

**Working Paper**  
**No. 2011-02**

**To Measure is to Know?**  
**A Comparative Analysis of Gender**  
**Indices**

*Irene van Staveren, ISS*

September 2011

ISSN 0921-0210

The Institute of Social Studies is Europe's longest-established centre of higher education and research in development studies. On 1 July 2009, it became a University Institute of the Erasmus University Rotterdam (EUR). Post-graduate teaching programmes range from six-week diploma courses to the PhD programme. Research at ISS is fundamental in the sense of laying a scientific basis for the formulation of appropriate development policies. The academic work of ISS is disseminated in the form of books, journal articles, teaching texts, monographs and working papers. The Working Paper series provides a forum for work in progress which seeks to elicit comments and generate discussion. The series includes academic research by staff, PhD participants and visiting fellows, and award-winning research papers by graduate students.

Working Papers are available in electronic format at [www.iss.nl](http://www.iss.nl)

**Please address comments and/or queries for information to:**

Institute of Social Studies

Irene van Staveren  
P.O. Box 29776  
2502 LT The Hague  
The Netherlands

*or*

E-mail: [isd@iss.nl](mailto:isd@iss.nl)

## Table of Contents

Abstract	5
1 INTRODUCTION	5
2 THE FIVE GENDER INDICES	6
3 WHAT DO THEY MEASURE?	8
4 WHY DO THEY MEASURE WHAT THEY MEASURE?	13
5 MEASUREMENT RESULTS	17
6 MEASUREMENT METHODOLOGY	22
7 EXAMPLES OF USING GENDER INDICES FOR POLICY ANALYSIS	26
8 KNOWING HOW TO MEASURE	29
9 CONCLUSIONS: WHAT DO WE KNOW?	32
REFERENCES	34

## **Abstract**

The paper presents a comparative analysis of five cross country composite gender indices. Although there is a relatively high correlation between the indices, the overlap of underlying indicators is low. Country rankings, both at the top and at the bottom have parallels but are quite distinct. The differences are explained in two ways: methodologically and theoretically. The methodological differences concern in particular weights, capping, and aggregation. The Capability Approach explains the theoretical differences, by distinguishing between four stages, which include distinct types of indicators. The substantial differences that exist between the gender indices require a cautious selection between these for research and policy analysis. This is shown in a few examples with policy variables. Finally, the paper presents a set of three decision trees which enables an informed choice between the indices. The paper ends with a conclusion.

## **Keywords**

gender, inequality measurement, index, policy research

# To Measure is to Know? A Comparative Analysis of Gender Indices

## 1 Introduction

This paper will analyse the relevance of taking gender composite indices up in cross-country analysis. This is important because gender still remains invisible in most cross country research, particularly in research in the area of macroeconomics. At most, gender is recognized as a relevant variable at the micro level, for example in poverty studies or microcredit evaluations. But trade analysis, growth decompositions, impact studies of economic reform, and poverty reduction strategies often remain gender blind, and therefore incomplete.

Over the past two decades several country-level composite measures of gender inequality and women's position have been developed. Well known examples are the Gender Development Index (GDI) and the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), both developed and published annually in the Human Development Reports up to 2009. Only very recently, other indices have emerged. The Global Gender Gap Index developed by the World Economic Forum in 2006, and four others all in the year 2010, including the follow-up index for the above mentioned GDI and GEM. So, today there are at least five cross-country gender indices available to researchers and policy makers. All of them are freely accessible through the internet, and some of them can be downloaded in a data file, while a few sources also provide the underlying indicators. Such indices have a large potential for academic research, policy analysis, and monitoring and evaluation of policies. The dramatically increased availability of gender indices requires researchers and policy analysts to make a choice between these in their analyses. The objective of this paper is, first, to compare the five best known, easily accessible, and high-coverage cross-country gender indices. And second, to explain the differences by their methodological and theoretical characteristics. Hereby, the comparative analysis enables an informed choice for researchers and policy analysts when they want to use a composite measure of gender inequality in their analyses.

The paper is organized as follows. The first section presents the five indices and enquires into their statistical relationships. The second section provides a detailed break-down and comparison of each index on the basis of their underlying indicators.

Section three provides a theoretical framework for the comparative analysis, through the human development approach. Section four presents summary statistics and a comparison of the country rankings at the top and the bottom of each index. The fifth section engages in a methodological discussion of the gender indices, discussing their statistical strengths and weaknesses. Section six gives a few examples of how the gender indices relate to particular policy variables. The paper ends with a set of three decision trees as a guide to select an appropriate gender index, and a conclusion.

## **2 The Five Gender Indices**

The gender indices that I have selected are all recent composite indices of gender inequality. The criteria for selecting these five are wide accessibility, reputable sources, and high coverage, of at least 100 countries. Moreover, they are all up to date, with GII replacing the old GDI and GEM, and four indices being published for the first time in 2010 and one since 2006. I use data for the year 2010, though many underlying indicators have values for one or two years earlier due to lack of more recent data.

The gender indices used in the analysis are the following:

### 1. GEI:

Gender Equality Index, from the Indices of Social Development database of the Institute of Social Studies of Erasmus University Rotterdam. The GEI was first published in 2010. The values lie between 0 and 1, with seven digits after the comma, and the higher the number, the more equal gender relations are. They are available for 184 countries.

### 2. GII:

Gender Inequality Index, from the UNDP Human Development Reports. The GII was first published in 2010 and has replaced the two earlier gender indices, the GDI and GEM. The values lie between 0 and 1, with three digits after the comma, and the higher the number, the more unequal gender relations are. They are available for 138 countries.

### 3. SIGI:

Social Institutions and Gender Index, SIGI, was developed in 2010 on the basis of the Gender and Institutions Database by the OECD. The values lie between 0 and 1, with seven digits after the comma, and the higher the number, the more unequal gender relations are. They are available for 101 countries – only developing countries.

#### 4. GGGI:

Global Gender Gap Index, developed by the World Economic Forum and available since 2006. The GGGI has values between 0 and 1, with four digits after the comma, and the higher the number, the more equal gender relations are. They are available for 134 countries.

#### 5. WEOI:

Womens' Economic Opportunities Index, developed by the Economic Intelligence Unit. The WEOI was first published in 2010. The values lie between 0 and 100, with two digits after the comma, and the higher the number, the more equal gender relations are. They are available for 184 countries. In order to make them comparable with the other four indices, they are divided by 100, to give a number between 0 and 1 with four digits after the comma.

**TABLE 1**  
**Pearson correlations between the gender indices**

	GEI	GII	SIGI	GGGI	WEOI
GEI	1.00				
GII	-0.75	1.00			
SIGI	-0.77	0.50	1.00		
GGGI	0.79	-0.61	-0.66	1.00	
WEOI	0.72	-0.81	-0.64	0.65	1.00

Note: all correlations are statistically significant at the 1% level.

The bi-variate Pearson correlations between all five indices are relatively high, between 0.50 and 0.81, with an average correlation of 0.69, as is shown in Table 1<sup>1</sup>. Most indices correlate positively with each other, while GII and SIGI correlate positively with each other but negatively with the other three indicators, because the more

---

<sup>1</sup> For the calculation of the average, the auto-correlations have been ignored.

unequal gender relations are according to these two indices, the higher the value of the index is. In order to compare the indices more substantially, every gender index will be presented in more detail below.

### **3 What Do They Measure?**

#### **1. GEI**

The index includes input measures, mainly resources and rights, as well as outcome measures, mainly functionings or wellbeing indicators, as well as attitudinal measures, referring to social norms, as gendered institutions. The GEI includes 21 indicators, from six different sources, international sources as well as regional sources, quantitative and qualitative measures. Two indicators are themselves composites, namely women's economic rights and women's social rights.

**TABLE 2****Overview of indicators in GEI**

Percentage agreeing that a married man has a right to beat his wife and children	Percentage of women who agree that women have the chance to earn the same salary as men in their country	Ratio of females among legislators, senior officials and managers
Percentage of respondents who tend to agree or strongly agree that 'women have always been subject to traditional laws and customs, and should remain so'.	Percentage of women who agree that women have the same chance as men to get a good education in their country	Ratio of females in professional jobs
Percentage of respondents who tend to agree or strongly agree that 'women should have the same chance of being elected to political office as men'.	Proportion of employers and managers who agree or strongly agree that when jobs are scarce, men have more right to a job than women	Ratio between female and male primary school enrolment
Rating on level of women's economic rights*	Proportion of those of voting age who agree or strongly agree that on the whole, men make better political leaders than women do	Ratio between female and male secondary school enrolment
Rating on level of women's social rights**	Proportion of parents who agree or strongly agree that a university education is more important for a boy than a girl	Ratio between female and male tertiary educational enrolment
Ratio of average female to male wages, across all available labour categories	Proportion of employers and managers who agree or strongly agree that on the whole, men make better business executives than women do	Ratio between adult female and male literacy rates
Percentage of women who agree that women have the same chance as men to get a good job in their country	Percentage of labour force that is female	Ratio between adult female and adult male mortality rates

\* Women's 10 economic rights: equal pay for equal work, free choice of employment without husband's consent, right to gainful employment without husband's consent, equality in hiring and promotion practices, job security incl. maternity leave, non-discrimination by employers, right to be free from sexual harassment in the workplace, right to work at night, right to work in dangerous occupations, right to work in the military and police.

\*\* Women's 12 social rights: right to equal inheritance, right to enter marriage equal with men, right to travel abroad, right to obtain a passport, right to confer citizenship to children or husband, right to initiate a divorce, right to property in marriage, right to social and cultural participation in communities, right to education, freedom to choose residence, freedom from female genital mutilation, freedom from forced sterilization.

## 2. GII

The index includes three dimensions of human development, with equal weights, and five indicators. The GII is limited to outcome measures. The rationale of the GII is to reveal the extent to which national human development achievements are eroded by gender inequality.

**TABLE 3**  
**Overview of indicators in GII**

<b>Reproductive health</b>	<b>Empowerment</b>	<b>Labour market</b>
Maternal mortality	Educational attainment (secondary & above)	Labour force participation
Adolescent fertility	Parliamentary representation	

## 3. SIGI

The index covers five categories of gendered institutions: family code, physical integrity, son preference, civil liberties and ownership rights. These five domains have 12 indicators in total. They concern both formal institutions – rights and laws – and informal institutions – social and cultural practices. There are equal weights of the five categories but there is a weighting within each category due to nonlinearity of indicators.

**TABLE 4**  
**Overview of indicators in SIGI**

<b>Family code</b>	<b>Physical integrity</b>	<b>Son preference</b>	<b>Civil liberties</b>	<b>Ownership rights</b>
Early marriage	Female genital mutilation	Missing women	Freedom of movement	Access to land
Polygamy	Violence against women		Freedom of dress	Access to bank loans
Parental authority				Access to property
Inheritance				

#### 4. GGGI

The index measures gaps in human development variables between men and women, measured as female/male ratios. They cover resources, capabilities and functionings. The index value may be interpreted as the percentage that reveals how much of the gender gap in a country has been closed. The index covers four domains: economy, education, health, and politics and has 14 indicators.

**TABLE 5**  
**Overview of indicators in GGGI**

<b>Economic participation and opportunity</b>	<b>Educational attainment</b>	<b>Health and survival</b>	<b>Political empowerment</b>
Female/male ratio of labour force participation	Female/male ratio of literacy rate	Sex ratio at birth	Female/male ratio of seats in parliament
Female/male ratio of wages for similar work	Female/male ratio of net primary school enrolment	Female/male ratio in healthy life expectancy	Female/male ratio of ministerial level positions
female/male ratio of earned income	Female/male ratio of net secondary school enrolment		Female/male ratio of years with a female head of state (last 50 years)
Female/male ratio of legislators, senior officials and managers	Female/male ratio of gross tertiary school enrolment		
Female/male ratio of professional and technical workers			

#### 5. WEOI

The index uses five categories of what the data source labels as economic opportunities, with in total 26 indicators: labour policy and practice; access to finance; education and training; women’s legal and social status; and general business environment. These indicators, which can also be seen as economic opportunities to human development, cover resources, institutions, capabilities, and one functioning.

**TABLE 6**  
**Overview of indicators in the WEOI**

<b>Labour policy &amp; practice</b>	<b>Access to finance</b>	<b>Education &amp; training</b>	<b>Women's legal &amp; social status</b>	<b>General business environment</b>
Equal pay for equal work	Ability to build a credit history	Women's school life expectancy, primary & secondary	Addressing violence against women	Regulatory quality
Non-discrimination in employment	Women's access to finance programs	Women's school life expectancy, tertiary	Freedom of movement for women	Business start-up difficulty
Maternity and paternity leave and provision	Delivering financial services	Women's adult literacy rate	Property ownership rights gender equality	Infrastructure risk
Legal restrictions on job types for women	Private sector credit as % of GDP	SME support	Adolescence fertility rate	Mobile phone subscriptions
Difference between statutory retirement age between men and women			CEDAW ratification	
Equal pay for equal work enforcement				
Non-discrimination in employment enforcement				
De facto discrimination of women in workplace				
Childcare services				

Based on the above listed indicators underlying the five gender indices, the extent of overlap has been calculated, as presented in Table 7. Surprisingly, this is much less than the average bi-variate correlation of 69% would suggest: the average overlap in underlying indicators is only 20%<sup>2</sup>. Hence, the high correlation between the indices is to a large extent not stemming from covering the same indicators. The institutional

---

<sup>2</sup> For the calculation of the average overlap, the 100% overlap between the same indices has been ignored.

index, SIGI, has the least overlap (an average of 6%), and only with one other index (WEOI: 25%). The index that has most indicators in common with the other indices is the GII, (with an average overlap of 35%) whereas the highest overlap between two individual indices is 60%, namely of GGGI indicators in the GII index.

**TABLE 7**  
**Overlap of indicators between gender indices (%)**

	<b>GEI</b>	<b>GII</b>	<b>SIGI</b>	<b>GGGI</b>	<b>WEOI</b>
<b>GEI</b>	100	40	0	57	12
<b>GII</b>	14	100	0	29	12
<b>SIGI</b>	0	0	100	0	12
<b>GGGI</b>	38	60	0	100	12
<b>WEOI</b>	19	40	25	29	100
<b>Average overlap</b>	18	35	6	29	12

#### **4 Why Do They Measure What They Measure?**

Before we go to the comparison of the frequency distributions of each index, I would like to go deeper into the contradiction between the high Pearson Correlations, on the one hand, and the much lower overlaps in underlying indicators between the indices. Although they all measure gender inequality, the difference may be attributed to the fact that they differ in the emphasis they place on which end of the process of gendering wellbeing in societies. That is, some emphasize inputs, such as resources, whereas others emphasize outcomes, such as achievements and other wellbeing dimensions. This implies that they measure gender inequality in at different stages: ranging from the input side, through constraints on choices, to outcomes. This suggests a way to categorize the indices systematically, namely by comparing them according to which stages of wellbeing each emphasizes.

In order to be able to distinguish the indices in this way, I will follow the general distinction developed in the Capability Approach and the Human Development literature, namely of resources, capabilities, institutions, and functionings. This framework regards human development as a process in which access to resources is only one stage towards wellbeing. The other key stages are capabilities, as opportunities, and functionings, as wellbeing achievements. While all these stages are

influenced – positively or negatively – by institutions, both formal ones and informal ones. According to Robeyns (2005), social indicators are an adequate measure of aggregate wellbeing in the Capability Approach. Thereby, one should clearly distinguish between measuring wellbeing outcomes only, what Sen (1997) has called culmination outcomes, and also processes that lead to the outcomes, what Sen labelled as comprehensive outcomes. Most gender indices, in fact three out of five, can be understood as comprehensive outcomes, which include various aspects of the choice process that people have. In case of the gender indices these are measured as differences in the choice process between men and women or constraints to women's choice process.

The indices are substantive enough to help broaden the measurement of human development. Because they include variables related to employment, empowerment, physical safety and subjective wellbeing, which are four out of the five variables which Sabina Alkire (2007) has identified as missing dimensions in the measurement of human development. For measuring gender inequalities, the literature tends to agree that all four human development dimensions are important and that measurement of women's capabilities and gender inequality should be broad and encompass a wide diversity of elements that relate to male-female differences, in all dimensions, such as education, income, social norms, and health achievements (Agarwal, Humphries and Robeyns, 2004). There is, however, disagreement on whether there is a fixed list of dimensions to be included, and hence, of indicators to be measured, and whether there should be an order and/or threshold values for capabilities. Whereas Nussbaum (2003) argues in favour of this, Sen (2004) wants to leave it open to public debate in individual societies.

From this comprehensive approach to understanding gender differences in wellbeing, I have identified which gender indicators measure which stage in the Capability Approach:

- Resources: real access to inputs like land, income and credit. This also includes wage variables for example, such as gender wage inequality, as well as access to particular services such as child care, road infrastructure and business support.
- Institutions: formal institutions such as laws and rights, and informal institutions such as social norms and cultural practices. Gendered institutions are asymmetric between men and women and often form unequal constraints for women

for their capabilities and functionings. Examples are women’s lack of land rights and stereotype perceptions of working mothers as less deserving of jobs or as inadequate parents.

- Capabilities: directly enabling peoples’ doings and beings, such as education and health.
- Functionings: actual doings and beings that one has reason to value, such as being literate and having a long life expectancy.

The result of the identification of indicators into the four stages of the Capability Approach is shown in Table 8 below.

**TABLE 8**  
**The Capability Approach in the gender indices (%)**

	<b>GEI</b>	<b>GII</b>	<b>SIGI</b>	<b>GGGI</b>	<b>WEOI</b>
<b>Resources</b>	5	0	0	14	19
<b>Institutions</b>	57	0	100	7	69
<b>Capabilities</b>	33	60	0	64	8
<b>Functionings</b>	5	40	0	14	4
<b>Total</b>	100	100	100	100*	100

The comprehensive framework of four stages of the Capability Approach helps to recognize that the indices differ clearly in which stage of the gendering process in societies they measure. SIGI exclusively measures institutions. But also WEOI has almost 70% of institutions, because of its emphasis on legal constraints and normative market distortions. GII and GGGI emphasize capabilities, 60% and 64% respectively of the indicators concern capabilities. Resources and functionings do not dominate in any index, although in GII functionings play an important role with 40% of the indicators being functionings. Taking capabilities and functionings together, as gender outcome variables, GII measures 100% outcomes, SIGI 0%, WEOI only 12%, GEI 38% and GGGI 78%. Resources play a limited role in every index, with a maximum of almost 20% in the WEOI. This implies that, in terms of the sequencing in the capability approach, no index is exclusively suitable for measuring women’s actual access to resources, such as income, land, or credit. The most balanced gender index, incorporating a relatively balanced mix of input indicators, institutional constraints

and output measures of gender equality, is GEI. In summary, this is how each gender index can be categorized along the stages of the Capability Approach (see also the figure below):

GEI: overall human development index of gender equality

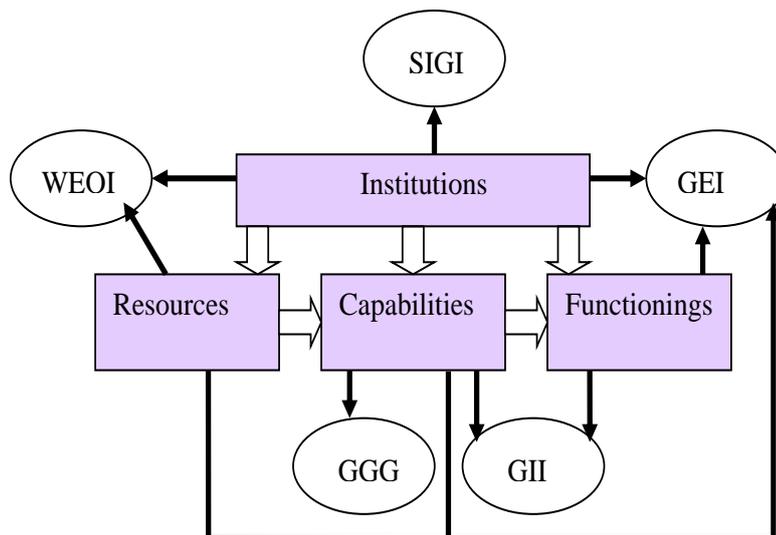
GII: capability & functionings measure (outcome measure) of gender equality

SIGI: institutional measure of gender equality

GGGI: capability measure of gender equality

WEOI: resources & institutions measure (input measure) of women's development

**FIGURE 1**  
**Measurement of gender inequality in the Capability Approach**



As Robeyns (2005) has advocated, any human development related index should justify its selection of variables in terms of why that particular selection would cover the dimensions that people have reason to value. The limitation of this criterion for the five indices discussed here is that they are all cross-country indices, which makes it difficult to support their construction with discussions in each country about what should be included. But this is of course no excuse to ignore any methodological justification. In their methodological explanations, each indicator is justified on substantial and methodological grounds. The Human Development Report has also

made a conscious choice with its new GII to only include capabilities and functionings, and not resources and institutions. This is because the index, like the poverty and human development indices in the same report, is meant to measure the outcomes and impacts of the human development process. To the contrary, SIGI focuses on the institutional constraints that women experience on their wellbeing because there does not exist any measure that has done this before, and it complements other indices of gender inequality which all include other stages of human development<sup>3</sup>. The other three indices have opted for broad measurement, including inputs and outcomes, and have therefore included a wide variety of indicators trying to capture as many forms of gender inequality as possible.

## 5 Measurement Results

Below in Table 9, I show a summary of descriptive statistics for the five indices. It makes clear that even though all indices have been standardized, there are great differences in their distribution, in particular in their mean, median, variance, and range. The spread varies considerably, with some having a range more than twice than that of another index. Only one index comes close to a normal distribution, namely the GGGI. The table implies that the construction of each index differs quite a lot.

---

<sup>3</sup> The rationale for SIGI states it thus: “In many countries of the world, social norms lock women in traditional roles, for example activities as housewives, responsible for taking care of the children and preparing food. SIGI variables try to capture the social institutions that manifest such stereotypes, for example by measuring the percentage of girls; who get married at very young ages, and indication of forced or arranged marriages.” URL: <http://genderindex.org/content/rationale-social-institutions-and-gender-index>

**TABLE 9**  
**Descriptive statistics**

	<b>GEI</b>	<b>GII</b>	<b>SIGI</b>	<b>GGGI</b>	<b>WEOI</b>
N Valid	182	138	101	134	113
N Missing	5	49	86	53	74
Mean	0,727	0,546	0,127	0,678	0,549
Std. Error of Mean	0,005	0,015	0,012	0,005	0,016
Median	0,733	0,590	0,110	0,683	0,516
Mode	0,563	0,310	0,002	0,608	0,145
Std. Deviation	0,066	0,178	0,123	0,061	0,168
Variance	0,004	0,032	0,015	0,004	0,028
Skewness	-0,175	-0,389	1,556	-0,183	0,104
Kurtosis	-0,738	-1,120	4,152	0,992	-0,797
Range	0,298	0,679	0,675	0,389	0,737
Minimum	0,563	0,174	0,002	0,460	0,145
Maximum	0,861	0,853	0,678	0,850	0,882

Following the descriptive comparative analysis, I will now compare the five indices on their country rankings. Table 9 below shows for each index the top ten and the bottom ten countries. For the top ten countries, overlap is limited. This is partly due to the fact that for SIGI, only developing countries are included. The biggest overlap is for Sweden and Finland, which appear in four out of the five indices in the top ten. Norway and New Zealand appear at the top in three indices, whereas Canada, the Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Switzerland and the Philippines all appear twice in the top ten.

Despite the fact the some indices have less country data than others, there is still considerable overlap in the bottom rankings. Five countries appear in three out of the five rankings: Afghanistan, Cameroon, Sudan, Mali and Côte d' Ivoire. Two countries appear four times: Chad and Pakistan. And one country appears in the bottom ranks of every index: Yemen. Contrary to the top rankings, for the bottom rankings SIGI has quite a lot of overlap with the other indices: six countries in the SIGI bottom ranking also appear at the bottom of the other indices, although not all six in each index. This implies that very unequal gendered institutions parallel high inequalities in resources, capabilities and functionings for women. But countries with more equal gendered institutions do not necessarily enjoy more equality in resources,

capabilities and functionings. Using data on beliefs, attitudes and social norms from the World Values Survey, Inglehart and Norris (2003) recognize that economic growth does not automatically bring about changes in values towards women and gender equality. These gendered institutions do get less unequal over time, but require direct policies to improve for women, they argue, along side equal opportunity policies in the labour market. The authors claim that improvements in gendered institutions, or culture as they refer to it, form a distinct driving force for reducing gender inequalities. Van Staveren (forthcoming) has demonstrated this in an analysis using data on gendered institutions, with economic variables for resources and capabilities as control factors. From this study it was concluded that for women's empowerment, access to education (a resource) and being in employment (a capability) are necessary conditions but not sufficient: unequal gendered institutions can reduce or even annihilate the positive impact of resources and capabilities for women's empowerment. Also employing data from the World Values Surveys, Seguino (2007) has found that gender equality tends to improve for countries when women's access to economic resources (income) and capabilities (employment) are stimulated. She has demonstrated for a sample of developed and developing countries that an improvement in those dimensions of human development helps to reduce gendered institutions. These studies, however, do not, or only to some extent, go into the possibility of nonlinear relationships between these human development dimensions. The results from the above comparative analysis of gender indices points out that further research into the type of relationships between gender inequalities in human development dimensions is necessary.

The comparison of the country rankings leads to two conclusions. First, it shows that the five indices obtain quite different ranking results, so that they should not be considered entirely as interchangeable. They emphasize different dimensions of human development, which is likely to explain, at least to some extent, the different ranking outcomes. Second, there appears to be more similarity in rankings at the bottom than at the top and, and this is particularly clear for SIGI. Apparently, low human development rankings imply low values for every human development dimension, whereas high human development can show quite varied scores for particular human development dimensions. Together, these two findings from the descriptive statistical comparison of the five indices suggest that there is a non-linear relationship between the four dimensions of human development that make up the indices. Access to resources, capabilities, institutions and functionings are clearly

distinct dimensions of human development, which do not automatically move together when countries develop, as has been argued in the literature on measurement in the Capability Approach (Alkire, 2007; Alkire and Santos, 2009)). Here, we see that this also counts for the gender differences in these four dimensions. But further analysis into the methodologies of the construction of each index is necessary in order to find out whether part of the differences found in the distribution and rankings between the indices should be attributed to differences in measurement.

**TABLE 10**

**Country rankings per gender index (2010)**

COUNTRY	GEI	COUNTRY	GII	COUNTRY	SIGI	COUNTRY	GGGI	COUNTRY	WEOI
<b>Top ten</b>									
Canada	0,860	Netherlands	0,174	Paraguay	0,002	Iceland	0,849	Sweden	0,882
Sweden	0,843	Denmark	0,209	Croatia	0,003	Norway	0,840	Belgium	0,864
New Zealand	0,842	Sweden	0,212	Kazakhstan	0,003	Finland	0,826	Norway	0,852
Latvia	0,842	Switzerland	0,228	Argentina	0,003	Sweden	0,802	Finland	0,851
Neth. Antilles	0,839	Norway	0,234	Costa Rica	0,007	New Zealand	0,780	Germany	0,839
Estonia	0,835	Belgium	0,236	Russian Fed.	0,007	Ireland	0,777	Iceland	0,828
United States	0,834	Germany	0,240	Philippines	0,007	Denmark	0,771	Netherlands	0,825
Belarus	0,831	Finland	0,248	El Salvador	0,008	Lesotho	0,767	New Zealand	0,812
Slovenia	0,830	Italy	0,251	Ecuador	0,009	Philippines	0,765	Canada	0,805
Finland	0,828	Singapore	0,255	Ukraine	0,009	Switzerland	0,756	Australia	0,804
<b>Bottom ten</b>		<b>Bottom ten</b>		<b>Bottom ten</b>		<b>Bottom ten</b>		<b>Bottom ten</b>	
Pakistan	0,563	Yemen	0,853	Sudan	0,677	Yemen	0,460	Sudan	0,144
Afghanistan	0,578	Congo Dem. R.	0,814	Afghanistan	0,582	Chad	0,533	Yemen	0,192
Cameroon	0,588	Niger	0,807	Sierra Leone	0,342	Pakistan	0,546	Chad	0,251
Yemen	0,600	Mali	0,799	Mali	0,339	Mali	0,568	Côte d'Ivoire	0,288
Nigeria	0,601	Afghanistan	0,797	Yemen	0,327	Côte d'Ivoire	0,569	Togo	0,292
Chad	0,607	Papua N. Guinea	0,784	Chad	0,322	Saudi Arabia	0,571	Pakistan	0,298
Congo Dem. R.	0,608	Centr. African R.	0,768	India	0,318	Benin	0,571	Ethiopia	0,312
Iraq	0,610	Liberia	0,766	Iran	0,304	Morocco	0,576	Syria	0,317
Solomon Islands	0,612	Côte d'Ivoire	0,765	Pakistan	0,283	Turkey	0,587	Cameroon	0,321
Sudan	0,613	Cameroon	0,763	Iraq	0,275	Egypt	0,589	Bangladesh	0,325

## 6 Measurement Methodology

So far, the paper has reviewed the indices in terms of their descriptive statistics and type of underlying indices. The limited overlap in underlying dimensions combined with the rather great differences in country rankings now necessitate a more detailed methodological analysis of the differences in each index construction. Because, although the fact that each index emphasizes a different stage of human development, measurement issues of the indices may also help to explain the different rankings and different ways in which each index features in quantitative analyses, such as factor analysis or regression analysis. The main methodological differences considering measurement of the indices are weights of indices, capping, and aggregation.

Obviously, such issues are not new, and also critical discussions on the methodology behind indices are not new. One of the most discussed indices in the area of human development is the Human Development Index (HDI), which was first published in 1990, by the Human Development Office of the UNDP. Over time, the critique has led to small adaptations in the construction of the HDI as well as in alternative measures published by the same office in its annual Human Development reports, such as the Human Poverty Index. A major issue of discussion has been the extent to which an index of human development reflects inequalities. Obviously, gender indices are constructed precisely as indices of inequality, by comparing male-female values for indicators and including specific indicators for dimensions that signal gender inequality, like, for example, the sex ratio in a population, the extent of early marriage of girls, and people's views about women's roles. This leads us to the discussion of weights between indicators and the extent to which an index is inequality averse. Weights imply value judgments, namely about the relative importance of indicators in an index and the extent to which they measure quite similar things or not – issues of breadth and depth.

A first measurement problem that we find among the gender indices is that one index, GGGI, includes income, as the gender differences in earned income. However, earned income is in most country statistics an estimated value based on data on labour force participation and wage differences. Hence, it would be better to replace the income variable with a female labour force participation variable (see also Klasen and Schüler, 2011). GGGI, however, includes both, which implies a tautology. The number of indicators also influences their relative importance, in comparison

with other indices. Here, we see a second difference arising among the gender indices: two indices include a relatively small number of variables, as compared to the other three. This implies that each variable in those two indices – SIGI and GII – count more as compared to individual indicators in the other three indices. Thirdly, indices may differ in the way they deal with gender differences that favour women, for example in the case of life expectancy for most countries and for a few countries where women have higher school enrolment rates in secondary and/or tertiary education. One index allows for full compensation, whereas the other indices using a one-tailed scale or a cap, whereby they treat any advantage of women over men the same as an equal score for both sexes.

On the issues of weights, they can be applied at two levels: between categories of indicators (sub-indicators) and between individual indicators. If averages are calculated using a simple average (arithmetic mean), indicators with a higher standard deviation would receive more weight. And if sub-indices are squared higher inequality is penalized more in the total index, which leads to the incorporation of inequality aversion in an index. Below, I will summarize for each index how these methodological issues have been dealt with.

#### GEI:

The index uses as the only one among the five gender indices the matching percentiles method, whereby values are matched across cases based on country rankings using a bootstrapping method. The ranks of successive indicators included in the index are used to assign equivalent values to countries based on their position on each additional measure. Variables are iteratively added to produce the index and this process is repeated 1,000 times in Monte Carlo simulations. The aggregation is nonparametric and hence does not choose between linear or nonlinear functions. This method overcomes the problem of sampling bias inherent in the use of variables for which there are many missing values. The matching percentiles method implies that the relatively large number of indicators helps to reduce measurement error<sup>4</sup>. Standard errors are reported for each country score on the index. For this method, a large

---

<sup>4</sup> Combining indicators does not eliminate measurement error, but if one assumes that errors are uncorrelated between data sources and that the size of the error is constant across items, then the combination of multiple sources will progressively reduce error as the number of indicators increases.

number of indicators is not simply a saturation of the index, but actually an improvement as compared to a small number of indicators. The indicators receive no weights but are standardized and normalized to ensure equal impact. The female/male ratios are capped to equality, not allowing compensation of female disadvantage in one variable with female advantage in another variable.

#### GII:

The index allows for compensation of female disadvantage with male disadvantage. It is thereby a genuine index of gender inequality, but by its neutrality to the direction of disadvantage, it is not an index of women's disadvantage. This implies that countries that have female disadvantage in some indicators and male disadvantage in other indicators end up as having very low gender inequality, even though women's position may be structurally worse than men's in key human development dimensions. The averaging of ratios uses the geometric mean, which is a multiplicative rather than an additive process. This prevents disbalances in case deviations from equality may be stronger for one sex than for the other. In other words, female and male disadvantage in the same sub-index lead to a symmetric average, and not one in which one disadvantage counts stronger than another one. The weakness of a geometric mean is when a particular score would be 0, that is, a female-male ratio in which women are completely absent, for example in parliamentary seats in some countries, the result of the multiplication would be zero too.

#### SIGI:

The five categories (family code, civil liberties, son preference, physical integrity, and ownership rights) have equal weights, but the SIGI value consists of a nonlinear arithmetic mean of these five categories, obtained by using the squared values of each sub-index. This incorporates inequality-aversion in the index: the higher the inequality for a sub-index, the stronger the index weighs in the total index. At the level of individual indicators, each sub-index's indicators are analyzed with polychoric principal component analysis in order to find their commonality, except for the son preference category which measures one variable only. This leads to a first principal component, which is a weighted sum of the standardized corresponding variables. The weights are equal for the indicators in the Civil Liberties and Physical Integrity sub-indices and almost equal for the indicators making up Ownership Rights. But in

the Family Code sub-index one of the four indicators, early marriage, receives a weight that is 25-28% less than the weights for the other three indicators in the sub-index. SIGI gives a value of zero to full equality and all other values imply disadvantages for women, hence, SIGI does not include values that advantage women over men.

#### GGGI:

There are no weights between the four categories of indices (economic, education, health and politics). All indicators are normalized in order to ensure equal representation in each sub-index. These weights are calculated through the standard deviation per 1 percentage point change of each indicator, which are translated into weights. This means that the weighting of GGGI is quite opposite the weighting in SIGI: whereas in SIGI, indicators receive weights according to their relative importance in a principal component analysis, and sub-indices are squared in order to express inequality aversion, in GGGI every indicator receives equal weight by eliminating differences in the spread of each variable, and hence, in the way higher or lower scores affect the value of the four sub-indices. GGGI does not allow for compensation of gender inequalities favouring women: data are transformed using a one-sided scale that measures how close women are to parity with men. Finally, as indicated above, the GGGI includes income data, for which are, however, no reliable data, and are therefore imputed from male and female labour force participation data. The GGGI includes both so there is some double measurement of the same dimension, namely paid employment.

#### WEOI:

This is the only index that does not measure gender gaps but constraints to women's economic opportunities as well as the general business environment for men and women. The five index categories have equal weights and each sub-index consist of an unweighted average of underlying indicators. As in GEI, Principal Component Analysis was used for the selection of indicators. The weights of indicators in each sub-index determined by the First Principal Component are reported in the report underlying the WEOI, to justify the absence of weights within the sub-indices and between these. The list of weights, however, shows that there are substantial differences between the weights in the First Component. Unweighted scores would lead to 20% for each sub-index, whereas the First Component has 'labour policy and

practice' included for 26% and 'access to finance' included for only 12%. Also within sub-indices there are stark differences. For example in 'labour policy' the lowest weight is 2% (differential retirement age) and the highest weight is 34%, for 'ILO convention 111'.

The measurement differences between the gender indices help to clarify further why the indices show quite different country rankings. First, GII allows for compensation of female disadvantage with male disadvantage. This makes it a genuine gender indicator but not one that measures female disadvantage, and hence it is not suitable as an indicator for women's empowerment or advancement in women's relative position with men. GEI, SIGI and GGGI do not allow compensation and are therefore measures of female disadvantage. SIGI is the only index which in addition includes inequality aversion, through its quadratic specification. Quite the opposite, GEI and GGGI equalize each indicator in the sub-indices by re-scaling them to obtain the same standard deviation, so that each will have exactly the same weight. WEOI does not use weights, though some of the scores in the principal component analysis' first component differ substantially. This implies that SIGI most explicitly expresses gender inequality as female disadvantage: it does not allow compensation and expresses inequality aversion. Next come GEI and GGGI, which use respectively capping and a one-sided scale to prevent compensation. Then follows GII, which does allow for compensation, and finally WEOI which does not reflect gender differences but women's opportunity independent of men's opportunity. This last mentioned index, however, may be very suitable for analyses of changes in women's opportunities over time and comparisons of countries and regions of women's opportunities as such.

## **7 Examples of Using Gender Indices for Policy Analysis**

This section goes one step further than the country rankings that were shown for each index. Here, I will show a few examples of how the gender indices are related to some key policy variables. I will do so by calculating bi-variate regression results, with a constant, for pairs of gender indices on the one hand and policy variables on the other hand. This section is only illustrative of possible relationships with policy variables, it

cannot provide an in-depth policy analysis because that would go beyond the purpose of this paper. A more rigorous policy analysis will be taken up in another paper. The results of the bi-variate regressions presented in this section may be understood in two ways. There may be a causal relationship from gender equality to a particular policy outcome, such as the share of children working, HIV affection of women, or government spending on education and health. This may be because more inclusion of women in the economy or better rights for women, may support the effectiveness of social policies in other areas of life. While there may also be causal relationships from particular policy variables, for example those on social spending or good governance, to gender equality: some policies may stimulate gender equality whereas others may constrain more equality between men and women.

The results that are shown in the table below all concern data for 2010, or the most recent available year. For a more detailed analysis of relationships between gender variables and policy variables, a cross-section analysis is less suitable. Time series data, or panel data combining cross-section with time-series data would be more suitable. Also, it is to be expected that there is a time lag between a change in a gender variable and a change in a policy variable, which also necessitates the use of data for more than one year. Such analysis is not possible, however, because three out of the five gender indices used in the comparative analysis in this paper have data available only for the year 2010. Therefore, the bi-variate regression results are reported only as examples of possible policy relationships, as indicative for the relevance of using the gender indices in policy research. Taking these caveats into account, Table 11 shows some interesting results for three quite distinct policy areas: infant mortality, HIV prevalence among women, and public spending on education.

**TABLE 11****Bi-variate regression results for policy variables (2010)**

	<b>GEI (positive-ly measured)</b>	<b>GII (negatively measured)</b>	<b>SIGI (negatively measured)</b>	<b>GGGI (positively measured)</b>	<b>WEOI (positively measured)</b>
<b>Infant mortality rate</b>	-0.629*** (-10.680)	0.714*** (11.908)	0.597*** (7.361)	-0.425*** (-5.392)	-0.639*** (-8.718)
<b>HIV prevalence female</b>	-0.235*** (-2.849)	0.335*** (3.880)	0.198 (1.832)	0.058 (0.625)	-0.143 (-1.430)
<b>Educ. Public spending % GDP</b>	0.093 (1.003)	-0.126 (-1.245)	-0.205 (-1.703)	0.240** (2.382)	0.297*** (2.761)

Notes: Cross-section regressions with constant; reported are standardized coefficients (beta); t-statistics in brackets. Levels of significance: \*\*\* p<0.01; \*\* p<0.05.

The first policy variable, the infant mortality rate, shows consistently negative relationships with gender equality, and for all five gender indices the results are statistically significant. The parameter sizes are all in the same range, between 0.43 and 0.71, and quite strong. The literature finds a robust positive relationship between gender equality and a reduction in infant mortality, even going back a century in the United States (Miller, 2008; Kirk and Pillet, 1998; Klasen, 1999; World Bank, 2011). This result found in the literature is also now demonstrated in a cross-country analysis with a wide variety of composite indices of gender equality. Whether one measures gender inequality in inputs, social norms and rights, or outcomes, they all point out that more gender equality goes together with less mortality among children under one year old per 1,000 live births. It is likely that the causality runs from gender equality to a reduction in infant mortality, because of mothers' important influence over child survival in the first year. With more resources, rights, social appreciation, capabilities and wellbeing achievements, women have more choices over their own lives and more opportunities to provide good care for their children.

The second and third policy variables analyzed here, show a much more varied result. For HIV prevalence among females four out of the five gender indices show the expected sign. GGGI not, and the parameter is very small as compared with the other gender indices. Moreover, three gender indices have no statistically significant results. Only SIGI has a parameter value that comes close to the statistically significant values for GEI and GII. We expected the causality to run from gender equality to a lower HIV prevalence, because when women's status in a society is stronger relative to men, they are more likely to be able to refuse unsafe sex. This

helps to reduce HIV infection among women as far as this is determined by sexual behaviour. The bi-variate regression results indicate that only GEI and GII function as signals for HIV prevalence among women. The reason may be that they both include a substantial share of non-economic variables, as compared to GGGI and WEOI. Also, women's health is covered in GEI and GII, which is less the case in the other three gender indices. A review article on the relationship between gender power, gender inequality and HIV infection among women, suggests that various gender relations play a role, and not merely women's economic status (Wingood and DiClemente, 2000).

Finally, the third policy variable analyzed is the share of public spending on education in GDP. Here, we expect the causality to run from educational spending to gender equality: the higher such social investments, the more likely it is that women receive education. This, of course, assumes that educational budgets are not spent in a very gender unequal way favouring boys substantially more than girls. But with the international policy goals of the Millennium Development Goals, emphasizing closing the educational gender gap, such severe unbalances are not likely. The World Bank has estimated that educational spending needs to increase by 3% annually in order to contribute to closing the gender gap in education. Moreover, we can expect that more public educational spending would not only improve girls' education, but also women's economic position, in particular in terms of their human capital. This is precisely why we see positive and statistically significant relationships with GGGI and WEOI. The first measures capabilities, in particular women's educational performance relative to men's. While the second measures women's absolute economic position, in which human capital plays a crucial role. So, it seems that the relationship indicates that, in the current era of the MDGs (2000 – 2015), more public expenditure on education as a share of GDP contributes to more gender equality in women's human capital in particular, and to an improvement in women's economic position more generally.

## **8 Knowing How to Measure**

This section provides a set of three decision trees for selecting an appropriate gender index. The set contains three distinct types of decisions. The first decision is about general measurement features, such as years, countries, and compensation of female

disadvantage with male disadvantage. The second decision is about statistical methodology, involving weights, standardization and aggregation<sup>5</sup>. The third decision concerns the theoretical foundation of the Capability Approach which helps to distinguish the indices substantially, along different stages of the human development process.

#### Decision A: what, how, which

1. Do you want to measure gender differences?  
No, I want to measure women's position: WEOI  
Yes:
2. Do you want to measure women's disadvantage vis-à-vis men?  
No, I want to include gender differences in both ways: GII  
Yes:
3. Do you want to include developed countries in your data set?  
No, only developing countries is fine: SIGI  
Yes:
4. Do you want to use only the most recent years (from 2006 onwards)?  
No, I want to include data from 1990 onwards (in five-year periods):  
GEI  
Yes: GGGI

#### Decision B: methodological differences

1. Do you want to measure exclusively the economic dimension?  
Yes: WEOI  
No:
2. Do you want to include inequality aversion and weights between indicators?  
Yes: SIGI  
No:

---

<sup>5</sup> Except for the first question which asks about dimensions.

3. Do you want standardization and normalization in an index using matching percentiles, a bootstrapping process of ranking with standard errors reported?  
Yes: GEI  
No:
4. Do you want standardization and normalization so that the index measures the percentage a country's gender gap is closed?  
Yes: GGGI  
No: GII

Decision C: theoretical differences: stages of the capability approach

1. Do you want to measure all four stages of the capability approach (resources, institutions, capabilities and functionings)?  
Yes: GEI  
No:
2. Do you want to predominantly measure inputs (resources and institutions)?  
Yes: WEOI  
No:
3. Do you want to exclusively measure institutions?  
Yes: SIGI  
No:
4. Do you want to predominantly measure capabilities?  
Yes: GGGI  
No:
5. Do you want to predominantly measure outcomes (capabilities and functionings)?  
Yes: GII

## 9 Conclusions: What Do We Know?

The five gender indices are quite strongly correlated but have only a small share of indicators in common. The differences have been analyzed theoretically and methodologically.

The methodological analysis has demonstrated that, even though all indices have values between 0 and 1, their descriptive statistics vary considerably. Further methodological analysis has shown that the construction of each index differs substantially. WEOI does not measure gender gaps but women's opportunity. SIGI includes inequality aversion, penalizing countries with higher inequality in a sub-index. GEI employs the most sophisticated procedure to obtain values for a large number of countries. GEI and GGGI use, like SIGI, caps to prevent compensation of female disadvantage in some indicators with male disadvantage in other indicators. Finally, GII takes a gender neutral stand toward inequality, allowing for the compensation of female disadvantage with male disadvantage.

The theoretical analysis was based on the human development and capability approach. It has categorized each index into one or more stages of the human development process, namely, resources, institutions, capabilities and functionings. This analysis has pointed out that each index emphasizes a different stage of human development. WEOI focuses on the input side, measuring resources and institutions, SIGI measures institutions only, GGGI largely focuses on capabilities, GII measures the output side, namely capabilities and functionings, while GEI reflects the whole human development process, including all four stages in a relatively balanced way.

The theoretical and methodological differences between the five gender indices help to explain why the country rankings are quite different. And the examples with policy variables have suggested that these differences also lead to very different relationships between the gender indices on the one hand and a variety of policy variables on the other hand. They also indicate that policy research and policy monitoring and evaluation using gender indices should be conscious about which index to use for which purposes. They are clearly not interchangeable, and the selection of a particular gender index should be justified carefully to make its use in scholarly research and policy analysis meaningful. As a guidance, the paper has provided a set of decision trees to enable an informed choice among the five best

know and widely accessible cross-country composite gender indices. What lies ahead is a discussion among researchers and policy analysts based on policy research using the indices – the proof of the puddings is in the eating ...

## References

- Agarwal, Bina, Jane Humphries, and Ingrid Robeyns (2004) *Capabilities, Freedom and Equality – Amartya Sen’s Work from a Gender Perspective*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Alkire, Sabine (2007) ‘The Missing Dimensions of Poverty Data: Introduction to the Special Issue’, *Oxford Development Studies* 35 (4), pp. 347-359.
- Alkire, Sabina, and Maria Emma Santos (2009) ‘Poverty and Inequality Measurement’, in Séverine Deneulin and Lila Shahani (eds.) *An Introduction to the Human Development and Capability Approach – Freedom and Agency*. London: Earthscan. E-book version: [www.irdc.ca](http://www.irdc.ca) (ISBN 978-1-55250-470-3).
- Branisa, Boris, Stephan Klasen, Maria Ziegler, Dennis Drechsel, and Johannes Jütting (2010) *The Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI)*.  
<http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/49/39/42296064.pdf>
- Economist Intelligence Unit (2010) *Women’s Economic Opportunity – A New Pilot Index and Global Ranking. Findings and Methodology*.  
[http://graphics.eiu.com/upload/WEO\\_report\\_June\\_2010.pdf](http://graphics.eiu.com/upload/WEO_report_June_2010.pdf)
- Foa, Roberto, and Jeffery Tanner (2009) *Methodology of the Indices of Social Development*.  
[http://www.indsocdev.org/resources/Methodology%20of%20the%20Social%20Development%20Indices\\_%20jan11.pdf](http://www.indsocdev.org/resources/Methodology%20of%20the%20Social%20Development%20Indices_%20jan11.pdf)
- Hausmann, Ricardo, Laura Ryson, and Saada Zahidi (2010) *The Global Gender Gap Report 2010*. Geneva: World Economic Forum.
- Inglehart, Ronald, and Pippa Norris (2003) *Rising Tide – Gender equality and Cultural Change around the World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kirk, Dudley and Bernard Pillet (1998) ‘Fertility Levels, Trends, and Differentials in Sub-Saharan Africa in the 1980s and 1990s’, *Studies in Family Planning*, Vol. 29, No. 1.
- Klasen, Stephan (1999). *Does Gender Inequality Reduce Growth and Development? Evidence from Cross-cutting Regressions*. Background Paper for *Engendering Development – Through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources, and Voice*. World Bank.

- Klasen, Stephan, and Dana Schüller (2011) 'Reforming the gender-Related Development Index and the Gender Empowerment Measure: Implementing Some Specific Proposals', *Feminist Economics* 17 (1), pp. 1-30.
- Miller, G. (2008) 'Women's Suffrage, Political Responsiveness, and Child Survival in American History', *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 123(3), pp.1287-1327.
- Nussbaum, Martha (2003) 'Capabilities as Fundamental Entitlements: Sen and Social Justice', *Feminist Economics* 9 (2/3), pp. 33-59.
- Robeyns, Ingrid (2005) 'Selecting Capabilities for Quality of Life Measurement', *Social Indicators Research* 74 (1), pp. 191-215.
- Seguino, Stephanie (2007) 'Plus Ça Change? Evidence on Global Trends in Gender Norms and Stereotypes', *Feminist Economics* 13 (2), pp. 1-28.
- Sen, Amartya (1997) 'Maximization and the Act of Choice', *Econometrica* 65 (4), pp. 745-779.
- Sen, Amarta (2004) 'Capabilities, Lists, and Public reason: Continuing the Conversation', *Feminist Economics* 10 (3), pp. 77-80.
- Van Staveren, Irene (2011), 'FDI Volatility and Development', in: Peter A.G. van Bergeijk, Arjan de Haan and Rolph van der Hoeven (eds), *The Financial Crisis and Developing Countries*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2011, pp. 101-116.
- Van Staveren (forthcoming) 'An Exploratory Cross-Country Analysis of Gendered Institutions', *Journal of International Development*.
- Wingood, Gina M. and Ralph J. DiClemente (2000) 'Application of the Theory of Gender and Power to Examine HIV-Related Exposures, Risk Factors, and Effective Interventions for Women', *Health Educ Behav* 27, pp: 539-565.
- World Bank (2001) *Engendering Development through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources and Voice*. Washington D.C.: World Bank.
- [World Bank \(2011\) \*World Development Report 2012: Gender Equality and Development\*.](#)  
Washington D.C: World Bank.