

The Synergy between Gender Socialization and Women Unpaid Care Work in Nigeria: Implication for the Sustainable Development Goals

Olukemi Grace Adebola¹

General Studies Unit, Federal University of Technology, Akure, Nigeria

Received 23 October 2020 ||| Accepted 23 February 2021

Abstract: Gender socialization fans the embers of gender inequality by their practice which is a serious obstacle to the achievement of most of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) particularly for the female gender. This paper used the empirical data from Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey (NDHS) over the last fifteen years (2003-2018) to investigate fuel use and water sources among Nigerian households. Findings revealed that about 80% Nigerian households relied on firewood as cooking energy throughout the fifteen years under study. Sources of water for the households were mainly outside household dwelling places. The burden of collecting both fuel and water is placed more on women and girls through gender socialization which makes it natural for women and the girl child to be involved in these duties classified as women unpaid care work. This has implication for her time, energy use, vulnerabilities to unsafe situations and even negative health outcome. Attaining the SDGs is highly impassable except something drastic is done to address issues that bother on such practices especially in the developing nations including Nigeria. The paper recommended that the government should make the provision and accessibility to both potable water and clean energy a priority for all citizens so as to reduce women hazardous work and improve their work standard. Policies that captures domestic and unpaid care work as social works that can be remunerated should be adopted and the girl child should be valued and protected as much as possible.

Keywords: Gender socialization, Nigeria, time poverty, unpaid care, Women.

|||

Introduction

Gender refers to the social roles of men and women, boys and girls, as well as the relationships among them, in a given society at a specific time and space. Holmes (2007) defines gender as socially produced differences between being feminine and being masculine. It differentiates what men and women are expected to do i.e. their roles, responsibilities, rights and obligations to differing degrees depending on the cultural context. UNESCO (2017) outlined three major gender roles which include; defining the boundaries of what women and men can and should be and do; shaping and determining the behaviour, roles, expectation and entitlements of women and men and lastly, providing rules, norms, customs and practices. Gender socialization on the other hand, refers to a process by which individuals develop, refine and learn to do and act gender through internalising gender norms and roles as they interact with key agents of socialization such as the family, social networks and other social institutions (UNICEF, 2017). More often than not, gender socialization put limitation to roles and expectation of society members because it obeys the broader structural forces such as prevailing socio-economic conditions, political and patriarchal institutions and practices (UNICEF, 2014).

Gender socialization breeds gender inequality in most societies of the world because it presents its practices as harmless and being acceptable to all. In most societies around the world, gender norms favour men and boys particularly those who conform to the masculine norms (Gender & Development Network, 2017). Thus, men and women are affected differently because of gender roles learned by socialization that shape their responsibilities and day-to-day activities. Social and cultural norms also play important roles in both defining and sustaining rigidity in the gender division of labour (World Bank, 2006). A persistent reason for the continued underrepresentation and unequal education opportunities for girls and women stem from their roles as designated by the society through gender socialization. As observed by Mistira, Behera & Babu (2012), though girls and women constitute a considerable part of the total population, gender socialization process of the society perpetuates the self-

¹ Email: ogadebola@futa.edu.ng

sacrificing, self-pitying and submissive image of girls which is responsible for the pre-ordained role she will assume as an adult.

Inequalities persist and are sustained by existing, mainly patriarchal powers, be they of religious or cultural origin or based on dominant economic models. This however, affronts the very bricks on which the achievements of the SDGs are laid. The United Nations (2017) explains succinctly that realizing gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls will make a crucial contribution to progress across all the goals and targets of the sustainable development pursued by world leaders since 2015. According to the United Nation Women (2017) women are very crucial to the attainment of the SDGs because all goals and targets as spelt out by the world leaders are woven around women activities and family life. Abating hunger and poverty, living healthy lives, achieving gender equality, access to clean water and energy are all roles affecting women and girls in significant ways. Reports from United Nations (2018) indicated a poor performance at major goals especially energy use, water sources and quality, inequality practices especially in sub-Saharan African countries with Nigeria taking the lead in most of these reports. It is therefore imperative to find out possible reasons for this set of poor performances so as to proffer solution to them. This paper therefore looked at water and energy collection in Nigeria, as unavoidable duties of women and girls that reduces their chances of fulfilment because these gender roles performed for the overall wellbeing of family members affect them in significant ways.

Water and Fuel Collection as Women Unpaid Care Work

An essential outcome of gender socialization is the involvement of women and girls in unpaid care work. Hirway (2015) defined unpaid care work essentially as that work which does not receive direct remunerations. It is the type of work that uses the time and energy of household members to produce goods and services to increase the well-being of household. Unpaid care and domestic work encompasses all kinds of activities centred on caring for the families, household and communities. It involves cooking and food shopping, cleaning and laundry, collecting water and fuel, and caring for children, elders and people with disabilities as well as able-bodied adults (UNICEF, 2011). Performing unpaid care work is often seen as a natural role of women, which help to normalise their subordinate economic, political and social position relative to that of men (African Development Bank Group, 2015). Women do over 75% of all unpaid care work globally, with that proportion rising even higher in certain countries. Relative to men, women spend twice as much time on housework and four hours less time per day on paid work. In most societies, cooking, cleaning, fetching firewood and water are seen as women's work regardless of women's social class and level of education (Action aids, 2013)

The World Health Organization [WHO] (2016) enunciated that women and children are the primary procurers and users of household energy services and bear the largest share of the health and other burdens associated with it. In many parts of the world, women are the primary cooks in the household, which means they are also generally responsible for collecting fuel and preparing food for cooking (Efroymsen, 2010). The World Economic Forum (2013) opined that women in developing countries spend longer hours working in survival activities, including collecting firewood, hauling water, processing food and cooking. Inequalities persist and are sustained by this existing patriarchal power and the disparities therefore become a structural element of societies that is difficult to abolish or even reduce. Abdourahman (2010) enunciated that an analysis of 'who does what and when' within the normal African household shows that women and girls are responsible for collecting water and firewood. Many scholars assent to the importance of unpaid care work in stabilizing the society (United Nations, 2014). Unpaid care work improves the overall performance of the economy and contributes to human capital formulation (World Bank, 2006; Hirway, 2015). The Directorate- General of Global Affairs, Development and Partnerships (2010) defined the term 'care' as the invisible work of women (childcare, housework etc.) and also reported that unpaid female labour is estimated to be worth more than \$15billion per annum, which compensates for shortfalls in public spending, including education, health and infrastructure. UNICEF (2011) opined that unpaid care work by women also creates and strengthens essential social ties, but it is neither recognised nor taken into account in GNP figures. In the real world, women subsidize the economy because they make up half the paid labour force, but are still doing most

of the household management and caregiving (Asian Development Bank, 2015). The different care work or activities are essential to maintaining our societies and across the world are primarily done by women and girls. When this work is carried out in the person's own home and is unpaid, it is not reflected in national statistics or economics analyses, despite its centrality to our day to day well-being (Efroymson, 2010). It is perceived to be less valuable than paid work and it is ignored and not considered to be 'work' even by the women and men who engage in and benefit directly from these activities.

Time Poverty, an aftermath of Women Unpaid Care Work

There are many disadvantages that have been identified with women and girls' involvement in unpaid work care. The most important been time poverty which lead to the restriction of women and girls' education opportunities and prevent them from full participation in economic and political decision making (Efroymson, 2010, Asian Development Bank, 2015). Time poverty as explained by World Bank (2006) can be understood as the fact that some individuals do not have enough time for rest and leisure after taking into account the time spent working, whether in the labour market, for domestic work, or for other activities such as fetching water and wood. Women's overwhelming responsibility for unpaid care work is not only a major barrier to gender equality but also violates their rights to education, political participation, decent work and leisure (Gender & Development Network, 2017). A study of 16 developing countries showed that 10% of girls aged 5-14 devoted 28 hours or more each week to household chores, this is roughly twice of that of boys and that their school attendance declined as a result (Geere, & Cortobius, 2017).

The UN Women (2017) opined that the end of poverty can only be achieved with the end of gender-based discrimination which usually emanates and is sustained by gender socialization. It added that all over the world, gender inequality makes and keeps women poor, depriving them of basic rights and opportunities for wellbeing. Poverty causes and worsens gender inequality (International Planned Parenthood Funds [IPPF], 2015). Women living in poverty frequently face increased burdens of unpaid care work. They cannot afford to hire or buy washing machines, refrigerators, cars, or other time and labour items. They also lack basic infrastructures like electricity, piped borne water and adequate public transportation leaving women workers with less time and income to meet their families' care needs (Action aids, 2013). The African Union (2018) opined that women are trapped in the vicious cycle of poverty, thus resulting in less economic empowerment for women. The time spent by women in unpaid care work is a major factor in their continued poverty and underrepresentation as it is disproportionately high compared to men (Action aid, 2017).

Research has demonstrated over the years that unpaid care work is arduous, stressful and even dangerous. It exposes carers to communicable diseases, fumes from cooking and cleaning, injuries from physical exertion, and vulnerability to violence while fetching water and fuel (UNICEF, 2011). Women play a significant and dominant role within the household cooking sector. Generally, women do most of the cooking and therefore are disproportionately affected by household air pollution (HAP) caused by the inefficient burning of solid biomass cooking fuels (WHO, 2006, 2016). They also spend a significant amount of time and efforts collecting the traditionally used biomass fuels, a physically draining task that can take up to 20 or more hours per week. In far too many poorer countries, girls are more likely than boys to drop out of school, they can be violated. In poor households where the burden of family care falls on the mother's shoulder, a girl's value at home may be perceived as greater than school (UNICEF, 2011). The United Nations (2014) opined that policy actions for sustainability must redress the state of women and girls because sustainable development cannot be achieved when the rights, dignity and capabilities of half the world population is ignored. The National Bureau of Statistics (2016) enunciated that girls and women make up 49.5% of the estimated population of 183 million people in Nigeria in 2015 and yet, they remained underrepresented in decision making, education, etc. Gender socialization has over the years sustained the position of women and girls as they engage in these societal defined roles to their detriment and that of the society.

Methodology

Data and Sample

This study is based on the data drawn from Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey, NDHS, (2003 to 2018). The surveys are based on a nationally representative sample estimates for the rural and the urban segments of the country as well as each of the six geopolitical regions and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT). While the sample frame for the 2003 NDHS was the list of Enumeration Areas (EAs) developed for the 1991 population census, that of 2008, 2013 and 2018 were gotten from EAs of 2006 population census respectively. An EA or more as the case may be, were used to form the Primary Sampling Unit (PSU). In 2003, the NDHS sample was selected using a stratified, two-stage cluster design, and this method interestingly was used again for the most recent survey in 2018 while in 2008 as well as 2013, stratified samples selected independently in three-stages were used. Data for household type of cooking fuel and sources of water were extracted and analysed within the period of 15 years. The Demographic and Health Survey started in 1984 and has provided technical assistance in accurate data collection, analysis and dissemination to more than 300 surveys in over 90 countries. The program advances global understanding of health and population trends in developing countries. The DHS program is funded majorly by USAID. Additional funding for surveys in individual countries are often obtained from UNICEF, United Nations Population Fund, the World Bank, and the United Kingdom’s Department for International Development, and other organizations (Corsi, Neuman, Finlay & Subramanian, 2012). Data are collected in a standard fashion to facilitate comparisons across countries and five years interval to study the trend in each country.

Data Analysis

Descriptive statistics was used to find the frequencies and percentages of the type of cooking fuel and sources of drinking water available to household for each year. The accessibility and utilization of both facilities represents what is obtainable for household in the period under study.

Results and Discussion

Table 1 shows that throughout the 15 years under review, firewood remained the highest used type of energy at approximately 80%. In year 2003, 82.12% used firewood, this unfortunately increased in year 2008 to 84.17%. However, in year 2013, it came back to 79.53% and most recently in year 2018, it came to 72.5%. The state of poor energy access presents a serious challenge in sub-Saharan Africa especially for women and children (Morrisey, 2017). More than three billion people in the world still rely on open fires and simple stoves for cooking food that burn solid fuels like wood, animal dung, charcoal and coal which are referred to as unclean or dirty energy and causes air pollution (Africa Renewable Energy Access Program [AFREA] (2011). Sub-Saharan Africa has the highest level of solid fuel dependence globally. The latest International and National Census Surveys, triangulated with parametric estimates for fuel use in geographies where recent data are unavailable, suggest that 82% of sub-Saharan African population depend on solid fuels for their primary cooking needs (The World Bank, 2015; Africa for Results Initiative, 2017). Also, Bisu, Kuhe and Aondover lortyer (2016) reported a heavy reliance on biomass cooking fuel among Nigerian households.

According to Rysankova, Putti, Hyseni, Kammila, & Kappen (2014), though every member of households are adversely affected by traditional cooking methods, the effects is however much more overwhelming among women and children. In most sub-Saharan African countries including Nigeria, women and girls spend as many as five hours in sourcing for firewood which reduces the possibilities for further education, business opportunities and family time (Waris & Antahal, 2014). Therefore, biomass dependent families are trapped in a poverty cycle and must continually prioritize the pursuit of energy over other activities. Ogwumike & Ozughalu (2015) elucidate that poor energy state in Nigeria hampers the sustainable development chances of the nation as a work as it limits individual productivity. Estimates show that 600,000 people die each year as a result of the exposure to biomass smoke in sub-Saharan Africa, with girls having a higher chance to die from hazardous fumes than from malaria or malnutrition (Castelyn, 2017; The World Bank, 2014). As reported by Rewards (2017), the majority of fuel collection and transport is carried out by women and girls, which invariably impact their time, health and general wellbeing.

Table (1): Type of Cooking Energy in Nigeria

Type of Cooking Energy	Year 2003	Year 2008	Year 2013	Year 2018
------------------------	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------

	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Electricity	14	0.1	222	0.2	355	0.3	53	0.7
LPG	137	0.6	132	0.1	387	0.3	702	8.7
Natural Gas	0	0.0	292	0.3	693	0.6	78	1.0
Biogas	50	0.2	78	0.1	124	0.1	9	0.1
Kerosene	3375	14.7	10866	10.4	15488	13.0	815	10.1
Coal, Lignite	41	0.2	313	0.3	312	0.3	40	0.5
Charcoal	177	0.8	2409	2.3	3012	2.5	420	5.2
Wood	18886	82.1	88109	84.2	94944	79.5	5849	72.5
Straw/shrubs/grass	185	0.8	1390	1.3	2571	2.2	65	0.8
Agricultural crops	3	0.0	161	0.2	335	0.3	6	0.1
Animal dungs	125	0.5	70	0.1	224	0.2	0	0.0
Others	0	0.0	637	0.6	937	0.8	30	0.4
Total	22993	100.0	104679	100.0	119382	100.0	8067	100.0

Source: DHS, Nigeria Data Set (2003; 2008; 2013 and 2018)

Table 2 presents the results of sources of water in Nigeria in the past 15 years (2003-2018). In year 2003 74.3% respondents' fetched water from unprotected spring while in 2008, 24% got water from unprotected well, 23.3% from tube well/bore hole while 21.3% got water for home use from river/dam/pond/stream/canal or irrigation. 2013 records revealed that 32.9% got water from tube well/bore hole while some 18.9% fetched from unprotected well and 16.9% from river/dam/pond/stream/canal or irrigation. However, despite improvement in 2018 as 35.2% got water from tube well/bore hole, some 18.4% fetched from unprotected well, 11.5% from rivers and streams and 10.4% from protected well. The result as depicted revealed that apart from health implications that could emanate from these sources of water, most these sources are outside the household vicinity and has to be collected over some distances. Examples of such sources which are frequently used in Nigeria as depicted above include fetching water from neighbour, public tap, tube or bore hole, springs, river, dam, pond, stream, canal, irrigation etc. According to SIDA (2015), due to cultural and historic reasons, women are often the primary collectors, transporters and users of water in developing countries and they spend significantly more time acquiring water than men and boys which oftentimes, exposes them to threats of violence and health hazards when they need to go for distance to collect water and also decreases women's role in contributions to agricultural production, food security and business opportunities.

Table (2): Sources of Drinking Water

Sources of Drinking Water	Year 2003		Year 2008		Year 2013		Year 2018	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Piped into dwelling	794	3.1	2034	2.0	2058	1.7	131	1.6
Piped into yard/plot	744	2.9	1282	1.2	1233	1.0	98	1.2
Public tap/stand pipe/ neighbour	2099	8.2	5561	5.4	8357	7.0	587	7.3
Tube well or bore hole	0	0.0	24049	23.3	39239	32.9	2837	35.2
Protected well	677	2.7	13859	13.4	13417	11.2	838	10.4
Unprotected well	1754	6.9	25151	24.3	22568	18.9	1480	18.4
Protected spring	177	0.7	602	0.6	595	0.5	65	0.8
Unprotected spring	18886	74.2	4086	4.0	4012	3.4	146	1.8
River/dam/pond/stream/canal/irrigation	185	0.7	22042	21.3	20199	16.9	928	11.5
Rain water	3	0.0	2053	2.0	776	0.7	160	2.0
Tanker truck	125	0.5	1107	1.1	989	0.8	58	0.7

Cart with small tank	0	0.0	710	0.7	1235	1.0	163	2.0
Bottled water	0	0.0	792	0.8	606	0.5	30	0.4
Sachet water (in a bag)	0	0.0	0	0.0	2954	2.5	506	6.3
Others	0	0.0	0	0.0	1107	0.9	34	0.4
Total	25444	100.0	103328	100.0	119345	100.0	8061	100.0

Source: DHS, Nigeria Data Set (2003; 2008; 2013 and 2018)

Graham, Hirai and Kim (2016), conducted an analysis of water collection labour among women and children in 24 sub-Saharan African countries and found that an estimated 3.36million children and 13.54million adult females were responsible for water collection in households with collection time greater than 30 minutes per time. Another study by Asian Development Bank (2015) showed that time poverty experienced in provision of water by poor women leads to a lack of access to time saving resources especially in education and skills training. Geere & Cortobious (2017) validated from their study that three quarter of household in sub-Saharan Africa, bring water from a source located away from their home and it is women and girls who bear the main responsibility for collecting water in 71% of the households studied. United Nations (2014) reported that women's care responsibilities are often increased by water-related disease, thus, intensifying their labour, reducing the amount of water they can collect, and limiting the time they can spend working or engaging in community action. Adebola (2019) reiterated that water collection and access in Nigeria is affected by socio-economic factors whereby the poor suffers more by going far to get water.

Conclusion and Policy Implication

This paper examined the poor sources of cooking energy and water in Nigeria as a problem that directly affronts the female gender and inhibits her maximum productivity in all entreties. If the trend of biomass cooking fuel and poor water collection is not given priority, it will be difficult to achieve the availability and sustainability of water and sanitation for all (SDGs 6) and ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all (SDG 7). The implication of this is that women and girls will continue to be involved in the unpaid care work of collecting both wood and water which will hinder the achievement of goal 8 (full productive employment and descent work for all) and that invariably will continue to hamper SDGs 4 (ensuring inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all) and goal 5 (achieving gender equality and empowerment of all women and girls). If women in their present state are left unattended to, then achieving goal 1 (ending poverty); goal 2 (ending Hunger) and goal 3 (ensuring healthy lives and promoting wellbeing) will be impossible. The continued scavenging for water and firewood by women and girls will however not only expose and make them vulnerable but will also negatively impact climate and vegetation as well. It is this revolving cycle of the SDGs that puts us to task to address the women and girls' peculiarities as expressed in social construction of the society.

The synergy between the Sustainable Development Goals is tasking and behoves us to do more in the area of policy implementation that will lead to a comprehensive positive result. In today's contemporary world, Nigeria must come up to the world's standard of improving the quality of education and girl child conscientiously such that women empowerment which can help to achieve other SDGs will be the focus. This however is not visible except a radical change is sought and vigorously pursued especially for the girl child. Value reorientation among the rural communities must be pursued. The government also need to do more about the provision and access to both potable water and clean energy access to reduce women hazardous work and improve their work standard. Nigeria can also implement policies that capture domestic and unpaid care work as social works provided by women and remunerated. The girl child should be valued as much as her counterpart male so that she will not be denied of all human right benefits due her.

References

1. Abdourahman, O.I (2010) Time poverty: A contributor to women's poverty? The African Statistical Journal. 11: 16-37
2. Action aids (2013) Making Care Visible: Women's unpaid care work in Nepal, Nigeria, Uganda and Kenya. www.actionaid.org/unpaidcarework
3. Action aids (2017) Policy Brief: Incorporation of Women's Economic Empowerment and Unpaid Care Work into Regional Policies. Africa.
4. Adebola, O.G (2019) Disparities in Access to Improved and Unimproved Sources of Drinking Water and Toilet Facilities in Nigeria: A Socio-economic Dichotomy. Journal of Sustainable Technology 10 (1):104-110.
5. Africa Renewable Energy Access Program [AFREA] (2011). Wood-Based Biomass Energy Development for SSA. Issues and Approaches. Washington, D.C. U.S.A.
6. African Development Bank Group (2015) Empowering African women, an agenda for action: African Gender Equality Index 2015. Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire. gender.afdb.org.
7. African for Results Initiative (2017) Promoting clean technology for cooking in sub-Saharan African countries. www.afrik4r.org/page/resources.
8. African Union (2018) AU Strategy for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment: 2018-2028. Ethiopia. www.au.int/
9. Asian Development Bank (2015) Balancing the burden of desk review of women's time poverty and infrastructure in Asia and the Pacific. Mandaluyong city, Philippines. www.adb.org/openaccess.adb.org
10. Bisu, D.Y., Kuhe, A., & Aondover Iortyer (2016) Urban Household Cooking Energy Choice: An Example of Bauchi Metropolis, Nigeria. Journal of Energy, Sustainability and Society 6:15 Doi: 10.1186/s13705-016-0080-1
11. Casteleyn, H (2017) Clean cooking in sub-Saharan Africa: Modelling the cooking fuel mix to 2050. M.Sc. Thesis submitted to KTH School of Industrial Engineering and Management Energy Technology. EGI-2017-0057- M.Sc. Division of Energy and Climate Studies SE-100 44 STOCKHOLM
12. Corsi, D.J; Neuman, M, Finlay, J.E & Subramanian, S.V (2012) Demographic and Health Surveys: a profile. International Journal of Epidemiology, 41:1602-1613. Doi: 10.1093/ije/dys184.
13. Directorate-General of Global Affairs, Development and Partnership (2010) French Strategy for Gender equality. www.diplomatie.govu.fr
14. Efrogmson, D (2010) Women, Work and Money: Studying the Economic value of women's unpaid work and using the results for advocacy. HealthBridge Publishers.
15. Geere, J-A & Cortobius, M (2017) Who Carries the Weight of Water? Fetching Water in Rural and Urban Areas and the Implications for Water Security. Water Alternatives 10(2). PP 513-540.
16. Gender & Development Network (2017): Sharing the Load: Unpaid Care and Women's economic empowerment. Briefings Feb.2017. www.gadnetwork.org
17. Graham, J.P; Hirai, M & Kim, S-S (2016) an analysis of water collection labor among women and children in 24 Sub-Saharan countries. PLoS ONE 11(6): e0155981
18. Hirway, I (2015) unpaid work & Economy: Linkages and their Implications. Levy Economics Institute of Bard College. Working Paper No: 838. <http://levyinstitutue.org>
19. Holmes, M (2007) what is Gender? Sociological Approaches SAGE Publications Ltd, London
20. Mistira, S, Behera, D.K & Babu, B.V (2012) Socialization and Gender bias at the household level among school-attending girls in a tribal community of the Kalhandi district of Eastern India. Anthropological Notebooks Slovene Anthropological Society, 18(2): 45-53
21. Morrissey, J (2017). The energy challenge in sub-Saharan Africa: A guide for advocates and policy makers: part 2: Addressing energy poverty. Oxfam Researchers Series. <http://www.oxfamamerica.org/static/media/files/oxfam-RAEL-energySSA-pt1.pdf>
22. National Bureau of Statistics (2016) 2015 statistical report on women and men in Nigeria
23. Ogwumike, F.O & Ozughalu, U.M (2015) Analysis of Energy Poverty and its Implications for Sustainable Development in Nigeria. Environment & Development Economics. 21: 273-290. Doi: 10.1017/S1355770x5000236

24. Rewalds, R (2017) Energy and women and girls: Analysing the Needs, Uses, and Impacts of energy on Women and Girls in the Developing World. Oxfam Research Backgrounder Series: <https://www.oxfamamerica.org/explore/research-publications/energy-women-girls>
25. Rysankova, D., Putti, V. R., Hyseni, B., Kammila, S. and Kappen, J. F., 2014. Clean and Improved Cooking in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Landscape Report. Report No. 98664. Africa Clean Cooking Solutions Initiative. The World Bank, Washington, DC.
26. SIDA (2015) Women, Water, Sanitation and Hygiene. Gender Tool Box (Brief)
27. The International Planned Parenthood [IPPF] (2015) Sexual and Reproductive Health and Right- The key to Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment. UK. www.ippf.org
28. The World Bank (2006) Gender, time use and poverty in sub-Saharan Africa. The World Bank working paper No. 73. Washington, D.C. 20433, U.S.A.
29. The World Bank (2014) Clean and improved cooking in sub-Saharan Africa (second edition). Washington, D.C. 20433, U.S.A.
30. The World Bank (2015) the state of the global clean and improved cooking sector. Washington, DC. 20433, USA.
31. UNICEF (2011) Promoting Gender Equality: An Equity-focused Approach to Programming. Program Division. New York www.unicef.org
32. UNICEF (2014) Gender: Early Socialization. Encyclopedia on Early Childhood Development
33. UNICEF (2017) Gender Socialization during Adolescence in Low-and Middle-Income Countries: Conceptualization, Influences and Outcomes. Innocenti Discussion paper 2017-01. www.unicef-irc.org
34. United Nations (2014) Situation of unpaid work and gender in the Caribbean: The measurement of unpaid work through time-use studies. New York
35. United Nations (2015) The Millennium Development Goals Report. New York.
36. United Nations (2017) The Sustainable Development Goals Report. New York
37. United Nations (2018) Accelerating SDG7 Achieving SDG 7 in Africa. Achievement Policy Brief 18. <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/contact/>
38. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO] (2017) UNESCO and Gender Equality in Sub-Saharan Africa: Innovative, Program, Visible Results. France.
39. United Nations Women (2017) Women and the Sustainable Development Goals. www.unwomen.org
40. Waris, V.S & Antahal, P (2014). Fuel scarcity, poverty and women: Some perspectives. IOSR journal of humanities and social sciences. 19 (8): 21-33. www.iosrjournals.org
41. W.H.O. (2016) Burning Opportunity: Clean Household Energy for Health, Sustainable Development and Wellbeing of Women and Children. Geneva, Switzerland.
42. WHO (2016). Ambient air pollution: A global assessment of exposure and burden of disease. Geneva, Switzerland.
43. World Economic Forum (2013) Five Challenges, One Solution. Coligny/Geneva, Switzerland. www.weforum.org
44. World Health Organization (2006) Fuel for life: Household energy and health. Geneva, Switzerland.
45. Zaidi, M & Chigateri, S (2017) My Work never ends: Women Balancing Paid Work and Unpaid Care in India. Institute of Development Studies.