
**EVALUATING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF KENYAN POLICIES IN
SUPPORTING FEMALE ENTREPRENEURS IN EXPORT MARKETS.**

***Faith Liz Mbiwa, Yasin Ghabon Kuso, John N. Ngigi**

Maseno University.

Article Received: 03 March 2026, Article Revised: 23 March 2026, Published on: 13 April 2026

*Corresponding Author: Faith Liz Mbiwa

Maseno University.

DOI: <https://doi-doi.org/101555/ijarp.7556>

ABSTRACT

This paper is a critical assessment of the effectiveness of Kenyan national policies and efforts in supporting female entrepreneurs in accessing and succeeding in export markets. This study acknowledges the connection between economic growth and gender equality while noting that in many cases, women-owned business enterprises become disadvantaged by systemic factors when it comes to scaling up and involvement in global trade. The paper introduces concepts such as female entrepreneurship, export markets, and the role of policy frameworks, which sets the stage for the critical evaluation. Based on the use of an extensive literature review and governmental reports, the study establishes what is already known about gender-based trade issues in Kenya. It particularly explores policies such as the 30% Preferential Public Procurement Policy and the opportunities presented by regional agreements such as the African Continental Free Trade Area (AFCFTA). The findings reveal that while policies are present to ensure gender equality is promoted in trade, their implementation and actual impact in boosting the performance of female-owned export businesses are limited due to the presence of multiple methodological constraints and institutional barriers. The paper concludes by offering policy recommendations on how to resiliently equip and prepare Kenyan women entrepreneurs for global inclusion.

KEYWORDS: Export markets; female entrepreneurship; policy effectiveness.

INTRODUCTION

Female entrepreneurship is the process that involves women initiating, owning or actively operating a business venture. Export markets refer to countries or regions where the local goods and services are exported. Policy effectiveness in this regard measures the extent to

which stipulated government policies and programs in Kenya accomplish their outlined goal of empowering women to enter and trade successfully in these global trade settings. The main purpose of this paper is to critically assess the effectiveness and role of some Kenyan national policies that seek to empower female entrepreneurs to penetrate and succeed in export markets. This is to offer an evidence-based evaluation of the existing policy environment, to pinpoint areas of implementation failure and subsequent limitations to women-owned enterprises (WOEs).

The main argument of the paper consists of two parts: first, although the Republic of Kenya has already developed sound policy frameworks, which focus on gender equality and economic empowerment of women, the effectiveness of these policies in terms of tangible improvement of the export performance of WOEs is also constrained to a large extent by systemic implementation barriers and socio-economic barriers. Second, achieving substantive integration of WOEs into the global value chain requires moving from general-empowerment towards sector-specific and extensively-funded policy intervention that are responsive to immediate constraints in terms of finance, skills, and market information.

Previous literature establishes that empowering women correlates with an increase in the economy of a country (Ellis et al. 2007; Lock and Lawton Smith 2016). However, this idea is contrasted by the view that highlights the micro-level structural limitations that the policies are unable to address (International Finance Corporation 2021). The controversy revolves around the gap between policy intent and market reality (Mohammed 2019). As an example, although policies, such as the 30% Preferential Public Procurement Policy, are implemented to provide women with opportunities, in most cases, this policy is undermined by factors such as complex procedures and the difficulties in accessing financing, which demonstrates that policies do not address the issue of the root cause of underrepresentation of women in export trade (Mohammed 2019).

Based on the main argument of the paper that there is a gap in policy implementation, the study addresses the following major questions: to what extent are Kenyan national policies effective in improving market accessibility by female entrepreneurs to export markets, including the 30% Preferential Public Procurement Policy?; What are the primary structural and institutional constraints in enacting gender-responsive trade policies that are restricting the performance of women-owned enterprises (WOE) with regard to export performance? (International Finance Corporation 2021; Mohammed 2019), and how can policy interventions be tailored to enhance the export preparedness and the resilience of Kenyan

WOEs in relation to new regional prospects such as the African Continental Free Trade Area (AFCFTA)?

Past studies have provided a background knowledge of the Kenya trade and it has been indicated that Kenya has been experiencing volatility in export performance in the past (Were et al. 2002). It has been established by a considerable amount of literature that women-owned businesses are typically smaller, less formalized, and less inclined to international trade than those owned by men (de Haan 2016). The recent development is an increased recognition that generic trade liberalization policies restrict female traders, especially those in the retail sector, in disproportionate ways that require policy interventions that are gender sensitive (Kiriti-Nganga 2015). Recent studies also note that WOEes should be ready to take advantage of the huge market opportunity that the African Continental Free Trade Area (AFCFTA) presents (Agarwal and Tayo 2024; UN Women 2019).

The causality explored posits that the quality of policy design and implementation would be directly related to the export preparedness and endurance of female entrepreneurs (Rajak and Dolan 2024). The cause (weak implementation) results in the persistent market exclusion (effect) and effective and target-focused policies are enabling factors to scale WOEes into export markets (de Haan 2016). This paper is significant because gender equality undoubtedly contributes to attaining sustainable national development as provided in Kenya commitment towards international goals (The Republic of Kenya. Ministry of Public Service, Youth and Gender Affairs. 2017). The significant role of women in the Kenyan economy and the challenges they encounter in reaching the lucrative sphere of exports at the same time are enough to encourage a comprehensive, critical examination of this phenomenon to bridge the gap between the policy and the practice (Lock and Lawton Smith 2016).

The next sections are organized to provide a comprehensive evaluation. The empirical and theoretical context will be set by the literature review. The methodology part will describe the selection and analysis procedure of the academic contents. The evidence will be presented and discussed in the reporting results and discussing findings sections. Lastly, the recommendations and conclusion will draw up the conclusions and offer practical measures.

LITERATURE REVIEW

History of research on gender and trade in Kenya indicates that there has been a transition in the general economic analysis to a more in-depth study of the limitations of women. The initial examination of Kenya export environment was more macroeconomic-oriented, with no special consideration being put on the differential impact on women (Were et al. 2002). The

turning point was reached when there was the explicit acknowledgment of the strong causal relationship between gender equality and economic growth in the late 2000s (Ellis et al. 2007; Lock and Lawton Smith 2016). This progression led to dedicated reports that focused on emphasizing the potential of “Unleashing the Power of Women” to develop the country (Ellis et al. 2007). This development shows the need to move towards an understanding that generic economic policies will not be adequate in dealing with structural gender inequalities in trade (Lock and Lawton Smith 2016).

The existing studies that have examined women entrepreneurs in export markets tend to apply qualitative case studies and policy analysis to assess the adoption and effectiveness of national frameworks, including the Country Position Paper (The Republic of Kenya. Ministry of Public Service, Youth and Gender Affairs. 2017). For example, evaluation of the 30% Preferential Public Procurement Policy has been based frequently on a case study and survey approach to elaborate the progress and challenges faced by female entrepreneurs in utilizing these opportunities (Mohammed 2019). The key areas explored in the literature include: effectiveness and mainstreaming of policies, that is, how well are countries working to ensure gender considerations are realized in trade policy (Domen 2021; United Nations Inter-Agency Network on Women and Gender Equality (IANWGE) 2011); market access barriers, that is, exploring the supply-side restrictions such as lack of financing, inadequate technical expertise, and inaccessibility of market information that would enable the WOE to be export-ready (International Finance Corporation 2021); the role of regional integration, that is, focusing on the opportunities and challenges presented by AFCFTA for women entrepreneurs (Africa Union Commission-Department of Trade and Industry (AUC-DTI) 2021; UN Women 2019); and sectoral impact, that is, focusing on how certain groups are affected by trade liberalization to learn about particular vulnerabilities such as women retail traders (Kiriti-Nganga 2015).

It has been observed that the positive influence of female entrepreneurship can be measured in relation to economic growth in Kenya (Lock and Lawton Smith 2016). However, structural and institutional obstacles limit WOE, making it a major hindrance to entering and operating in competitive export markets successfully (International Trade Center 2019). Kenya has specific policies that focuses on attaining gender equity in the economic process, which is usually in line with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics 2021; The Republic of Kenya. Ministry of Public Service, Youth and Gender Affairs. 2017). There is also a recognized gap between the high policy goals and the real capacity (the resilience) of WOE to compete in the global market, which indicate the

difficulty in implementation (Rajak and Dolan 2024). Additionally, generic business support is not always enough, as it is proven that only tailored interventions can be effective to promote productivity (de Haan 2016).

In addition to the above-mentioned institutional frameworks gaps, women in trade are vulnerable to physical and logistical challenges which are usually gender specific. According to Brenton et al. (2013), women traders in Africa are often harassed and extorted at the borders, and the situation is aggravated by the lack of understanding of the proper trade processes. This is further emphasized by Higgins (2012), who points out that the measures to facilitate trade in a gender-blind way tend to ignore the role of administrative costs, which is an additional tax to the small-scale female traders. Since women usually trade in a lower quantity, compliance fixed cost and time spent in the bureaucracy of regulation paperwork occupies a greater portion of their profit margins than in bigger, male-dominated companies.

Successful policy development should be based on good data though gender-disaggregated statistics are still a key obstacle in the context of Kenya. In the Kenya National Gender Statistics Assessment, Wanjala and Agwanda (2019) mention that Kenya has taken a step in data collection, but there remains a dire necessity to harmonize gender indicators in various government ministries to effectively monitor the economic contribution of women. This gap is also discussed by UNCTAD (2023) where it points out that independent assessments of trade policies in Least Developed Countries (LDCs) indicate that gender-responsible trade policy is never better than the granular data giving the information on the results of the policies at the grassroots level.

According to the evidence provided by the 30 percent Preferential Public Procurement Policy, the policy is a move in the right direction, but much still needs to be done to make the economic empowerment of female entrepreneurs a reality (Mohammed 2019). WOE's must have focused measures to enhance their competitiveness in order to grow inclusive (International Trade Center 2019). The recent evidence indicates that the integration of WOE's into global value chains is a deliberate process that involves the establishment of its resilience to shocks and the enhancement of its willingness to enter into the international trade (Rajak and Dolan 2024).

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The conceptual framework that will be used in this analysis is a mediation model that will virtually and structurally address the major research questions of the paper. According to this model, the correlation between the desired outcomes of the Kenyan policies and the true

export performance of women-owned businesses (WOEs) is indirect and significantly altered by deep-rooted structural conditions. The model is developed to explore the gap in policy implementation which was found in the literature in a systematic way, and structures the analysis into three key categories. The first category is the independent variables (IV) which are the policy environment and intent. These are the official, planned state measures aimed at economic empowerment and trade involvement of women and include constructs such as Commitment to International Goals (SDGs, Gender Statistics), National Policy Frameworks (Country Position Paper) and Specific Trade Policies (30% Public Procurement, AFCFTA participation) (Mohammed 2019; The Republic of Kenya. Ministry of Public Service, Youth and Gender Affairs. 2017; UN Women 2019). The study seeks to evaluate the effectiveness of these policies.

The second category is the mediating variables (MV) which are structural and institutional barriers. These represent the non-policy or implementation-related limitations that constrain the transformation of policy intent into concrete export deliverables, explaining why the formal policies frequently do not result in the intended outcome. The constructs that belong to this category are: lack of access to finance (trade finance, capital), limited technical skills and capacity (low productivity), lack of market information (on export requirements and logistics), and administrative challenges (in accessing reserved opportunities) (de Haan 2016; International Finance Corporation 2021; Kiriti-Nganga 2015; Mohammed 2019). These barriers form the main subject of the analysis of the limitations to the policy implementation.

The last category is the dependent variables (DV) which are WOE export success and resilience. This is the final outcome that the policy environment is intended to influence, and it contains constructs such as sustainable participation in the international markets, business size scaling, and the ability to withstand economic shocks (resilience) (International Trade Center 2019; Lock and Lawton Smith 2016; Rajak and Dolan 2024). The research objective aims at establishing how policy can be adapted to maximize this outcome. The framework shows the existence of a relationship in which policy frameworks are supposed to directly translate to WOE export success. However, the structural and institutional barriers are positioned in such a way that they greatly dilute this direct impact. To make policy effective, these mediating barriers should be actively countered.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology used in this paper is a Structured Literature Review (SLR). Given the constraint to use only the provided list of articles, the SLR method aims at a systematic and

critical analysis of the pre-selected body of work. This enables for a rigorous synthesis of known facts, identification of supporting evidence, and outline of known controversies within the scope of the literature that is displayed. Topical relevance (Kenyan Policies, Female Entrepreneurs, and Export Markets), geographical focus (implicitly on Kenya or regional implications of AFCFTA) and policy content were the inclusion criteria. The process involved initial selection, categorization and extraction of key points that are then put into themes. It included academic publications, official government documents, and institutional reports spanning from the early 2000s up to the year 2024.

The greatest methodological weakness of this paper is the fact that the list of sources is limited and pre-identified. This restricts the capture of the latest empirical information and limits the conclusions to the evidence given in the presented body of literature. Being a purely secondary analysis, it is unable to address research questions that involve the need to collect new data.

RESULTS

The results directly coincide with the purpose of the paper because it was aimed to evaluate the effectiveness of the Kenyan policies. The evidence gathered shows that policies remain mostly well-intentioned, but their practical achievement in transferring into scaled export achievement of women-owned enterprises (WOEs) is extremely unstable (Ellis et al. 2007; Mohammed 2019). The findings verify that there is significant effort to have gender mainstreamed in trade policy (Domen 2021; United Nations Inter-Agency Network on Women and Gender Equality (IANWGE) 2011), yet there are also structural and institutional barriers that cripple policy implementation (International Finance Corporation 2021; Rajak and Dolan 2024).

It is evident that there is a positive political commitment to women's economic empowerment in trade, including the establishment of supportive policies and participation in trade opportunities in the region, including the AFCFTA (Agarwal and Tayo 2024; UN Women 2019). However, these positive aspects are greatly overshadowed by reports of negative outcomes in relation to the failure to implement the policy and structural barriers that have persisted. Specifically, despite the existence of the policies, most WOE's are still facing the problem of low levels of competitiveness and the challenge of market access (International Trade Center 2019). The most intriguing finding is that while a policy-supportive environment is important, the key success factors in export are the individual business's

readiness, resilience and the ripple effect in a dynamic global environment (Rajak and Dolan 2024).

The private sector still plays a critical role in closing the gender gap in trade by taking the initiative of diversity in leadership. In Kenya, the Kenya Private Sector Alliance (KEPSA, n.d.) has been able to lobby the 2/3 gender rule into the corporate leadership and the 36 percent board diversities rate in Kenya is considerably higher than the global average. This is an important step since, according to (Gachoki and Mwangómbe 2024), trade liberalization in the East African Community does not automatically result in gender-neutral benefits. However, it can be resolved through programmed interventions by the private sector and policies in order to make sure higher volumes of trade are converted into better quality jobs to women instead of merely making them participate more in low paying industries.

DISCUSSION

The findings can be summarized into two themes, which are often conflicting:

Policy intent vs. policy reality (The implementation gap): this theme highlights how the implementation of policies often falls short since goals are usually great in theory and terrible in practice, as demonstrated by researchers such as (Mohammed 2019) and (Kiriti-Nganga 2015), identifying administrative complications and structural inequalities as hindrances.

Barriers to market vs. opportunities: this theme compares the old market limitations (lack of finance, skills) seen by the International Finance Corporation (n.d.) and de Haan (2016) with the new market opportunities depicted by UN Women (2019) and Agarwal and Tayo (2024), namely, the AFCFTA.

The greatest detail to note is that the problem is not the absence of commitment, but the delivery system in which current policies exist (Domen 2021). The readiness and resilience concept, proposed by (Rajak and Dolan 2024), is important, suggesting that a lack of capacity building, not just lack of policy, is the greatest impediment. A surprising fact is that particular obstacles still exist despite decades of targeted policy implementation, including the partial achievement of the 30% procurement policy (Mohammed, 2019). These results also compare well in recognizing the need of a gender-sensitive policy and the vast opportunities provided by the AFCFTA (Africa Union Commission-Department of Trade and Industry (AUC-DTI) 2021; UN Women 2019). They however are opposed in their evaluation of impact. Although policy documents focus on progress (The Republic of Kenya. Ministry of Public Service, Youth and Gender Affairs. 2017), independent evaluations reveal the long-term struggle of WOE's to secure competitive positions in the market (International Trade Center 2019).

Since the pace of regional integration in the AfCFTA continues to gain momentum, a shift should be directed towards practical empowerment, in terms of international best practices and digital inclusion. According to Bahri (n.d.), gender mainstreaming in Free Trade Agreements entails examining the good practices of a region so as to eliminate the possibility of repeating the same errors of past policies. Moreover, World Bank and World Trade Organization (2020) also emphasizes the idea that trade could be a strong driver of gender equality, however, only in the conditions of integrating policies with digital literacy and financial access. The general conclusion made by Nyagah (2025) is that the effective performance of Kenyan women in these new markets will be based on the elimination of non-tariff barriers and the development of supportive systems targeting the socio-cultural limitations that are unique to female entrepreneurs.

The primary explanation for the findings is that trade policies are usually formulated without considering the specific needs of the micro and small WOES (de Haan 2016). A non-localized and non-tailored policy will not necessarily deal with sector-specific obstacles. Moreover, the stability of the policies is a condition to the growth of exports and when they are not put in place consistently, less resilient WOE's may be disadvantaged disproportionately (Were et al. 2002). The findings comment on the need to go beyond simply recording the impediments, to implementing specific, efficient, and evidence-based intervention to enhance productivity (de Haan 2016).

RECOMMENDATIONS

These recommendations are informed by the critical analysis of the policy effectiveness gap, which provides clear, evidence-based, and viable suggestions on the viewpoint of the authors. Increase policy implementation and monitoring: emphasis should be on how to enforce and monitor current measures such as the 30% Preferential Public Procurement Policy, and not on creating new policies (Mohammed 2019). This requires open disclosure of policy adoption and performance.

Tailored capacity building for export readiness: the programs should move beyond generic business training and focus efforts on addressing issues that relate directly to export challenges, for example, access to trade finance, meeting quality standards and digital trade literacy (International Finance Corporation, n.d.). Such programs should aim at preparing WOE's for the AFCFTA market (Agarwal and Tayo 2024; UN Women 2019).

Promote the "readiness and resilience" Agenda: the strategies designed to develop resilience in women-owned businesses to external shocks and more preparedness to compete

internationally should be included in policy support (Rajak and Dolan 2024). This involves promoting networks, market intelligence enhancement, as well as facilitating the formalization of businesses (de Haan 2016).

Integrate gender into trade logistics: future policies should mainstream gender throughout the trade policy and negotiations system, where the particular limitations women traders are subjected to, especially when it comes to cross-border logistics, and other non-tariff barriers, are addressed (Domen 2021; United Nations Inter-Agency Network on Women and Gender Equality (IANWGE) 2011).

Focus on productivity and scaling: given the evidence of what has worked, future policy should seek to invest in programs that have shown effectiveness in increasing productivity of WOE's to enable them reach the level necessary for sustainable export businesses (de Haan 2016).

CONCLUSION

This paper set out to assess the effectiveness of Kenyan policies in promoting the success of female entrepreneurs in export business and to reveal the key gaps between the intent of policies and the market outcomes. The key findings support that Kenya has a strong foundation of commitment to economic empowerment of women, such as being part of the regional frameworks and particular procurement mandates. However, there remains a significant gap in implementation, characterized by structural barriers related to accessing finance and skills that restricts the level of competition of women-owned businesses to participate fully in the export markets. The discussion revealed a critical tension that while the policy environment is quite favorable, but the performance of these policies is constrained by institutional challenges, limiting the transition of these enterprises from local or regional markets to a sustained global success.

The implication of the findings is that the policy efforts should shift from formulation of new, broad policies, to rigorous implementation and monitoring of existing policies, specifically focusing on structural barriers that mediate policy impact. The research reveals that the defining attribute of a successful WOE is increasing the degree of readiness and resilience of a WOE. Future research should focus on quantitative studies that will measure the direct correlation that exists between individual capacity-building interventions (e.g. access to trade finance schemes) and the export development pattern of female-owned SMEs in Kenya that goes beyond policy review assessment towards empirical measurement of impact.

REFERENCES

1. Africa Union Commission-Department of Trade and Industry (AUC-DTI). 2021. "Virtual Session Report. Unlocking Opportunities for African Women Entrepreneurs in the AfCFTA: A Multi-Stakeholder Dialogue." Virtual.
2. Agarwal, Prachi, and Teniola Tayo. 2024. "Promoting Women Entrepreneurship under the Guided Trade Initiative." Overseas Development Institute.
3. Bahri, Amrita. n.d. GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN FREE TRADE AGREEMENTS: A REGIONAL ANALYSIS AND GOOD PRACTICE EXAMPLES.
4. Brenton, Paul, Elisa Gamberoni, and Catherine Sear. 2013. "Women and Trade in Africa: Realizing the Potential." World Bank, Washington,DC.
5. Domen, Caroline. 2021. Mainstreaming Gender in Trade Policy: Practice, Evidence, and Ways Forward (IISD Report). International Institute for Sustainable Development.
6. Ellis, Amanda, Jozefina Cutura, Nouma Dione, Ian Gillson, Clare Manuel, and Judy Thongori. 2007. "Gender and Economic Growth in Kenya: Unleashing the Power of Women." World Bank.
7. Gachoki, Charles Munene, and Jostinah Wawasi Mwangómbe. 2024. "Trade Liberalization and Female Employment in the East African Community." International Journal of Science and Business 42 (1): 35–51. <https://doi.org/10.58970/IJSB.2483>.
8. Haan, Arjan de. 2016. "Enhancing the Productivity of Women-Owned Enterprises : The Evidence on What Works, and a Research Agenda." International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, CA. <http://hdl.handle.net/10625/55635>.
9. Higgins, Kate. 2012. "Gender Dimensions of Trade Facilitation and Logistics." World Bank.
10. International Finance Corporation. 2021. Sourcing2Equal Kenya: Barriers and Approaches to Increase Access to Markets for Women-Owned Businesses. Washington, DC. <https://doi.org/10.1596/37853>.
11. International Trade Center. 2019. Promoting SME Competitiveness in Kenya: Targeted Solutions for Inclusive Growth.
12. Kenya National Bureau of Statistics. 2021. "SDG Gender Fact Sheet 2021 – Kenya."
13. Kiriti-Nganga, Tabitha W. 2015. "Gender and Trade Liberalization in Kenya: The Case of Women Retail Traders." UNACTAD Virtual Institute, March. <http://erepository.uonbi.ac.ke/handle/11295/86074>.

14. Lock, Rachel, and Helen Lawton Smith. 2016. "The Impact of Female Entrepreneurship on Economic Growth in Kenya." *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship* 8 (1): 90–96. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJGE-11-2015-0040>.
15. Mohammed, Rukaya. 2019. "Progress on the Economic Empowerment of Female Entrepreneurs in Kenya's 30% Preferential Public Procurement Policy." Walden University.
16. Nyagah, Nelly. 2025. Can the AfCFTA Protocol on Women and Youth in Trade Dismantle Systemic Barriers in Cross-Border Trade? May 28. <https://tradeunionsinafcfta.org/can-the-afcfta-protocol-on-women-and-youth-in-trade-dismantle-systemic-barriers-in-cross-border-trade/>.
17. Rajak, Dinah, and Catherine Dolan. 2024. "Readiness, Resilience and the Ripple Effect: Women-Owned Enterprise in Kenya and the Promise of Global Inclusion." *Critical African Studies* 16 (1): 51–70. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21681392.2024.2332199>.
18. The Republic of Kenya. Ministry of Public Service, Youth and Gender Affairs. 2017. "Country Position Paper for the 61st Session of the Commission on the Status of Women." Paper presented at Women's Economic Empowerment in the Changing World of Work, New York.
19. UN Women. 2019. Opportunities For Women Entrepreneurs in the Context of the African Continental Free Trade Area (Study Report). UN Women.
20. UNCTAD. 2023. Independent Project Evaluation: Promoting Gender-Responsive Trade Policy in the LDCs.
21. United Nations Inter-Agency Network on Women and Gender Equality (IANWGE). 2011. Gender Equality & Trade Policy Resource Paper.
22. Wanjala, Bernadette, and Alfred Agwanda. 2019. Kenya National Gender Statistics Assessment. UN Women.
23. Were, Maureen, Njuguna S. Ndung'u, Alemayehu Geda, and Stephen N. Karingi. 2002. "Analysis of Kenya's Export Performance: An Empirical Evaluation." Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis (KIPPRA).
24. World Bank and World Trade Organization. 2020. Women and Trade: The Role of Trade in Promoting Gender Equality. Washington, DC: World Bank. <https://doi.org/10.1596/978-1-4648-1541-6>.