisions surrounding it will be shared by the men involved.

The fresh fish is always sold by men – it is very rare to see a women selling fresh fish anywhere in Nias. However any unsold fresh fish that is given to the women to dry and salt, who will then sell any excess. So while they are not considered to be involved in the industry, women play an important role in producing cash income from this sector, although salted fish are of less value than fresh fish.

8.7 Garden and Farming Tools

Gardening and rubber tapping equipment are important household assets. Most families own only the essentials, such as knives, tapping tools and perhaps a hoe. Most people said that they were jointly owned and controlled, with some being bought by women and some by men. There seemed to be little distinction over the control of tools.

8.8 Transportation

While motorbikes and bicycles are common in Nias, there was very little ownership of these assets in the communities in this study. The few that existed were owned by men. While women and children may use the bicycles, few women in these areas had access to motorbikes, except as passengers. In one more remote village it was said that women would be too frightened to ride motorbikes, so were not able to use the motorbikes except as a passenger.

Some men were able to use motorbikes to earn cash income by providing a form of public transport. This was particularly so in villages that were some distant form the nearest town.

9. Daily Activity

Women start their working day before sunrise, some as early as 3am. Their mornings are busy; they boil water, prepare breakfast, wash the children, feed the pigs, clean the house and other domestic work. Men get up after the women, eat the breakfast made for them and prepare for the day ahead.

Most women continue with their domestic work until 6 - 8am in the morning, when they go to work in the fields. The nature of this work varies on the location and season. They may undertake rubber tapping, work in cocoa plots or vegetable gardens, collect water and firewood. Where there is a local pekan, women may

carry goods to the market to sell. While rubber is one of the most important crops and is most productive when tapped in the early morning, some days women do not have the time and will tap in the afternoon instead.

In the TLCs few women leave the domestic area to work as there is no land and few livelihood options. Women who were involved in cake making, sewing or other livelihood activities would use the time during the lunch break and afternoon to make their goods, selling them the next morning at the local schools and shops. However, this was not every day as there is a limited market for the produce.

Men's morning schedules vary between locations. Those that have paid employment would leave by 8am. Some may go fishing, depending on the weather or the fishing conditions, and those without off-farm work will accompany the women to the fields. When bad weather prevents fishing, fishermen would help with farm or domestic work, or 'rest'.

During the middle of the day, men and women both come back to the home by 11-12pm for lunch. Women may come back earlier so they can prepare the lunch for the family. Men return to have lunch and rest, while women continue to work. In addition to cooking they feed and wash the children, feed the pigs, clean dishes and other domestic work. Women have time for a short rest when the domestic work is complete.

Most people are back to work in the afternoon by 1-2pm. Women continue with their varied farm and domestic labour, while men may either go out fishing, to paid employment, help the women with farm labour or rest for the afternoon. Alcohol consumption is a problem in some communities, where men may spend some afternoons drinking and gambling. This is often a precursor to domestic violence. It is not, however, the norm.

Women and men return the home by 5-6pm. Women continue to work, in particular preparing the evening meal, washing children, feeding pigs, collecting water and cleaning. Girls assist with this work, as do boys at times. Men may sometimes help with domestic work in the evenings.

While after dinner men relax, visit friends or watch TV, women and children continue to work, cleaning up and preparing food for the pigs. Many women involved in livelihood activities, such as cake making or sewing, do these activities in the evening. This may add another two to three hours of work to their day as the income is typically not enough to substitute current livelihood activities.

In fishing communities men are out on their boats up to 80% of the year, weather and other conditions permitting. Many will leave in the late afternoon and return anywhere between 10pm and 4am. They would typically help with farm based work later in the morning. As such, bulk of the farming work is done by the women. In a number of villages, rubber traders would come in the late afternoon/early evening. If men were home they would deal with the traders, although as they are mostly out fishing, this role often falls to women.

Overall, women's working days can be several hours longer than men's. They generally work full days on food production or income generating activities while also undertaking the bulk of the domestic labour. The only times when women would not work in the fields is just after childbirth, although they return soon after, some within days⁹.

10. Mobility

While women do most of the work in and around their homes, they are by no means confined only to the domestic area. Women go to their fields and gardens on a daily basis, with some walking up to 7km to reach them. Where pekans are held in their own or neighbouring villages, women will either walk or take public transport to sell their surplus goods and to purchase household needs. Most will attend these without their husbands. Women who make goods such as cakes or clothing will go to nearby schools or shops to sell their wares. Where there is little or no surplus to sell, particularly in the more remote mountain areas, women are more confined to their village, fields and homes. Women who live near Gunung Sitoli will from time to time go into the town with their husbands.

However while most women have a degree of mobility, their movements would normally be discussed with their husbands or fathers, who would know and approve their whereabouts. So while women are visible in the community, their movement is still somewhat controlled.

⁹ Stokes 2007 – *Oxfam's Public Health Project in Nias, Gender Rapid Assessment*, Oxfam Nias.

Having small children does not mean that women stay at home to care for them. While women stay home for a short period of time when they have babies, they will take young children with them to their fields or other areas of work, carrying the smallest ones. In the fields they may build small shelters for the children, so will need to continue looking after the children while they work. If there are older children who do not attend school or elderly family members who do not work, they will take on child minding duties.

In most cases men are more mobile than women. They have opportunities for paid employment, will go out fishing most days in fishing communities and have more access to and control over transport, making it easier for them to travel outside of their village.

11. Community Participation and Decision Making

All villages had some degree of community activity and decision making processes, although the level of community activity was not high in any location.

In all of the villages community meetings will be held if decisions affecting the community need to be made. Often they will be called by the Kapala Desa, or more recently have been called by Oxfam or other agencies. Women do attend these meetings, although usually in smaller numbers than men as their domestic work responsibilities do not provide the time and their attendance is not encouraged by the men.

When women attend community meetings they have a limited role to play. Men, particularly the village leaders, dominate with women having little or no space to participate. Some people, both men and women, said that women can contribute to discussions and provide suggestions, with a few saying community decisions would be made in agreement with women. However men more commonly commented that women's input is welcome in community forums if they have good suggestions, although what constitutes a good decision will be determined by the men.

There are variations in the level of engagement of women in community forums. In villages where women's education levels are higher the women have more confidence to participate¹⁰. In the more remote rural villages where education levels for women are low, women had little or no participation in community decision making. Some women and men have commented that women do not have the capacity or intelligence to contribute to public discussions, with men more likely to say the women would need to discuss any matters with their husband first. Other women have said it would be very difficult for them to influence or change the minds of the men in the village.

Many villages practice *Gotong Royong*, a form of community cooperation where villagers work and contribute to community infrastructure, clean up campaigns or other community activity. As with other community matters decision making and planning, women's input will vary.

The low level of women's participation in community fora is reflected by the experience of some Oxfam staff members who have been involved in community meetings¹¹. To date all Oxfam community meetings have been general community meetings with men and women invited. Staff have found that men dominate and have found it difficult to engage women due to this dominance. The only women-only meetings Oxfam has held is with women's livelihood groups. However, some staff, particularly men, have found it challenging to encourage women participate and to maintain women's interest, and said that women do not feel comfortable or confident. This is likely to be as much due to it being male staff conducting the meeting and the inexperience in group facilitation skills, however women also have very little experience in being specifically asked their opinion by outside agencies.

Women are involved in other community activities. Some Christian villages have a '*Committee Wanita*' the church women's group. These groups vary in their activity, but may hold prayer and bible discussion meetings, visit sick or elderly people and form church singing groups. All other church activities are controlled by men. Women will also provide support to others such as looking after children when the mother is sick, helping widows or others needing assistance in the community. Men may also help at times, although rarely in the care of children. However, this type of community support is not extensive as most women do not have enough time or resources to provide support outside of their home, with some villagers stating this type of community engagement would be quite rare.

¹⁰ Observation of Oxfam Livelihood staff member

¹¹ Discussion with Oxfam Livelihood staff

11. Widows and Female Headed Households

The situation of widows and female headed households is variable, depending on their age, if they have dependent children and their extended families. Some widows live in extended households with their own or their husband's family. Younger women will be expected to undertake domestic work and other livelihood activities that will contribute to the household. This includes continuing to farm the land that was owned by their husband, with their income contributing to the household. Older women may be left to care for the children, although may continue to work in the fields if deemed necessary by the head of the household.

Those that live on their own or with their dependent children will be solely responsible for all aspects of household and income generating activities, with the help of older children. They may continue to farm the land that belonged to her husband. If they do not have access to land they may earn money by undertaking manual labour such as crushing rocks or washing clothes. Widows who are not supported by other family members will continue to work into their old age.

Widows and female headed households receive little support from the wider community. Some will be given rice or other basic necessities from the church, mosque or community members but this is uncommon. Many people, both men and women, have said they have barely enough to support their own families so cannot afford to provide anything else. Several widows stated that they do not have the time to participate in community activities or decision making, undertake training or participate in groups or other typical livelihood activities of the kind Oxfam promotes.

12. Transitional Living Centres (TLCs)

Women in the TLCs face many of the same issues as women in rural areas, with their responses included in the broader discussion above. However, there are some differences given that most families are landless with very few productive assets. This changes the nature of some of the work and roles within families and communities.

Women and men's roles are clearly divided in the TLCs, with men primarily leaving the home for income generating activities. Most men are engaged in either fishing or in paid employment in and around Gunung Sitoli. As such, women have prime responsibility for work in and around the house, including cooking, cleaning, collecting water, collecting firewood and childcare. Men help from time to time. Boys and girls also help around the house, although this is mostly after school hours. However, it is more common for boys to help their fathers with fishing or other work, so most of the home based work falls to the girls.

Because there is a lack of productive land or other income generating opportunities, some women have some free time in the afternoons. This has allowed women in the Oxfam livelihood groups to work on their activities during the day after they have completed their domestic work. As the activities have been home based they are able to combine this with caring for their children. If men were not engaged in work in the afternoons, some said they passed the time 'smoking, sleeping and walking around'.

13. Alternative Livelihood Options for Women

One of the issues discussed with community members was whether they had any suggestions on how households and particularly women might improve their livelihood activities.

Few people could see alternative livelihood outside of the current types of activities undertaken in their area, which reflects the limited livelihood experience or access to information for many people in those communities. This was most evident in the remote rural areas.

However there were some suggestions of areas women thought they could improve. Some who have been making cakes and sewing could see how an increase in skills in these activities may afford higher prices for their goods. A number of women who rear pigs highlighted their need to know more about pig health or access expertise, as there are a number of common illnesses currently affecting pigs in Nias (possibly respiratory illness, hog cholera) which can kill an animal within days. They have little knowledge on how to prevent these diseases which have caused high numbers of pig deaths across the island, but felt that assistance in managing this would help their livelihoods.

A number of women were interested in growing more vegetables but lacked the knowledge to do this, some having had crop failures when testing new varieties. In several villages both men and women said they were having problems with diseases and insect attacks on their crops (vegetables and cocoa in particular) and did not have the adequate understanding on how to prevent or treat these attacks. Others recognised the need to use fertiliser to increase the output of their crops, but did not have the resources to purchase the inputs or did not have the knowledge to produce compost.

A few women were interested in setting up small businesses such as shops, but did not have access to any capital. They also thought they lacked the business skills to manage a small business. A number of men also cited the lack of capital, but emphasised the lack of access to credit as the main reason they could not improve their livelihoods. Some men thought that women may not have the skills or capacity to run a business.

There were a few options given for men including support to buy better fishing equipment, finding paid employment in the construction industry or improving their farming knowledge and skills.

Some women did not feel they had the time to change what they do; given their large workloads they were averse to taking the risk and time that would be involved in learning new skills. One woman said that her hopes lay in her children and thought it would be better to provide them with training or improved skills.

However this was not the case for a majority of women. Overall there was a sense from a majority of both men and women that they would be eager to take on new skills or receive inputs that would help their livelihood prospects. Men were generally supportive of women doing this also. However, the situation varies between and within villages – there would be no one livelihood solution to support this broad range of communities.

14. Gender in the Oxfam Nias Livelihood Program to Date

There have been attempts to target support to women in the first phase of Oxfam's Nias livelihoods program, which is demonstrated by the number of female participants. However there have also been many challenges to implementing a gender equitable program such as entrenched gender discrimination in Nias, staff capacity and support, and the sheer size of scale up in the Aceh Nias program. This has led to gaps, some of them serious.

Overall there has been insufficient knowledge of the livelihood activities of women, which has not only resulted in the program being skewed towards supporting men, but has inappropriately targeted men in areas of work that are undertaken by women. This has at best in some cases reinforced the gender discrimination faced by women, and at worse reduced the status of women by supporting men to manage female-dominated livelihood sectors.

However there have been renewed efforts ensure women have equitable access to Oxfam Nias' programs with the appointment of a Deputy Program Manager, whose responsibilities centred on improving program quality including gender issues. This has included a closer working relationship with the Oxfam Aceh/Nias Program gender team based in Banda Aceh, the identification of gender focal points within the livelihood team and the completion of this gender analysis.

This section provides examples of key areas where the lack of attention to the differing needs of women and men has affected the impact of Oxfam's livelihoods program.

14.1 Program Assessment

The livelihoods project design was based primarily on a three day assessment undertaken in June 2005. However, while the author of the assessment visited community members, particularly fishermen, there is no indication he spoke to any women or considered the livelihood needs of women. There was an initial gender assessment undertaken by Oxfam in April 2005 that highlights the different impact of the earthquake on men and women and details some of the critical gender issues in Nias, although it does not give the level of detail required to ensure that women and men could both benefit from the programs, and is not referred to in the initial livelihoods assessment. The only mention of women in original livelihoods assessment is under section 3.2.1 – *Capacity Building and Organising Producers*, which states 'Form exclusive groups for women to address their needs to avail economic opportunities based on their knowledge, skills, time-availability and seasonality'. This does not consider capacity building for women, or address to non-productive or non-economic livelihood needs.

No further gender assessment was done until this report in March 2007, meaning the livelihood program was developed without a comprehensive understanding on the role of women in the household economy..

14.2 Consulting Women

There is no evidence to suggest that women have been specifically consulted at any stage of the program assessment or design. All community meetings to discuss Oxfam program interventions have been combined men and women groups, which has significantly reduced the ability of women to contribute given their traditionally minimal role in community meetings and decision making. In addition most meetings have been facilitated by male Oxfam staff members, which may have created a communication bias; some male staff members have been observed to focus their attention to men, and have had little support in the field to address communication issues¹². Staff feedback has shown that men have dominated these meetings, with very little input from women. Many meetings have also been conducted in Bahasa Indonesia, which many women cannot understand as they speak only Bahasa Nihia.

There has been no attempt at any stage to meet separately with women to ensure they have had a forum to voice their opinions, discuss their needs or raise concerns with Oxfam. The failure to do this had led to inappropriate targeting of program interventions, thereby reducing the effectiveness of the program, and more concerning, has confirmed gender inequality in the targeted communities. This does not meet Oxfam GB's program management guidelines for integrating gender considerations into all program work.

14.3 Livelihood Groups

In the first phase of the Oxfam livelihoods program in Nias, much of the work focused on establishing livelihood groups in rural and urban areas and building their capacity in preparation of receiving the first instalment for their revolving fund. There were concerted efforts to include women in these groups, which is demonstrated by the number of women involved. Nearly 44 per cent of members are women and approximately 45 per cent of the groups are women-only. Approximately 25 percent of the groups are men-only, the rest being mixed gender. Women comprise approximately 40 per cent of mixed gender groups.

However the vast majority of women-only groups are cake making, sewing and embroidery groups, activities that are low income generating. The men only groups are overwhelmingly fishermen groups, with the mixed gender groups focus mostly on livestock rearing. When choosing the sector for their groups, both men and women were advised that they needed to focus on an area where they already had skills or knowledge. Given the limited experience most women have had outside of domestic and farm labour, Oxfam did not provide options other than support in these traditionally low income sectors, nor support field staff to explore alternative livelihood strategies with women in the community. As such, most women undertake their new livelihood activity in addition to their existing workload as they do not earn enough income to drop other activities. Field staff have also suggested that men are able to earn more money as they work in higher paying sectors, and that there was no program directive in the early phase of the project to support women to enter higher income generating sectors.

One positive effect from these traditionally 'women's' activities is that women do have complete control over the productive assets they have acquired as men have no involvement.

It was also been said by Oxfam staff that the assumption was made that women worked predominantly in and around the home, having restricted mobility due to childcare and domestic responsibilities. Oxfam therefore encouraged livelihood options for women that could be done in the home. This assumption was incorrect as most women spend the greater proportion of their working day away from their homes, some travelling regularly to nearby villages.

Oxfam has helped support seven pig rearing livelihood groups. As described above, it is explicitly a woman's job to rear pigs, with many men and women considering that the women own the pigs. However, women's membership of the Oxfam pig rearing groups is 14 per cent, with one group having no women members at all¹³. This clearly indicates that gender was not considered in the establishment of these livelihoods groups, and may have served to disenfranchise women from a valuable asset that they manage.

¹² Comments from senior Oxfam staff

¹³ Sourced from the Livelihoods Group Beneficiary Database

Oxfam's draft Mid Term Review of the livelihoods program¹⁴ has stated that many of the women's livelihood groups do not appear to be as successful as the men's groups. The possible reasons given for this are that women have competing domestic roles, low literacy rates and Oxfam's inappropriate sectoral focus. However, the review also states that the livelihoods field team is comprised of six men and only two women, and that the male staff may have felt more comfortable providing more support the men's groups.

14.4 Rubber and Cocoa Sector

In 2006 Oxfam started working with cocoa and rubber farming communities in four districts. Support provided to households include inputs of improved stock varieties, training in farming practices, training in crop diversity and the establishment of sectoral livelihood groups.

Initial villages were selected through an assessment process undertaken in 2006. Beneficiaries within the villages were selected following a household survey and other wealth ranking tools¹⁵. However, support has been targeted to the household, which means that men as the head of the household have been the official Oxfam beneficiary. There are only 119 female beneficiaries out of 1393 community participants in the cocoa and rubber program. No attention was provided to the different roles played by men and women within these sectors, in part as there was a programming assumption that women were not rubber or cocoa farmers¹⁶.

This was a mistaken assumption as women are involved in all stages of producing and selling rubber and cocoa, and in many cases do the greater proportion of the workload than men. As a result few women have directly benefited from Oxfam's intervention, which has had quality impacts on the program as well as serving to entrench gender inequalities by focusing support to men.

Farmer training has been a central component of the program, although few women farmers have received training from Oxfam. Beneficiaries were invited to the trainings, which meant that the attendance was overwhelmingly the men who were on the beneficiary list. Apart from the women on the beneficiary list women were not targeted to attend the trainings. Oxfam's records show that less than 5 per cent of participants in their training were women¹⁷.

Some women have said that their husbands had passed on some of the content of the training, which was demonstrated by seeing women tapping rubber in the upwards technique rather than the tradition and less productive "V" shape. However, in villages that practice the "V" shape tapping, the husbands did not pass on the information from the training courses they attended. Women have also been involved in caring for the rubber grafts distributed by Oxfam to communities, as they are commonly kept near the house until ready to plant out. Women in one village showed their rubber grafts that had a high rate of fungal attack. However women did not know basic plant hygiene and care for seedlings, nor did the women know that some of the grafts with failed buds could be re-salvaged with additional grafts.

A main issue for the cocoa seed distribution has been the high death rate of seedlings from fungal attack, possibly because the seeds were not planted quickly enough. Again, women have had a role in caring for seedlings, although have had a very low attendance at cocoa production training. In addition women have a central role in drying and processing cocoa beans. Oxfam's initial cocoa and rubber strategy identified the lack of processing was reducing the quality of the cocoa in Nias, and hence the price received by farmers. While any improvement in quality or price would need to be done in collaboration with traders, Oxfam has not supported women in this important aspect of cocoa production.

14.5 Community Facilitators

The Livelihoods program has targeted women as part of process for selecting community facilitators. At community meetings Oxfam asked that a man and woman be chosen for the role. There is mention in an early situation report that this had been met with some resistance by the men in a few villages, however after staff explained the need to have women this was agreed. This should be seen as a positive outcome for the program.

Oxfam staff have said that the role that female and male community facilitators is the same. However there has been some concerns that the facilitators do not always carry out their role due to limited time, no training

¹⁴ Oxfam 2007 – *DRAFT Nias Earthquake Recovery through Sustainable Livelihoods Project Mid Term Review*, Oxfam Nias.

¹⁵ Discussion with Livelihood Staff

¹⁶ Personal comment, Oxfam Livelihood Staff member

¹⁷ Oxfam 2007, *DRAFT Oxfam Nias Livelihoods Household Situational Analysis*, Oxfam, Nias.

and the feeling that they should be getting some payment for their work. There is no indication that women were consulted as to the role of the community facilitator and if it is appropriate to their needs.

14.6 Human Resources

The Oxfam Nias livelihoods program was set back due to a number of human resource and recruiting issues. In particular there were long gaps without key senior positions being filled. This has created high workloads for those staff in their posts as they were required to cover the vacant positions on top of their own. In addition there have been multiple staff restructures which have caused delays and disruption to the team and the program.

When there are staff shortages, sacrifices to the program will eventually be made, either planned or not. Gender is often pushed aside as an 'addition' to the program and not the core function. The livelihoods program is no exception. In addition, there has been insufficient time for senior staff to spend in the field providing direct support to the livelihood and community development staff who have demanding positions that require a broad range of skills, although many have limited work experience.

15. Recommendations

The Oxfam livelihoods program was first developed nearly 18 months ago, key decisions have been made and program activities have been implemented. With a planned exit at the end of 2007, there are limitations of how gender can realistically be integrated into the program at this point. However, Oxfam should ensure that the remaining livelihood programming addresses the needs of women where possible. Some areas that could be improved are -

15.1 Consulting Women

- As a minimum, women should be consulted in any further aspects of program design.
- Where village meetings are held to discuss any aspects of programming, Oxfam needs to ensure that women are included by specifically inviting women, holding separate meetings with women and men, or if women are unable to attend meetings, to consult with women in their homes. Staff time needs to be allocated to ensure that this can occur.
- All meetings should be held in Bahasa Nias, and if meetings are held jointly with men and women the facilitators need to ensure that women are specifically addressed, asked for their input and are involved in making decisions. The body language of Oxfam staff needs to reflect the participation of women.
- Meeting times need to be set when women are available to attend. This will vary on location, but afternoons are generally preferable for women. Meetings should not be planned on days when the local pekan is held.
- Women need to be assured that they can bring their children to all organised meetings or activities.

15.2 Community Training

- Women-only training sessions – training needs to be targeted for women based on the roles they play particularly in the rubber and cocoa farming. It cannot be assumed that men will pass on their training information to women. Oxfam should invite women in the beneficiary households, not just the beneficiary name on the list.
- Women need to be consulted as to where and when training fits into their schedules. This will vary on location, although generally afternoon training sessions would be preferable.
- Types of training required would vary from location to location, and women should be further consulted as to the most relevant training their community. However, some areas suggested by women, or that women have responsibility for have included -
 - caring for rubber seedlings,
 - rubber tapping techniques,
 - cocoa processing techniques,
 - vegetable growing and diversification,
 - composting/organic fertilisers,
 - alternative livelihood activities (see below),
 - how to effectively deal with traders,

- pricing and marketing information (dependent on what crop grown),
 - saving/cash management – given women are the prime savers in the household.
- Functional literacy and women’s empowerment to be integrated into women’s training where appropriate.
- All written information provided to communities needs to be in Bahasa Nias. Verbal information needs to be given to women where required.

15.3 Livelihood Groups

- If time and budgeting considerations allow, Oxfam could undertake research on potential income generating activities and markets chains, as there is a low knowledge base on the types of enterprises women could establish.
- Provide options for women to be trained in non traditional enterprises – some have said that they may limit less profitable work if more productive work was available.
- Increase women’s participation in the pig livelihood groups. Invite women, as the managers of pigs, rather than men as the head of the households, to join existing groups.

15.4 Demonstration Plots

- Oxfam Nias is currently planning to develop eight demonstration plots. These will be village based example plots for vegetable, cocoa and rubber production.
- Women have the prime responsibility for growing vegetables in the household – they will need to be consulted and involved in the demonstration plot implementation.
- Siting of demonstration plots should be as close as possible to village housing so that women do not have to walk long distances. Women should be consulted as to where the sites should be.
- The design of the demonstration plots should to be done in consultation with women.
- As women grow and cook vegetables they should be consulted as to what types of vegetables are grown.
- Any trainings or meetings regarding the demonstration plots should specifically include women, or have women only sessions.
- Any produce from the demonstration should go directly to the women.

15.5 Community Facilitators

- Provide additional support and training on the roles of community facilitators as they are the key link to the communities where Oxfam works.
- Include issues, for both men and women, on women’s empowerment/women’s rights and why Oxfam wants to target women.

15.6 Staff Support

- Provide further gender awareness training for Oxfam Nias staff, focusing on practical ways to integrate gender considerations into the current programs, given the time-line of program implementation.
- Provide training or mentoring to field staff on group facilitation techniques or strategies for engaging women.
- Senior staff to accompany livelihood field staff on a regular basis to communities to provide mentoring on communications, gender and other identified issues in the field.
- Senior staff supported to free their time to do this.

15.7 Information Sharing and Advocacy

- Share this gender analysis and other gender-related documents with government and non-government agencies working in Nias.
- Facilitate a stakeholder/roundtable meeting on gender and livelihoods to share information and build networks – there is currently very little coordination or information on gender issues in Nias.
- Liaise regularly with BRR in Nias to ensure that it upholds the principles and action points in its September 2006 Gender Policy and Strategy Paper for Aceh – Nias.
- Discuss gender issues at Gunung Sitoli and other coordination meetings.

- Encourage field staff to report or discuss any gender-related issues they encounter. Follow up with BRR or other agencies as appropriate.
- Share gender analysis internally to Oxfam, to the Aceh Nias program and beyond.

Annex One - Gender and Livelihoods Analysis - Focus group discussion format

Note – the space provided for writing answers has been minimized compared to the working document for space considerations. The original document is 10 pages long.

Section One – Division of Labour

1. Can you tell me of all of the different work that is done by men and women in this village. This can include work done around the home, work to earn money, work to produce food. Then we also want to know the work is done by women, men, girls or boys. For some of the activities, the work might be shared. If it is can you tell me how much of the work is done be each person?

Prompt –

- in the home – cooking, looking after children, cleaning, getting water
- farming – rubber production, cocoa production, looking after animals, growing vegetables, selling goods
- other income from working, trading, self employment such as making goods to sell, shop owner, restaurant etc
- if not mentioned, ask about widows and female headed households

Activity	Women	Men	Girls	Boys

2. We also want to look at what time of the day does this work is done.

Can you tell me what activities women do during at the different times during the day, starting first thing in the morning – before sunrise? Then can you tell me what men do?

time	women	men
Before sunrise		
6am-10		
10-2		
2-4		
4-6		
6-8		

8-10pm		
After 10pm		
Other?		

Comments/observations

3. Where to men and women go to do their work?

Prompt - In the family home, houses of family/friends, in the home garden, fields near the house, fields far from the house, in the village, in nearby villages, main towns on Nias, outside of Nias.

What about widows and female headed households – is it different for them?

Where	Women	Men	Girls	Boys

Comments/observations

Section Two – Assets

4. Can you tell me what the assets are in your households?

For each asset can you also say -

- Who owns the asset – men or women?
- Who uses the assets?
- Who makes decisions about using them?

Prompt –this can include land, tools, money, credit, labour, access to training, education.

If not mentioned, ask about widows and female headed households.

Asset	Owned by who	Who uses them	Who makes decisions

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Comments/observations

Section Three – Cocoa and Rubber Activities

Only ask if the sector is relevant to the community – delete if in TLCs

5. We have a list of the different activities involved in rubber/cocoa farming. Can you tell us who does this work – women, men, girls and boys?

For some of the activities, the work might be shared. If it is can we put down how much of the work is done by each person?

Activity in cocoa production	woman	man	girl	boy
sourcing tree seeds				
sowing				
planting seedlings				
fertilising				
watering				
weeding/spraying				
pruning				
harvesting				
processing				
transport to market				
selling				

Activity in Rubber Production	woman	man	girl	boy
looking after seedlings				
planting seedlings				
fertilising				
weeding /clearing / spraying				
tapping / cutting				
collecting				
blocking (processing)				
transport				
selling				

Section Four – Community Participation

6. How are women and men involved in community activities and decision making?

Prompt – unpaid activities that benefits those outside of the household. Could include activities with local groups, involvement in the church/mosque, childminding, working on community infrastructure.

Prompt – official or unofficial decisions that affect people outside of your household. Can include village meetings, political involvement, deciding how community assets are managed, agreements with neighbours/others

If not mentioned, ask about female headed households or widows.

7. Should women be more involved in community decisions? If yes – how could they be?

Section Five – Aspirations and Livelihood Needs

8. Can you think of other ways that your households could increase their income or produce more, and which one could women do?

Prompt – improving the work already done, new areas of work that are not currently done. If not mentioned, ask about female headed households or widows.

8. What would stop women and men from doing any of these activities?

Prompt – would women have enough time, not enough knowledge, would need support to start. If not mentioned, ask about female headed households or widows.

Annex Two – Gendered Division of Labour Reference Table

Activity	Women	Men	Girls	Boys	Comments
Rubber production*	Every day responsibility in dry season. Women are involved in all aspects of production.	Will work in fields if not engaged in off-farm work.	Sometimes, after school	Sometimes, after school	See Annex Three for a more detailed breakdown
Cocoa Farming	Have prime role in maintenance, harvesting and processing.	Have prime role in sourcing stock and pruning, help with other aspects.	Help in maintenance and harvesting.	Help in maintenance and harvesting	See Annex Four for a more detailed breakdown
Pig rearing	Every day – women main carer	Sometimes they help	Sometimes	Sometimes	
Growing and harvesting pig fodder	Women's prime responsibility	May help at times	Girls help their mothers		
Other livestock rearing – goats and cows	Have the main role in caring for livestock	May help at times	Help with feeding and caring	Help with feeding and caring	Children help particularly after school
Fishing	May help only if there is a big catch, but rarely..	Exclusively men's role	Not involved	Will help their fathers if not at school	Very rare for women to be fishers
Selling fresh fish	Will only help if there is a big catch	Men sell fresh fish	May help	Not involved	
Drying and salting fish	Exclusively women's role	Not involved	May help	Not involved	
Selling dry fish	Exclusively women's role – is sold at pekan	Not involved	Older girls may help	Not involved	It is the women's role to sell any excess produce at the market
Working in rice fields	Involved in growing, sewing and harvesting rice	Involved mostly in site preparation and hoeing	Older girls may help their mothers	May help in harvesting and transportation	
Cooking	Prime responsibility	Not involved	Will help after school	Not usual to help	Many people said their children were 'good' and helped when they return from school

Cleaning the home	Prime responsibility	May help sometimes if needed	Always help after school	Often help after school	
Washing clothes	Prime responsibility	Not involved	Girls help their mothers regularly	Might help	
Caring for children/washing children	Prime responsibility	Will help when around the home, rarely bathing or feeding.	Older girls have major role	Sometimes help, but not in bathing or feeding.	Older children not at school or elderly relatives not working may care for children while the women in the fields.
Collecting firewood	Prime responsibility	Men help to varying degrees	May help after school	May help after school	In a few areas considered heavy work so men will share role
Collecting water	Prime responsibility	Sometimes help.	Girls often help	Boys sometimes help	A number of villages had pipes water
Preparing garden beds	Women participate	Men have major role	Will help when it is a large job	Will help when it is a large job	Is considered heavy work that required the help of the men
Tending vegetable gardens – weeding, watering, harvesting etc	Primarily women's role	Men may help at times but not major role	Will help regularly	Will help regularly	
Collecting fruits	Shared role	Shared role	May help	May help	
Looking after chickens/collecting eggs	Prime responsibility	Not usually involved	Will help after school	May help	
Selling produce at markets/shops/other	Prime responsibility	Not usually involved, but may help carry if large loads	Older girls may help	Not involved	It is the women's role to attend weekly pekan and sell any excess fruit, vegetables, dry fish or eggs. Men rarely sell produce
Making cakes	Prime responsibility	Not involved	May help	Not involved	
Sewing	Prime responsibility	Not involved	May help	Not involved	
Formal employment (construction, shops)	Not available to women	Some men			Not very common, except for men living close to larger towns.
Becak/Ojak driving	Not available to women	Prime Responsibility			Few people in this study had access to transport.

Annex Three – Gendered Division of Labour - Rubber Production Reference Table

Activity in Rubber Production	Women	Men	Girls	Boys
Caring for seedlings	Shared role	Shared role	May help	May help
Planting seedlings	Women will be involved but take direction from men	Main role – preparing the land and planning the sites	Will help when it is a large job	Will help when it is a large job.
Fertilising	Very few people fertilise due to cost of fertiliser and lack of knowledge on composting			
Weeding /clearing / spraying	Women do most of the maintenance work	Men are involved, particularly when not working	May help	May help
Tapping / cutting	Women have major role, spending part of every outside of the wet season day tapping.	Men tap rubber with the women if they do not have off-farm work, or if they have free time around other livelihood activities.	May help.	May help
Collecting	Primarily women, usually on weekly basis	Men will be involved when not working elsewhere	Often help	Often help
Blocking (processing)	Mostly women	Men will be involved when not working elsewhere	Not usually involved	Not usually involved
Transport	In most villages the traders visit once or twice per week. If taken to market to sell, this is usually done by men.			
Selling	Shared responsibility, will sell to traders when men not at home	If they are at home they will sell to traders.	Not involved	Not involved

Annex Four – Gendered Division of Labour – Cocoa Production Reference Table

Activity in cocoa production	Women	Men	Girls	Boys
Sourcing tree seeds	Sometimes done by women	Mostly done by men	Not involved	Not involved
Sowing	Shared role	Shared role	Not usually involved	Not usually involved
Planting seedlings	Will help with their labour	Men hoe and prepare fields and plan planting site. They also help in the labour	Will help if it is a lot of work	Will help if it is a lot of work
Fertilising	Few people in this research fertilised trees as could not afford inputs and did not know how to make compost.			
Watering	Most do not need to water as the rainfall is sufficient			
Weeding/spraying	Women have major role in maintaining around cocoa crops	Men also help – in some areas have central role	Will help when needed	Will help when needed
Pruning	Women are sometimes involved	Mostly done by men as considered difficult work, but not a common activity.	Not involved	Not involved
Harvesting	Women do a greater proportion of harvesting	Men are involved	Will help regularly	Will help regularly
Processing	Have main role in simple processing	May be involved in simple processing	Not usually involved	Not usually involved
Transport to market	Women may help transport to the market if it is a large load.	Usually sold to trader in the village, if not men usually transport to the market.	Not usually involved	May help father
Selling	May sell to trader when they come to town	Will sell to trader and also sell as the market	Not involved	Not involved

Annex Five - Ownership and Control of Assets Reference Table

The table below is a summary of responses by both women and men. However, there is a high level of diversity in many of the answers – between men and women, between different areas and between different families.

Asset	Who owns the asset	Who uses the asset	Who controls/makes decisions about the asset	Significance for gender relations
Cash	Cash income is made by both men and women. In most cases men will give their money the women, who will hold onto it until it is needed – although men will keep what they want. Commonly said that women were ‘treasurers’, having a role in managing any money.	Women make the purchases for household needs such as food and clothes, but is only done with husband’s consent. Men will utilise what money they want for their own needs, particularly for cigarettes and alcohol. Children’s education expenses a significant use of cash. Women’s cash income is saved for when there is a shortage, while it is considered that men’s income is used for day to day living expenses.	Men make all of the decisions about what is to be purchased with the money made by both men and women. A woman cannot spend any household money without gaining permission from her husband, although a man does not need to discuss his purchases with his wife. If a women spent money without permission some said it may result in domestic violence.	Women have access to cash, but only with their husbands discretion. Potential for domestic violence. A woman’s income is not seen as the central income for a family’s needs, but as extra in times of need.
Farming/ Garden Land	Inherited through the husband’s family, although a majority of people (men and women) said that it was jointly owned by the husband and wife. However, some women said it was the men’s as inherited through his family.	All family members utilise the land – rubber and cocoa plantations, vegetable gardens, rice fields, fruit trees, to grow pig food. Widows may have access husbands land but will be owned by sons or husband’s family.	While some families will discuss the use of the land, men will make decisions on how it is used, e.g. what is planted and when, to sell land. Will be inherited by the sons in the family.	While women do much of the work on the land, they do not have ownership of decision making control over this asset.
Farming/gardening tools	Most say they are shared, but often bought by men with their money. Some women have bought tools that they have needed with their own money.	Men and women both use, although in some areas women, with the help of their children, have the greater role in farming activities. Basic tool are hoes, knives	Some shared control.	
Rubber tapping tools	Most say they are shared	Both women and men use the rubber tapping tools, but in some areas more of this work is undertaken by women.	Some shared control, but ultimately control lies with the husband	
Pigs	Most say they are shared ownership, or that the women own them.	Women are primarily responsible for caring for pigs, with help from daughters and sometimes husbands.	Men make any decisions about selling/purchasing pigs. Women are excluded from any control over this important asset. Is	Are one of the most important family assets. Women do all of the work, and sometimes recognised as

			considered to be one of the most important assets and sources of income in a family.	owners, but do not have control or ownership of money made from them.
Cows/goats	Men and women share ownership. Where women have purchased animals through Oxfam livelihoods groups, they say they own them.	Women have prime responsibility for looking after livestock, although helped by children. Men help sometimes.	A woman would not make any decision about livestock without her husband's permission. Men and women may discuss if they should sell/buy and animal, but men will make the final decision.	Men control the sale of these valuable animals
Chickens	Most say they are a shared asset	Women and children care for chickens and collect eggs. Women may sell eggs at market if there is excess. All the family will consume.	Men make decisions about buying/selling. Men will control any money derived from chickens.	
Fishing boat and equipment (hooks, line, nets)	Owned by men. In some cases men from two families will own one boat.	Men and boys primarily users of fishing boats and equipment. If there is a big catch, the women may help bring in the fish.	Men make exclusive decisions about fishing boats and equipment, although may discuss with their wife. If boat ownership is shared, the men will make joint decisions on its use.	Women have no access to this asset, apart from providing some assistance.
Fish	Owned by men.	Fresh fish usually sold by men, but women may help if required. If there is excess fish, this will be dried and salted by the women and sold at the markets by the women.	Men make the decisions about selling the fish, and control any money made.	Is referred to as a men's industry, but women are still involved in processing and selling, although men control the higher valued fresh fish.
Bicycles	Some owned by men, some jointly. Few bicycles owned.	Used by men. Also used by women to get to markets/sell goods. Children may also use to get to school.	Some jointly controlled or discussed by men and women, but final decision on use lies with men.	
Motorcycles	Owned by men, but very low level of ownership	Primarily used by men, but will carry women passengers. Some used for income source as ojac (motorbike taxi) by men. In some cases women thought to be not capable of riding themselves, so could only access as passenger	A decision to purchase would be discussed by men and women, although final decision with men. Men mostly have priority for use.	
Credit	Men have ownership of credit through formal institutions and Oxfam groups. Women have	Men with formal employment have accessed credit for larger purchases such	Men have control over formal credit sources, although they may discuss	As none of the women have formal employment, they

	ownership through informal networks or Oxfam groups.	motorbikes, and have accessed credit through Oxfam livelihood groups. Some have borrowed money for house-building Women have accessed credit through Oxfam livelihood groups, and when they do not have enough money to cover basic needs. Credit may be sourced from local shops, local traders.	plans with their wives. Women would negotiate credit with informal networks but would need to discuss with husband.	cannot access formal credit.
Training	Some women and men have had access to training. In some cases women have been specifically invited.	Some women have had training through Oxfam groups or from the public health team. Some men have had training from Oxfam groups, and a few from other NGOs.	Many women would need to ask their husbands if they could attend. In many cases if one person from the household is invited, the man will attend, and make the final decision on this.	Men have greater access to knowledge and information and do not necessarily share this with women.

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