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Gender, Food and Power: Towards a Gendered Production Network Analysis

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Transformation in Food Retail: Global Production Networks

- Rising Supermarket dominance
- Global/regional reach of supermarkets
- Buyer (consumer) led production
- Centralised distribution systems
- Value/quality upwards vs. Cost/risk downwards
- GPNs institutionally and socially embedded in gender norms

QUESTION:

What are the changing gender dynamics of GPNs, what are the implications for the empowerment of women?

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Wal-Mart Profile

Top Global Retailers (Grocery) 2009-10 (Financial Times)

Ranking	Company	Country Origin	Gross Revenue	Net Income	Operating Countries
			US\$	US\$	
1	Wal Mart	US	419.14 bn	15.02 bn	14 (15)
2	Carrefour	France	118.72 bn	673.96 m	35
3	Tesco	UK	91.92 bn	3.87 bn	14

- Wal Mart 2009-10 Gross Revenue > GNP for 2008 of over 200 countries, including Norway (US\$416.5), Thailand (\$247.2) and South Africa (\$283.2)
- Estimated that for Wal Mart (2004):
 - \$18 billion goods came from China
 - 70% of products made in China.
 - China's 8th largest trading partner is Wal-Mart
- Global Sourcing – high tech planning and distribution systems
- Wal Mart strict environmental and social standards
- Market leaders setting trends others follow

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Supermarket Retailing – Developing Countries

- Rapid growth in 10 yrs in 3 waves (Reardon et. al.)
 - First wave:
 - South America supermarkets 40-60% market share (depending on country) in 2002
 - South Africa and East Asia (excl. China)
 - Second wave:
 - Central Europe, Central America, SE Asia supermarkets 20-40% market share (depending on country)
 - Third wave:
 - Africa, China, E. Europe, S. Asia supermarkets 2-20% market share (depending on country)
- PLUS fourth wave:
 - Rise of regional supermarket brands (e.g. Shoprite in Africa)
 - Global supermarkets (e.g. WM, Carrefour, Tesco) expansion in Latin America, Asia and now Africa

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Changing gender dynamics of Food Consumption

- Changing gender dynamics of food consumption:
 - Rising female employment and incomes (World Bank)
 - Supermarkets 'one stop shop' for working women
 - Food processing reduces home preparation (+ high value)
- Women key consumer group
 - Women 70-80% of supermarket customers (Wal Mart CEO)
 - Goldman Sachs (2009) study of BRICs:
 - Rising gender equality increasing women's bargaining power
 - Women's spending more focused on enhancing household welfare
- Ethical consumption gendered (*Keynote 2008*)
 - Regularly buy Fairtrade: 23% women, 18% men
 - Care about labour exploitation: 37% women and 34% men

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Changing gender dynamics of Food Production

- Global sourcing transformed women's lives in many developing countries:
 - As unpaid family labour/smallholder farm outgrowers supplying larger farms & value chains. Guesstimates:
 - 33% Guatemala vegetable production (Dolan & Sorby 2003)
 - 75 % of Uganda farmers – common in Africa (World Bank 2009)
 - Flow of women from smallholder to wage work – agro-food and manufacture (see McCulloch, Kelly, Maertens)
 - Wage workers production, packing & processing (see next slide)
 - Wage workers in supermarkets of south (little information)
- Challenges: low pay, weak property rights, poor labour conditions, no rights, insecure, no social protection
- Opportunities: independent income, socialisation, better bargaining position

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Workers in Selected Countries linked to GPNs (circa 2000)

<u>Country</u>	<u>Level of employment</u>	<u>Gender composition</u>	<u>Type of employment</u>
Kenya flowers	40,000 wage workers (+ 4-5,000 smallholders)	75 per cent female	65 per cent temporary
Chile fruit	336,739 wage workers	Female workers: 52 per cent temporary workers and 5 per cent of permanent	85 per cent temporary 15 per cent permanent Waged work
S. Africa fruit	280,000	53 per cent female	Increasing off farm labour Use of labour brokers
China Garments and textiles	8.39 million wage workers	70 per cent female	Mainly internal rural migrant labour

Sources: Dolan and Sorby (2003), Yusuf et al (2007).

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Analysis of Global Production Networks

- **Global Value Chains (Gereffi, Kaplinsky etc.)**
 - Inter firm linkages: design, production, distribution, consumption
 - Lead firms determine:
 - Governance, Standards, Economic rents
 - Consumer Facing: segmented markets
 - Cost vs. Quality trade off (price point key)
- **Global Production Networks (Dicken, Coe, Hess etc)**
 - Complexity of firm linkages/networks across borders
 - Social and institutional embeddedness (eg gender, civil society)
 - Power relations – bargaining positions key (commercial and social)
- **Gender/labour largely overlooked in GVC/GPN analysis**
 - Labour implicitly factor of production
 - Wider social actors peripheral
 - Gender blind

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**Gendered Production
Network Analysis 1**

- Commercial/Social linkages & tensions key:
 - Commercial tension – Cost vs. Quality
 - Firms embedded in diverse gender norms: consumer cultures and labour market institutions
- Value Capture and Distribution
 - 'Value' > cost price – includes gendered value norms
 - Value extracted up by lead firms – cost/risk pushed down onto suppliers/workers
- Women workers 'cheap':
 - Flexible labour and unremunerated 'social' skills
 - Ultimate buffer against commercial risks

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**Gendered Production
Network Analysis 2**

- Productive/reproductive divide reshaped:
 - Food production/processing feminised – low wage
 - Food preparation commercialised – less time
- Power: GPNs sites of commercial and social bargaining
 - Women worker's multiple burdens vs. greater economic independence and bargaining power
 - Employers take advantage of women's subordination & poor organisation vs. women workers better networked and mobile
 - Consumers women have more influence in purchasing goods
- New Leverage Points
 - Buyers' Reputational Risk
 - Civil Society Networks (NGOs & Tus) – gender focused

CAPTURING THE GAINS Economic and Social Upgrading in GPNs - A Gendered Process?

- Economic Upgrading when:
 - Move from low value to high value activities
 - Product, Process, Functional & Chain upgrading
 - Commercial activities incorporating women (farmers, producers, workers, commercial actors, consumers) at higher levels
- Social upgrading when:
 - Enhanced capabilities, entitlements and well being
 - Decent work – employment, rights, protection, voice
 - Greater gender equality and opportunities empowering women (through access to better incomes, rights, bargaining position)
- Gender at core of economic/social interface
 - Commercial entwined in economic/social discrimination
 - Tensions between economic/social
 - Upgrading vs. downgrading (mixed outcomes)

CAPTURING THE GAINS Key Questions

- Research questions:
 - What are gendered dynamics of upgrading versus downgrading?
 - How critical is women's waged work to smallholder households?
 - How are women's unremunerated social skills transferred across generations?
 - Are women workers displaced by men as firms up grade (Milberg)?
- Policy questions:
 - How can gender equity be promoted by private sector within GPNs?
 - What are the leverage points for civil society to promote women's rights?
 - How to enhance gender sensitive strategies linking governments, donors, trade policy, private sector and civil society?

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