



A 'HOW TO' GUIDE TO MEASURING WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT

Sharing experience from Oxfam's impact evaluations



OXFAM



Cover photo: In Al Jarrahi District, Al Hodeidah, Yemen – Salama and her daughter Eaman, 16, who is due to be married.
Credit: Caroline Gluck/Oxfam

This page: Mercianne Uwamwezi, a community facilitator ('Imboni') and pineapple sucker farmer in Rwanda, lays out slices of fresh pineapple on to new solar drier equipment provided by Oxfam to trial production before considering it for export. Credit: Simon Rawles

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Oxfam GB

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INTRODUCTION

Empowering women and supporting gender equality are the stated aims of many development projects; this is an area of focus that is also expressed in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Different understandings and definitions of 'empowerment' abound and the contested nature of the concept makes it challenging both to define and to measure, with the added complexity that different measurement approaches can themselves serve to strengthen or undermine empowerment. This paper shares Oxfam GB's experience of developing an approach to measuring women's empowerment over the course of five years, for use in its series of Effectiveness Reviews. Oxfam's aim is for this to be an easy and practical guide which shares experience and lessons learned in order to support other evaluators and practitioners who seek to pin down this 'hard-to-measure' concept. The hope is that the reader will make use of the measurement tools presented in this paper as guiding instruments that can be adapted to their needs.

Since 2011, Oxfam GB has been conducting rigorous impact evaluations of large-scale development projects, with the objective of better capturing and communicating the impact of its programmes and promoting evidence-based learning. Effectiveness Reviews evaluate Oxfam's work across six thematic areas, including Women's Empowerment.¹ In order to understand the extent to which its projects have contributed to women's empowerment, Oxfam has developed a measurement tool based on a composite index – the Women's Empowerment Index. This builds on experience and tools from the Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index (WEAI) developed by the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI) and the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) (Alkire et al., 2013).

Section one of this report presents the framework that has been developed to measure women's empowerment. While the framework itself remains constant, its characteristics and the indicators it contains are tailored to each individual context.

Section two presents the characteristics of the index and provides suggestions as to how it might be applied. Oxfam believes that it is particularly appropriate as a measurement tool for women's empowerment in impact evaluations of development projects, but it can also be used as a tool for project design and monitoring.

Section three presents the five steps involved in defining and constructing the Women's Empowerment Index. It provides practical examples derived from five years of experience in constructing and applying the index in impact evaluations.

Section four discusses future evolution of the measurement tool. The index has been continually changing over the past five years, regularly incorporating lessons from the field. As such, what is presented in this paper should be considered as a 'tool in progress' that will continue to evolve and adapt in order to meet new evaluation challenges.

The appendices provide additional practical tools. Appendix 1 explains how the framework can be interconnected with other existing gender frameworks frequently used within Oxfam. Appendix 2 gives an outline of the workshop structure used to define the characteristics of empowerment. Appendix 3 lists some of the characteristics that have been used to describe women's empowerment in previous evaluations. Appendix 4 provides examples of questionnaires for measuring the most commonly used indicators. Finally, Appendix 5 provides an example of the Stata code used for constructing the indicators and the Women's Empowerment Index.

1 THE FRAMEWORK

This tool aims to provide a context-specific composite index for the measurement of women's empowerment. While the framework itself remains constant, the specific characteristics and relevant indicators of empowerment are defined differently in each evaluation to enable users to build a context-specific composite index. This section briefly presents the framework that is used for constructing the composite index.

VeneKlasen and Miller (2002) define women's empowerment as a process whereby the lives of women and girls are transformed from a situation where they have limited power to one where their power is enhanced. This framework recognizes three levels at which change can take place: personal, relational and environmental.

Changes at the *personal* level take place within the person. This refers to changes in how a woman sees herself, how she considers her role in society and that of other women, how she sees her economic role, and her confidence in deciding and taking actions that concern herself and other women.

Changes at the *relational* level take place in the relationships and power relations within the woman's surrounding network. This includes changes both within the household and within the community, and encompasses markets, local authorities and decision makers.

Finally, changes at the *environmental* level take place in the broader context. These can be informal changes, such as in social norms and attitudes and the beliefs of wider society, or they can be formal changes in the political and legislative framework.

Figure 1 provides a graphical representation of the three levels of change, with the green arrows representing interactions between the three levels of change. For example, improvements in self-esteem and confidence (personal change) can influence the way that a woman takes decisions within the household or the community (relational change). If a multitude of women are gaining more confidence (personal change) and establishing better power relations within their immediate surroundings (relational change), then this will generate changes in the broader environment, influencing social norms and possibly effecting changes in the political space (environmental change). This process can also happen in the other direction, with changes in social norms and in broader society (environmental change) affecting how women interact with others (relational change) and how they see and perceive themselves within society (personal change).

Figure 1: Women's Empowerment Index framework



The advantage of this approach is the flexibility it permits in adapting the framework in relation to different definitions of gender and empowerment, making it easily understood by different development practitioners. Appendix 1 shows how this approach can easily be combined, for example, with Rowlands' power model (Rowlands, 1997) and the Gender at Work framework.²



Leyla Kayere, selling her tomatoes in Mnembo, Malawi. Credit: Abbie Trayler-Smith

2 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MEASUREMENT TOOL

A number of indicators, studies and research projects have previously attempted to measure and quantify women's empowerment (see, for example, Malhotra et al., 2002 and Ibrahim and Alkire, 2007). The different approaches employed in the sector reflect both a range of motivations for measuring this concept (e.g. academic research, donor accountability, evidence-based policy influencing and identifying feminist pathways to change) and also a range of perspectives on the most valid and appropriate methods. It is important to understand the purpose that this measurement tool serves for Oxfam and what has informed some of the choices that have been made.

Oxfam GB has developed this measurement approach to women's empowerment to support efforts to rigorously assess, demonstrate and learn about the impact of development interventions that are working towards women's empowerment. It wanted to design a measurement tool that could be used in efforts to establish causality when integrated within impact evaluation designs,³ while also providing a numerical value for empowerment that could be generalized to the entire population under analysis.⁴ Recognizing that empowerment is a multi-dimensional concept, the measurement tool also needed to combine information from a variety of indicators into one composite index. To meet these needs, the tool had to have certain characteristics.

2.1 CONTEXT-SPECIFIC

Oxfam recognizes empowerment as a multi-dimensional concept that is context-specific, i.e. the behaviours or attributes that might signify empowerment in one context may have different meanings elsewhere.

In order to measure women's empowerment, the measurement tool Oxfam has developed provides a framework categorized into three levels of change and containing a range of indicators. These indicators are intended to represent the characteristics of an 'empowered woman' in the socio-economic context under analysis. While the theoretical framework remains consistent across locations, the specific characteristics and relevant indicators of empowerment differ for each evaluation.

This choice allows Oxfam to tailor the measurement tool to the characteristics of empowerment in the context where the project has been implemented. This is done in the belief that the characteristics of an empowered woman in, for instance, Uganda may differ from those of an empowered woman in Pakistan. In one setting, an empowered woman's mobility might be limited only by the availability of affordable transportation, while in another context women may not be allowed to travel at all without a man's permission, and so an empowered woman would be one who did not experience that restriction. With this tool, Oxfam wants to be able to measure meaningful changes in empowerment in the context of the project intervention.

Emphasizing the validity of the measurement tool in the context under analysis comes at the cost of a lack of comparability of the index itself across different studies. However, the consistency of the framework does enable users to compare the relative magnitude of the impact of projects in different contexts, allowing them to establish, say, whether a project in Uganda has been more or less successful in changing empowerment than a project in Pakistan. The consistency of the measurement approach also enables users to look across studies in order to assess Oxfam's impact on women's empowerment more broadly. For example, Lombardini and McCollum (forthcoming) present the findings of a meta-analysis of the results of the Effectiveness Reviews conducted under the thematic area of Women's Empowerment.

2.2 ONE UNIQUE MEASURE WITH FLEXIBLE LEVELS OF AGGREGATION

The overall Women's Empowerment Index allows users to combine a variety of indicators describing characteristics of empowerment into one unique composite index. It provides a concise yet comprehensive measure of women's empowerment, while also allowing breakdown by level of change or indicator.

Evaluations that do not require the presentation of results in one unique measure of empowerment can still apply the same approach and employ the same tools, without taking the step of combining the data into a single composite index.

2.3 INDIVIDUAL LEVEL OF MEASUREMENT AND ANALYSIS

At what level should women's empowerment be measured: at the individual or household level, the community level or the national level? Different studies have approached and answered this question in different ways. While some studies measure and provide empowerment indicators using aggregated national statistics, others measure empowerment at the level of the individual. Some empirical research has attempted to measure it at multiple levels (see Malhotra et al., 2002).

There is no single correct way to approach this question, and the answer depends largely on the underlying reasons why empowerment is being measured. For example, studies aiming to compare countries or quantify national trends over time are likely to use aggregate indicators and to measure empowerment at a national level. On the other hand, studies examining changes in power relations are more likely to quantify women's empowerment at the individual level.

Development projects very often attempt to produce changes on many levels (e.g. individual, household, community and environmental). This measurement tool has been developed to measure women's empowerment at the lowest possible level of analysis – the individual level. However, it does also attempt to measure changes taking place at higher levels (household, community and environment) by asking individual women about changes occurring in these spaces. Measuring empowerment at the individual level also allows exploration of the intersections between the different levels where change can take place.

In the Effectiveness Reviews conducted under the thematic area of Women's Empowerment, this choice was translated into a decision to sample and interview only women. Section 4 considers further the advantages and limitations associated with this choice.

2.4 EXTRAPOLATION OF RESULTS

The measurement tool has been designed for use in impact evaluations that enable Oxfam to generate estimates of women's empowerment that can then be extrapolated to the wider population under analysis. For this reason, the index uses a survey of individual respondents as its main data collection tool, which – combined with appropriate sampling techniques – enables reviewers to conduct statistical analysis and to draw inferences about the wider population.

It is also highly recommended that this measure should be integrated with qualitative data in order to inform the construction of the index itself, triangulating the quantitative information and interpreting the meaning of the results. It is also critical to involve women themselves in the process of understanding and defining what should be considered as empowerment.

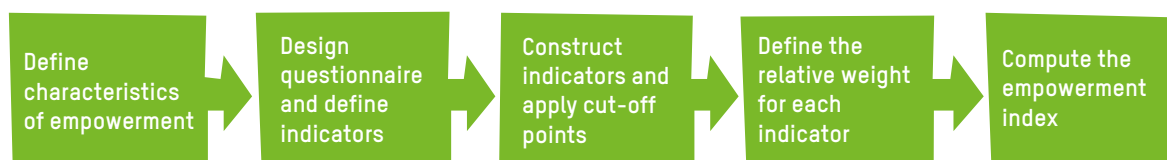


Alice collecting some of her ground nut crop.
Credit: Emma Walsh/Oxfam

3 FIVE PRACTICAL STEPS FOR CONSTRUCTING THE INDEX

Oxfam's impact evaluation advisers have been using the Women's Empowerment Index in evaluations to assess the impact of development projects in improving women's empowerment for more than five years now. Five steps are used to construct the index. The reader may want to approach this section alongside Appendices 2, 3, 4 and 5, which provide practical tools used for measuring and interpreting women's empowerment.

Figure 2: Five steps in constructing the Women's Empowerment Index



The five steps are: defining the characteristics that describe an 'empowered women' in the context of the study; designing the questionnaire for data collection; constructing indicators and applying cut-off points for each person in each indicator; defining a relative weight for each indicator; and finally calculating the empowerment index.

Evaluators/researchers who do not need to aggregate data into one single measure of empowerment but who are interested in evaluating characteristics and associated indicators of empowerment need only consider steps 1–3.

BOX 1

Defining the meanings of 'dimension', 'characteristic' and 'indicator'

In this context, the terms 'dimension', 'characteristic' and 'indicator' refer to distinct but highly interconnected concepts. The table below provides examples of these terms as applied to the empowerment characteristic of 'household decision making', which refers to changes taking place in power dynamics between a woman respondent and other household members. The term 'characteristic' is used to indicate a quality or attribute, while the term 'indicator' is used to describe and quantify the attribute.

Definition	Example
Level of change	Relational level, as it refers to changes taking place in power dynamics between a woman and other household members.
Characteristic	An 'empowered woman' can influence and take decisions within the household.
Indicator	The proportion of decisions made within the household in which the woman is solely or jointly involved.
Binary indicator	An 'empowered woman' is solely or jointly involved to a large extent in at least 80 percent of the important decisions taken within the household.

STEP 1: DEFINING THE CHARACTERISTICS OF EMPOWERMENT

Oxfam recognizes empowerment as a context-specific, multi-dimensional concept. As a consequence, in every evaluation that aims to measure women's empowerment, there is a need to first define what empowerment means in that specific context.

The objective of this first step is to identify the characteristics of an 'empowered woman' in the context of the project. This could be an intensive, long-term research project in its own right, and it is important to acknowledge that the duration and depth of this step depend on the time and resources available. For Oxfam's Effectiveness Reviews, this step is usually undertaken as part of a broader process in which programme staff, partner organizations and local consultants with research expertise engage with and define the evaluation questions and evaluation tools of the project under analysis. Appendix 2 provides an outline of the structure of a workshop held to define the characteristics of empowerment.

Regardless of the structure designed for this process, two guiding principles should be used: inclusivity and awareness of power dynamics.

The first of these principles recognizes the need to be inclusive of all relevant stakeholders (including partner organizations and project participants). This encourages greater usage of the evaluation findings and provides measurements that are better grounded in the specific context. Bishop and Bowman (2014) raise a valid question as to whether Oxfam's Global Impact Evaluation Advisers, who are mainly male with a clearly defined socio-economic background, are well placed to define what women's empowerment really means. Oxfam has been exploring different strategies, depending on budget and logistical constraints in the evaluation, to overcome this issue – for example, conducting an exercise with representatives of women involved in the project to define the characteristics of women's empowerment. This exercise can be conducted as a component of the workshop that takes place with programme staff and partners, and can be used to define the project indicators measuring women's empowerment. Alternatively, the evaluator can incorporate a qualitative component into the evaluation design, which helps to identify what empowerment means in the context of the analysis. Qualitative components used in previous Effectiveness Reviews have included literature reviews of previous studies and evaluations conducted in the area, focus group discussions (FGDs) with women involved in the project and women living in neighbouring villages, and 'think aloud' exercises which explore how respondents engage with and answer survey questions.

The second principle requires that the researcher/evaluator facilitating this process is aware of the power dynamics at play. As a facilitator, they need to plan ahead to ensure that different participants and views are represented. During the workshop, the facilitator should mediate and incorporate different views into the process. In particular, it is the facilitator's role to help and encourage the participation of any individuals who are less vocal during the workshop, allowing them time to reflect and think how to contribute.

The facilitator should also be aware that it is possible for some project stakeholders to over-emphasize specific characteristics and indicators of empowerment that are most relevant to the project under analysis. The scope of this exercise aims to generate a holistic picture of empowerment, not just what the project was designed to achieve. This approach helps to maximize learning, allowing the study to investigate the interconnections between different characteristics and to explore both intended and unintended impacts of the project. Often, indicators of self-esteem, violence against women and recognition of care work within the household are not immediately considered during these discussions and need to be prompted.

A list of all the different characteristics of empowerment used in the 2014/15 and 2015/16 Effectiveness Reviews for Women's Empowerment can be found in Appendix 3. This list shares Oxfam's experience to date but it should not be considered exhaustive, as each evaluation requires its own assessment for defining which characteristics and indicators define empowerment in the context of analysis.

STEP 2 QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN AND DEFINING INDICATORS

Once the list of characteristics describing an 'empowered woman' in the context of analysis has been defined, the next step is to define the data collection tool for associated indicators.

One key challenge in measuring women's empowerment is ensuring the use of valid survey instruments that are capable of collecting accurate measures of characteristics that may be subjective and intangible. Though daunting, this challenge is not insurmountable. The majority of questionnaire tools used in the Effectiveness Reviews derive from pre-existing and well-tested survey tools. The most influential of these have been the DHS toolkit questionnaires (from the USAID funded Demographic and Health Surveys Program), the questionnaire developed for the Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index (WEAI) (Alkire et al., 2013) and the Living Standard Measurement Study from the World Bank (Grosh and Glewwe, 2000). Moreover, in the five years it has been undertaking Effectiveness Reviews, Oxfam's impact evaluation advisers have had the opportunity to experiment, test and adapt questions so that they are better understood by women involved in projects and provide more reliable results.

A particularly important consideration is the length of the questionnaire. Questionnaires used for gathering this data are designed to be completed in less than one hour. This is for a number of reasons: firstly, out of respect for the respondent's time; secondly, in order to ensure high-quality data: questionnaires lasting more than one hour tend to see a drop in the level of attention and concentration of the respondent; and finally because budget and resource constraints limit the duration of data collection. Appendix 4 looks in more depth at the structure and wording used in formulating questions for some of the most common women's empowerment indicators employed in the Effectiveness Reviews. The questions reported are only examples, and all questions should always be tested and adapted to the relevant socio-economic context under analysis. More examples of questionnaires used for conducting Effectiveness Reviews on Women's Empowerment can be downloaded from the website of the UK Data Service.⁵

STEP 3 DATA CONSTRUCTION AND APPLICATION OF CUT-OFF POINTS

The third step takes place at the data analysis level, and consists of constructing one indicator from the raw data for each characteristic of empowerment. Depending on the questionnaire design, this can be expressed in the form of either a continuous, categorical or binary variable.⁶ Subsequently, a cut-off point needs to be applied for each indicator in order to transform it into binary form, taking a value equal to 1 if a woman is considered to be empowered in the corresponding characteristic, and zero if not.

Whenever possible, the cut-off points for each indicator of when women are considered to be 'empowered' should be discussed with stakeholders during the initial workshop. However, it is sometimes difficult to define in advance how respondents will interpret and answer questions that are often based on individual perceptions. In practice, the cut-off points are defined after the data has been collected, when it is possible to observe the distribution of answers across the entire sample.

Some readers may find this approach familiar, as it borrows from the Alkire-Foster (AF) method, which was also employed for constructing the Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index (WEAI) by IFPRI and OPHI (Alkire et al., 2013). However, it is worth mentioning that the Women's Empowerment Index employed in the Effectiveness Reviews differs from the WEAI on a number of points. Firstly, as seen in Step 1, this measurement tool is context-specific, while the WEAI defines dimensions and characteristics of empowerment that are consistent across countries. Secondly, when transforming the indicators into a categorical variable, Oxfam's index takes a value equal to 1 if a woman is considered to be 'empowered', unlike the WEAI, which takes a value equal to 1 if a woman is considered to be 'disempowered'. Thirdly, contrary to the WEAI, which is based on a dual cut-off method (Alkire et al., 2013), this index applies only the first cut-off and not the second, giving the index a value ranging between 0 and 1, rather than being either 0 or 1. This is explained further in Step 5 below. Finally, and again contrary to the WEAI, this tool also defines characteristics of empowerment that sit outside the control of individual women, such as social norms or policy and laws that exist at the environmental level.

STEP 4 DEFINE THE RELATIVE WEIGHT OF EACH INDICATOR

The fourth step in constructing the Women's Empowerment Index is to define the relative weight of each indicator in the final composite index. This process is required when some empowerment characteristics are considered to be more important than others. On the other hand, no relative weighting is required if all the indicators are considered equally important in describing women's empowerment (in other words, each indicator is given the same weight in the overall index).

Weighting can be calculated using either qualitative or quantitative methods. For example, discrete choice experiments are a quantitative technique for eliciting preferences by asking respondents to state their preferences when presented with hypothetical alternatives and scenarios. Alternatively, FGDs can be used to weight or rank dimensions based on their relative importance.

An Effectiveness Review conducted in Mali (Vigneri and Lombardini, 2016) incorporated a weighting exercise carried out with sixteen women involved in defining the characteristics describing empowerment. The women were also asked to rank, according to their opinion, the three most important indicators. For each woman, the first choice received three points, the second choice two points and the third choice one point. Points were combined for each indicator, and the relative weight for each was calculated based on the proportion of points received.

This step has the advantage of assigning more weight to those empowerment characteristics that are considered most relevant by participants involved in the weighting exercise. However, it also produces estimates of the overall empowerment index that can be harder to interpret compared with unweighted estimates, as the index can no longer be interpreted as a percentage of indicators which score positively. In the Effectiveness Review that attempted to use weights in constructing the index, impact estimates of both weighted and unweighted indexes were presented. While the average value of the indexes differed depending on the weight, the overall project impact did not.

STEP 5 CREATE THE EMPOWERMENT INDEX

The final step consists of combining all the indicators (and associated weights) into one unique measure. The Women's Empowerment Index (in its weighted and unweighted forms) represents the proportion of characteristics in which women score positively (meaning that they reach the cut-off points defined in Step 3) across the indicators describing empowerment.

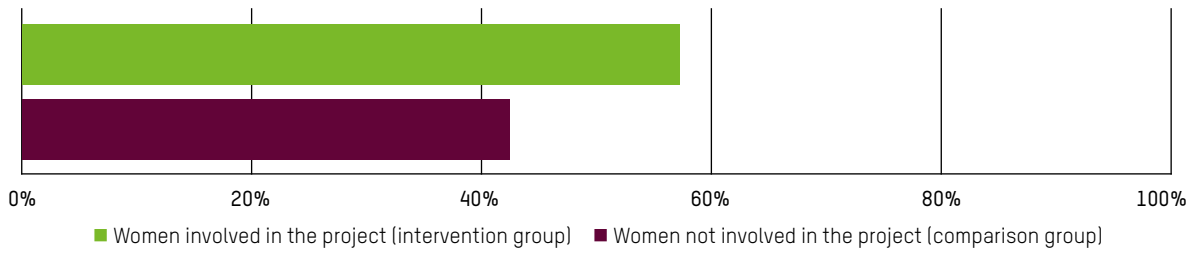
Table 1 and Figure 3 provide numerical and graphical representations of the average overall empowerment score of a sample of women involved in a project (the intervention group) and the average empowerment score of a sample of similar women not involved in the project (the comparison group). These estimates suggest that women involved in the project scored positively, on average, on 57 percent of the indicators, compared with comparison group women who scored positively, on average, on 42 percent of the indicators. This difference is statistically significant, suggesting that the project has had a positive and significant impact on overall women's empowerment.

Table 1: Overall Women's Empowerment Index

	Empowerment
Intervention group mean:	0.57
Comparison group mean:	0.42
Difference:	0.14*** (0.02)
Observations intervention:	102
Observations:	441

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$; PSM estimates are bootstrapped with 1,000 repetitions. All means are calculated after matching.

Figure 3: Graphical representation of the Women's Empowerment Index



Note: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

As explained in section 2, this measurement tool allows the analysis to be conducted with different levels of aggregation. Table 2 and Figure 4 provide representations of how the overall empowerment score can be disaggregated at a lower level of change (personal, relational or environmental). In this example, estimates suggest that the project has had a positive and significant impact on indicators of empowerment related to change taking place at the relational and environmental levels.

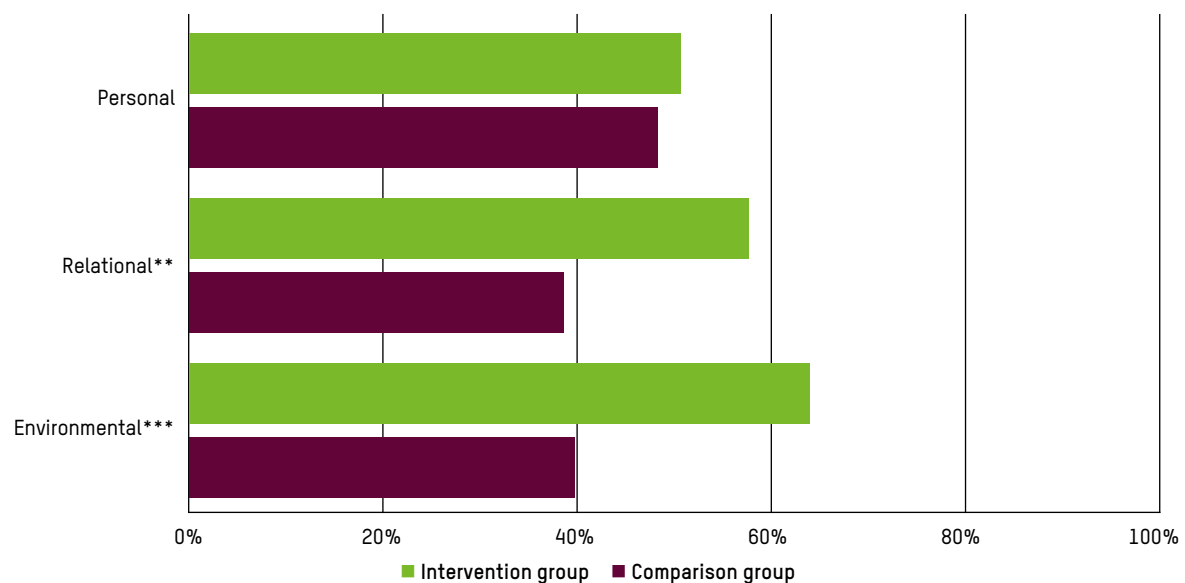
The index can be disaggregated even further, providing estimates of the individual indicators that compose the overall index, and providing a better understanding about which levels and characteristics of empowerment are changing as a result of the project.

Table 2: Women's Empowerment Index by level of change

	Empowerment index (personal)	Empowerment index (relational)	Empowerment index (environmental)
Intervention group mean:	0.51	0.58	0.64
Comparison group mean:	0.49	0.39	0.40
Difference:	0.01 (0.03)	0.19*** (0.03)	0.24*** (0.03)
Observations intervention:	102	102	102
Observations:	441	441	441

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$; PSM estimates are bootstrapped with 1,000 repetitions. All means are calculated after matching.

Figure 4: Women's Empowerment Index disaggregated by level of change



Note: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

4 FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MEASUREMENT TOOL

This paper and the companion material in the appendices share the tools developed and the experience gained by Oxfam in efforts to measure women's empowerment over five years of conducting Effectiveness Reviews. This measurement tool has been continually evolving, incorporating learning and considerations from each piece of fieldwork and evaluation. The guidance presented in this paper should be considered as a work in progress, which will evolve and adapt to meet new evaluation and practical challenges. The hope is that the reader will use this approach and material as a guide and will adapt the tools based on their own particular context and evaluation/research needs.

This section briefly looks at some of the challenges and limitations and possible solutions that evaluators or researchers using this approach are encouraged to consider. Firstly, the tool is not able to capture directly the views of other people surrounding the women in question (for example, men or other women in the household). In order to investigate their perceptions, it would be ideal to also give the questionnaire to these other individuals – though it is important to note that this would have significant repercussions on budget requirements, given a fixed sample size. One possible solution might be to integrate the current questionnaire, given only to the sample women, with an additional (shorter) questionnaire given to husbands or other people in the household, to be conducted at the end of the participating woman's questionnaire. However, this may come at the cost of data quality, as it would be harder for enumerators to ensure privacy during interviews.⁷

Secondly, there is a challenge related to measurement of the characteristics of empowerment at the environmental level. The effectiveness review methodology uses counterfactual techniques (experimental and quasi-experimental tools), but the indicators describing characteristics at the environmental level (such as social norms, policies and laws) are likely to be affected not just in the group of women being directly worked with (the intervention group) but also in women in the comparison group. While this would not pose a problem in some monitoring, evaluation or learning exercises, it does become an issue in impact evaluation when trying to investigate causality using counterfactual techniques. It is advisable to consider non-counterfactual impact evaluation techniques to assess a project's impact on these indicators (see Stern et al., 2012).

A third limitation is the need to dichotomise all the characteristics into a binary indicator (Step 3 in section 3). This process allows the construction of an index that is easy to understand and interpret, but it requires some value judgement as to where to set the cut-off point for each indicator. In the Effectiveness Reviews, this issue has been tackled by presenting estimates in their continuous form whenever possible. Estimates in binary form are then reported in the appendix for checking consistency.



Items from the group activities run as part of the Papua Women's Empowerment project, Indonesia.
Credit: Oxfam



APPENDIX 1 INTERCONNECTING WITH OTHER FRAMEWORKS

This appendix shows how easily the framework based on the three levels of empowerment where change can take place can be used and adapted to different frameworks already used by practitioners. In particular, it explores complementarities with the Rowlands power structure and the Gender at Work framework.

Rowlands (1997) suggests that power can be expressed in four different dimensions: *power within*, *power to*, *power with* and *power over*. *Power within* looks at personal self-confidence as psychological strength and *power to* refers to individual agency, meaning the capability to decide actions and carry them out. *Power with* recognizes that empowerment is a collective process, which requires the support and interaction of peers and organizations. Finally, *power over* assesses the strength of the strong over the weak, measuring power relationships between a woman and other individuals in the household or community where she lives.

Figure A1.1 suggests how these four dimensions of power (within, to, with, over) can interact with the level of change (personal, relational, environmental). As *power within* and *power to* refer to changes taking place within the person, they can both be categorized under changes taking place at a personal level. More specifically, *power within* is described by indicators referring to how a woman perceives herself and other women in the society, while *power to* is described by indicators relating to a woman's capability to decide actions and carry them out.

Power with and *power over* are both related to changes taking place in the power relations with the woman's surrounding network, and can be categorized under changes taking place at a relational level. *Power with* is described by indicators referring to social capital and group involvement. *Power over* is described by indicators defining the power relationship between the woman and other individuals (within the household, community or groups).

As mentioned in section 4, there is a challenge when exploring impact using a counter-factual approach in relation to the characteristics of empowerment changing at the environmental level. Oxfam has not yet explored the environmental dimension as deeply as the other two dimensions, partly because evaluations have looked for comparison groups who inhabit similar environments (and are subject to the same gendered laws, community norms, etc.) as the intervention group. Oxfam recognizes that this is problematic, because interventions could affect (and in some places likely have been affecting) 'environmental' dimensions – for example, creating informal coalitions of allies ('power with') or shifting community norms in hard-to-perceive ways. The lack of development of the environmental dimension (as opposed to the personal and relational dimensions) has largely been a function of the level of most interventions undertaken to date (household/community) and the evaluation design employed. Future versions of the tool will do more to explore this dimension.

Figure A1.1: Women's Empowerment Index framework interacting with the four power dimensions (within, to, with, over)

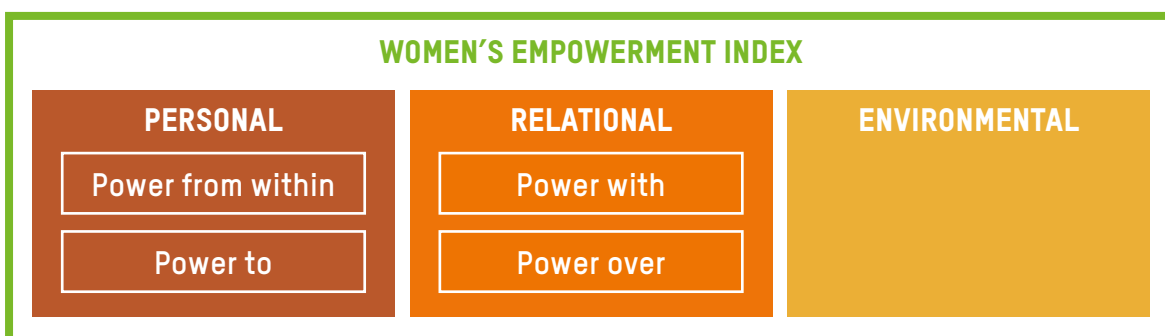


Figure A1.2 shows the Gender at Work framework, which is a conceptual framework that connects rights with institutions and gender equality. It identifies four clusters of change running along two axes: formal/informal and individual/system change. The top two clusters refer to changes taking place with the individual. They can refer to changes in individual consciousness (individual informal) as well as access to resources (individual formal). The bottom two clusters refer to systemic changes. They may relate to changes in cultural norms (systemic informal) or to changes in formal institutions, such as laws, policies, etc. (systemic formal).

Figure A1.2: Gender at Work framework

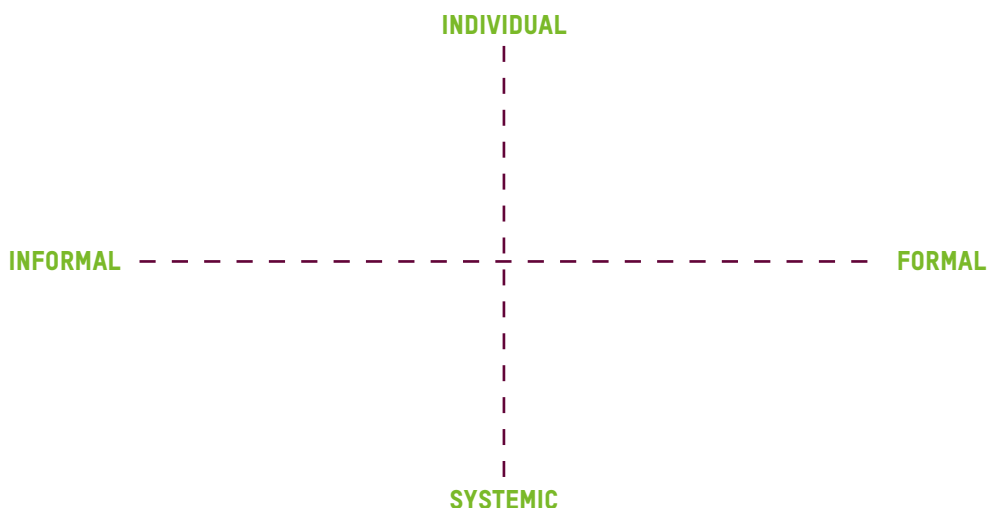
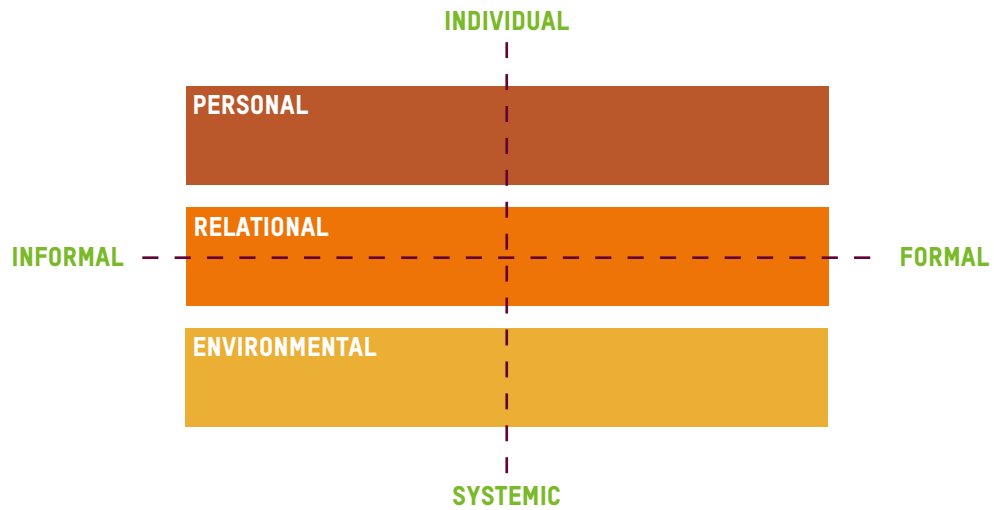


Figure A1.3 suggests how this framework can interact with the three levels of change (personal, relational, environmental). The top two clusters, referring to changes at the individual level, can be categorized as changes taking place at a personal level. The bottom two clusters, referring to systemic changes, can be identified with changes at the environmental level. Finally, in the middle are changes taking place at the relational level e.g. involvement in household decision making (informal) or political participation (formal).

Figure A1.3: Three levels of change interacting with the Gender at Work framework





Sotzil - Women making tamales (also known as paches or chuchitos) in a typical family home in Guatemala. Credit: Annie Bungeroth/Oxfam

APPENDIX 2 WORKSHOP OUTLINE

Section 3 describes how the objective of the first step in defining the framework is to identify the characteristics of an ‘empowered woman’ in the context of the project. This process can be broken down into three main phases.

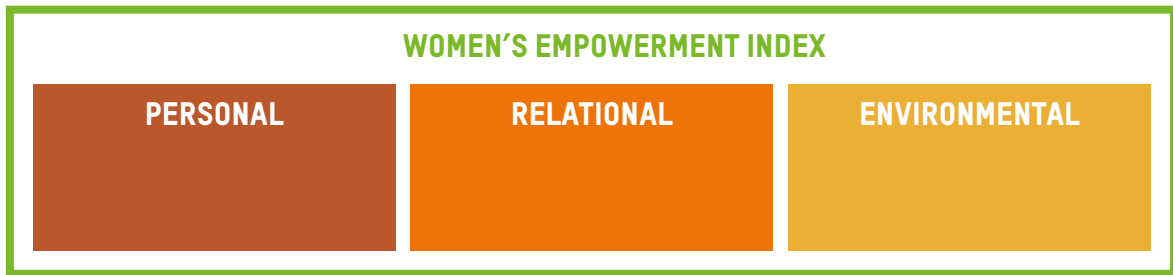
The first phase involves a discussion with workshop participants about how they understand and define women’s empowerment. Key stakeholders should participate in this phase, proposing and defining characteristics that they consider describe an ‘empowered woman’, without pre-imposing any framework on the debate. The evaluator/researcher should take note of any ideas that arise during the discussion.

The second phase involves the presentation of the theoretical framework outlined in section 2. While describing the structure of the framework, the evaluator can start to allocate the characteristics identified in the first phase to the relevant dimensions and can then use this process to prompt the inclusion of any additional characteristics that have not emerged previously.

The theoretical framework is often useful to structure and guide the debate about what women’s empowerment is considered to be, as some people might find it difficult to describe an abstract concept such as empowerment. As shown in Appendix 1, the framework can easily be adapted to other commonly used frameworks for empowerment. The evaluator is encouraged to make these links explicit if it helps the participants to engage better.

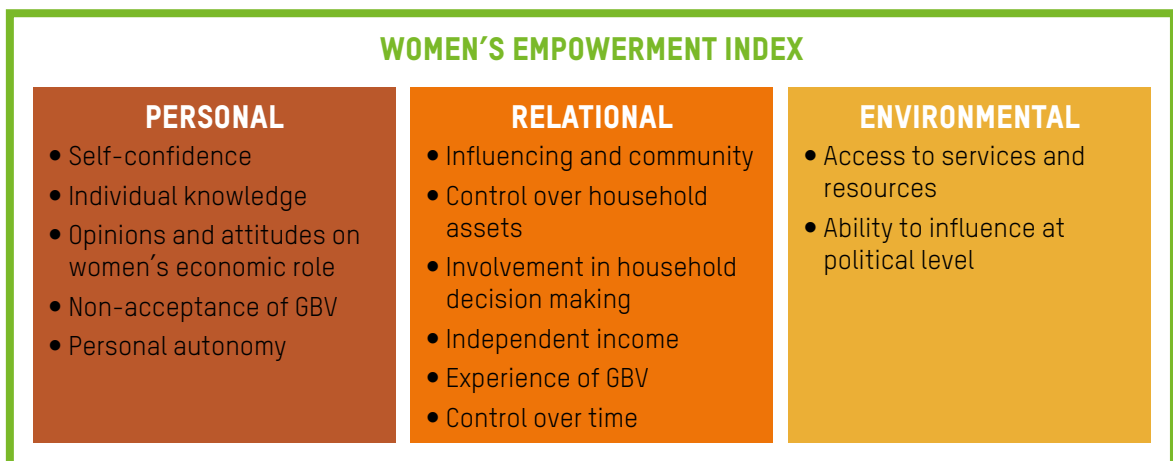
The third phase consists of placing the characteristics identified within the theoretical framework composed of the three levels of change. It involves moving from a situation where only the conceptual framework is identified (Figure A2.1) to a situation where characteristics and indicators are categorized under the three levels of change (Figure A2.2).

Figure A2.1: Example of the empowerment framework without characteristics (phase 2)



During Oxfam's Effectiveness Reviews this process has traditionally been conducted in a workshop where programme staff, partner organizations, and a local consultant with research expertise engage in defining the evaluation questions and tools. This approach has been chosen and pragmatically used for Effectiveness Reviews because it allows the evaluator, who is generally someone external and not familiar with the context of analysis, to quickly gather information about it. It also fosters stakeholder engagement as the indicators identified during this process will form the final empowerment index, which is the measure against which the project will be evaluated.

Figure A2.2: Example of the empowerment framework with characteristics (phase 3)



It is advisable to conduct this process with representatives of the project participants so that the women involved in the project have a role in defining what empowerment means. This can be done following the example of Mali, where characteristics of empowerment were defined during a full-day workshop with project participants, while the associated indicators and measurement tools were defined on a separate occasion with programme staff, partners and the local consultant.



Emelina Dominguez, agricultural technician, is tending to her vegetables in Honduras. Credit: Gilvan Barretto/Oxfam

APPENDIX 3 LIST OF EMPOWERMENT CHARACTERISTICS

Table A3.1: Empowerment characteristics identified in Oxfam’s 2014/15 and 2015/16 Effectiveness Reviews

LEVEL	Dimension	CHARACTERISTIC
PERSONAL	Power from within	Self-esteem
		Self-confidence
		Self-efficacy
		Individual knowledge (e.g. agricultural practices or milk production)
		Individual knowledge (justice system)
		Knowledge on where to go and what to do in case of violence
		Opinions (attitude and beliefs) on women’s economic role
		Opinions (attitude and beliefs) on gender rights
		(Non-) acceptability of gender-based violence (GBV)
		Opinions (attitude and beliefs) on power within the household
		Opinions (attitude and beliefs) on property rights
		Opinions (attitude and beliefs) on freedom of movement
		Recognition of care
	Power to	Individual capability (apply knowledge)
		Personal autonomy
		Personal autonomy around violence against women (VAW)
		Access to savings
		Access to credit

LEVEL	Dimension	CHARACTERISTIC
RELATIONAL	Power with	Social capital
		Participation in community groups
		Level of support provided by groups to pursue own initiatives
		Political participation
		Attitudes and beliefs of people close to the woman (men's support of women's rights)
		Attitudes and beliefs of people close to the woman (community leaders' support to encourage women's access to courts)
		Degree of influence in governing of community groups
		Participation in public events
		Contribution to community social needs
	Power over	Involvement in household decision making
		Involvement in household decision making (expenditure decisions)
		Involvement in household decision making (investment decisions)
		Involvement in household decision making (household management decisions)
		Control over household assets
		Contribution to household income
		Power in markets
		Control over sexuality
		Experience of GBV
		Control over time
		Ability to reduce time devoted to care responsibilities
		Ability to redistribute burden of care responsibilities
		Ability to have more time for leisure and socializing
LEVEL	CHARACTERISTIC	
ENVIRONMENTAL	Accessibility of legal services	
	Safety of movement outside the home	
	Break stereotypes	
	Ability to influence at political level	
	Advocate change for other women	
	Quality of legal services	



Godelive Nyirabakobua, pineapple sucker farmer, in her pineapple field, Rwanda. Credit: Simon Rawles

APPENDIX 4 QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN AND EXAMPLES

This appendix provides examples of the questionnaire structure, wording and data transformation used in formulating questions for some of the most common women’s empowerment indicators employed in Effectiveness Reviews.

The reader should be aware that the questions reported here are only examples, and all questionnaires should always be tested and adapted to the relevant socio-economic context under analysis, in a way that recognizes the interconnectedness of individual questions.

PERSONAL LEVEL INDICATORS

1 SELF-ESTEEM



This indicator reflects the attitude that the respondent has towards herself. Questions reported in Figure A4.1 derive from a simplified and reduced version of the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965). The enumerator reads the statements, and the respondent has to state to what extent she agrees or disagrees with each statement using a Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. The indicator is then constructed by calculating the proportion of answers in which the respondent reports responses indicating self-confidence.

Figure A4.1: Self-confidence

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?	1 = Strongly disagree	3 = Partly agree
	2 = Partly disagree	4 = Strongly agree
I feel that I’m a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others		<input type="checkbox"/>
I feel that I have a number of good qualities		<input type="checkbox"/>
I feel I do not have much to be proud of		<input type="checkbox"/>
I am equal to my peers (e.g. sisters, friends, colleagues, etc.)		<input type="checkbox"/>

2 OPINION ON WOMEN'S ECONOMIC ROLE


 As shown in Figure A4.2, respondents are read two contradicting statements and asked to indicate which one they most agree with. The statements in this example were developed for the evaluation in Pakistan, where leadership, being able to keep financial records and education are contentious issues. The indicator is calculated by obtaining the proportion of statements in which the respondent indicates a preference for answers showing empowerment.

Figure A4.2: Opinions on women's economic role

With which of the two statements do you agree most?		
1 A woman can be a leader, just like a man can.	2 Men are better leaders than women.	<input type="checkbox"/>
1 It is a waste of time to train a woman to keep financial records when you could train a man and he will do the job better.	2 It is good to train a woman to keep financial records because she can do the job as well as a man.	<input type="checkbox"/>
1 A good marriage is more important for a girl than a good education.	2 A good education is more important for a girl than a good marriage.	<input type="checkbox"/>

3 ACCEPTABILITY OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE (GBV)


 This indicator aims to measure the extent to which a woman considers domestic violence to be acceptable. Questions reported in Figure A4.3 have come from a simplified version of the Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) toolkit questionnaire (DHS Program). Respondents are asked to say if they think it is acceptable for a man to beat his wife in a number of different circumstances. This measure looks only at acceptability and not at prevalence, which is discussed later. The indicator measures whether the respondent reports it as being acceptable for a man to beat his wife in one or more of the cases reported.

Figure A4.3: Acceptability of GBV

In your opinion, is it acceptable for a man to beat his wife if:	1 = Yes	8 = No answer
	0 = No	9 = Don't know
She disobeys her husband or other family members	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
He suspects that she has been unfaithful	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
She neglects the children	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
She spends money without permission	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
She is not supporting her husband in livestock and agricultural activities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
She goes to see her family without permission	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Any other case not mentioned above	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

4 INDIVIDUAL KNOWLEDGE



While the previous indicators are based on perceptions and beliefs, this indicator tests whether a woman has (or has acquired) knowledge that is considered important for empowerment.

Questions reported in Figure A4.4 refer to the impact evaluation conducted in Lebanon (2015), where women's empowerment was deemed to be associated with knowledge about accessing the justice system. This evaluation assessed women's knowledge by asking each respondent a number of questions concerning the rights and laws embodied in the juridical system(s) in Lebanon.

In Oxfam's experience, evaluators have at times used poorly designed questions to measure this indicator – for example, asking if the respondent has attended a training session on a particular topic or if she is aware of certain laws or certain information. These questions measure only outputs: the data captured is telling us only whether the respondent has participated in the training, not if she has any knowledge. It is also possible that knowledge has been obtained from channels outside of the project. Instead, the design of questions related to this indicator should test if the woman possesses particular knowledge.

Figure A4.4: Individual knowledge

Do you think these statements are true or false?	1 = True	2 = False	3 = Don't know
A woman has the right to ask for alimony from her husband.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A woman does not have the right of custody over her son or to take care of him.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A Lebanese woman married to a foreigner cannot give her nationality to their children.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Women have the right to request a reduction of court fees.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A single woman has no right to ask to register her children.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If a husband persistently fails to pay his alimony, he can eventually be put in jail.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

5 INDIVIDUAL CAPABILITY



This indicator is directly linked to individual knowledge presented in the previous point. While 'individual knowledge' investigates whether a woman possesses knowledge of a particular topic, this indicator investigates whether this knowledge has been applied.

Questions reported in Figure A4.5 were used to investigate individual capability in the same evaluation in Lebanon, where respondents were asked the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with a number of statements relating to willingness and knowledge to take legal action if required.

Distinguishing between the possession of knowledge and the application of knowledge is of particular importance, as it allows an investigation of whether knowledge is a constraint for implementing certain practices or if there are other constraints that are affecting this choice. For example, a woman might have knowledge of laws and the juridical system, but she might face other constraints that prevent her from demanding her rights.

Figure A4.5: Individual capability

To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of these statements?	1 = Disagree	3 = Partly agree
	2 = Partly disagree	4 = Strongly agree
I am willing to support my sisters or friends morally if they decide to face a family legal action.		<input type="checkbox"/>
If needed, I know how to help my sisters or friends in finding free legal consultation.		<input type="checkbox"/>
If needed, I would be willing to file a lawsuit in court.		<input type="checkbox"/>

6 PERSONAL AUTONOMY



This indicator attempts to measure the level of autonomy that a woman has to decide on an action and to carry it out independently. The structure of the questions comes from the DHS toolkit and the WEAI; an example is shown in Figure A4.6. The respondent is asked to state who normally makes most of the decisions relating to a short list of activities considered to be relevant in the context under analysis. If the respondent reports that she is not the person who makes the decisions (either solely or jointly), then she is also asked if she thinks she can influence what is decided.

The questions follow the same structure as that used for measuring household decision making, but the activities listed refer only to actions concerning the woman herself, not actions concerning household or business activities.


Caution should be exercised in interpreting the data obtained from the second column, as the level of influence is not clearly defined and each respondent might have a different degree of understanding about what influencing a decision means.

Figure A4.6: Personal autonomy

	In your household, who normally makes most of the decisions about the activities listed below?	If decisions are NOT normally solely or jointly made by the respondent herself: To what extent do you think you could influence the person who makes the decision to change their decision?
	1 = Respondent herself (skip to next item) 2 = Husband 3 = Respondent and husband jointly (skip to next item) 4 = Another household member 5 = Respondent and another household member jointly (skip to next item) 6 = Someone outside the household 0 = Household is not involved in this activity (skip to next item)	1 = Not at all 2 = To some extent 3 = To a large extent 9 = N/A
Can you personally travel to visit relatives outside the community?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Can you personally participate in community groups, activities or meetings taking place in your community?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

RELATIONAL LEVEL INDICATORS

7 GROUP PARTICIPATION

 This indicator measures whether a woman belongs to any community groups. It has been argued for several projects that this indicator represents an output measure rather than an outcome or impact measure. However, group membership has been widely considered to be an empowering factor as it provides a major source of social networking and social capital (see Alkire et al., 2013).


The first column in Figure A4.7 aims to measure a woman's participation in groups by asking each respondent if she regularly attends meetings of a list of groups. This list is intended to be flexible and should not include groups relevant only to the project.

The corresponding indicator can be either a binary variable, taking a value equal to 1 if the woman participates in at least one group, or a continuous variable counting the number of groups in which the respondent is involved.

Figure A4.7: Group participation and degrees of influencing in community groups

	Do you regularly attend meetings of this group?	If yes: To what extent are you involved in making important decisions in the group?
	1 = Yes 0 = No	1 = Not at all 2 = To a small extent 3 = To a medium extent 4 = To a large extent 9 = N/A
Women's association	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Credit or microfinance group (including SACCOs/merry-go-rounds/VSLAs)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mutual/self-help group	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Community animal health worker association (CAHWS)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Civic group (improving the community)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Religious group	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Another group (only if it does not fit into one of the other categories)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

8 LEADERSHIP AND DEGREES OF INFLUENCING IN COMMUNITY GROUPS

 In addition to group participation, a related and frequently used indicator is leadership and degrees of influencing in community groups. This indicator is captured in the second column in Figure A4.7, which asks to what extent the respondent is involved in making important decisions in the groups she regularly attends.

The reader should be warned that different women might have different understandings of what it means to be involved in important decisions. There is an argument to change this subjective measure and investigate formal leadership roles. However, it has also been argued that women can influence important decisions while not formally holding a leadership role. Moreover, it is also possible for someone to formally occupy a leadership position without being involved in any decision-making processes.

9 CONTROL OVER HOUSEHOLD ASSETS



This indicator investigates to what extent a woman has control over the assets owned by the household. The structure of the questions reported in Figure A4.8 has been developed from the WEAI questionnaire, but it has been deliberately condensed to make the questionnaire shorter.

Control over household assets is captured by asking each respondent to estimate how many items the household owns from a list of assets (zero if none).⁸ For each item owned by the household, the respondent is asked to indicate who would decide whether to use, sell or replace the item if the need arose. The options available include the possibility of the decision being made by the respondent herself, by her partner (solely or jointly with the respondent) or by other household members.

Around 20–30 items are usually listed, and they should include a spectrum of assets that allow the differentiation of families across the range of wealth distribution. This means using items representing wealthier households, as well as items found in less well-off families. Typically, this list will include items such as agricultural and farm products, livestock (cattle, sheep, goats, etc.), means of communication and transportation (motorbikes, cars, radios, TVs, mobile phones, etc.) and time-saving equipment (energy-saving stoves, washing machines, etc.).

Figure A4.8: Control over household assets

	How many [items] does your household own now?	If the household owns this item now, ask: Who would you say can decide whether to use, sell or replace [item] if the need arises?
	(number items)	1 = Respondent herself 2 = Husband 3 = Respondent and husband jointly 4 = Another household member 5 = Respondent and another household member jointly 6 = Someone outside the household 9 = N/A
Cattle	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sheep	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Goats	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Poultry	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Energy-saving stove	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

10 HOUSEHOLD DECISION MAKING



This indicator aims to measure the level of women's involvement in household decision making. An example of the structure of the questions is given in Figure A4.9. The indicator employs a similar structure to questions relating to personal autonomy. The respondent is asked to state who normally makes most of the decisions concerning a list of activities within the household. These are usually divided into three categories: decisions on consumption and expenditure; decisions on investment and business activities; and decisions on household management.

Figure A4.9: Involvement in household decision making

	In your household, who normally makes most of the decisions about the activities listed below?	If decisions are NOT normally solely or jointly made by the respondent herself: To what extent do you think you can influence the person who makes the decisions to change their decision?
	1 = Respondent herself (skip to next item) 2 = Husband 3 = Respondent and husband jointly (skip to next item) 4 = Another household member 5 = Respondent and another household member jointly (skip to next item) 6 = Someone outside the household 0 = Household is not involved in this activity (skip to next item)	1 = Not at all 2 = To some extent 3 = To a large extent 9 = N/A
How much of the crops harvested should be kept for consumption in the household	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
How to spend the money made from the sale of crops [or main household income-generating activity]	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
How to spend the money made from [other income-generating activity where the woman is mainly contributing]	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
What food to buy and consume	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Purchase of furniture for the house	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Purchase and sale of cattle, oxen and other large livestock	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Purchase and sale of sheep and goats	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Purchase of plots of land	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Purchase of large cooking utensils (e.g. large saucepan)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Whether the household should take out a small loan, from what source, and how much to borrow	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
How to invest the money borrowed	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
What to give relatives when they marry or have a celebration	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The education of your children	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
How many children to have	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Transfer of property to a relative or any other person	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Approve a marriage	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Housework and care of the person	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

11 CONTRIBUTION TO HOUSEHOLD INCOME



This indicator measures the proportion of self-perceived contribution made by a woman to total household income. Figure A4.10 provides an example of a question used to measure this indicator, where the respondent is asked to estimate the percentage of resources consumed by the household (including crops, cash and services).

For some respondents with no or low levels of education, this question can be difficult to understand. In order to overcome this limitation, Figure A4.11 provides an alternative approach that makes use of visual aids, such as beans or small stones, in order to support the respondent in working out their total household needs (including food and money) and then asking them to indicate how many of these beans or stones reflect their contribution.

It should be noted that this is different from measuring the amount of independent income earned by a woman; rather, it involves measuring the proportion of household income she earns.

Figure A4.10: Contribution to household income

Given the total income of your household, what is the percentage of your own contribution?	<input type="text"/> %
--	------------------------

Figure A4.11: Contribution to household income (extended)

<p>Here are 10 beans. The beans together represent all the resources your household needs, such as food and money.</p> <p>From what you get, either crop or cash, how many beans represent your contribution?</p> <p><i>Support the respondent to work out her contribution.</i></p>	<p>Number of beans</p> <input type="text"/>
--	---

12 TIME AND WORKLOAD

L The questions shown in Figure A4.12 aim to measure some important elements of time allocation and workload and to collect information on the number of hours dedicated to a particular task, the perception of self-reported change over time, time devoted to multiple activities and any change or redistribution of time activities within the household.

Collecting information on time allocation is particularly challenging and time-consuming. There are a number of household surveys designed to collect this kind of information, among them the questionnaire developed for the WEAI and those contained in the World Bank's Lessons from 15 Years of the Living Standards Measurement Study (Grosch and Glewwe, 2000). The structure of the questions in Figure A4.12 is intended to strike a balance between accuracy of data collected and time required to collect the information.



Young girl waiting at a cash grant distribution by Oxfam GB in Al Hodeidah governorate, district of Al-Jarrahi, Yemen.
Credit: WolfgangGressmann/Oxfam

Figure A4.12: Time allocation

	How many hours did you spend doing this activity?	<i>If hours > 0:</i> While doing this, were you also responsible for the care of children, or other adult household members, at the same time?	Has the amount of time that you spend on this activity increased or decreased since 2010?	Has the amount of time that the husband in the household spends on this activity increased or decreased since 2010?
Activities carried out	Number of hours:	1 = Yes 0 = No	1 = Increased 2 = Stayed the same 3 = Decreased 9 = Not involved in this activity from 2010 until now	1 = Increased 2 = Stayed the same 3 = Decreased 9 = Not involved in this activity from 2010 until now 0 = No husband in the household
Responsible for the care of children, elderly people or other household members	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Cooking	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Cleaning the house	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Washing clothes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Cultivating land	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Cultivating communal green house	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tending farm animals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Formal labour	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other business activities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Leisure time (e.g. socializing with neighbours)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sleeping at night	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Personal care and rest	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

On the other hand, when it is particularly important to obtain a more precise measure of time devoted to certain activities, it is advisable to use the examples in Figure A4.13, where the respondent is asked to report what she was doing in each hour during the previous 24 hours. The enumerator reports the code corresponding to the activity mentioned. The questionnaire is designed to collect information on the respondent's main activities as well as secondary activities taking place at the same time.

Figure A4.13: Time allocation

		What were you mainly doing yesterday from [TIME]?	What other activity were you doing at the same time?
		See codes below	See codes below
A	04:00am-05:00am	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
B	05:00am-06:00am	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
C	06:00am-07:00am	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
D	07:00am-08:00am	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
E	08:00am-09:00am	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
F	09:00am-10:00am	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
G	10:00am-11:00am	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
H	11:00am-12:00pm	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
I	12:00pm-01:00pm	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
J	01:00pm-02:00pm	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
K	02:00pm-03:00pm	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
L	03:00pm-04:00pm	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
M	04:00pm-05:00pm	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
N	05:00pm-06:00pm	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
O	06:00pm-07:00pm	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
P	07:00pm-08:00pm	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
Q	08:00pm-09:00pm	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
R	09:00pm-10:00pm	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
S	10:00pm-11:00pm	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
T	11:00pm-12:00am	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
U	12:00am-01:00am	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
V	01:00am-02:00am	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
W	02:00am-03:00am	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

00 = Doing nothing	13 = Food and drink preparation
01 = Sleeping, napping	14 = Grinding, pounding
02 = Personal care and eating	15 = Cleaning
03 = Attending school, training	16 = Fuel collection (e.g. firewood, charcoal)
04 = Paid work, work in own business	17 = Water collection
05 = Income-generating activities	18 = Childcare
06 = Construction, repairing	19 = Dependent adult care
07 = Fishing, tending livestock, caring for animals	20 = Care of disabled person
08 = Tilling the ground for farming	21 = Care of community members
09 = Weeding	22 = Travelling
10 = Harvesting	23 = Leisure time (e.g. fireplace, local brew taking)
11 = Shopping	24 = Religious activity
12 = Washing, drying, ironing, mending clothes	25 = Attending group meetings
	99 = Don't remember

13 EXPERIENCE OF GBV



Measuring women's experience of GBV is important when testing the impact of projects that are trying to change power relations within the household and within communities. This is because freedom from violence has been widely recognized as a critical dimension for empowerment, and also because violence may be the result of a renegotiation of power within households and communities as women become more empowered (Hughes et al., 2015; Heise, 2011). As such, it is important to closely monitor exposure to violence and to manage and minimize its adverse effects.

The questionnaire tools used for exploring GBV in the context of the Effectiveness Reviews have been adapted from the Domestic Violence Module in the DHS toolkit.⁹ The respondent is asked if anyone has ever committed any of the violent actions listed. If the answer is yes, the respondent is asked if this took place within the household, in order to measure domestic violence, and is then finally asked about the prevalence of the event during the previous 12 months. An example of how the survey questions are structured is provided in Figure A4.14.

Over time, some variations to this questionnaire tool have been devised and tested. Firstly, in contexts where it was deemed inadvisable to ask the respondent directly if she had experienced violence, the questionnaire was modified to ask if the respondent knew of any women close to her who had experienced violence. This indicator was used as a proxy, but this has the significant limitation that if awareness-raising projects have made cases of violence more public, it would give a false perception of higher levels of violence. More recently, it was decided to ask about occurrences of violence for both the respondent and women close to her.

Secondly, there is a recognition that asking how often something takes place is not giving an exact measure but rather an indicator of what is perceived to be acceptable. Therefore, in many cases this question has been removed or modified by asking the respondent to estimate the number of times that violence has happened in the past month.

The evaluator interpreting the survey data should always be aware that there is a possibility that measures of GBV might be capturing openness and willingness to talk freely about the issue rather than reflecting the true prevalence of violence. For this reason, it is advisable to combine survey data with more in-depth qualitative data, thus triangulating the survey data and mitigating this risk.

It is important to remember that measuring something as sensitive as GBV can be particularly challenging and requires extra caution. When investigating this topic, the evaluator has to put in place a number of precautions to maximize the disclosure of actual violence and – more importantly – reduce the risk to anyone involved in the survey, such as the women interviewed or the enumerators.

1 Ensure informed consent: Additional informed consent should be read out to and obtained from the interviewee just before the section in the survey on violence, where the respondent should be reassured about the confidentiality of these questions. A sample script is given below:

Check for the presence of others. Do not continue until privacy is ensured

If privacy is obtained, read the sentence below to the respondent and continue with the questionnaire. If it is not possible to obtain privacy, then go to the next page.

Now I would like to ask you some questions about other important aspects of a woman's life. You may find some of these questions very personal; however, let me assure you that your answers are completely confidential.

2 Ensure complete privacy: Questions on violence should not be asked unless privacy is ensured, and enumerators should reschedule the interview to another time if necessary. If another person (excluding children not yet able to understand) comes into the room, enumerators should be trained to switch the subject and to interrupt the interview if necessary. If, despite repeated attempts, privacy cannot be obtained, this section of the questionnaire should not be implemented.

Ensuring complete privacy for this section is important for a number of reasons: firstly, to avoid exposing the respondent (or enumerator) to additional violence that could be generated if the perpetrator was made aware; secondly, to avoid exposing young children to violence, suggesting to them that violence is normal and acceptable; and finally, to ensure better quality of data (see Box 2).

BOX 2

Reporting violence and privacy during the interview

Using data gathered from the Pakistan Effectiveness Review, Oxfam explored the correlation between a woman being alone with the interviewer for the entire interview and the likelihood of her reporting episodes of violence. The figure below suggests that women who had the chance to participate in the interview without being interrupted by other people were more likely to report violence than those who were interviewed with other people in the vicinity. More than 20 percent of the women who were interviewed in private reported episodes of violence, compared with only 10 percent of those interviewed while others were nearby.



These findings suggest that respondents who are granted privacy during an interview are less likely to under-report the incidence of violence, which allows more precise estimates to be made.

3 Appropriate selection and training of enumerators: Enumerators should be female but should not be from the same communities as the interviewees, in order to minimize the risk of them knowing (and being known to) the perpetrators of violence. Enumerators should be properly trained in how to deal with cases of violence and should be equipped with a list of services and associations that can provide support to any respondent experiencing domestic violence, if they are asked for help. Finally, emotional support should also be provided to enumerators.

4 Adhere to best global practice: Evaluators aiming to conduct fieldwork surveys on GBV and domestic violence are strongly encouraged to read further and to apply the Ethical and Safety Guidelines for Implementing the DHS Domestic Violence Module,¹⁰ to reduce any risks.

Figure A4.14: Experience of GBV

	Now I need to ask you about some things that may have been done to you by someone. Has anyone ever done any of the following to you during the last 12 months?	Only if yes:	
		Did this take place within the household?	How many times did this happen during the last 12 months within the household?
	1 = Yes 2 = No (skip to next action) 8 = No answer (skip to next action) 9 = Don't know (skip to next action)	1 = Yes 0 = No 9 = N/A	Number of times
Say something to humiliate you in front of others	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>
Threaten to hurt or harm you or someone you care about	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>
Insult you or make you feel bad about yourself	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>
Push you, shake you, slap or punch you or throw something at you	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>
Threaten to attack you with a knife, gun or other weapon	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>

ENVIRONMENTAL LEVEL INDICATORS

14 SAFETY OF MOVEMENT



This indicator aims to measure the level of perceived safety of movement outside the house. As shown in Figure A4.15, respondents are asked if they agree or disagree with a sentence referring to security outside the house. Like questions asked under the indicator for self-esteem, this question uses a Likert scale, ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

Figure A4.15: Safety of movement

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?	1 = Disagree	3 = Partly agree
	2 = Partly disagree	4 = Strongly agree
I feel safe to walk alone in my village		<input type="checkbox"/>

15 SOCIAL NORMS AND STEREOTYPES OF WOMEN'S ECONOMIC ROLE



This indicator aims to measure the social norms and stereotypes around women's economic roles in the communities in which they live. As shown in Figure A4.16, the respondent is asked to assess to what extent other women in her community agree or disagree with a number of statements referring to the economic role of women. This question does not measure what the respondent thinks but rather what, in her view, other women in her community think.

Figure A4.16: Stereotypes in the community (women's perceptions)

To what extent do you think other women in your community agree with the following statements?	1 = Disagree	3 = Partly agree
	2 = Partly disagree	4 = Strongly agree
Women are just capable as men of contributing to household income		<input type="checkbox"/>
A man's job is to earn money; a woman's job is to look after home and family		<input type="checkbox"/>
Women are able to be good leaders as well as men		<input type="checkbox"/>

This measure can then be compared with data obtained from the questions shown in Figure A4.17, where the respondent is asked to assess to what extent men in her community agree or disagree with a number of statements referring to women's economic role.

Figure A4.17: Stereotypes in the community (men's perceptions)

To what extent do you think men in your community agree with the following statements?	1 = Disagree	3 = Partly agree
	2 = Partly disagree	4 = Strongly agree
Women are just as capable as men of contributing to household income		<input type="checkbox"/>
A man's job is to earn money; a woman's job is to look after home and family		<input type="checkbox"/>
Women are able to be good leaders as well as men		<input type="checkbox"/>



Wubalem (second right) and neighbours load racks taken from a modern hive into a centrifuge that will separate the honey from the wax.
Credit: Tom Pietrasik

APPENDIX 5 DATA CONSTRUCTION (EXAMPLE OF STATA DO-FILES)

This appendix provides an example of Stata do-files employed for constructing the Women's Empowerment Index. This example refers to the 2015/16 Effectiveness Review conducted in Armenia (Lombardini, 2017).

For each of the 16 characteristics that describe women's empowerment in this context, the evaluation defined one indicator expressed as a continuous measure, then transformed it into a binary measure. For example, the first characteristic describing women's empowerment was self-confidence, which measured the attitude the respondent had towards herself. This was measured with an indicator that counted the number of answers in which the respondent expressed self-confidence (represented by the variable `self_confidence_number` with values ranging from 0 to 4). The variable was then transformed into a binary variable (`self_confidence_positive`), taking a value equal to 1 if the respondent expressed self-confidence in all four of the questions. This process was conducted for all the indicators.

In order to construct the Women's Empowerment Index, all the binary variables were then combined into one unique measure of empowerment named the `empowerment_base_index`, which measured the proportion of characteristics in which women scored positively across the indicators describing empowerment.

PERSONAL LEVEL

**** Self-confidence**

```
gen opinion_selfconf1_bin = (opinion_selfconf1 == 4) | opinion_selfconf1 == 3)
```

```
gen opinion_selfconf2_bin = (opinion_selfconf2 == 4) | opinion_selfconf2 == 3)
```

```
gen opinion_selfconf3_bin = (opinion_selfconf3 == 1) | opinion_selfconf3 == 2)
```

```
gen opinion_selfconf4_bin = (opinion_selfconf4 == 4) | opinion_selfconf4 == 3)
```

```
gen self_confidence_number = opinion_selfconf1_bin + opinion_selfconf2_bin + opinion_selfconf3_bin + /// opinion_selfconf4_bin
```

```
label var self_confidence_number "Personal - Self-confidence"
```

```
gen self_confidence_positive = self_confidence_number >= 4
```

```
label var self_confidence_positive "1[Personal - Self-confidence]"
```

**** Individual knowledge**

```
gen ind_knowledge = yearlyinterestrategypotential >= 14 & yearlyinterestrategypotential <= 60
```

```
label var ind_knowledge "1[Personal - Individual knowledge]"
```

**** Attitude and belief about women's economic role**

```
gen opinion_wecorole1_bin = opinion_wecorole1 == 1
```

```
gen opinion_wecorole2_bin = opinion_wecorole2 == 2
```

```
gen opinion_wecorole3_bin = opinion_wecorole3 == 2
```

```
gen opinion_wecorole_number = opinion_wecorole1_bin + opinion_wecorole2_bin + /// opinion_wecorole3_bin
```

```
label var opinion_wecorole_number "Personal - Attitude and belief about women's economic role"
```

```
gen opinion_wecorole_positive = opinion_wecorole_number >= 3
```

```
label var opinion_wecorole_positive "1[Personal - Attitude and belief about women's economic role]"
```

**** Non-Acceptability GBV**

```
gen accepviolence_positive = .
```

```
forv i = 1/7 {
```

```
    replace accepviolence_positive = 1 if accepviolence_`i' == 0
```

```
    }
```

```
forv i = 1/7 {
```

```
    replace accepviolence_positive = 0 if accepviolence_`i' == 1 | accepviolence_`i' == 8 | /// accepviolence_`i' == 9 | accepviolence_`i' == .
```

```
    }
```

```
label var accepviolence_positive "1[Personal - Acceptability GBV]"
```

**** Personal autonomy**

```
forval i = 12/13 {
```

```
    gen hhdm_`i'_bin = hhdm_`i' == 1 | hhdm_`i' == 3 | hhdm_`i' == 5 | hhdm_`i' == 6
```

```
    gen hhdm_`i'_involved = hhdm_`i' != 0
```

```
    }
```

```

gen personalautonomy_positive = 0
replace personalautonomy_positive = 1 if hhdm_12_bin == 1 & hhdm_13_bin == 1
replace personalautonomy_positive = 1 if hhdm_12_bin == 1 & hhdm_13_involved == 0
replace personalautonomy_positive = 1 if hhdm_13_bin == 1 & hhdm_12_involved == 0
label var personalautonomy_positive "1[Personal (PT) - Personal autonomy]"

```

RELATIONAL LEVEL

** Participation in groups

```

egen group_number = anycount(grou:00pmeetings_*), v(1)
gen group_positive = group_number >= 1
label var group_positive "1[Relational (PW) - Participation in groups]"

```

** Influencing in governing community groups

```

gen groupdm_positive = 0
forv i = 1/5 {
  replace groupdm_positive = 1 if groupdm`i' == 2 | groupdm`i' == 3 | groupdm`i' == 4
}
label var groupdm_positive "1[Relational (PW) - Influencing in groups]"

```

** Participating in public events

```

egen publicevent_number = anycount(publicevent_*), v(1)
gen pubilcevent_positive = publicevent_number > 0
label var pubilcevent_positive "1[Relational (PW) - Participation public events]"

```

** Contribution to community social needs

```

gen opinion_socialneeds_pos = opinion_socialneeds == 4
label var opinion_socialneeds_pos "1[Relational (PW) - Contribution to community social needs]"

```

** Involment in household decision making

```

forval i = 1/11 {
  gen hhdm_`i'_bin = hhdm_`i' == 1 | hhdm_`i' == 3 | hhdm_`i' == 5 | hhdm_`i' == 6
  gen hhdm_`i'_involved = hhdm_`i' != 0
}

egen hhdm_number = anycount(hhdm_*_bin), v(1)
egen hhdm_involved = anycount(hhdm_*_involved), v(1)
gen hhdm_proportion = hhdm_number / hhdm_involved
label var hhdm_proportion "Relational (P0) - Involvement in household decision making"

gen hhdm_positive = hhdm_proportion >= 0.8
label var hhdm_positive "1[Relational (P0) - Involvement in household decision making]"

```

**** Control over household assets**

```

forval i = 1/14 {
  gen asset_selected_`i'_bin = asset_selected_`i' != 0
}

egen assets_resp_sole_number = anycount(dmassets_*), v(1)
egen assets_resp_joint_number = anycount(dmassets_*), v(1 3 5 6)

egen assets_selected_number = anycount(asset_selected_*_bin), v(1)

g dm_assets_sole_prop = assets_resp_sole_number / assets_selected_number
g dm_assets_joint_prop = assets_resp_joint_number / assets_selected_number

g dm_assets_joint_positive = dm_assets_joint_prop > 0.75
label var dm_assets_joint_prop "Relational (PW) - Control over household assets"
label var dm_assets_joint_positive "1[Relational (PW) - Control over household assets]"

```

**** Contribution to household income**

```

gen incomeshare2010_50plus = incomeshare2010 >= 50

gen income_positive = 0

replace income_positive = 1 if incomeshare >= 50 | (incomeshare - incomeshare2010) > 0

label var income_positive "1[Relational (PW) - Independent income]"

```

**** Control over personal time**

```

gen controltime_positive = 0

replace controltime_positive = 1 if timechange_9 == 1 | timechange_10 == 1 | timechange_11 == 1

label var controltime_positive "1[Relational (PW) - Control over time]"

```

ENVIRONMENTAL LEVEL**** Break stereotypes**

```

gen opinion_stereotyp_1_bin = (opinion_stereotyp_1 == 4 | opinion_stereotyp_1 == 3)
gen opinion_stereotyp_2_bin = (opinion_stereotyp_2 == 1 | opinion_stereotyp_2 == 2)
gen opinion_stereotyp_3_bin = (opinion_stereotyp_3 == 4 | opinion_stereotyp_3 == 3)

gen opinion_stereotyp_number = opinion_stereotyp_1_bin + opinion_stereotyp_2_bin + ///
opinion_stereotyp_3_bin

label var opinion_stereotyp_number "Enviromental - Stereotypes"

gen opinion_stereotyp_positive = opinion_stereotyp_number >= 2

label var opinion_stereotyp_positive "1[Enviromental - Stereotypes]"

```

**** Ability to influence at political level**

gen proportionwomen = .

replace proportionwomen = 0.2 if village == 1

replace proportionwomen = 0.6 if village == 4

replace proportionwomen = 0 if proportionwomen == .

gen influcence_positive = 1 if proportionwomen > 0

replace influcence_positive = 0 if influcence_positive == .

label var influcence_positive "1[Enviromental - Influence at political level]"

**** Advocate change for other women**

gen opinion_advochange_pos = (opinion_advochange == 4 | opinion_advochange == 3)

label var opinion_advochange_pos "1[Enviromental - Advocate change]"

WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT INDEX

gen empowerment_base_index = (self_confidence_positive + ind_knowledge + ///

opinion_wecorole_positive + accepviolence_positive + ///

personalautonomy_positive + ///

group_positive+groupdm_positive+pubilcevent_positive + opinion_socialneeds_pos + ///

hhdm_positive + dm_assets_joint_positive + income_positive + controltime_positive + /// opinion_stereotyp_positive + influcence_positive + opinion_advochange_pos)/ 16

label var empowerment_base_index "empowerment base index"

gen empowerment_base_p = (self_confidence_positive + ind_knowledge + ///

opinion_wecorole_positive + accepviolence_positive + personalautonomy_positive)/5

gen empowerment_base_r = (group_positive + groupdm_positive + pubilcevent_positive + ///

opinion_socialneeds_pos + hhdm_positive + dm_assets_joint_positive + income_positive + ///

controltime_positive)/8

gen empowerment_base_e = (opinion_stereotyp_positive + influcence_positive + ///

opinion_advochange_pos) / 3

label var empowerment_base_p "empowerment base index (personal)"

label var empowerment_base_r "empowerment base index (relational)"

label var empowerment_base_e "empowerment base index (environmental)"

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NOTES

- ¹ The other five thematic areas are: Resilience, Livelihoods, Good Governance, Accountability, and Humanitarian response.
- ² Gender at Work is an international collaborative that helps organizations to build cultures of equality and social justice, with a focus on gender equality. Gender at work uses an analytical framework and Gender Action Learning (GAL) processes to recognize the complex, intersecting and contextual dynamics that affect institutional and broader societal change. The framework can be found at: www.gendematwork.org/Portals/0/Uploads/Documents/Gender-Equality-and-Institutional-Change.pdf
- ³ While to date this measurement tool has been used only for impact evaluation purposes, it also has a potential application in monitoring processes. It could be employed in any development project where the number of project participants is sufficiently large to allow statistical analysis: for example, to trace changes over time amongst project participants or to compare different groups of women involved in the project.
- ⁴ For an explanation of why Oxfam took such an approach to measurement, see K. Hughes and C. Hutchings (2011). Can we obtain the required rigour without randomisation? Oxfam GB's non-experimental Global Performance Framework.
- ⁵ Data and questionnaires can be accessed upon registering with the Data Service at www.ukdataservice.ac.uk. A list of the Effectiveness Reviews that have data and questionnaires published up to September 2016 can be found in the following blog: <http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/blog/2016/09/real-geek-out-in-the-open-oxfams-impact-evaluation-survey-data-now-available-for-download>
- ⁶ Examples of a continuous categorical: on a scale of 1–5; distance in kilometres; ticking more than 2 categories, e.g. a person's relationship to others such as wife, mother, father, husband, sister, brother etc. Examples of a binary variable: 1/0; yes/no.
- ⁷ Box 2 in Appendix 4 provides a good example of differences between women in reporting violence when privacy was ensured in interviews compared with those who were interviewed while other people were nearby. Data collection processes that are less effective in ensuring privacy during interviews may present a higher risk of bias.
- ⁸ This information can also be used to calculate a wealth index based on asset ownership and other household characteristics.
- ⁹ The domestic Violence module can be accessed from the dropdown menu: www.dhsprogram.com/publications/publication-DHSQM-DHS-Questionnaires-and-Manuals.cfm or accessed directly: <http://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/DHSQM/DHS7-Module-DomViol-Qnaire-EN-27Jan2017-DHSQM.pdf>
- ¹⁰ Access directly at: www.dhsprogram.com/topics/gender-Corner/upload/DHS_Domestic_Violence_Module_Ethical_Guidelines.pdf

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Women Cash for Work workers sing and dance on their way to work in the rice fields in River Gee County, Liberia.
Credit: Kieran Doherty/Oxfam

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