



GENDER ANALYSIS IN DEVELOPMENT – PART I

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AIR Pipeline Partnership Africa program – November 2023

Snapshot of gender equality across the Sustainable Development Goals



"Gender equality is not a problem. **Gender equality is the solution.** Equality is not a favor to women, but a fundamental condition to ensure a better future for all."

~ **Antonio Guterres** @ high-level panel at 78th UN General Assembly 2023 [Secretary-General of the United Nations]

OVERALL TAKE-AWAYS FROM THIS SESSION

- Considering gender in your research is “good economics”
- A gender-lens can open up important research insights – beyond what has already been examined in the literature:
 1. Exploring gender gaps or inequalities across individuals, households, communities
 2. Analyzing correlates of gender gaps or gender-related outcomes (e.g., why gaps exist, including contribution of gender norms?)
 3. Why gaps matter for wellbeing outcomes we care about (e.g. how gender indicators or inequalities correlate with wellbeing)
 4. Analyzing effects of programs or policies that can close gaps or affect gender-related outcomes
- Existing models of intra-household bargaining & conceptualizations of the agency [empowerment] process can help ground analysis

OVERVIEW OF THIS SESSION

- **Theory & conceptual models** of intra-household bargaining and empowerment / agency
- **Measurement** – How to we measure women's empowerment? Critiques and examples at the micro-level
- **Application** – How can you think about gender analysis applied to your topic of interest?

THEORETICAL ENTRY POINTS (Sevilla 2020)

- **The ‘business case’ for addressing inequality → inefficient allocation of resources**
 - Gender inequality results in scarce resources being inefficiently allocated across men and women, leading to worse aggregate outcomes overall
 - Can also create ‘negative externalities’ – e.g. intimate partner violence (IPV) with costs to individuals, society at large
- **Tackling discrimination → gender inequalities alongside others (race, class, etc.)**
 - Gender gaps often arise for reasons that cannot be ‘explained’ by other factors (e.g. education, etc.)
 - Distinguishes between “prejudice” (taste-based discrimination) vs. lack of information about a certain group (statistical discrimination) – the latter should disappear under perfect markets

HOUSEHOLD MODELS (Doss & Quisumbing 2020)

- **Unitary model:** Based on Becker's (1981) 'Treatise on the Family'
 - Assumes either that all household members have the same preferences, pool all resources, and agree on all decisions, or that one household member makes the decisions for everyone
 - Takes social norms on gender roles as exogenous, with men specializing in production activities and women specializing in reproduction activities
- **Collective model:** Based on Chiappori (1992) and others:
 - Individual household members may have different preferences and may not completely pool resources
 - Members bargain over outcomes in both production and consumption
 - Does not assume a single household wealth index or utility function

EVIDENCE FOR COLLECTIVE MODELS

- As better data has become available in development economics – collective models have gained more support – e.g. research showing:
 - Different propensities to spend out of income controlled by men and women
 - Different effects of men's and women's assets on household consumption, expenditures and schooling
 - Incomplete sharing of risk within the household
 - Inefficiency in resource allocation between plots managed by men and women

INTRA-HOUSEHOLD BARGAINING

- Cooperative bargaining models rooted in game theory make the assumption that resources are pooled and household members will bargain based on preferences – and ultimately reach an efficient outcome:
 - Individuals' have outside options or “threat points” – typically the resources each individual would have access to if they left the household
 - Individuals must be allocated at least this amount or they will leave (divorce, opt out to ‘separate spheres’)
 - Non-cooperative bargaining models do not assume resources are pooled and allow for outcomes where gains from cooperation are not realized

APPLICATION: TESTING THE UNITARY VS. COLLECTIVE MODEL

- **Question:** Does an increase in women's intrahousehold bargaining power cause couples to allocate more resources to their child's education?
- **Setting:** 287 married couples in Dar es Salaam
- **Methods:** Lab game in which couples distribute a fixed endowment between the wife, the husband and one of their primary school aged children ([investment in tutoring x 3](#)). Four versions of the game are played:
 1. Husband is dictator (full control of budget)
 2. "Shrinking pie" shared decision making (husband first decider)
 3. "Shrinking pie" Shared decision making (wife first decider)
 4. Wife is dictator (full control of budget)
- **Compensation:** TZS5000 "show up fee" + payout (~TZS15,000) + 3.4 weeks of tutoring (TZS 17,000)

$$(1) \quad y_c = \alpha + \beta_{HB} \text{Husband Bargaining}_c + \beta_{WB} \text{Wife Bargaining}_c + \beta_{WD} \text{Wife Dictator}_c + \delta_S S + \delta_X X_c + \varepsilon_c,$$

- Y_c = share of the endowment allocated to the child for couple c
- **Treatment arms** = Husband Bargaining_c, Wife Bargaining_c and Wife Dictator_c
- S = set of indicator variables for each session
- X_c = is a vector of background variables
- ε_c = error term

TANZANIA LAB EXPERIMENT

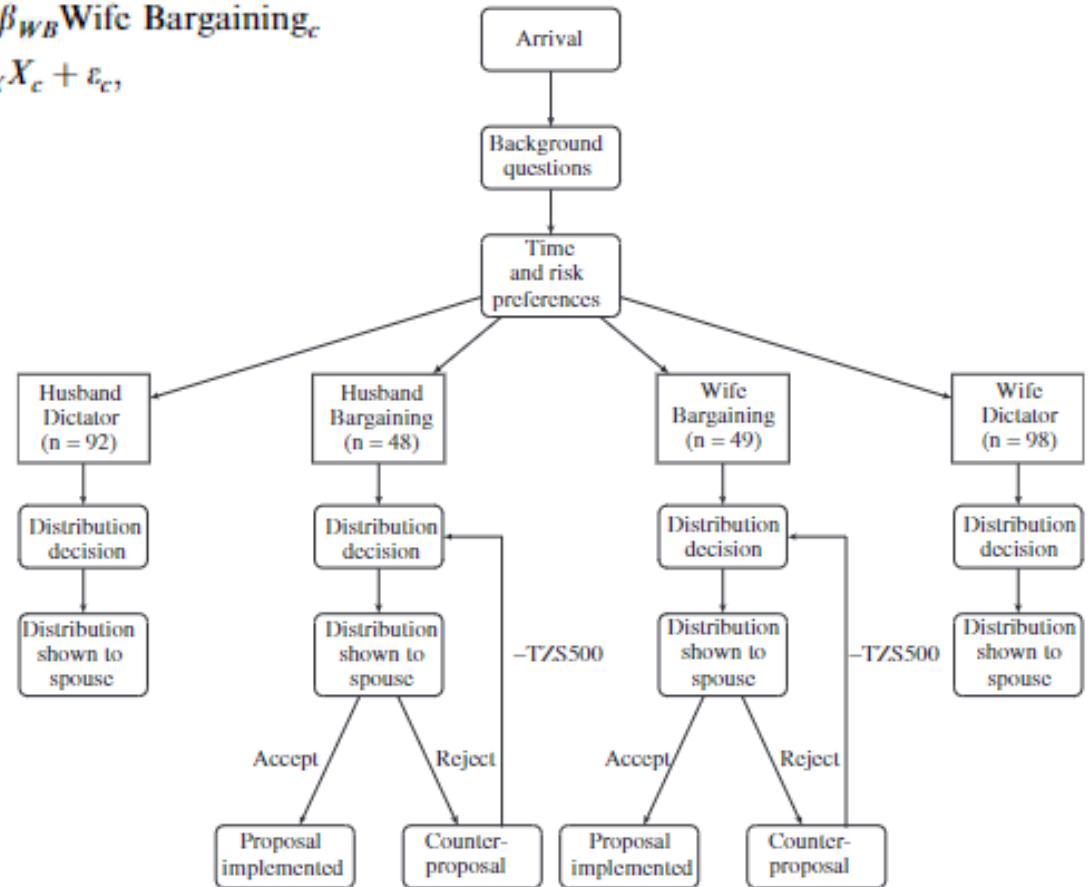


FIGURE 1. Diagram of experimental design.

FINDING 1:

Increasing wife's bargaining power increases share allocated to wife (and decreases share allocated to husband)

TABLE 5

EFFECT OF INCREASING THE WIFE'S BARGAINING POWER ON THE ALLOCATIONS TO WIFE AND HUSBAND

	Allocation to wife (1)	Allocation to husband (2)
Husband Bargaining	-0.017 (0.031)	-0.007 (0.035)
Wife Bargaining	0.066** (0.031)	0.003 (0.035)
Wife Dictator	0.092*** (0.028)	-0.104*** (0.031)
Male child	0.003 (0.025)	-0.037 (0.023)
Chosen child's standard	-0.004 (0.006)	-0.001 (0.006)
Age, husband	-0.000 (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.001)
Age, wife	0.003 (0.002)	0.001 (0.002)
Husband more patient	0.038 (0.037)	-0.074* (0.039)
Husband less risk averse	0.034 (0.040)	0.037 (0.039)
Session fixed effects	Yes	Yes
Child background	Yes	Yes
Parent background	Yes	Yes
Parent difference	Yes	Yes
HB vs. WB	0.019	0.771
WB vs. WD	0.412	0.000
HB vs. WD	0.000	0.002
Couples	284	284

FINDING 2:

Increasing women's bargaining power changes investment in children only when considering sex of the child – husbands allocate more to sons, while wives allocate funds approximately equally

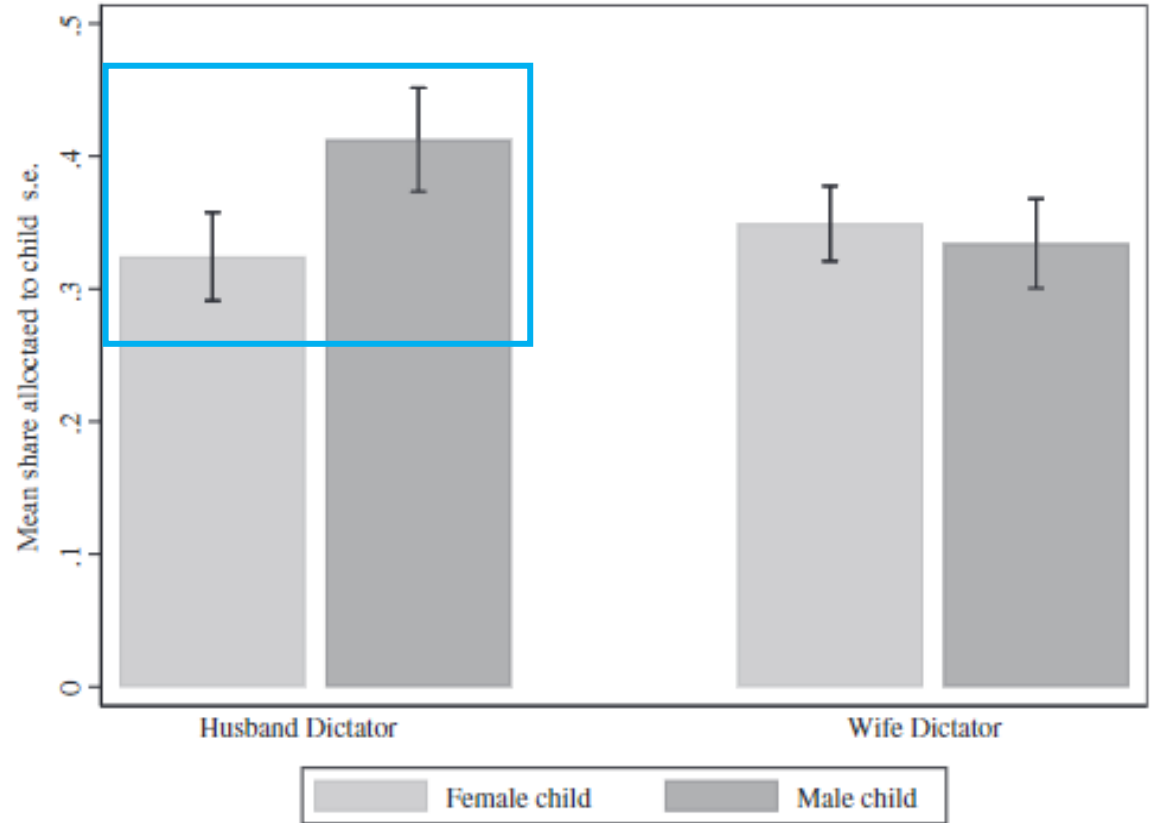


FIGURE 3. Shares allocated to the child in dictator treatments, by gender of child.

Notes: The figure illustrates the mean shares allocated to female and male children in Husband Dictator and Wife Dictator, respectively.

LIMITATIONS OF BARGAINING MODELS

- Models are typically “stylized” and consider a limited number of factors and or interactions between factors
- Complex relationships between individuals and their environment often remain simplified and may ignore factors important to other disciplines
- Feminist critiques also include that they typically treat individuals with respect to ‘stereotypical gender roles’ and are not able to shed light on the role of gender in the decision-making process or what shapes decision-making roles in the first place (e.g. social norms)
- Makes assumptions about what motivates preferences

TAKE AWAYS: THEORY & BARGAINING MODELS

- Economists often use **efficiency or discrimination** as motivation (lens) for examining gender issues – however human rights-based approaches are often used in policy & practice
- **Intra-household bargaining models** offer a framework for grounding empirical work and testing how individuals within households behave
- **Unitary models** of intra-household bargaining are largely ‘disproven’ in the general population – however may apply to some sub-groups
- **Collective models** are used in current research, however have substantial limitations for diverse settings and research questions (use as ‘stylized representations’ of behavior)

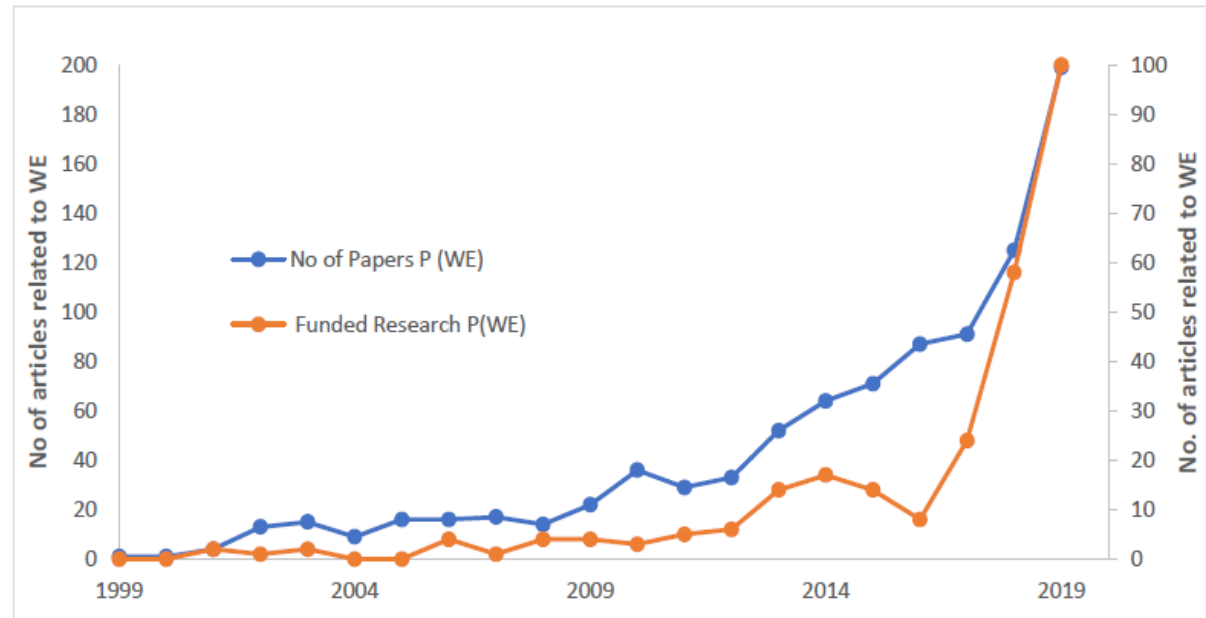
WHAT IS EMPOWERMENT & HOW TO WE MEASURE IT?

“Expansion in people’s ability to make strategic life choices in a context where this was previously denied” (Kabeer 1999)

Figure 1: Trend in research funding and publication related to women’s empowerment

916 articles: 80% belonging to social science (49.3%), arts & humanities (10.0%), economics (9.5%), medicine (8.3%), business management & accounting (5.0%), and environment science (5%).

Citation: Priya et al. (2021)



MEASURING 'EMPOWERMENT': HOW FAR HAVE WE COME?

Malhortra, Schuler, Boender (2002): [“Measuring Women’s Empowerment as a Variable in International Development”](#)

“Vast and interconnected” . . .

“To date, neither the World Bank nor any other major development agency has developed a rigorous method for measuring and tracking changes in levels of empowerment”. . .

Economic

Socio-cultural

Familial/

interpersonal

Legal

Political

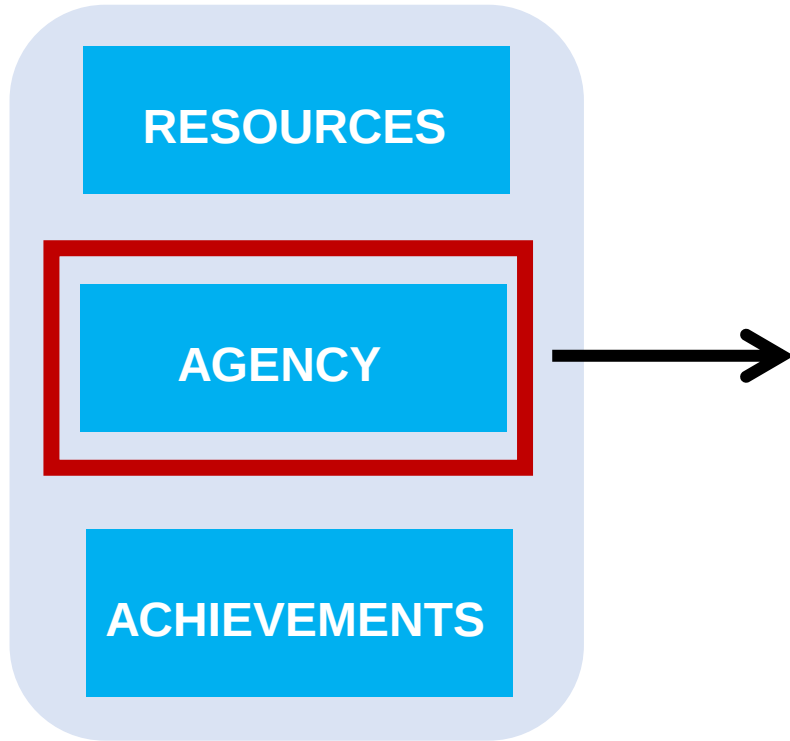
Psychological

Household

Community

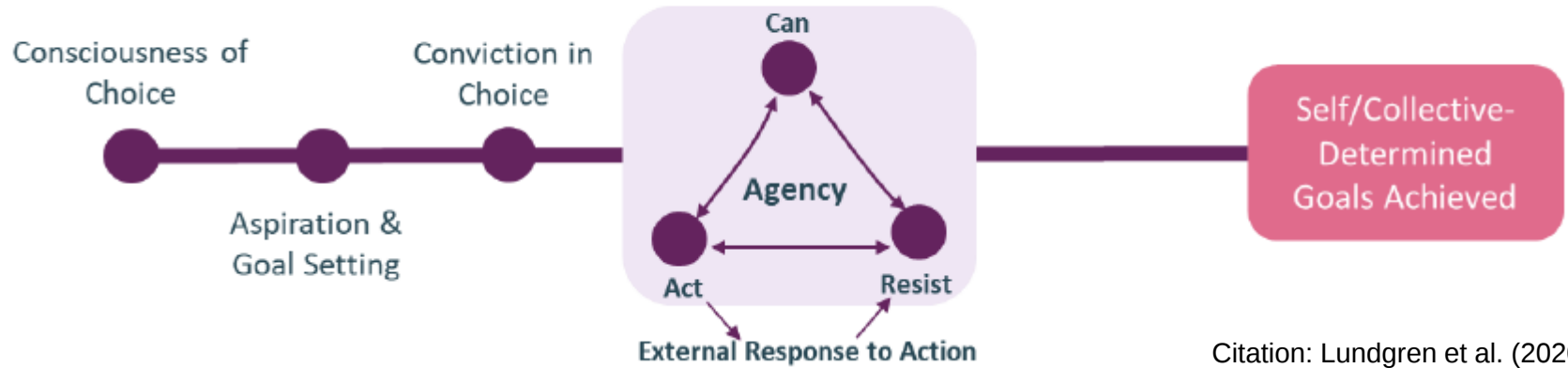
Broader Arenas

THE CONCEPTUAL CHALLENGE: ARE WE REALLY MEASURING EMPOWERMENT?



- Should be distinct from gender equality, equity and status
- Should operate at different levels:
 - 1) **power within** (intrinsic agency – capacity to imagine, have hope, set goals)
 - 2) **power to** (instrumental agency – ability to act & shape own's life)
 - 3) **power with** (collective agency – shared collaboration, solidarity)
 - 4) **power over** (typically conceived as 'negative' – fear, force, domination)

SELF/ COLLECTIVE EMPOWERMENT PROCESS



Citation: Lundgren et al. (2020)

Steps in the non-linear empowerment process:

- ***Gain Consciousness of Choice***, for a choice beyond what you are allowed or expected based on social characteristics such as gender.
- ***Aspire and Goal Set One's Choice***, creating a plan for how achieve it.
- ***Feel Conviction in that Choice***, as there may be many barriers or costs to working toward the choice, it is reasonable to vacillate in the decision. Acting on the choice is easier when you have confidence in the choice you are making.
- ***Use Your Agency*** to act on your choice and achieve self-determined goals. Agency can result in *backlash* or retaliation from those with power over you, and *resistance* from you in the face of backlash.
- ***Achieve Your Self-Determined Goals*** and gain self-determination and self-actualization

HOW DO WE OPERATIONALIZE AGENCY? (Donald et al. 2020)

- Intra-household decision-making (e.g. Demographic & Health Surveys)
- Autonomy; Relative autonomy index (RAI)
- Self-efficacy
- Confidence
- Capacity to set & achieve goals
- Locus of control
- Self-assessed life freedom & control (e.g. World Value Survey)
- Voice (individual & collective) & participation

STANDARD DECISION-MAKING INDICATORS

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
922	Who usually makes decisions about health care for yourself: you, your (husband/partner), you and your (husband/partner) jointly, or someone else?	RESPONDENT 1 HUSBAND/PARTNER 2 RESPONDENT AND HUSBAND/PARTNER JOINTLY 3 SOMEONE ELSE 4 OTHER 6	
923	Who usually makes decisions about making major household purchases?	RESPONDENT 1 HUSBAND/PARTNER 2 RESPONDENT AND HUSBAND/PARTNER JOINTLY 3 SOMEONE ELSE 4 OTHER 6	
924	Who usually makes decisions about visits to your family or relatives?	RESPONDENT 1 HUSBAND/PARTNER 2 RESPONDENT AND HUSBAND/PARTNER JOINTLY 3 SOMEONE ELSE 4 OTHER 6	

Source: Kenya 2022 DHS questionnaire

- But are they fit-for-purpose? Do they measure the underlying construct of empowerment or agency?

DECISION-MAKING INDICATORS: DECIDING OVER WHAT?

1. What type of decisions are ‘strategic’ life choices in different settings?

- Are purchases for household daily needs strategic?
- Is visiting family or friends strategic?
- Are decisions across domains appropriately captured (social, economic, political, etc.?)

2. Are decisions specific enough?

- Instead of asking “*Who usually makes decisions about healthcare for yourself?*”
- Consider asking: “*If you ever need medicine for yourself (for a headache, for example), could you go buy it yourself?*”

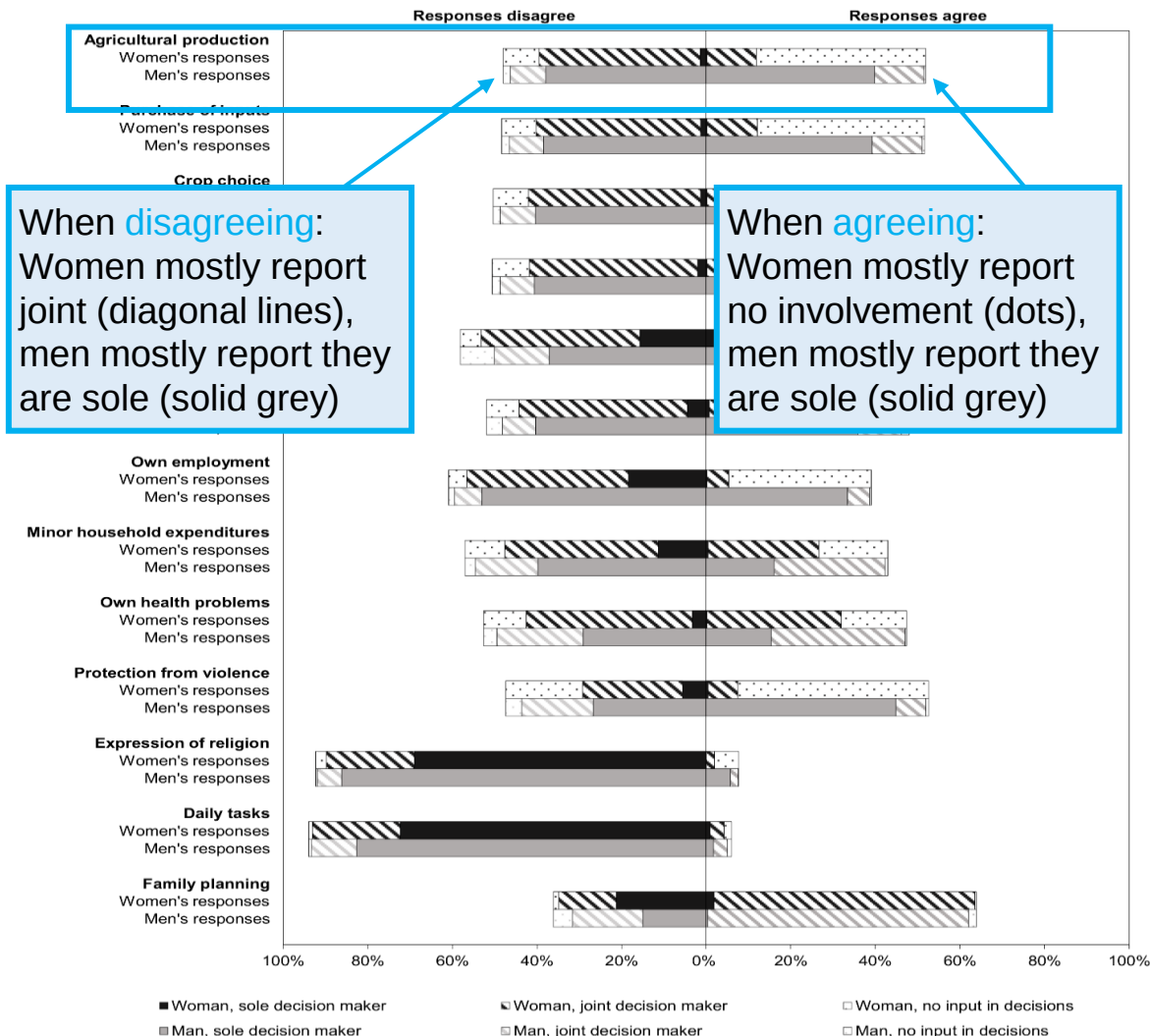
An evaluation in Bangladesh found different responses to general vs. specific question; suggests specific questions are easier to accurately answer (Glennester et al. 2017).

DO RESPONSE OPTION CONSTRAIN (MISLEAD) ANALYSIS?

- **There is ambiguity in what a ‘joint’ decision means** – is it better or worse in terms of empowerment than a sole decision?
- Should we be measuring ‘**how much**’ input, rather than ‘with whom’ (by whom)?
- Alternative from the WEAI: *How much input do you have into decision around [X]*? Response options:
 - (a) no input or input into a few decisions,
 - (b) input into some decisions,
 - (c) input into most decisions,
 - (d) input into all decisions,
 - (e) no decision made.
- (e) allows respondents to report (opt out) if a decision in that particular domain has not been made recently or is not relevant to them.

DECISION-MAKING: FROM WHO'S PERSPECTIVE?

- Couples agree 6-64% of the time (Bangladesh) & 67-82% of the time (Ghana)
- When disagreeing, women tend to report decisions as joint, men tend to report as sole



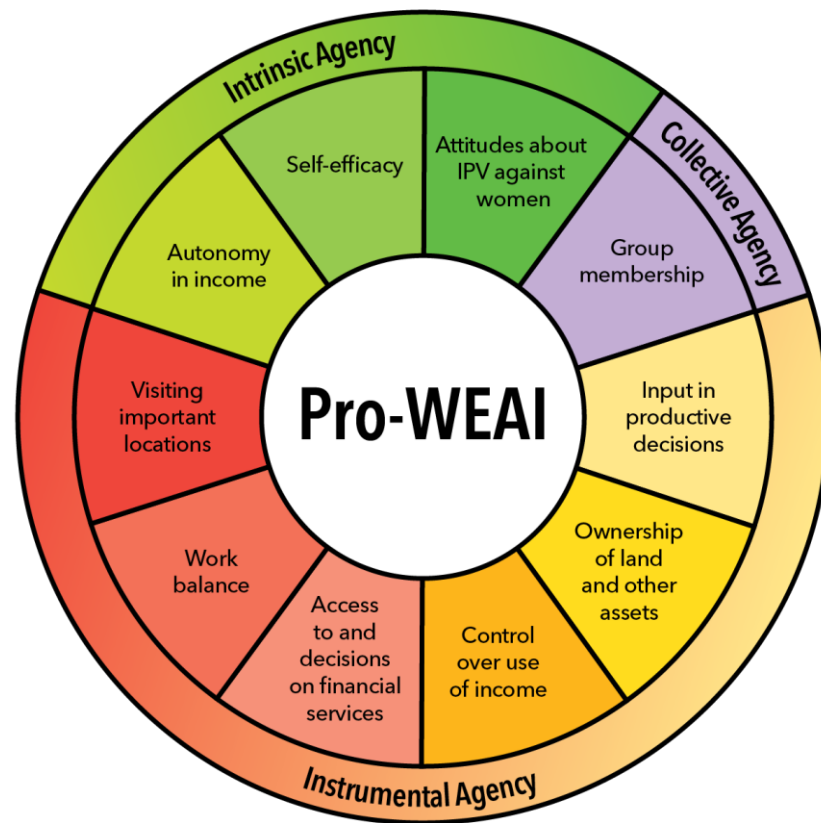
Couples in Bangladesh (2011-2012)

OTHER CHALLENGES

- **Capturing preferences** → *To what extent do you feel you can make your own personal decisions regarding [X] if you want(ed) to?* (WEAI)
- **Social desirability bias** → Observational (field experiments) or use indirect methods (list randomization), solicit willingness to pay estimates -- however these methods may be difficult in national surveys
- **Empowerment as a process** → Take measures over time and analyze changes
- **Disempowerment can heighten data collection challenges** → When women face structural inequalities this can compound measurement challenges. Create space for private interviews, same sex/locally recruited to encourage truthful answers (Glennester et al. 2017).

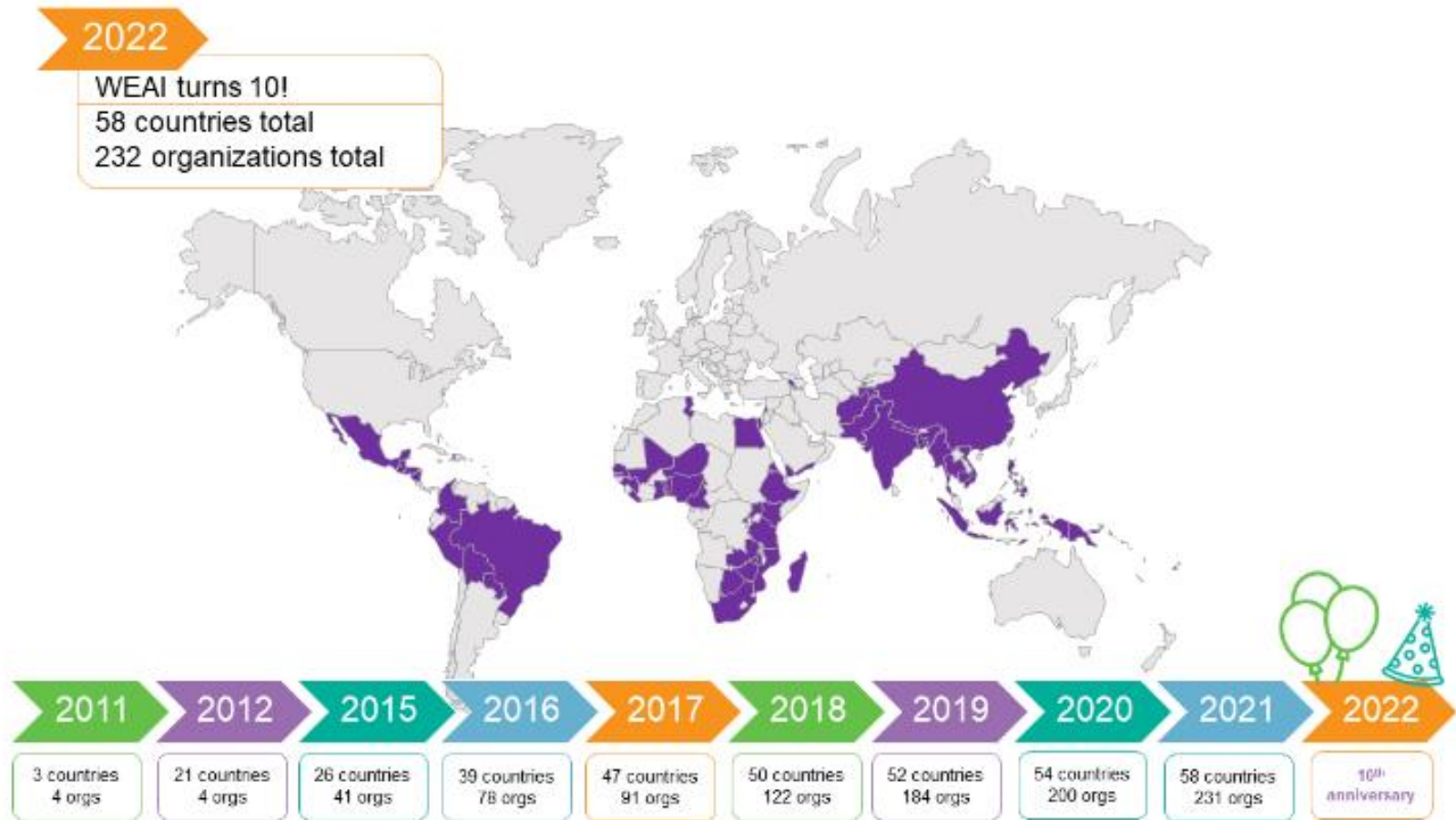
WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT IN AGRICULTURE INDEX (WEAI) (Malapit et al. 2019)

- **Objectives:** Developed by USAID, IFPRI, OPHI in 2012 to measure inclusion of women in agriculture sector
- **Survey based:** Constructed using interviews of primary male and female in the same household
- **Versions & iterations:**
 1. Abbreviated WEAI (a-WEAI)
 2. **Project-level WEAI (pro-WEAI)**
 3. WEAI for Value Chains (WEAI4VC)
 4. WE in Livestock Index (WELI)
 5. WE in Fish Index (WEFI)



10 indicators of empowerment
(equal weighting)

WEAI : 58 countries, 232 organizations



Source: [10 years of the WEAI](#)

PRO-WEAI COMPONENTS: Self-efficacy (intrinsic agency)

MODULE G7(B): NEW GENERAL SELF-EFFICACY SCALE

Now I'm going to ask you some questions about different feelings you might have. Please listen to each of the following statements. Think about how each statement relates to your life, and then tell me how much you agree or disagree with the statement on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 means you "strongly disagree" and 5 means you "strongly agree." **(Note: Randomize order of statements)**

STATEMENTS		G7.02
A	When facing difficult tasks, I am certain that I will accomplish them.	STRONGLY DISAGREE 1
		DISAGREE 2
		NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE 3
		AGREE 4
		STRONGLY AGREE 5
B	In general, I think that I can obtain outcomes that are important to me.	STRONGLY DISAGREE 1
		DISAGREE 2
		NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE 3
		AGREE 4
		STRONGLY AGREE 5
C	I am confident that I can perform effectively on many different tasks.	STRONGLY DISAGREE 1
		DISAGREE 2
		NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE 3
		AGREE 4
		STRONGLY AGREE 5
D	Even when things are tough, I can perform quite well.	STRONGLY DISAGREE 1
		DISAGREE 2
		NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE 3
		AGREE 4
		STRONGLY AGREE 5

WEAI info site: <https://weai.ifpri.info/>

PRO-WEAI COMPONENTS: Work balance (instrumental agency)

MODULE G4: TIME ALLOCATION

G4.01: PLEASE RECORD A LOG OF THE ACTIVITIES FOR THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE LAST COMPLETE 24 HOURS (STARTING YESTERDAY MORNING AT 4 AM, FINISHING 3:59 AM OF THE CURRENT DAY). THE TIME INTERVALS ARE MARKED IN 15 MIN INTERVALS. MARK ONE ACTIVITY FOR EACH TIME PERIOD BY ENTERING THE CORRESPONDING ACTIVITY CODE IN THE BOX.

G4.02: CHECK THE BOX BELOW IF THE RESPONDENT WAS CARING FOR CHILDREN WHILE PERFORMING EACH ACTIVITY.

Now I'd like to ask you about how you spent your time during the past 24 hours. We'll begin from yesterday morning, and continue through to this morning. This will be a detailed accounting. I'm interested in everything you did (i.e. resting, eating, personal care, work inside and outside the home, caring for children, cooking, shopping, socializing, etc.), even if it didn't take you much time. I'm particularly interested in agricultural activities such as farming, gardening, and livestock raising whether in the field or on the homestead. I'm also interested in how much time you spent caring for children, especially if it happened while you did some other activity (e.g., collecting water while carrying a child or cooking while watching after a sleeping child).

		Night		Morning		Day																			
		4:00		5:00		6:00		7:00		8:00		9:00		10:00		11:00		12:00		13:00		14:00		15:00	
G4.01 Activity (WRITE ACTIVITY CODE)																									
G4.02 Did you also care for children?	YES..... CHECK BOX NO..... LEAVE BLANK	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

		Day		Evening		Night																			
		16:00		17:00		18:00		19:00		20:00		21:00		22:00		23:00		24:00		1:00		2:00		3:00	
G4.01 Activity (WRITE ACTIVITY CODE)																									
G4.02 Did you also care for children?	YES..... CHECK BOX NO..... LEAVE BLANK	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	

ACTIVITY CODES FOR G4.01			
A.....Sleeping and resting	H.....Horticultural (gardens) or high value crop farming	N.....Shopping / getting service (incl. health services)	U.....Exercising
B.....Eating and drinking	I.....Large livestock raising (cattle, buffaloes)	O.....Weaving / sewing / textile care	V.....Social activities and hobbies
C.....Personal care	J.....Small livestock raising (sheep, goats, pigs)	P.....Cooking	W.....Religious activities
D.....School (incl. homework)	K.....Poultry and other small animals raising (chickens, ducks, turkeys)	Q.....Domestic work (incl. fetching water and fuel)	X.....Other (specify)
E.....Work as employed	L.....Fishpond culture	R.....Caring for children	
F.....Own business work	M.....Commuting (to/from work or school)	S.....Caring for adults (sick, elderly)	
G.....Staple grain farming		T.....Traveling (not for work or school)	

G4.03. In the last 24 hours did you work (at home or outside of the home including chores or other domestic activities) less than usual, about the same as usual, or more than usual?	LESS THAN USUAL.....1
	ABOUT THE SAME AS USUAL.....2
	MORE THAN USUAL.....3

WEAI IN ACTION: PRODUCTIVITY OF KENYAN MAIZE FARMERS

- **Question:** Is there a relationship between maize productivity in western Kenya and women's empowerment in agriculture?
- **Setting:** 707 maize farming households
- **Methods:** Household survey data and the a-WEAI (abbreviated) version – disaggregating by WEAI components and by productivity on jointly vs. female vs. male managed plots

Source: Diiro et al. 2018. [Women's empowerment in agriculture and agricultural productivity: Evidence from rural maize farmer households in Western Kenya](#). PLOS One, 13(5).

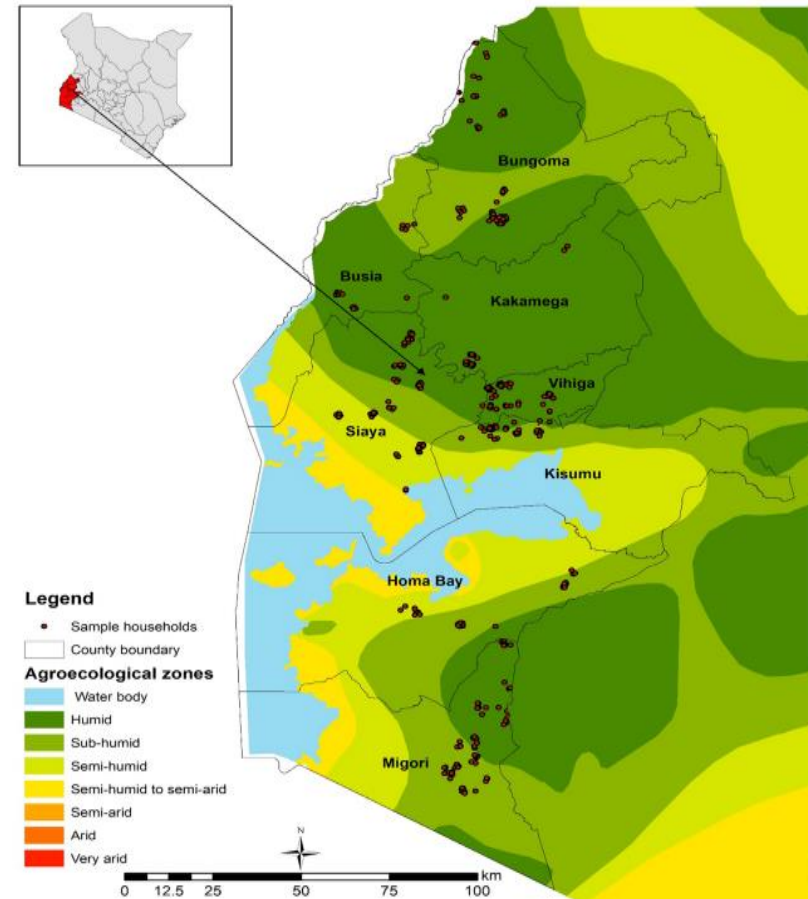


Fig 1. Study area and distribution of sample households.

WEAI IN ACTION: PRODUCTIVITY OF KENYAN MAIZE FARMERS

$$(2) \quad Q_{ip} = \alpha + \psi W_i + \gamma K_{ip} + \lambda P_{ip} + \varepsilon_{ip}$$

Q_{ip} = maize yields (ln)

W_i = women's empowerment

$$(3) \quad W_i = \pi V_i + \delta Z_i + u_i$$

Z = instrumental variables

Table 1. Description of domains and empowerment indicators in the abbreviated women's empowerment in Agriculture Index.

Domain	Indicator	Definition of <i>adequacy</i> (= 1)	Weight
Production	Input in productive decisions	Sole or joint participation in <i>at least one</i> decision related to food and cash-crop farming, livestock farming, and fishery production	1/5
Resources	Asset ownership	Sole or joint ownership of <i>at least one</i> major household asset	2/15
	Access to and decisions on credit	Sole or joint control or participation in decision-making on credit from <i>at least one</i> source	1/15
Income	Control over use of income	Sole or joint control over income for <i>at least one</i> of food and cash-crop farming, livestock farming, and fishery production	1/5
Leadership	Group membership	Active member in <i>at least one</i> formal or informal group	1/5
Time	Workload	Spent <i>less than or equal to 10.5 hours</i> on paid and unpaid work during the previous day	1/5

Source: Diiro et al. 2018. [Women's empowerment in agriculture and agricultural productivity: Evidence from rural maize farmer households in Western Kenya](#). PLOS One, 13(5).

FINDING 1:

WEAI (overall) is correlated with maize yields in OLS and 2SLS models

FINDING 2:

Relationship is significant for female- and male-managed plots – but not for joint plots

Table 6. Effects of women's overall empowerment on maize yield (Dependent variable—Ln(Maize yield, kg/acre)).

Variables	OLS	2SLS
Women's overall empowerment score	0.16* (0.083)	0.38** (0.152)
Ln(Labour use, person-days/acre)	0.15*** (0.014)	0.15*** (0.014)
Ln(Seed and chemical use, KSh/acre)	0.03*** (0.004)	0.03*** (0.004)
Ln(Fertiliser use, kg/acre)	0.04*** (0.004)	0.04*** (0.004)
Push—pull technology on the plot	0.22*** (0.038)	0.21*** (0.038)
Plot intercropped	0.50*** (0.041)	0.51*** (0.041)
Crop rotation on plot	-0.00 (0.017)	0.00 (0.017)
Ln(Distance from residence to plot)	-0.19*** (0.032)	-0.20*** (0.032)
Plot affected by pests and diseases	0.19*** (0.030)	0.18*** (0.029)
Cropping season	-0.02*** (0.007)	-0.02*** (0.007)
Livestock ownership	-0.09*** (0.031)	-0.09*** (0.031)

Table 8. Effects of women's overall empowerment on maize yield according to plot manager (Dependent variable—Ln(Maize yield, kg/acre)).

Variables	Female-managed plots	Male- managed plots	Jointly- managed plots
Women's overall empowerment	0.98*** (0.372)	0.30** (0.139)	-0.20 (0.265)

Table 7. Effects of individual indicators of women's empowerment on maize yield (Dependent variable—Ln(Maize yield, kg/acre)).

Variables	Production decisions	Asset ownership	Income decisions	Credit decisions	Group membership	Workload
Number of production decisions in which the woman participates	0.28*** (0.087)					
Number of assets over which the woman has control		0.12*** (0.027)				
Number of income decisions in which the woman participates			0.13*** (0.027)			
Number of credit-related decisions in which the woman participates				0.08*** (0.016)		
Number of formal and informal groups to which the woman belongs					0.14* (0.079)	
Time adequacy						-0.08 (0.140)

FINDING 3:

Five components of WEAI correlate with maize yields – however sixth (workload) does not; Workload is the area with the highest deprivation in the sample.

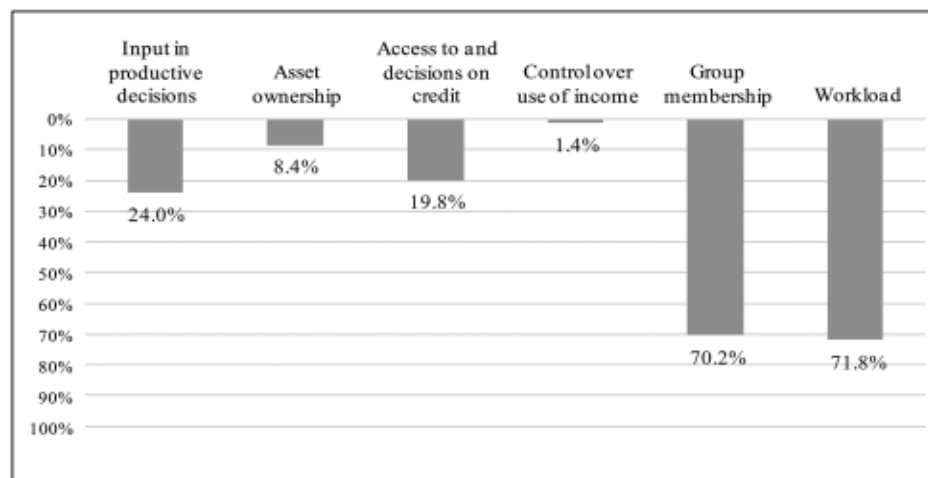


Fig 2. Percentage of women registering inadequacy in terms of each A-WEAI indicator.

MEASUREMENT TAKE-AWAYS

- **Measuring empowerment is complex**—as much as possible research should avoid simplification & strive to measure it fully (rather than related concepts, e.g. women's status)
- Women's decision-making often the primary (& only) indicator of women's agency operationalized—however large gaps in understanding what is being captured & how to interpret measures
- While seeking to distill commonalities, we cannot ignore **context** & individual specificity of empowerment across different types of agency—for women & men / girls & boys
- **Strive for true gender analysis** [not just women's outcomes!]

WHERE TO LOOK FOR DATA?

- **Harvard dataverse:** 159,000 datasets of all kinds [[link](#)] – individual organizations also have dataverse sites [[IFPRI](#)]
- **World Bank Data Catalog:** 6,700 datasets, including ISA-LSMS [[link](#)]
- **Demographic & Health Surveys (DHS):** 90 countries, 300 surveys [[link](#)]
- **IPUMS:** Harmonized census and survey data [[link](#)]
- **Adolescent data hub:** 770 datasets with adolescent data from Population Council [[link](#)]
- **Innovations for Poverty Action (IPA):** Public data repository of all RCTs [[link](#)]

WHERE TO LOOK FOR EMPOWERMENT MEASURES?

- [Evidence-based measures for Research on Gender Equality \(EMERGE\)](#): ~850 measures searchable by domain with validation/psychometric scores
- [Population Council's Gender and Power Metrics](#): Living database of 600+ searchable scales for gender, agency, power and control
- J-PAL's '[Practical Guide](#)' to measuring [women's and girls' empowerment](#) in Impact Evaluations + annex material
- Center for Global Development's '[Measuring Women' Economic Empowerment](#)' compendium of tools

YOUR OWN APPLICATION: BRAINSTORM

- What are interesting gender-related research questions in your area of focus?
- What is the theoretical entry point and how can bargaining models help motivate your analysis?
- How can you operationalize empowerment, agency or gender gaps in the most rigorous possible way?
- What data is available for your analysis?

1. Exploring gender gaps or inequalities across individuals, households, communities
2. Analyzing correlates of gender gaps or gender-related outcomes (e.g., why gaps exist, including contribution of gender norms?)
3. Why gaps matter for wellbeing outcomes we care about (e.g. how gender indicators or inequalities correlate with wellbeing)
4. Analyzing effects of programs or policies that can close gaps or affect gender-related outcomes

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