

A Toolkit on Collecting Gender & Assets Data in Qualitative & Quantitative Program Evaluations



Photography credit: Agnes Quisumbing

ABOUT THE TOOLKIT

Over the past decade, donor organizations, researchers, and development practitioners have recognized the importance of collecting mixed methods gender and assets data using mixed methods in monitoring & evaluation and impact evaluation of development programs. Nonetheless, many researchers and practitioners remain unsure of why or how to do this. This toolkit has been developed as part of the Gender, Agriculture, and Assets Project (GAAP) to assist researchers and practitioners who are either new or unfamiliar with using mixed methods for gender and assets data collection and analysis.¹ In addition to establishing the need for gender and assets research, the toolkit defines key concepts and highlights methods for collection, analysis, and dissemination. It also draws from first-hand insights (opportunities and challenges) from previous research projects. For those interested in more in-depth study, the toolkit also links to additional references. This toolkit is a *living document* that is intended to develop over the life course of the GAAP project. **We encourage you to share your experiences doing gender-assets data collection.**

Toolkit compiled and edited by Julia Behrman, Zhenya Karelina, Amber Peterman, Shalini Roy & Amelia Goh as part of the Gender, Agriculture, & Assets Project (<http://gaap.ifpri.info/>). The toolkit would not be possible without the guidance and comments of the GAAP core team members Agnes Quisumbing, Ruth Meinzen-Dick, Jemimah Njuki, Nancy Johnson, Elizabeth Wathanji and Dee Rubin. We are also grateful to Agnes Quisumbing, Krista Jacobs, Cheryl Doss, Caroline Moser, and Diana Tempelman for granting us interviews and for extensive feedback in development of the case studies.

A Toolkit on Collecting Gender & Assets Data in Qualitative & Quantitative Program Evaluations

INTRODUCTION

Control over and ownership of assets are a critical component for well-being of individuals and households. Assets are multi-dimensional, and thus have multi-dimensional benefits. Productive assets can generate products or services that consumed or sold to generate income. Assets such as homes or buildings may both provide services as well as generate rent. In addition to tangible assets, it is important to remember that assets also encompass intangible items like social capital and education that can be converted into marketable connections and skills. Assets are long-term stores of wealth that can increase or decrease with investment and time. Assets can act as collateral and facilitate access to credit and financial services. Their fungibility provides security through emergencies and opportunities in periods of growth. In short, owning land and livestock, homes and equipment, and other resources and wealth enable people to create more stable and productive lives. Increasing ownership of and control over assets also helps to provide more permanent pathways out of poverty compared to measures that aim to increase incomes or consumption alone. Agricultural development projects that seek to increase the asset holdings of the poor contribute to sustainable poverty reduction while promoting self-reliance.

Who controls these assets within the household is critical to household and individual well-being. There is now substantial evidence that contradicts the common assumption made in economics and many development projects of a “unitary” model of the household – that is, the assumption that households are groups of individuals who have the same preferences and fully pool their resources. Evidence suggests that, while some assets in a household are jointly held, many assets within households are held individually by the men, women and children who comprise households.² This allocation of assets to various individuals within households is determined both by the contexts in which households find themselves as well as intra-household dynamics. The distribution of assets across individuals within a household may, in turn, affect individuals’ intra-household bargaining power when individual preferences over outcomes differ. A growing body of evidence has shown that not only do women typically have fewer assets than men, but they also use the ones they have differently. Increasing women’s control over assets, mainly land, physical, and financial assets, has been shown to have positive effects on a number of important development outcomes for the household, including food security, child nutrition, and education, as well as women’s own well-being.³ Based on this and other evidence, it can be inferred that: *understanding the role of men’s and women’s asset ownership and control is key to achieving global development goals.*

A crucial first step toward understanding the gender dimensions of asset ownership and control is acquiring detailed gender-disaggregated information on assets through monitoring, evaluation, and data collection. Unfortunately, most data on assets is collected at the household level, and does not distinguish individual-level assets,

² Haddad et al. (1997); Behrman (1997).

³ Quisumbing (2003); Smith (2003); World Bank (2001).

or is limited in terms of categories of assets collected and the method in which ownership or control is operationalized. However, there are a growing number of studies that examine the gendered control over assets, using a range of evaluation methodologies.

The following toolkit is intended to help researchers and practitioners collect, measure, and analyze gender and assets data in qualitative and quantitative evaluations for current and future projects. It was developed as part of the *Evaluating the Impacts of Agricultural Development Programming on Gender Inequalities, Asset Disparities, and Rural Livelihoods (GAAP) Project* of the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) and the International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI), funded by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation.⁴ The GAAP project evaluates how a number of agricultural development projects in South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa impact women's and men's assets (and other development outcomes) and seeks to identify which strategies have been successful in reducing gender-asset gaps.

The toolkit is organized as follows: **Section 1** presents an overview of key questions and concepts related to gender and assets; **Section 2** focuses on important principles for measuring the gender-asset gap in quantitative and qualitative data collection, highlighting tools, best practices and approaches, and pros and cons of each method; **Section 3** summarizes these best practices and makes over-arching recommendations in terms of gender asset data collection, and; the **Annex** provides a host of additional information, including a list of resources for collection of gender and assets data, case studies, and a guide for how to integrate gender into standard household surveys.

CONTACT INFORMATION

For questions or comments about this toolkit, or to share your experiences with us, please contact: gender-assets@cgiar.org.

⁴ For more information see the <http://gaap.ifpri.info/>.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SECTION 1. GENDER & ASSETS FAQ

SECTION 2. MEASURING THE GENDER ASSET GAP USING QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE METHODS

- 2.1. HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF HOW TO MEASURE THE GENDER-ASSET GAP
- 2.2. FACTORS TO CONSIDER WHEN DESIGNING AN EVALUATION
- 2.3. QUANTITATIVE METHODS
 - 2.3.1. QUANTITATIVE METHODS FOR MONITORING & EVALUATION
 - 2.3.2. QUANTITATIVE METHODS FOR IMPACT EVALUATION
- 2.4. QUALITATIVE METHODS
- 2.5. Q-SQUARED: COMBINED QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE APPROACHES
- 2.6. FIELD IMPLEMENTATION ISSUES

SECTION 3. BEST PRACTICES AND HIGHLIGHTS

ANNEX 1. RESOURCES

ANNEX 2. OVERVIEW OF GENDER ISSUES IN STANDARD HOUSEHOLD SURVEYS

ANNEX 3. CASE STUDIES

Case Study 1. International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI): Strengthening Development Impact through Gender and Intra-Household Analysis Project

Case Study 2. International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI): Evaluating the long-term impact of anti-poverty interventions in Bangladesh

Case Study 3. International Center for Research on Women (ICRW): Gender, Land and Asset Survey (GLAS) Project

Case Study 4. *In Her Name* project: Measuring the gender asset gap in Ecuador, Ghana, and India

Case Study 5. UNU-WIDER: The Gendered Nature of Asset Accumulation in Urban Contexts: Longitudinal Results from Guayaquil, Ecuador

Case Study 6. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO): Agri-Statistics Toolkit

TABLES

- TABLE 1.** OVERVIEW OF DIFFERENT USAGE RIGHTS
- TABLE 2.** TYPOLOGIES OF OWNERSHIP
- TABLE 3.** SIMPLIFIED WAY TO ENGENDER AN ASSET MODULE
- TABLE 4.** OVERVIEW OF QUALITATIVE METHODS
- TABLE A.1.** BASIC AND EXTENDED QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC MODULES
- TABLE A.2.** CONTENTS OF A HOUSEHOLD ROSTER
- TABLE A.3.** SOCIO-ECONOMIC MODULES
- TABLE A.4.** ADDITIONAL CONSUMPTION, HEALTH, AND NUTRITION MODULES
- TABLE A.5.** ADDITIONAL GENDER RELATED MODULES

FIGURES

- FIGURE 1.** PERCENTAGE CHANGE OF HUSBANDS' AND WIVES' ASSETS IN RURAL BANGLADESH (1996-2000)

BOXES

- BOX 1.** EXAMPLE OF LOOKING AT DIFFERENT TYPES OF RIGHTS IN THE GENDER, LAND AND ASSETS SURVEY (GLAS) IN UGANDA & SOUTH AFRICA
- BOX 2.** EXAMPLE OF LOOKING BEYOND WOMEN AS A HOMOGENOUS CATEGORRY IN THE GENDER, LAND AND ASSETS SURVEY (GLAS) IN UGANDA & SOUTH AFRICA
- BOX 3.** EXAMPLE OF HOW Q-SQUARED APPROACH WAS USED IN THE *IN HER NAME* PROJECT IN GHANA, ECUADOR, AND INDIA
- BOX 4.** EXAMPLE FROM IFPRI'S EXPERIENCE COLLECTING GENDER AND ASSETS DATA IN SOUTH AFRICA AND MEXICO

ACRONYMS

FAO: Food and Agriculture Organization

GAAP: Gender, Agriculture & Assets Project

GLAS: Gender, Land & Assets Survey

ICRW: International Center for Research on Women

IFPRI: International Food Policy Research Institute

ILRI: International Livestock Research InstituteSection

1. GENDER & ASSETS FAQ

The following is an overview of key questions and concepts related to gender and assets data. For additional information, check out the annex.

1. How do we define “assets”, and how can “assets” be categorized?

The stock of all resources that a person accesses, controls, or owns make up his or her assets. As stores of value for each person, an asset may increase or decrease in value over time, and it may also create new value (for example, through generating income). It may be liquid or illiquid, tangible or intangible, internally-embodied or externally-embodied. The term “asset” and the term “capital” are often used interchangeably.

Assets can be broadly categorized according to the following:

- **Natural resource capital** such as land, water, trees, genetic resources;
- **Physical capital** such as livestock, agricultural and business equipment, houses, consumer durables, vehicles and transportation, water supply and sanitation facilities, technology, and communications infrastructure;
- **Human capital** such as education, skills, knowledge, health, nutrition, and labor power;
- **Financial capital** such as savings, credit, and inflows (state transfers and remittances);
- **Social capital** such as membership in organizations, networks that increase trust, ability to work together, access to opportunities, reciprocity, and informal safety nets, and;
- **Political capital** such as citizenship, enfranchisement, and effective participation in governance—often key to controlling rights over other assets.

2. Why focus on *assets* rather than *income*?

Control over and ownership of assets is a critical component of well-being. Increasing control and ownership of assets helps to create success in pathways out of poverty in comparison to interventions aimed at increasing income or consumption alone. For example, a woman who owns a plot of land can use the land to grow produce for home consumption or sale. Alternatively she can rent or sell the land if she needs money or use the land as collateral to get a loan. Assets are typically sold for income; however, many can also be used to create additional income. For example, with education—a type of intangible asset—the initial investment has potential pay-offs over every period of a person’s life, allowing him or her to access better paid and more stable work opportunities. Because assets are long-term stores of value, they can also be used to help protect individuals or households against negative shocks. Income and consumption are subject to fluctuations where loss of employment and sickness can suddenly and dramatically change household security. On the other hand, assets can accumulate over time and are more resilient to fluctuation. Furthermore, asset ownership may carry intangible benefits such as increasing self-esteem and social status which are associated with both individual and household well-being. The relationship between assets and income can be summarized as follows: assets are a stock, income is a flow derived from those assets.

3. What are the different dimensions to define “rights to an asset,” and which categorizations are available for gender and assets evaluation?

There are many dimensions related to a person’s rights to an asset. While all of the dimensions are valuable, the focus of the evaluation depends on the context of the situation. When considering what constitutes rights to an asset, nuance is necessary. Rather than just collecting data about household assets, it is essential to understand

how each individual within the household interacts with the asset. This analysis not only involves figuring out who owns the assets, but also who is permitted to use it. Thus, depending on the context for each asset, it may be important to ask the following questions:

1. Whose resources were used to purchase it;
2. Who makes decisions regarding how to use it;
3. Who makes decisions regarding who else is allowed to use it and who is not;
4. Who makes decisions regarding its sale and/or rental;
5. Who collects any income generated from its use, sale, or rental;
6. Who makes decisions on how to spend income generated from its use, sale, or rental;
7. Who tends to the asset in terms of time spent taking care of it, repairing it, maintaining it;
8. Who is permitted to use the asset;
9. Who actually uses the asset;
10. Who has the legal right or documentation to claim the asset if taken to court;
11. Who is allowed to keep the asset if a partnership dissolves or a household splits up, and ;
12. Who makes decisions about bequeathing the asset?

There are specific categorizations to help further define a person's degree of access, control, and ownership of a particular asset. These are not mutually exclusive, but should be approached as "bundles or rights." In terms of bundles of rights, access and withdrawal are often considered "use rights," while management, exclusion, and alienation are often considered "**control rights.**" Access or use rights alone are typically thought to be useful, but not as empowering as control rights. Having all of the bundles of rights is often considered ownership (although in some societies, an "owner" might not have all of these rights, or might not have them independently). See Table 1 for more detailed information and example of how the definition applies to the case of a piece of land.

Despite these general patterns, the associated definitions of "use," "control," and "ownership" tend to differ significantly by culture and country context. In addition, which dimensions and definitions of rights are the most important for gender and assets research are situational and vary by assets. For example, in the context of livestock, the right to make decisions about how to use the asset (i.e. feeding a cow healthy grains) and the right to claim the output produced by the asset (either the dairy itself for food or the income generated from dairy sales) may be quite beneficial. In contrast, in the context of a radio, the right to merely access the radio (i.e. listening to broadcast and gaining information) may also benefit the individual. In these cases, it is very helpful to conduct qualitative work to understand how households in a particular context define these concepts when interpreting data.

BOX 1. EXAMPLE OF LOOKING AT DIFFERENT TYPES OF RIGHTS IN THE GENDER, LAND AND ASSETS SURVEY (GLAS) IN UGANDA & SOUTH AFRICA

- In the GLAS survey, researchers asked not only about ownership but also about a spectrum of asset rights, including use and decision-making over assets.
- In addition the survey allowed for disaggregation of data by sex by asking each woman and man separately about her or his rights over particular assets.
- The GLAS also collected information on joint ownership and asset rights from individual women and men from the same household to assess the prevalence of joint asset holding, especially of land and housing, among women and to compare women's experience and reports of joint asset ownership with men's experience and reports.

TABLE 1. OVERVIEW OF DIFFERENT USAGE RIGHTS

Categorization	Definition	Example (piece of land)
Access	Right to use the asset	Individual(s) has the right to physically be on a piece of land and use the land. In many cases, women are an important source of basic labor (weeding, harvesting) on men’s fields, but have no control over the output or even their own time.
Withdrawal	Right to claim the output and/or income produced by the asset	Individual(s) has the right to take and sell the produce grown on the piece of land, but most importantly, receives the income from the sale. In some cases, women are actually responsible for selling the agricultural products at the market, but have no rights over the financial reward.
Management	Right to make decisions about how to use the asset	Individual(s) has the right to make decisions about, for example, what crops will be grown on the piece of land, what laborers will be hired, and how agricultural inputs like fertilizer and pesticides will be applied.
Exclusion	Right to exclude others from using the asset	Individual(s) has the right to exclude others from physically being on and/or using the land.
Alienation	Right to transfer the asset to others, such as through sale, leasing, gift, or inheritance	Individual(s) has the right to transfer a piece of other people. In the majority of cases, women lack the right to decide what will be done with land or to even receive the land, especially in terms of inheritance.

Source: Johnson and Quisumbing (2009)

4. Why is it important to study the distribution of asset access, control, and ownership across different male and female household members, rather than simply looking at the total number of assets held by the household? Why should we collect asset ownership data at the individual level rather than the household level?

A common assumption made in economics and many development projects is that of the “unitary” household model – that is, the assumption that households are groups of individuals who have the same preferences and fully pool their resources. However, this assumption may in fact hide inequalities in access to assets that exist within the household. There is now a growing body of evidence that suggests, while some assets in a household are jointly held, many assets within households are also held individually by the men, women and children who comprise households.⁵ The distribution of assets across individuals within a household may, in turn, affect individuals’ intra-household bargaining power when individual preferences over outcomes differ. Many studies have concluded that not only do women typically have fewer assets than men, but they also use the assets they have differently. Increasing women’s control over assets, mainly land, physical, and financial assets, has been found to positively affect a number of important development outcomes for the household—including food security, child nutrition, and education—as well as the women’s own well-being.

Aside from the gender dynamics, numerous studies have shown that information collected at the household level is not sufficient to measure specific ownership within the household. For example, a land title is not titled in the name of a household, it is titled in the name of a specific household member.

⁵ Haddad et al. (1997); Behrman (1997).

5. Why should development interventions focus on “gender and assets”?

As described above, research shows that households do not pool resources nor share the same preferences. This implies that the individual(s) within the household who receives and controls resources determines the impact of policy and development programs.

As a consequence, even when the goals of a particular development intervention relate to the household-level or the country level rather than the individual level, attention to gender and assets is crucial if programs and policies are to effectively improve development outcomes. Evidence from many countries across a range of development interventions shows that men and women use their assets differently, and increasing women’s control over household assets leads to improvements in child health and nutrition outcomes, agricultural productivity, and income growth. One study found that gender inequality in education reduces economic growth.⁶ Further, increases in women’s education (e.g. investment in human capital) in developing countries led to the greatest contribution to reducing the rate of child malnutrition, responsible for 43 percent of the total reduction.⁷ In Bangladesh, the greater a woman’s asset holdings at marriage, the larger the share the household spends on children’s education.⁸ Another study found that households in which Bangladeshi women had a higher share of assets also had better health outcomes for girls.⁹

6. Does the term “gender” refer to a focus on women? When one refers to a focus on “gender and assets” are they are interested only in women’s assets?

No, although “a focus on gender” is often incorrectly interpreted as “a focus on women,” the study of gender differences refers to the study of *both* men and women *in relation to each other*. Therefore, in studying gender and assets, it is not enough to just look at women’s assets. It is important to understand the relative position of men and women, with respect to assets. In particular, one should take into account differences in the value, quantity, and quality of assets owned by men and women within the same household. In mainstream economics, the conceptual reasoning for considering the relative versus absolute holding of men and women is that it has implications for the bargaining power when two individuals have different preferences over outcomes. If we observe trends only in men’s asset ownership or only in women’s asset ownership, we miss the full picture.

Figure 1 shows the percentage change of husbands’ and wives’ assets in rural Bangladesh (1996-2000). Women’s assets are increasing, especially land; however, husbands’ assets are increasing more. Thus, gender-asset inequality has increased over this time period. To the extent that this growing intra-household inequality of asset ownership may affect decision-making power, both the absolute asset ownership of men and women and their relative positions are important to take into account. Thus, to accurately understand the entire dynamic, it is important to pay attention to *both* men’s and women’s assets, and study the impact that agricultural development programming has on both groups.

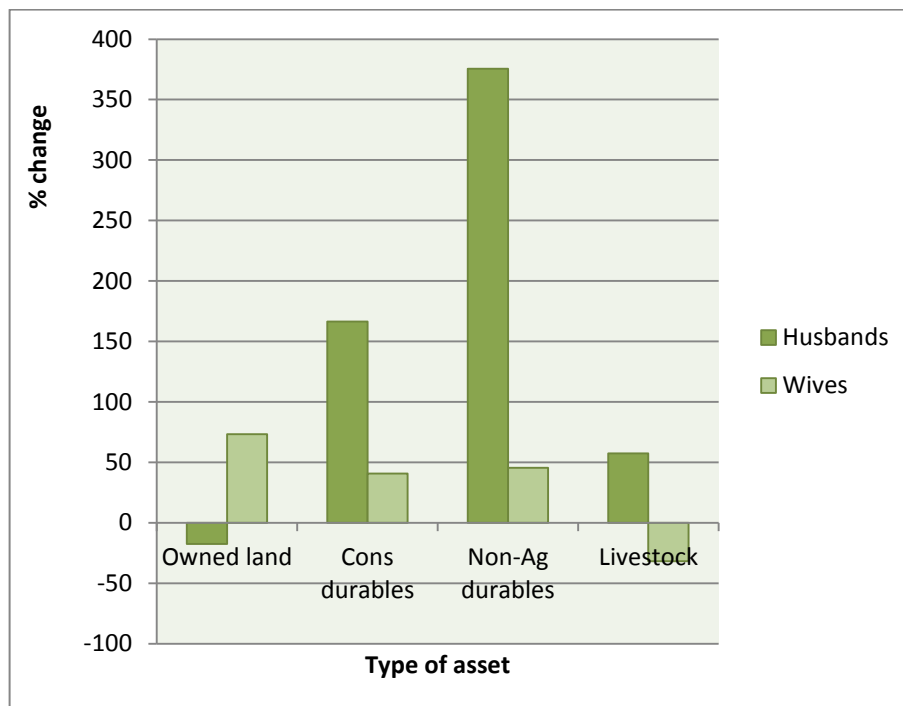
⁶ Haussman, Tyson, and Zahidi (2009); Klasen and Lamana (2008).

⁷ Smith and Haddad (2000).

⁸ Quisumbing and Maluccio (2003).

⁹ Hallman (2000).

FIGURE 1. PERCENTAGE CHANGE OF HUSBANDS' AND WIVES' ASSETS IN RURAL BANGLADESH (1996-2000).



Source: Quisumbing (2010) from the CPRC-DATA-IFPRI chronic poverty long term impact study data set

BOX 2. EXAMPLE OF LOOKING BEYOND WOMEN AS A HOMOGENEOUS CATEGORY IN THE GENDER, LAND AND ASSETS SURVEY (GLAS) IN UGANDA & SOUTH AFRICA

- GLAS is a gendered assessment of men’s and women’s rights over assets – including ownership, documentation and control over use, transfer, and transactions.
- These studies point to significant nuances in the nature of the gender-asset gap and its drivers and to the fact that it is important to go beyond looking at women as a homogeneous category. Different kinds of women – for example, female heads of household, widows, or wives of male heads – have different asset rights and will be more or less vulnerable depending on their status.

7. Can assets be jointly-owned (that is, owned by two or more people)? What are the common categorizations of ownership?

Yes, assets can be jointly owned. However, households are often inclined to report that all assets in the household are jointly-held, for the sake of politeness or political correctness, even when this differs from the reality of associated rights. Further probing on specific rights often helps to uncover whether an asset can be considered jointly owned, individually owned or collectively owned.

TABLE 2. TYPOLOGIES OF OWNERSHIP

Type of Ownership	Definition	Example
Individual ownership	One particular individual holds the bundle of rights that, in the specific context, constitutes ownership. These rights vary dependent on context and on how they were acquired.	Typically women have exclusive ownership and control over the dowry gift provided by her family. In some cultures, however, while the dowry is given to her, the husband’s family controls the dowry. In other examples, certain assets are culturally associated either with men or women. In South Asia, small livestock is typically being considered owned and/or controlled by women and larger livestock is typically being considered owned and/or controlled by men.
Joint ownership	Two or more individuals hold the bundle of rights that, in the specific context, constitutes ownership. Joint ownership is common among spouses and within households.	Land may be considered “joint” as long as both spouses are alive and married. However, both names may not be on the title, and the asset would not be split evenly in case of divorce. It is important to probe for this type of ownership given the variation in definitions.
Collective ownership	Individuals formed into a group collectively hold the bundle of rights that, in the specific context, constitutes ownership.	Many development projects, such as microfinance, promote collectively owned assets among groups, which serve as a buffer against shocks. In some cases, assets are owned as shares by group members, which can be easily transferred (making them similar to individual ownership), while in other instances this is not the case.

Source: Johnson and Quisumbing (2009)

8. What is the “gender-asset gap”, and why does it persist?

Development research has shown that there is a gap in number and value of specific assets held by men and by women. The reasons for this gap include many factors, which are often context-specific. In many cultures, there are socio-cultural perceptions that women “should not” own particular types of assets (i.e. land, cattle, high levels of schooling) or be involved in certain types of activities associated with assets (i.e. operating a water pump or riding a bicycle). These more active, “masculine” activities instead tend to be associated with men. Given these social perceptions, women face more constraints relative to men in acquiring assets, using assets, or gaining ownership rights to assets. These constraints are attributed to barriers for access to resources, mobility, knowledge and/or information, and legal standing. In some cases, women may simply tend to have different preferences or physical capacity than men for particular assets.

In order to bridge this gap, accumulated evidence highlights some best practices and tools to increase women’s asset holdings. It aims to uncover: 1) how to target women with development interventions; 2) how to improve participation in development interventions, and; 3) what to do to increase the chances that women will benefit from agricultural development projects. For example, one intervention seeks to work with men to change attitudes and behaviors that limit women’s economic opportunities.

However, incorporating gender into program implementation is often challenging. First of all, many programs do not directly include gender-related outcomes, such as reducing the gender-asset gap, in their program targets and therefore it is difficult to mobilize resources to include gender-specific design components. Second, even when gender is included as a specific goal, the methods shown to be effective are often not widely utilized in program

implementation. For example, many interventions focus on women and men separately (for example, focusing only on reaching “numbers” of women) and ignore how they relate to one another, leading to negative impacts on gender dynamics.

9. Should reducing the gender-asset gap necessarily be the goal of development projects related to asset ownership?

As mentioned above, there is substantial evidence that men’s and women’s asset ownership and control have implications for individual and household welfare. However, it is not clear from the evidence whether there is an “optimal” distribution of assets across men and women, and in particular, it is not clear whether it is optimal for men and women to have exactly the same number and type of assets. All of the following scenarios could decrease asset disparities between men and women: 1) increasing women’s assets; 2) decreasing men’s assets or redistributing assets from men to women; 3) increasing both men’s and women’s assets, but women’s to a greater extent; and 4) increasing the *returns* to women’s asset more than to men’s assets, given equal asset endowments. There is a lack of research, however, to point to which of these scenarios, if any, has the most optimal outcomes for men and women. The current evidence shows that development may have counterbalancing factors for the gender-asset gap. For example, having greater equality in asset holdings across male and female partners may lead to more equal bargaining power; however, there is at least a perception that a woman receiving more assets may also result in more conflict or domestic violence in the household.

Therefore, more evidence is needed to show whether reducing the gender-asset gap should be the goal of development projects. However, what is clear is that researchers and practitioners need to have a nuanced understanding of the gender dimensions of asset ownership before implementing new development projects and programs.

10. Why is it important to collect data on men and women’s assets when evaluating a project?

As described above, how a project affects the distribution of assets within households can have substantial implications for its impact on long-term household and community-level development. Even if a project does not directly specify gender-related outcomes as its target objectives, asset ownership and control have implications for who in a household and who in a community reap benefits from the program. For example, if a program that transfers cash to households leads to increases in women’s asset ownership, this may suggest a dimension of positive outcomes related to women’s empowerment and children’s welfare. If a project does directly specify gender-asset targets, it is important to assess whether the study meets its goals, and if not, what constraints prevent them from being met. By evaluating whether a program succeeds in meeting certain objectives as well as the sources of success or failure, researchers and practitioners can identify broader lessons that can be applied to future projects, leading to more positive, effectively-targeted investments.

11. Is there a “one size fits all” way to collect gender and asset data in evaluations?

Gender-asset dynamics are heterogeneous, complex, and rooted in social, economic, and institutional factors. Moreover, the type of data that is useful to collect relates to how the data will be used. For full-scale impact evaluation, comprehensive gender-asset data in addition to other household information may be necessary. Meanwhile, for monitoring and evaluation, only gender-disaggregated information on the most program-relevant assets may be necessary. For example, if a program aims to increase women’s ownership of livestock, the monitoring and evaluation data (M&E) collection can focus on gender-disaggregated ownership and control of livestock, as opposed to including all forms of assets. Therefore, there is no “one size fits all” approach to collecting gender and assets data. However, as described in the next section, there are some basic principles that one can follow in designing instruments to collect this data.

SECTION 2. MEASURING THE GENDER ASSET GAP USING QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE METHODS

2.1. HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF HOW TO MEASURE THE GENDER-ASSET GAP

Because assets have cultural meaning as well as economic value, individual ownership of assets, and the meanings thereof have long been studied by anthropologists and other social scientists, often in the context of studies of marriage and inheritance (e.g. Goody 1973). In economics, much of the early work on measuring the gender asset gap was conducted in the 1990s in order to test theories of household behavior—whether households behaved as though they made decisions “as one unit” (also known as the unitary model”) or whether they were composed of individuals who may have different preferences and did not necessarily pool their resources. Because assets that husbands and wives controlled were thought to influence spouses’ decision-making within marriage, early studies collected information on assets at marriage, inherited assets, and current assets, separately for husbands and wives in a wide range of countries (Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guatemala, Indonesia, Mexico, Philippines, and South Africa).¹⁰

However, these early attempts at collecting gender-disaggregated asset data did not pay much attention to asset ownership by other household members (even if the bulk of household assets are typically owned by husband and wife), and were typically confined to smaller samples (300-1000 households) that were not necessarily nationally representative.¹¹ Early work by Deere, Doss, and Grown in the 2000s attempted to systematize the collection of individual-level asset data in the context of large scale household surveys similar to the Living Standards Measurement Studies. This led to current efforts to measure assets at the individual level in the *In Her Name* project. Many of the recent initiatives to collect gender-disaggregated asset data are included in this toolkit in Annex 3: Case studies.

2.2. FACTORS TO CONSIDER WHEN DESIGNING AN EVALUATION

There are a wide range of quantitative and qualitative tools and methodologies that can be employed to look at gender and assets issues in M&E or impact evaluation. Key questions you may want to ask before starting to design an evaluation include:

- What type of information do you want to collect? Will qualitative or quantitative methods be better for this purpose? Which tools or methods are most appropriate?
- Will you be working at the household level? The community level? The national level?
- What types of assets are particularly valuable or important in your area of study?
- Who can you interview or talk with to better understand gender and asset dynamics in the area of study? The household head? Other household members? Community leaders? How might the social position of the person you interview or talk with influence his or her responses?
- How can you ask questions that will help you understand the multiple control and use rights associated with a particular asset (e.g. right to use the asset, rent it, alter it, sell it, etc.)?.
- How can you assess intangible assets—such as social capital, human capital or political capital—in addition to tangible assets—such as property?

¹⁰ These studies can be found in Quisumbing, ed. (2003).

¹¹ There were, of course, exceptions. The Indonesia Family Life Survey (Frankenberg and Thomas 2001) was nationally representative, and the PROGRESA evaluation (Skoufias 2005) was a large survey designed to evaluate the impact of a conditional cash transfer program in Mexico.

2.3. QUANTITATIVE METHODS

Quantitative methods make use of mathematical or statistical techniques in order to discern patterns about populations of interest. There are a variety of methods for undertaking quantitative monitoring and evaluation or impact evaluations. Household and individual-level data are typically collected using quantitative household surveys with a standardized questionnaire, typically with fixed coded responses, although some may allow open-ended responses to be coded later. Data for quantitative analyses may include panel data, that is data collected about the same households over a number of years, which allow for analysis of changes over time. Some of the surveys collect data at the level of the individual household member, which allows for comparison between men and women, and also helps to capture the full range of livelihood strategies within the household. Sampling to cover the range of wealth and/or poverty categories is critical for these types of surveys. Although some qualitative data is included in the quantitative surveys, researchers analyze most survey data—including qualitative responses—using statistical or econometric techniques in statistics packages such as SPSS, Stata, or SAS.

Benefits

- **Representativeness:** Large sample sizes ensure that data will be more representative of the populations in question.
- **Causation:** Econometric methods allow you to test scenarios and calculate attribute causality, and estimate impacts to better understand which aspects of programs are more effective
- **Availability of existing data.** Some data is already publicly available in censuses and other databases thus it may be possible to conduct analysis without new data collection efforts.

Challenges

- **Establishing context:** With quantitative data it is more difficult to understand nuances of a given culture and context. This may lead to a tendency towards generalizations.
- **Difficulties in establishing causality:** Even with good data it is often difficult to establish causality.

2.3.1. QUANTITATIVE METHODS FOR MONITORING & EVALUATION

Monitoring and evaluation (M&E) typically refers to activities on the part of an implementing organization intended to keep track of progress on program targets. For example, if a particular program aims to have 80 percent of program recipients owning cattle, then the M&E data may collect information on how many cows a sample of program recipients own. In general, implementing organizations select a small number of beneficiaries at random at intermittent periods during a program's progress and record key indicators for those beneficiaries.

M&E data is typically collected only on recipients of the program, *not* on non-recipients of the program. Thus, M&E data *cannot* be used to infer program impacts. In other words, while it is possible to track changes in indicators for average recipients over time, it is not possible to attribute these changes as causal impacts of the program—the impact of having the program, versus not having it. Again, the example above applies to cattle disease. Data on non-recipients would be necessary to pick up any time trends in key indicators that are not related to program receipt.

In addition to tracking changes in key indicators among program recipients, M&E data can also be used to look at relationships between characteristics of program recipients, characteristics of service providers, characteristics of communities, and outcomes of interest. For example, it is possible to establish using fairly straightforward multivariate regression analysis that a program beneficiary is more likely to have more cows if the beneficiary is more educated, if a program service provider has more training, if the community is less remote, etc. In other words, we can learn patterns of relationships with outcomes of interest *among* program beneficiaries. However,

these still cannot be interpreted as causal impacts of the program. For example, it cannot be stated that because of the program women that are more educated own more cows. Since definitions of ownership may be context-specific, for any asset that is listed, it may be helpful to specifically address various dimensions of ownership and ask who in the household has access to the asset, who in the household would be able to sell the asset, who in the household receives income received from any production from the asset, etc.

It is also interesting to collect M&E data on gender-disaggregated assets if these are indicators that are key to a program's goals. For example, as noted above, if a program aims that 80 percent of its female recipients should own cows, then it can track how many cows are owned by various members of the household in a small subset of its recipient households. However, the gender-disaggregated asset list can be quite parsimonious and focused on the indicators that interest the implementing organization. Unlike impact evaluations, it is not necessary to include a comprehensive list of all possible assets in the household unless patterns of ownership across assets are also of interest to the program implementer. For example, if women recipients' ownership of cattle was the key goal of a program, but the implementers were also interested to see whether women recipients who owned land were more likely to own cows, they might include both gender-disaggregated cattle ownership and gender-disaggregated land ownership in the assets module.

2.3.2. QUANTITATIVE METHODS FOR IMPACT EVALUATION

Impact evaluation refers to a formal quantitative study that uses statistical and econometric tools to infer the causal impact of a program on its beneficiaries. This "impact" refers to the differences in outcomes that beneficiaries experience, relative to what they would have experienced in the *absence* of the program. Since it is obviously not possible to directly observe the counterfactual case of beneficiaries' outcomes in the absence of the program, the key challenge in impact evaluation is to develop a proxy measure for what beneficiaries' outcomes *would* have been in the absence of the program.

Note it is not possible to simply compare the outcomes of a program recipient before receiving the program and after receiving the program. This is because other changes may have occurred over time. For example, suppose that a woman owned four cows in July 2010, before a particular program started. After the program started, there was an outbreak of cattle disease, so that in July 2011, one year after the program started, she only owned three cows. However, if there had been no program, she would have still experienced the cattle disease and would have only owned one cow in July 2011. Then the impact of the program on her cattle ownership should be considered an increase in two cows, relative to what she would have had in the absence of the program ($=3-1$). It would be incorrect to attribute the loss of one cow ($=3-4$) to the program; that is, simply comparing the pre-program/post-program outcome for a program recipient is likely to give a misleading estimate of program impact.

There are several ways of constructing the proxy measure in a valid way. The choice depends on how program beneficiaries were chosen:

Randomized program assignment

If the program was randomly assigned to beneficiaries (that is, if out of a pool of eligible households, it is randomly selected which households will receive the program and which households will not receive the program), then it is reasonable to assume that non-recipients are on average very similar to what program recipients would be like in the absence of the program. Therefore, the impact of the program can be inferred by simply comparing the outcomes of program recipients and program non-recipients after the program is in place. An econometric

method called “differences-in-differences” can also be used, if both pre-program and post-program data are available for both groups, to account for any pre-program and time-invariant differences between the two groups.

Benefits

- With a randomly-assigned group of non-recipients to be used for the proxy measure, analysis is straightforward.
- Due to the very clean design, randomization is often considered the “gold standard” of study design for impact evaluation.

Challenges

- Randomization is often difficult to implement, due to political, social, and ethical considerations.
- Often randomization is only feasible in small-scale pilots and/or over a short term, in cases where the randomized non-recipient group is promised that they too will receive the program after a certain time. For large-scale programs targeted at particular types of households, it is often infeasible to randomly hold out some households with the targeted characteristics to not receive the program.

Non-random program assignment

If the program is assigned to beneficiaries in any way other than randomly, then we can no longer assume that non-recipients look the same as recipients counterfactually would in the absence of the program. For example, if a program is targeted to poor households, then we expect that (by construction) the average non-recipient household is richer than the average recipient household would be in the absence of the program. Suppose, for example in a poor household, Household A, a woman would own one cow in the absence of the program and two cows with the program, whereas in a richer household, Household B, a woman would own five cows even in the absence of the program. Then the program’s impact should not be calculated as the difference between the number of cows owned by a woman in Household B in the absence of the program and the number of cows owned by a woman in Household A with the program (which would wrongly indicate that the program causes women to lose three cows, rather than gain one cow). We would instead need to construct a suitable comparison group to the recipient households among the non-recipient households, using a very rich amount of data collected both pre-program and post-program and using complex econometric techniques (e.g. matching methods and regression discontinuity design).

Benefits

- Most programs are targeted to particular types of households, making this the only feasible impact evaluation strategy.

Challenges

- The credibility of the impact estimates depends completely whether similar non-recipient households could be found to compare with recipient households. For very well-targeted programs, it is very difficult to find households that are similar to recipient households but not receiving the program, simply due to the comprehensive targeting.
- Even if a suitable comparison group can be found, the data needs are very intensive and can be very costly and time-consuming to collect.
- Even if a suitable comparison group can be found and sufficient data is available, the econometric methods used to estimate impacts are quite complex. Using these methods requires a strong background in statistics, econometrics, and data analysis software.

Moreover, because impact evaluation often focuses not only on estimating average impact, but also on uncovering pathways of impact, the data needs for impact evaluation can be quite intensive. In particular, gender-disaggregated assets data may not only be outcomes of interest, but these data may also be determinants of women's bargaining power that are likely to affect the magnitude of program impact. Thus, in the context of impact evaluation related to gender and assets, the list of assets for which ownership needs to be collected in a gender-disaggregated manner includes not only the assets that are considered outcomes of interest for the program, but also all other assets that are considered valuable in that cultural context. Thus, the list of assets is often quite long. For example, it may include items such as pots, pans, blankets, etc., which are not primary outcomes of interest for a particular program, but still may reflect ownership for various household members and which may convey status in that particular context. Thus data collection for the gender-disaggregated assets module can be fairly time-consuming. Sometimes detailed information beyond simply the number of an asset owned is also necessary for analysis. For example, a positive impact of a program might be owning the same number of cattle but higher-valued cattle, detecting which would require information on the value of each asset owned. For this reason, there are often additional columns than simply number owned in the assets module for impact evaluation, including value of the number owned.

Since definitions of ownership may be context-specific, for any asset that is listed, it is often helpful to specifically address various dimensions of ownership. That is, ask who in the household has access to the asset, who in the household would be able to sell the asset, who in the household receives income received from any production from the asset, etc.

In short, impact evaluation answers very important questions, but it is a large and often costly undertaking. It is usually conducted by trained researchers who are evaluation partners to implementing organizations, in collaboration with the implementing organization. It is rare for implementing organizations to conduct impact evaluation on their own programs (due also to concerns over impartiality).

There are a variety of methods for undertaking quantitative impact evaluations that consider gender and assets dimensions. Some of the surveys collect data at the level of the individual household member, which allows for comparison between men and women, and also helps to capture the full range of livelihood strategies within the household. Sampling to cover the range of wealth/poverty categories is critical for these types of surveys. Although some qualitative data is included in the surveys, researchers analyze most survey data—including qualitative responses—using statistical or econometric techniques in statistics packages such as SPSS, Stata, or SAS.

Ideally, household surveys should collect gender disaggregated data on a number of topics including household roster, education, asset ownership, agricultural production, income and other topics of relevance to the project in question. For a more detailed explanation of how to insert/modify gender into existing survey modules, see Annex 2. Table 3 below is an example of a simplified way to engender the asset module of a household survey.

In the case one wishes to collect a panel of gendered-assets data and disaggregation was not done during the baseline, it is possible to collect information on outcomes that are easy to recall and “lumpy,” such as land and assets, and do this retrospectively. This was the method used to collect information on assets at marriage in the IFPRI surveys described in Case Study 2 as well as Quisumbing and Maluccio (2003). Another strategy is to rely on a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods that will allow you to collect information that is lacking (section 2.5).

TABLE 3. SIMPLIFIED WAY TO ENGENDER AN ASSET MODULE

Asset (g)	Number owned	ID of owner (obtained from household roster)	ID of decisionmaker who decides whether to sell the asset
<i>Animal</i>			
Cattle			
Horses			
Sheep/goats			
Poultry			
Pigs			
<i>Domestic assets</i>			
Stove			
Electric fan			
Refrigerator			
Radio			
Television			
DVD player			
Cell phone			
Chairs			
Mosquito nets			
<i>Productive assets</i>			
Spades/shovels			
Ploughs			
Grain storage silos			

Source: Johnson and Quisumbing (2009)

As a final summary, in addition to primary quantitative data from surveys, it is useful to consider secondary data sources from government and other researchers' studies. Secondary data can be used to provide the basis for sampling frames, cross-check the information from more localized primary data collection with other regions or nationally representative samples, and provide direct information for a study. Nationally representative secondary data, especially official statistics, also provide the basis for cross-national comparative studies. OECD provides a website (<http://wikigender.org/>) with a range of gender-disaggregated data, including a series of gender inequality indices. Numerous cross-national studies, for example, have shown that women's education has a powerful effect on a range of development outcomes.

2.4. QUALITATIVE METHODS

Qualitative data is also an important of gender-assets research, bringing to light dimensions of the issue that are difficult to capture with statistics or surveys. To thoroughly understand gender relations, researchers must also examine additional aspects of well-being, such as status, self-esteem, empowerment (or disempowerment), vulnerability, issues of social differentiation, social norms and, most importantly, self-perceptions by individuals and communities of what it means to be “male” or “female” in a given society. Nonetheless, qualitative data usually draws from a smaller sample of people and thus can be more subjective and difficult to draw out general patterns. The next paragraph highlights the benefits and challenges of this method.

Benefits

- **Captures dimensions of gender-assets data that cannot be described through numbers and statistics.** For example, risks that are faced by men and women may be culture specific and difficult to get at using standard survey questionnaires without prior qualitative work, such as collecting life histories or focus group interviews to better understand dynamics surrounding major risks.
- **Allows for greater flexibility to ask and probe about interesting findings.** When collecting asset data, there are often important gender differences in the spectrum of asset ownership that may not be accurately captured in household surveys with predetermined answers. For example what it means to “use” or “control” a given asset may be entirely different from what it means to “own” that asset and differences in categories of asset ownership may fall along gender lines with important distinctions not easily captured in surveys. There may be additional qualitative differences in the kinds or types of assets that male and females own which only emerge from in-depth discussions with the respondents themselves.
- **Qualitative research also allows respondents to express their own opinions freely, thus allowing researchers to better understand why men and women may accumulate different types of assets in the first place.** Ethnographic methods such as participant observation can provide key insights into gender roles in agriculture (and non-agricultural) activities, and prolonged residence in villages may reveal aspects of intra-household negotiations, hiding of assets, or sensitive topics that respondents may not reveal in surveys.

Challenges

- **Accurate data collection requires greater training and expertise.** Because qualitative methods are less pre-specified than household or other quantitative surveys, they require more on-the-spot analysis by the person collecting the data to know what issues and ideas to follow up. In comparison, in quantitative surveys enumerators are usually trained to ask questions in a standardized manner, and most of the analysis is done using statistical analysis back in the office. As a result, finding skilled qualitative researchers who understand the topic area may be more difficult than finding survey enumerator teams.
- **While the data collected is more thorough, it is longer and less wieldy (more difficult to summarize).** Collecting, analyzing, and writing about qualitative data requires a greater amount of time and effort.

Given the variability of gender assets data, there are a variety of different qualitative methodologies that can be used to gather the information. In the following overview we highlight some of the main methods and provide examples and resources of how they can applied to fieldwork.

TABLE 4. OVERVIEW OF QUALITATIVE METHODS

Diagramming/ Mapping tools	Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) tools	Interviews	Ethnographic tools
Community resource maps	Transect walks	Semi-structured interviews	Participant observation
Participatory impact diagrams	Trend lines	Unstructured interviews	Direct observation
Diffusion maps	Venn diagrams	Key informant interviews	Case studies
Before and After resource/asset maps	Seasonal calendars	Organizational assessment	Innovation histories
Social network analysis	Focus group discussions		Life histories
	Community meetings		Personal diaries
	Ranking/Rating/ Scoring		

Source: Njuki (2009)

- Ranking and Rating Scoring activities** can be useful for identifying important traits and criteria for organising issues, items by preference. While these methods tend to be used for technology evaluation, ranking of priority options (e.g. prioritizing household income options, asset preferences), they can also be used to compare preferences across groups (e.g. men and women). There are a number of advantages to these activities; for example, they can be used with symbols and counters, especially with groups with low literacy levels; they can be done individually or in groups; they allow for group contribution of list to be ranked/rated and the criteria to use; and they can be easily quantified. However, a disadvantage is that these activities take considerable time especially when community groups identify their own lists and criteria for evaluation.
- Diagramming/Mapping exercises** can take a variety of forms including participatory impact diagrams, before and after maps and diffusion maps. Mapping exercises have a number of advantages as well; for example, they can be used with groups that have low literacy levels; they are very engaging; they provide easy visual presentation; they can provide massive amounts of information that combine qualitative as well as simple numbers; and they can be done on paper or on the ground. However there are a number of disadvantages, including the fact that they require close facilitation, can be time consuming, and can be dominated by those that can write (who holds the pen, chalk, or stick etc.).
- Focus group discussions (FGDs)** consist of a group discussion of approximately 6 - 12 persons guided by a facilitator, during which group members talk freely and spontaneously about certain guided topics. The purpose of FGDs is to obtain in-depth information on concepts, perceptions, and ideas of a group. FGDs can be useful to: (1) focus research and develop relevant research hypotheses by exploring in greater depth the problem to be investigated and its possible causes; (2) elicit perspectives of particular groups (e.g. women or men, young or old, wealthy or poor, different ethnic groups); (3) formulate appropriate questions for more structured, larger scale surveys; (4) help understand and solve unexpected problems in interventions, and; (5) explore controversial topics. Focus group discussions offer a number of advantages. FGDs are cost- and time-efficient, because it is possible to cover more people in a shorter amount of time in comparison to individual interviews. FGDs can also be a safe space for discussion of sensitive issues and allow for early identification of important issues. In addition, discussions in FGDs trigger ideas, recollections and opinions. However, there are disadvantages as well. For example, in an FGD, there may be less time to explore and probe and difficult to triangulate data on individuals or households. In addition, louder voices may dominate quieter ones and

there may be problems associated with peer pressure. Furthermore, FGDs are not very appropriate for sensitive topics.

- **Semi-structured interviews** are conducted with a fairly open framework which allow for focused, conversational, two-way communication. They generally start with more general questions or topics and are followed by more specific probing questions. Not all questions are designed and phrased ahead of time, the person leading the interview often uses an interview guide rather than a set of questions. Semi structured interviews can be used to: (1) obtain specific quantitative and qualitative information from a sample of the population; (2) generate general information relevant to specific issues, and; (3) gain a range of insights on specific issues. There are many advantages to doing semi structured interviews. By providing depth and detail, they have analytic power that allows researchers to relate data to other data at individual, household, and community levels. Furthermore, they are not biased by problems of peer pressure. However, they tend to be more time consuming and costly to collect and analyze, and often lead to smaller sample sizes. In addition, semi-structured interviews do not allow for trigger and interaction effects like those in group interviews.
- **Most significant change** is a story-based, qualitative and participatory approach to monitoring and evaluation that involves the collection of significant change (SC) stories emanating from the field level, and the systematic selection of the most significant of these. These stories can be used for different domains of change, program evaluation, organizational review and evaluation and building community ownership through participatory evaluation. The advantage of this approach is that it is participatory, involves multiple stakeholders and does not use pre-set indicators and therefore can capture unexpected and unanticipated changes; however, it can be very time consuming.
- **Network analysis** is a set of integrated techniques to depict relations among actors and to analyze the social structures that emerge from the recurrence of these relations. Analysis is conducted by collecting relational data organized in matrix form. Actors are depicted as nodes, and their relations as lines among pairs of nodes. Advantages are that these can be done individually or in groups, data and/or information can be quantified (UCINET) and presented through visual tools (e.g. Venn diagrams) or short questionnaire surveys. However, analysis is limited to evaluation of interactions and requires multiple types of software, such as UCINET for analysis and Netdraw for network maps.

2.5. Q-SQUARED: COMBINED QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE APPROACHES

By using data from a variety of sources and qualitative and quantitative methods, it is possible to cover a wide range of issues and topics relatively efficiently. Rather than seeing this as a second-best solution, such a combined approach can actually provide more convincing analysis than any single method. This is because studies have found that people respond differently to quantitative and qualitative information. Numbers are required to convince some audiences, while others will be unimpressed by numbers, but relate more to in-depth and contextual information gathered using qualitative techniques. Triangulation, where several types of data are used in a single study, and used to cross-check and compare results, allows any weaknesses in one method to be offset by the strengths of another.

An assessment of 57 mixed method studies identified five purposes for mixing methods: (1) triangulation—seeking convergence of results; (2) complementarities—examining overlapping and different facets of a phenomenon; (3) initiation—discovering paradoxes, contradictions, fresh perspectives; (4) development—using the methods sequentially, such that results from the first method inform the use of the second method, and; (5) expansion—adding breadth and scope to a project.¹²

BOX 3. EXAMPLE OF HOW Q-SQUARED APPROACH WAS USED IN THE *IN HER NAME* PROJECT IN GHANA, ECUADOR & INDIA

The study included two phases: qualitative field work and quantitative household assets survey.

- In the **qualitative** phase, focus group discussions were complemented by interviews with key informants and a compilation of the secondary literature. The focus groups focused on four themes: the accumulation of assets over the life cycle; the importance of assets; the market for assets; and household decision-making over asset acquisition and use. The qualitative work provided the basis for developing survey questionnaires that were both adapted to each country situation but also facilitated comparisons across countries.
- The **quantitative** phase of the study involved collecting nationally representative data in Ghana and Ecuador and data representative of the state of Karnataka, India. A household inventory asked about the ownership of all tangible assets including housing, agricultural land, livestock, agricultural implements, non-farm economic activities and associated assets, consumer durables. Respondents were asked to identify individual and joint owners of all of these assets owned by anyone in the household. In addition, individual level questions were asked about financial assets, awareness of inheritance laws, recent shocks and coping strategies and decision-making. These questions were asked of two people, often the principal couple, within the household.

2.6. FIELD IMPLEMENTATION ISSUES

Translating gender-assets data methodology to the field can be challenging. It is imperative that researchers prepare themselves for several potential questions and issues that can arise in order to ensure that data collection goes smoothly. There may also be resistance, often from funders, against the complexity and costs of these types of surveys. Researchers must be ready to justify the increased complexity in terms of the wealth of insights gained. Again, it is important that researchers and fieldworkers adapt their collection strategy to the culture-context. In this section, we draw from interviews with experienced researchers (see Annex 3) and highlight some of the main questions and issues that can arise as well as provide solutions before getting out in the field.

- *Identifying who in the household should be interviewed:* Should it be the “head of household” as is the case in many surveys? Should the head of household answer for all household members or should multiple household members be interviewed? Different people in the household will have access to different types of information and/or have different perspectives and thus will report different things. It is important to think strategically about which types of household members will be able to best provide necessary information.

¹² Greene, Caracelli, and Graham (1989) cited in Adato (2007).

- *Maintaining privacy of responses:* This is particularly important for asset issues which may be sensitive. It is possible that household members—particularly women—will have hidden assets that other in the household will not know about.
- *Selecting who will be doing the data collection:* In some contexts respondents may be more comfortable with same sex interviewers while in other contexts they may actually be more comfortable with an interviewer of the opposite sex or the gender of the interviewer may not be an issue at all. For example, Pakistan and Bangladesh surveys have teams of men and women; surveys in the Philippines almost always employ women due to trust and safety issues; surveys in Guatemala City employ women interviewers for safety issues; in many African contexts interviewers in surveys are men.
- *Adapting question style and format during the data collection process to, for example, participants' level of education or method of valuation:* In some studies, questions had to be adjusted (particularly in low-literacy populations) so that they could be understood by respondents. Other fieldworkers found that respondents had difficulties valuing assets at present or recalling what they paid at acquisition. To work around this issue, fieldworkers instead collected data on when the asset was acquired, what was paid upon acquisition, and current market value or replacement cost, using alternative methods of estimating the value of the asset. In other contexts, the number (count) of the assets was collected instead of the value. In fact, these simpler methods of collecting gender-disaggregated assets data worked very well in the regressions.
- *Thinking longitudinally and tracking changes over time:* New data collection efforts may want to be forward-looking in terms of creating the possibility of revisiting households to build up panel data sets on individual and joint asset accumulation. So this means obtaining information with which to track households and individuals over time. This is essential, because new categories of assets emerge over time (for example, term insurance, new savings instruments, cellphones etc.) as well as new uses for incomes earned from assets. Furthermore, capturing changes in ownership and control of assets over time, especially as the relative value of assets change (land may become less important as incomes become more diversified, for example). Another study also pointed out the importance of updating the community questionnaire to capture changes in local facilities, institutions, and even cultural norms For example, the extent to which women can travel has expanded greatly over time, partly because of the need to go outside of the village for NGO training.

BOX 4. EXAMPLE FROM IFPRI'S EXPERIENCE COLLECTING GENDER AND ASSETS DATA IN SOUTH AFRICA AND MEXICO

- Sometimes questions had to be adjusted (particularly in low-literacy populations) so that they could be understood by respondents.
- In some areas, respondents had difficulties valuing assets at present or recalling what they paid at acquisition. Therefore data was collected on when the asset was acquired, what was paid upon acquisition, and current market value or replacement cost, using alternative methods of estimating the value of the asset. In some countries (e.g. South Africa, Mexico), the collaborators felt that it would be undue burden on the survey team and the respondent to get the value of assets, and so counts of assets were collected. Surprisingly, these simpler methods of collecting gender-disaggregated assets data worked very well in the regressions.”

SECTION 3. BEST PRACTICES AND HIGHLIGHTS

The following section includes a preliminary list of best practices for collecting gender and assets data based on the material presented and case studies above. There is no “one size fits all” way to collect gender and assets data, but we have identified some relevant trends for consideration that hold across countries and contexts. As the GAAP project continues we will add to this list.

- *Documentation of the gender asset gap over time:* In project evaluations it is important to look at both men’s and women’s assets and how each changes over time instead of relying just on a baseline or endline snapshot. This means that baseline and endline surveys need to be conducted; where data on assets were not disaggregated at baseline, retrospective methods can be used to construct this baseline measure.
- *Q-squared approaches:* Mixed methods are important to understanding complex gender and assets dynamics. Quantitative and qualitative work can be iterative; household surveys can be informed by qualitative work and vice versa.
- *Context matters:* methods of data collection matter and best practice will vary based on context.
- *Beyond ownership:* collection of asset data needs to go beyond ownership and look at other bundles of rights affiliated with assets including use and control.

ANNEX 1. RESOURCES

The following are a number of additional resources for more in-depth information on collection of gender and assets data.

REPORTS, GUIDES, AND WEBSITES ON RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Doss, Cheryl, Caren, Grown, and Carmen Diana Deere. 2008. **Gender and Asset Ownership: A Guide to Collecting Individual-Level Data**. World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 4704. Available at: http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/IW3P/IB/2008/09/02/000158349_20080902085153/Rendered/PDF/WPS4704.pdf

Kisor, Sunita, and Lekha Subaiya. 2008. **Understanding Women's Empowerment: A Comparative Analysis of Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) Data**. DHS Comparative Reports No. 20. Calverton, Maryland, USA: Macro International Inc. Available at: <http://genderassets.files.wordpress.com/2010/12/cr20.pdf>

Njuki, Jemimah, Jane Poole, Nancy Johnson, Isabelle Baltenweck, Pamela Pali, Zaiabet Lokman, and Samuel Mburu. 2011. **Gender, Livestock, and Livelihood Indicators**. International Livestock Research Institute. Available at: <http://genderassets.files.wordpress.com/2010/12/gender-livestock-and-livelihood-indicators.pdf>
→This guide is an attempt to systematize the collection of gender disaggregated asses, technologies and income data.

Austrian, K. and D. Ghati. 2010. **Girl-Centered Program Design: A Toolkit to Develop, Strengthen, and Expand Adolescent Girls Programs**. New York, New York: Population Council. Available at: http://www.ungei.org/files/2010PGY_AdolGirlToolkitComplete.pdf
→This toolkit includes examples of participatory rapid assessment methods.

United Nations. 2010. **Developing Gender Statistics: A Practical Tool**. Available at: http://genderassets.files.wordpress.com/2011/01/developing_gender_statistics.pdf
→This reference manual was prepared by the UNECE Task Force on Gender Statistics Training for Statisticians with contributions from various experts.

In Her Name Project: Measuring the Gender Asset Gap in Ecuador, Ghana and India project website. Available at: <http://genderassetgap.iimb.ernet.in/>
→This study looks at the incidence of asset ownership of men and women separately within the same household to estimate the gender asset gap and the gender wealth gap

International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) and Overseas Development Administration **Participatory Reflection and Action Methods Webpage** and **Overview of Participatory Action and Reflection (PRA) Methods**. Available at: [http://www.caledonia.org.uk/prah.htm#Different Systems of Inquiry](http://www.caledonia.org.uk/prah.htm#Different%20Systems%20of%20Inquiry)<http://www.caledonia.org.uk/prah.htm>

World Bank Living Standards Measurement Study: Integrated Surveys on Agriculture Webpage. →This site is an excellent resource for questionnaire design, including extensive guidelines for design as well as examples. Available at: <http://econ.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTDEC/EXTRESEARCH/EXTLSMS/0,,contentMDK:21556375~menuPK:4196884~pagePK:64168445~piPK:64168309~theSitePK:3358997~isCURL:Y~isCURL:Y,oo.html>

USAID. **Providing gender equitable opportunities in agricultural value chains**. Available at: http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/cross-cutting_programs/wid/pubs/GATE_Gender_Ag_Value_Chain_Handbook_11-09.pdf

BACKGROUND PAPERS ON GENDER, AGRICULTURE, AND ASSETS

Dillon, Andrew, and Esteban Quinones. 2010. **Asset Dynamics in Northern Nigeria**. IFPRI Discussion Paper 01049. International Food Policy Research Institute: Washington, DC.

Available at: <http://www.ifpri.org/publication/asset-dynamics-northern-nigeria>

→This paper examines household asset dynamics and gender-differentiated asset inequality over a 20-year period (1988–2008) in northern Nigeria. We show that the initial endowments of both household capital and livestock holdings are inconsistent with the poverty trap hypothesis but that tracking rules for households in panel surveys may lead to differences in empirical results on poverty traps.

Meinzen-Dick, Ruth, Agnes Quisumbing, Julia Behrman, Patricia Biermayr-Jenzano, Vicki Wilde, Marco Noordeloos, Catherine Ragasa and Nienke Beintema. 2010. **Engendering agricultural research**. IFPRI Discussion Paper 00973. International Food Policy Research Institute: Washington, DC.

Available at: <http://www.ifpri.org/publication/engendering-agricultural-research>

→This paper makes a case for gender equity in the agricultural R&D system. It reviews the evidence on exactly why it is important to pay attention to gender issues in agriculture and why it is necessary to recognize women's distinct food-security roles throughout the entire value chain—for both food and nonfood crops, marketed and nonmarketed commodities.

Peterman, Amber, Julia Behrman and Agnes Quisumbing. 2010. **A review of empirical evidence on gender differences in nonland agricultural inputs, technology, and services in developing countries**. IFPRI Discussion Paper 00975. International Food Policy Research Institute: Washington, DC.

Available at: <http://www.ifpri.org/publication/review-empirical-evidence-gender-differences>

Quisumbing, Agnes and Lauren Pandolfelli. 2009. **Promising approaches to addressing the needs of poor female farmers**. IFPRI Discussion Paper 00882. International Food Policy Research Institute: Washington, DC.

→This paper reviews existing microeconomic empirical literature on gender differences in use, access, and adoption of nonland agricultural inputs in developing countries. This review focuses on four key areas: (1) technological resources, (2) natural resources, (3) human resources, and (4) social and political capital.

Available at: <http://www.ifpri.org/publication/promising-approaches-address-needs-poor-female-farmers-o>

Quisumbing, Agnes, and Neha Kumar. 2010. **Does social capital build women's assets? The long-term impacts of group-based and individual dissemination of agricultural technology in Bangladesh**. CAPRI Working Paper No. 29. International Food Policy Research Institute: Washington, DC.

Available at: <http://www.ifpri.org/publication/does-social-capital-build-women-s-assets>

→This paper investigates the long-term impact of agricultural technologies, disseminated using different implementation modalities, on men's and women's asset accumulation in rural Bangladesh.

GAAP RESOURCES

Meinzen-Dick, Ruth, Nancy Johnson, Agnes Quisumbing, Jemimah Njuki, Julia Behrman, Deborah Rubin, Amber Peterman, and Elizabeth Waitanji. **Gender, Assets, and Agricultural Development Programs: A Conceptual Framework**. CAPRI Working Paper No. 99. International Food Policy Research Institute: Washington, DC. Available at:

<http://www.capri.cgiar.org/pdf/capriwp99.pdf>

Meinzen-Dick, Ruth. **Conceptual Framework for Identifying Gendered Impacts of Agricultural Programs. Powerpoint Presentation**.

GAAP project website. Available at: <http://gaap.ifpri.info>.

ANNEX 2. OVERVIEW OF GENDER ISSUES IN STANDARD HOUSEHOLD SURVEYS

The following tables look at how to insert and modify survey modules to integrate gender issues in a standard household survey:

TABLE KEY

- Basic baseline information: red cells
- Typical module with gender-disaggregated info ALWAYS collected: purple cells
- Gender-disaggregated info SOMETIMES collected: green cells
- Specialized module with gender-disaggregated info ALWAYS collected: blue cells

TABLE A.1. BASIC AND EXTENDED QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC MODULES

Module	Basic?	Gender-disaggregated information?	About which hh member?
Roster—very important, since all Ids in subsequent modules will come from here	Yes	Yes	All
Education of head and household members	Yes	Yes	All
Nonfood consumption	Depends on focus of survey, but ideal	Partly (clothing, footwear)	All (typically collected at hh level)
Food consumption		No (but see section on nutrition modules)	All (typically collected at hh level)

Source: Quisumbing (2006)

TABLE A.2. CONTENTS OF A HOUSEHOLD ROSTER

ID	Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to household head	Marital Status	Education	Main occupation
1							
2							

3							
4							
5							

Source: Quisumbing (2006)

TABLE A.3. SOCIO-ECONOMIC MODULES

Module	Basic?	Gender-disaggregated information?	Which household member?
Land area and crops grown	Yes	Yes	ID of person who manages the plot ID of plot owner, if different from manager
Major Crop Production	Yes, if ag survey	Yes	ID of plot manager (household member)
Agricultural Wage Labor	Possibly	Yes	ID of laborer
Other Income	Possibly	Yes	ID of people with other incomes, businesses, ID of people sending and receiving remittances
Assets	Ideally	Yes	ID of asset owner
Group Membership	Ideally	Yes	ID of group member
Savings	Possible	Yes	ID of account owner
Credit and Lending	Ideally	Yes	ID of borrower

Source: Quisumbing (2006)

TABLE A.4. ADDITIONAL CONSUMPTION, HEALTH AND NUTRITION MODULES

Module	Baseline?	Gender-disaggregated?	Which household member?
24-hour individual food recall	Depends on purpose of survey	Yes	All
Dietary diversity	Depends on purpose of survey	Yes	All
Reproductive health	Depends on purpose of survey	Yes	Women
Anthropometry and morbidity	Ideally	Yes	All

Source: Quisumbing (2006)

Note: Some of these indicators are more expensive to collect (e.g. 24-hour individual food recall) and will require highly trained enumerators. Sometimes a good dietary diversity survey will do the trick.

TABLE A.5. ADDITIONAL GENDER RELATED MODULES

Module	Baseline?	Gender-disaggregated?	Which household member?
Labor use and time use by gender	Yes	Yes	Main male and female, could also include children depending on focus
Domains of decisionmaking authority, especially about assets	Yes	Yes	Main male and female
Control of cash income and use of income	Yes	Yes	Main male and female

Level of gender-related conflict and violence	Ideally	Typically only woman is asked	Main woman
---	---------	-------------------------------	------------

Source: Quisumbing (2006)

Note: In fielding questions about domestic violence it is important to have trained enumerators with knowledge about services available and to protect the privacy of respondents and not subject them to greater risk.

ANNEX 3. CASE STUDIES

In the following annex we provide a number of case studies of projects collecting mixed methods data on gender and assets. The case studies are intended to provide practical examples and also illuminate differences across contexts, and how the researchers/investigators adapted their studies to these different contexts. For each case study we provide background information on the project, an overview of methodology, access to survey instruments when possible and a brief overview of key findings related to gender and assets. It is important to note that the feedback on the survey methodology is from interviews with the project leaders themselves and gives first-hand experience about what aspects of data collection were successful and what needed to be improved.

Case Study 1. International Food Policy Research Institute: (IFPRI): Strengthening Development Impact through Gender and Intra-Household Analysis Project

Countries: Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guatemala, Indonesia (Sumatra), Mexico, Philippines, South Africa

Year(s) of project/ study: Late 1980's – 2002

Contact(s): Agnes Quisumbing (a.quisumbing@cgiar.org)

Background: Since the early 1990s a growing literature has paid increasing attention to the role that intra-household resource allocation plays in affecting the outcome of development policy. Studies by IFPRI on how the commercialization of agriculture affected the nutritional status of individuals within households in a number of African and Asian countries were among the first to debunk the traditional view that individuals within the household share the same preferences or pool their resources, and that the rights, resources, and responsibilities of men and women may be different, which may influence resource allocation decisions. If household members in fact have different preferences, resources, and responsibilities, then designing policies while relying on a model of the household that assumes that individuals share the same preferences and pool their resources—the unitary model—may lead to policy failures.

Building on these early findings, new research has pushed for the development of new models of household behavior. One of the challenges in testing models of household behavior was to find measures of bargaining power that were exogenous to decisions currently being made within households. IFPRI researchers focused on collecting measures of assets at marriage of husband and wife (as well as inherited assets) across several countries in order to test these models of household behavior. These tests are summarized in Quisumbing and Maluccio (2003) for Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Indonesia (Sumatra) and South Africa; related work in other countries found in Quisumbing, ed. (2003)). Comparative studies of such nature bring additional insights to similarities and differences among developing country regions.

Methodology: IFPRI researchers used a common framework and similar survey methodologies to analyze a wide range of policy issues, permitting comparisons across countries. In some countries, modules on intra-household allocation and gender were added to ongoing or planned studies by IFPRI researchers and their collaborators. Researchers made an explicit effort to test the unitary model of household behavior against an alternative that allowed for different preferences of household members and non-pooling of household resources. Because relevant assets and marriage customs differed in each of the countries, assets modules had to be tailored to the specific context.

Findings: IFPRI's intra-household research has produced the following key findings:

- Households do not act as one when making decisions, rejecting the null hypothesis that men and women's resources have the same effects on household decision-making.
- The collective model predicts that the distribution of resources depends on an individual's bargaining power within the household. The distribution of power and resources within the household, however, almost always favors men. This has both economic and social consequences that differ across countries and cultures.
- Improvements in women's status and increases in the resources that women control raise allocations toward education and improve child health and nutrition. Social networks may be an important resource that women can use to help mitigate the impact of adverse shocks. Investment in women, particularly in education, is key to poverty reduction and improved incomes for families as a whole.
- Protecting women's entitlements implies that their rights should be enforced, yet enforcement is not automatic when customary rights and statutory rights are not consistent.
- A new generation of policies and programs has explored innovative ways to increase resources in the hands of women. These initiatives include credit programs targeted to women, have had positive effects on women's earnings and decision-making ability, as well as on child nutrition and educational outcomes.

For more information:

Quisumbing, Agnes (Ed). 2003. **Household decisions, gender, and development: a synthesis of recent research**. Washington, DC: IFPRI. Available at:
<http://www.ifpri.org/sites/default/files/publications/genderbook.pdf>

Sample survey questionnaires can be downloaded, together with their corresponding data sets from the IFPRI website. The core studies are:

- **Bangladesh:** Commercial vegetable and polyculture fish production –their impacts on income, household resource allocation, and nutrition, 1996-1997. Available at:
<http://www.ifpri.org/dataset/bangladesh-1>
- **Ethiopia:** Ethiopian Rural Household Survey (ERHS), 1997 round. Available at:
<http://www.ifpri.org/dataset/ethiopian-rural-household-surveys-erhs>
- **Guatemala:** Strengthening and evaluation of the Hogares Comunitarios Program in Guatemala City, 1999. Available at: <http://www.ifpri.org/dataset/guatemala>
- **South Africa:** Kwazulu-Natal Income Dynamics Study (KIDS), 1993-1998. Available at: <http://www.ifpri.org/dataset/south-africa-kwazulu-natal-income-dynamics-study-kids-1993-1998>

Feedback on case study 1 methodology based on an interview with Agnes Quisumbing:

- 1. What are the unique gender-asset questions and indicators you collected in your survey instrument that were particularly valuable or reflective of methodologies you would like to see replicated in future work and why?**

We collected data on assets at marriage, current assets, and family background, separately for husband and wife. In most cases, the assets module was developed after qualitative work in the survey sites and extensive pre-testing by the principal investigators. In some countries, we also collected information on inherited assets. We found that collecting information on family background of husband and wife was quite important, as they determined assets brought to marriage. In all of the case studies, we also had measures of human capital for husband, wife, and children (education, weight, height). The case studies had different emphases in terms of assets. In Bangladesh, because the emphasis was on nutritional impact (human capital), we obtained blood hemoglobin readings

using the Hemocue. The South Africa study focused on human capital. The Ethiopia study built on a panel where gender-disaggregated asset data had not been collected, so we collected some indicators retrospectively. The Guatemala study was implemented in a urban setting (slums) where some assets were owned by individuals, others by the household, and others were shared with other households. In Ghana and Sumatra, where we were investigating the impact of men's and women's land rights on tree resource management, the assets modules on inheritance ended up being quite different because extended family structures are very different in both countries. Specialized assets modules had to be developed for each of these cases, although the general structure of the questionnaire was similar.

2. What are the unique gender-asset questions/indicators you either collected in your survey instrument that you would have implemented differently or you were not able to collect, but which you would have liked to collect and why?

We felt that the data we collected were quite comprehensive for the purpose for which they were collected—testing models of household behavior. However, in hindsight we could have collected more information on control of assets—not just ownership.

3. Asset-gender dynamics are heterogeneous, complex and rooted in social, economic and institutional factors—are there any background factors that relate strongly to gender-asset dynamics that you either collected or wish you had collected?

We did a lot of background work on marriage and inheritance customs before designing the questionnaire. We undertook this by reading the anthropological literature, conducting qualitative work in communities (focus groups and key informant interviews), and doing extensive pre-testing.

4. Are there any particularities about the region or country of implementation which you think are important to recognize in relation to the gender-asset indicators you collected which are important for other researchers to be aware of? Did any of these context- or country-specific factors influence your survey implementation methodology, and how?

Collecting gender-disaggregated assets data requires skilled enumerators who understand the purpose of the study, and in-country collaborators who are willing to change ways of doing things (collecting data only at the household level). Sometimes questions had to be adjusted (particularly in low-literacy populations) so that they could be understood by respondents. In some areas, respondents had difficulties valuing assets at present or recalling what they paid at acquisition. We therefore collected data on when the asset was acquired, what was paid upon acquisition, and current market value or replacement cost, using alternative methods of estimating the value of the asset. In some countries (South Africa, Mexico), our collaborators felt that it would be undue burden on the survey team and the respondent to get the value of assets, and so counts of assets were collected. Much to our surprise, these simpler methods of collecting gender-disaggregated assets data worked very well in the regressions.

5. What do you see as the largest methodological challenges in collecting gender-asset data in general and how can we as a research community work towards filling this gap?

Having collected gender-disaggregated assets data since 1996, I feel that the basics are well understood within a small community of researchers—obtain a listing of relevant assets based on previous anthropological and/or qualitative work, ask husband and wife about individual and joint assets using the household roster to “ID” the asset, be open to looking at different types of assets (non-traditional assets). However, there is some resistance outside this community, people say that it is “too difficult.” It is not that difficult—one just has to be willing to try it!

Case Study 2. International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI): Evaluating the long-term impact of anti-poverty interventions in Bangladesh

Countries: Bangladesh

Year(s) of project/ study: 1994-present

Contact: Agnes Quisumbing (a.quisumbing@cgiar.org); Neha Kumar (n.kumar@cgiar.org)

Background: While many evaluations have attempted to assess the short-term impacts of poverty reduction programs, relatively little is known about their long-term impact. To address this gap in knowledge, IFPRI, together with Data Analysis and Technical Assistance (DATA), Ltd. and the Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC), collected gender-disaggregated assets data spanning over 15 years (1994- 2010) and assessed the long-term impact of three anti-poverty interventions in Bangladesh: i) the introduction of new agricultural technologies, ii) educational transfers, and iii) microfinance – on a range of monetary and non-monetary measures of well-being (Quisumbing, Baulch and Kumar, 2011). The impact evaluation of the introduction and dissemination of vegetable and fish technologies in Bangladesh builds on an existing IFPRI data set, collected in 1996-97, with detailed gender-disaggregated assets data, which made it possible to estimate the impacts of technology dissemination on men’s and women’s assets (Quisumbing and Kumar 2011; Kumar and Quisumbing 2011).

Methodology: These impact evaluation studies drew from the IFPRI *Chronic Poverty and Long Term Impact Study in Bangladesh* dataset, which used integrated and iterative qualitative and quantitative methods. The study builds on three surveys conducted by IFPRI in Bangladesh to evaluate the short-term impacts of microfinance (1994), the new agricultural technologies (1996-97) and the introduction of educational transfers (2000 and 2003) and a follow up conducted in 2006-07. While information on many gender-disaggregated variables was collected in all the evaluation studies, gender-disaggregated assets data was collected only in the agricultural technology sites. In 2006, IFPRI, DATA and the CPRC began a major study to resurvey the households surveyed in all three of the evaluations. While the focus of this study was on understanding of the drivers and maintainers of chronic poverty in rural Bangladesh, the intervention-comparison groups were maintained from the previous study, and greater attention was placed on obtaining gender-disaggregated data in all the sites. The resurvey involved both qualitative studies and a follow-up longitudinal survey of households included in the IFPRI studies, and involves three sequenced and integrated phases.

Another round of data collection in the educational transfers and agricultural technology sites was undertaken in 2010, focusing on the impacts of the food price increases in 2007-2008. A gender-disaggregated assets module was administered to all surveyed households, focusing on gendered responses to the food price crisis.

Findings: These studies in Bangladesh indicate that household-level and individual impacts of anti-poverty interventions differ in the short term and the long term because of differences in the time path of net benefits from the interventions and spillover effects. Divergence between short-term and long-term impacts may be especially important in interventions that seek to bring about behavioral change, where spillover effects and learning from others may be significant.

In the case of improved vegetable and fish technologies, Kumar and Quisumbing (2011) found that long-term impacts on household-level consumption expenditures and asset accumulation were insignificant in a site where improved vegetables were targeted to women’s groups for cultivation in their own homesteads, but positive and significant in the site where polyculture fishpond technologies were targeted to households, with minimal consid-

eration of gender dynamics. However, the impacts on individual nutrient intake, nutrient adequacy, and nutritional status do not follow the pattern of household-level impacts. For example, despite the minimal monetary gains, early adopters of improved vegetables, particularly women and children, achieved sustained improvements in nutritional status.

Quisumbing and Kumar (2011) found additionally that women's assets increase more relative to men's when technologies are disseminated through women's groups, suggesting that implementation modalities are important in determining the gendered impact of new technologies. Results also suggest that social capital, when embodied through women's groups, not only serves as a substitute for physical assets in the short run, but helps to build up women's asset portfolios in the long run.

For more information:

Kumar, Neha, and Agnes R. Quisumbing. 2011. **Access, adoption, and diffusion: understanding the long-term impacts of improved vegetable and fish technologies in Bangladesh.** *Journal of Development Effectiveness* 3(2): 193-219. Available at: <http://www.ifpri.org/sites/default/files/publications/ifpridp00995.pdf>

Quisumbing, Agnes R., Bob Baulch, and Neha Kumar. 2011. **Evaluating the long-term impact of anti-poverty interventions in Bangladesh: an overview.** *Journal of Development Effectiveness* 3(2): 153-174. (also IFPRI DP 995). Available at: <http://www.ifpri.org/sites/default/files/publications/ifpridp01077.pdf>

Quisumbing, Agnes R., and Neha Kumar. 2011. **Does social capital build women's assets? The long-term impacts of group-based and individual dissemination of agricultural technology in Bangladesh.** *Journal of Development Effectiveness* 3(2): 220-242. (also CAPRI WP97). Available at: <http://www.ifpri.org/sites/default/files/publications/capriwp97.pdf>

Quisumbing, Agnes R. 2011. **Do men and women accumulate assets in different ways? Evidence from Bangladesh.** IFPRI Discussion Paper 01096. Available at: <http://www.ifpri.org/sites/default/files/publications/ifpridp01096.pdf>

Quisumbing, Agnes R., Neha Kumar, and Julia A. Behrman. 2011. **Do shocks affect men's and women's assets differently? A review of literature and new evidence from Bangladesh and Uganda.** IFPRI Discussion Paper 01113. Available at: <http://www.ifpri.org/sites/default/files/publications/ifpridp01113.pdf>

The **IFPRI Chronic Poverty and Long Term Impact Study in Bangladesh** dataset and other related research papers are available at: <http://www.ifpri.org/dataset/chronic-poverty-and-long-term-impact-study-bangladesh>

Feedback on case study 2 methodology based on an interview with Agnes Quisumbing and Neha Kumar:

- 1. What are the unique gender-asset questions/indicators you collected in your survey instrument that were particularly valuable or reflective of methodologies you would like to see replicated in future work and why?**

The gender-disaggregated assets module builds on an existing data set (see case study 1) for the agricultural technology sites, but is now administered to all surveyed households. The major innovation is the collection of gender-disaggregated assets data over time, which allows analysis of gendered patterns of asset accumulation. In

the agricultural technology panel, we have observations in 1996/97, 2006/7, and 2010. In the educational transfers sites, we have observations in 2006/7 and 2010. New data collection efforts may want to be forward-looking in terms of creating the possibility of revisiting households to build up panel data sets on individual and joint asset accumulation. So this means obtaining information with which to track households and individuals over time. We also updated the community questionnaire to capture changes in local facilities, institutions, and even cultural norms (for example, the extent to which women can travel—whether limited to the village, the town center, etc—has expanded greatly over time, partly because of the need to go outside of the village for NGO training).

2. What are the unique gender-asset questions/indicators you either collected in your survey instrument that you would have implemented differently or you were not able to collect, but which you would have liked to collect and why?

We would have wanted to do more on:

- Perceptions of what men’s and women’s “ownership” of assets really means, what “jointness” really means (respondents did identify most of their assets as joint assets, although they also identified individually-owned assets);
- Collect gender-disaggregated shocks data. Subsequent analysis shows that shocks affect men and women differently, but it would have been good to investigate whether illness (for example) of a man or a woman had different effects on households;
- Collect better indicators of social capital and group dynamics. We have individual information on group membership and types of groups (from the 2006/7 survey), but not information on the groups themselves, and;
- Do qualitative work, and then build quantitative modules, to examine portfolio substitutions (for example, when having one asset helps to acquire another one) and discern whether new types of assets (or uses of assets) have emerged.

3. Asset-gender dynamics are heterogeneous, complex and rooted in social, economic and institutional factors—are there any background factors that relate strongly to gender-asset dynamics that you either collected or wish you had collected?

Since we and our local collaborators, DATA have been working in these communities for a long time (more than 10 years), we have a good grasp of local conditions.

4. Are there any particularities about the region or country of implementation which you think are important to recognize in relation to the gender-asset indicators you collected which are important for other researchers to be aware of? Did any of these context- or country-specific factors influence your survey implementation methodology, and how?

We continued to follow DATA’s field protocols in Bangladesh, which is to field a team of both a male and a female enumerator. The male interviews the husband, while the female enumerator interviews the wife. They typically field two male and two female enumerators in an area for ease of travel, particularly safety, and accommodation.

5. What do you see as the largest methodological challenges in collecting gender-asset data in general and how can we as a research community work towards filling this gap?

A big challenge continues to be making sure that gender disaggregated data is collected at baseline.

Going forward, we need to be able to keep up with new categories of assets that emerge (for example, term insurance, new savings instruments, etc.) as well as new uses for incomes earned from assets. We also need to be able to capture changes in ownership and control of assets over time, especially as the relative value of assets change (land may become less important as incomes become more diversified, for example).

Case Study 3. International Center for Research on Women (ICRW): Gender, Land and Asset Survey (GLAS) Project

Countries: Uganda and South Africa

Year(s) of project/ study: 2007 – 2012

Contact: Krista Jacobs (kljacobs@icrw.org)

Background: The Gender, Land and Asset Survey (GLAS) is a gendered assessment of men's and women's rights over assets – including ownership, documentation and control over use, transfer and transactions – in Uganda and South Africa. The GLAS, developed and piloted by the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW), Associates Research Uganda, Limited and University of KwaZulu-Natal, is a survey methodology for collecting and analyzing individual- and household-level quantitative data on women's rights over assets and their potential determinants. These studies point to significant gender gaps with respect to women's asset ownership in both countries and sheds light on more detailed aspects of asset ownership, documentation, control and decision-making authority over assets. The results also point to significant nuances in the nature of the gender asset gap and its drivers.

Methodology: Informed by qualitative research conducted in the study areas, the GLAS offers two main methodological advances: First, it asks not only about ownership but also about use and decision-making over assets. Second, it collects sex-disaggregated data by asking a woman and a man of the same household separately about her/his own ownership, use, decision-making, and documented claims over particular assets. To assess different aspects of ownership, the GLAS captures:

- **Perceived ownership:** GLAS data assesses which assets both male and female respondents consider as belonging to themselves and/or other persons
- **Joint ownership:** GLAS data describes the extent of joint ownership of assets such as land, housing, material assets, livestock, and financial assets
- **Documentation beyond land title:** The survey asks about multiple forms of documentation beyond a land title or certificate of registration, including purchase agreement, rental agreement, receipts, wills, and written permission from traditional authorities

Findings:

- **Uganda:** Headship emerges as a significant determinant of women's asset rights. Female headship is associated with higher likelihood of land ownership but weaker decision-making authority concerning house transactions. The findings lend support to the evidence in the literature that women, especially wives and partners of male household-heads, are particularly disadvantaged with respect to rights to sell, bequeath, or gift assets. Although a substantial proportion of women who report owning land and housing say they do so jointly, there is substantial disagreement within couples as to whether ownership is joint.
- **South Africa:** Women heads of households emerge as having comparable asset rights to male heads and much stronger rights than women who live in male-headed households. Among women, being divorced, widowed, separated, or cohabiting (but not married) is also linked to stronger asset rights, though the improvements are not as dramatic as for female headship.

For more information:

Jacobs, Krista, Sophie Namy, Aslihan Kes, Urmilla Bob, and Vadivelu Moodley. 2011. **Gender, Land and Asset Survey South Africa: Gender Differences in Asset Rights in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.** International Center for Research on Women. Available at: <http://www.icrw.org/publications/gender-land-and-asset-survey-south-africa>

Kes, Aslihan, Krista Jacobs, and Sophie Namy. 2011. **Gender, Land and Asset Survey Uganda: Gender Differences in Asset Rights in Central Uganda.** International Center for Research on Women. Available at: <http://www.icrw.org/publications/gender-land-and-asset-survey-uganda>

For questionnaire(s) or survey instrument(s), visit the project website at: <http://www.icrw.org/where-we-work/measuring-property-rights-gender-land-and-asset-survey>

Feedback on case study 3 methodology based on an interview with Krista Jacobs:

1. What are the unique gender-asset questions/indicators you collected in your survey instrument that were particularly valuable or reflective of methodologies you would like to see replicated in future work and why?

The GLAS offers two main methodological innovations. First, it asks not only about ownership but also about a spectrum of asset rights, including use and decision-making over assets. Second, it allows for disaggregation of data by sex by asking each woman and man separately about her/his rights over particular assets. The GLAS also collects information on joint ownership and asset rights from individual women and men from the same household to assess the prevalence of joint asset holding, especially of land and housing, among women and to compare women's experience and reports of joint asset ownership with men's.

2. What are the unique gender-asset questions/indicators you either collected in your survey instrument that you would have implemented differently?

Some of the unique gender-asset questions and indicators we used included:

- *Use rights:* Use needs to be more completely captured, both in terms of uses beyond agriculture and residence (for example in businesses) and in terms of any conditions on the use (asking permission, duration, payments, restrictions on planting, etc.).
- *Hypothetical questions about assets were sometimes problematic:* Examples include, "If you wanted to purchase more land, could you?" or, "If you were to sell this asset, would you need permission?" Survey enumerators reported that it was common for respondents to have difficulty answering hypothetical questions.
- *Valuation of assets:* Respondents had problems assigning values to their assets, especially land.
- *How a person's social and familial relationships influence their asset rights:* In the GLAS, these relationships would only arise if a land or housing conflict had occurred, if one of these parties' permission was required for permission to make a transaction on an asset, or if women identified one of the parties as a source for acquiring land they used or owned.
- *Communal resources:* For several communal and natural resources (e.g., wetlands, boreholes, forests, pasture, community gardens) the GLAS asked women and men whether s/he used the resource, how often, for what purpose, whether income was generated, and what barriers existed to accessing or using the resource (e.g. overcrowding, far away, poor quality). After field implementation, it was felt that it would have yielded more complete information to lead the questioning with resources people get from communal and resources (firewood, water, sand, grazing, medicinal plants, etc.) and then move to asking what lands these come from and the respondent's relationship to that land.

3. Asset-gender dynamics are heterogeneous, complex and rooted in social, economic and institutional factors—are there any background factors that relate strongly to gender-asset dynamics that you either collected or wish you had collected?

The GLAS collected information on several contextual and structural factors relevant to gender and asset rights.

- Composition of each respondent's natal family, how often the respondent interacts with them, and whether anyone from the natal family lives in the same community.
- Inheritance patterns through which persons acquire land and other assets.
- People's perceptions about the socioeconomic value of land collected through questions about how owning or losing land relates to familial and social relationships and economic security.
- Barriers to acquiring new land or new cattle, including economic, familial barriers, traditional/customary barriers, logistical barriers, and lack of supply.
- People's knowledge of what Ugandan statutory law says about women's asset rights as well as respondents' opinions about women's asset rights.

However, there were several relevant factors about which the GLAS did not collect full information.

- Information about the roles and involvement of family, traditional leaders, or local government in managing or allocating land or handling property disputes
- Roles of current and past partnerships in women's acquisition or loss of assets or rights to them.
- People's understandings of the system(s) of rules around land in which they see themselves as operating.

4. Are there any particularities about the region or country of implementation which you think are important to recognize in relation to the gender-asset indicators you collected which are important for other researchers to be aware of? Did any of these context- or country-specific factors influence your survey implementation methodology, and how?

- *Ambiguous definitions of partnership:* Ambiguous definitions of partnership and multiple forms of marriage are common in sub-Saharan Africa.
- *Widows as a sizeable and different sub-population:* Female household heads and widows are overlapping populations that are both sizeable and believed to be in unique and weaker positions in regards to assets.
- *What women can say about land:* In some cases, women do not see themselves or are not seen as having anything to say or having sufficient knowledge about land that they should engage in participating in the survey
- *Policy and current events:* During the data collection of the GLAS, many communities in central Uganda were experiencing violence and unrest between tenants and landlords. The tension and suspicion regarding land may have influenced willingness to participate and especially to discuss land values, transactions, and conflicts.
- *Sensitivity around inheritance:* In the region of Uganda where the GLAS took place it is considered bad manners to mention or discuss death as it may be considered as wishing or hastening the person's death.

5. What do you see as the largest methodological challenges in collecting gender-asset data in general and how can we as a research community work towards filling this gap?

- *Different ideas of land systems:* How people describe the rules and systems by which land is managed, allocated, and transferred do not easily align with the rules and systems that are defined by statutory law (or possibly even customary law).
- *Tradeoffs between comparability and relevance of measures of asset rights:* There is a need for gendered measures of asset rights to be comparable and somewhat standardized in order to advance the field and to

compare women's asset rights in different settings and tenures but some questions and measures may lose their relevance in different settings.

- *Focusing on particular sub-groups of women:* “Different kinds of women” – for example, female heads of household, widows, or wives of male heads – have different asset rights.

Case Study 4. *In Her Name* project: Measuring the gender asset gap in Ecuador, Ghana and India

Countries: Ecuador, Ghana and India

Year(s) of project/ study: 2008-2011

Contacts: Cheryl Doss (cheryl.doss@yale.edu) and (Caren Grown: cgrown@usaid.gov) for the comparative work; Carmen Diana Deere (deere@LATAM.UFL.EDU) for the Ecuador study; Hema Swaminathan (hema.swaminathan@iimb.ernet) for the India study; Abena Oduro (aoduro@ug.edu.gh) for the Ghana study

Background: *In Her Name* is a collaborative research study of the Centre of Public Policy (CPP) at the Indian Institute of Management Bangalore (IIMB), University of Ghana, American University, Yale University, University of Florida and the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO), Ecuador. The project is collecting and analyzing individual level asset data in Ghana, India, and Ecuador to create a measure of the gender asset and gender wealth gaps. Initial funding for this project has been provided by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs under the MDG3 Fund.

Methodology: The study included two phases: qualitative field work and quantitative household assets survey.

- In the qualitative phase, focus group discussions were complemented by interviews with key informants and a compilation of the secondary literature. The focus groups focused on four themes: the accumulation of assets over the life cycle; the importance of assets; the market for assets; and household decision-making over asset acquisition and use. The qualitative work provided the basis for developing survey questionnaires that were both adapted to each country situation but also facilitated comparisons across countries.
- The quantitative phase of the study involved collecting nationally representative data in Ghana and Ecuador and data representative of the state of Karnataka, India. A household inventory asked about the ownership of all tangible assets including housing, agricultural land, livestock, agricultural implements, non-farm economic activities and associated assets, consumer durables. Respondents were asked to identify individual and joint owners of all of these assets owned by anyone in the household. In addition, individual level questions were asked about financial assets, awareness of inheritance laws, recent shocks and coping strategies and decision-making. These questions were asked of two people, often the principal couple, within the household.

Findings: Initial calculations of the gender asset and gender wealth gaps are presented in the three country reports. One important contribution is to present the data on whether assets are owned individually by men or by women or owned jointly by a couple or jointly by others. These patterns of form of ownership and the gender asset and gender wealth gaps all differ across countries and by type of asset within countries. The gender gaps are much smaller in Ecuador which has a marital regime of partial community property whereby assets acquired within marriage belong to both the husband and wife; Ghana and India, by contrast, are characterized by separation of property as the legal, default regime.

For more information:

Project documents, including the survey instruments, papers based on the qualitative work and the country reports, are available at: <http://inhername.mapservices.in/>

Feedback on case study 4 methodology based on interviews with the project leaders:

1. What are the unique gender-asset questions/indicators you collected in your survey instrument that were particularly valuable or reflective of methodologies you would like to see replicated in future work and why?

We asked about individual level ownership of all physical assets owned by anyone within the household and the financial assets owned by the principal respondents. We strongly recommend that all surveys concerned with household asset ownership ask specifically which household members own the asset. For assets such as land and housing, for which there may be ownership documents, we recommend asking whose names are on the documents. We also asked about the mode of acquisition of each asset which allows for analysis of the gendered patterns of acquisition. Most novel, is that we have been able to estimate both individual-level and household wealth, something rarely attempted.

2. What are the unique gender-asset questions/indicators you either collected in your survey instrument that you would have implemented differently or you were not able to collect, but which you would have liked to collect and why?

We interviewed an adult man and woman within each household that had a principal couple. In certain circumstances (such as where multi-generational or polygamous households are common), it might be appropriate to interview more people within the household to get the most accurate measure of household wealth; we could not do so due to time and budget constraints. We collected ownership and valuation information on all farm animals and agricultural equipment and most consumer durables; this was very time consuming and not yet clear whether it was worth the effort.

3. Asset-gender dynamics are heterogeneous, complex and rooted in social, economic and institutional factors—are there any background factors that relate strongly to gender-asset dynamics that you either collected or wish you had collected?

We collected detailed information on marital and inheritance regimes in all three countries. This is critical for understanding and interpreting the quantitative data.

4. Are there any particularities about the region or country of implementation which you think are important to recognize in relation to the gender-asset indicators you collected which are important for other researchers to be aware of? Did any of these context- or country-specific factors influence your survey implementation methodology, and how?

The three countries were very different. The survey methodologies were adapted to each context. In Ecuador, for example, it was felt that the most accurate measures of valuation would come from interviewing the principal couple together whenever possible, since they could discuss their estimates (and share their respective knowledge of market conditions) before coming to a conclusion.

5. What do you see as the largest methodological challenges in collecting gender-asset data in general and how can we as a research community work towards filling this gap?

It is challenging to collect data that is both relevant and appropriate to the local context while also comparable across countries. We have proposed measures of the gender asset and gender wealth gaps that can be compared across countries, but more nuanced country-specific analyses are also important. Collecting data on the value of assets to calculate gender wealth gaps is also challenging. Please note that we are currently compiling a document, *Lessons from the Field* (forthcoming) that discusses the strengths and challenges of our methodology.

Case Study 5. UNU-WIDER: The Gendered Nature of Asset Accumulation in Urban Contexts: Longitudinal Results from Guayaquil, Ecuador

Country: Ecuador

Year(s) of project/ study: 1978-2004

Contact(s): Caroline Moser (caroline.moser@manchester.ac.uk); Andrew Felton (Andrew.J.Felton@frb.gov)

Background: The study examines the gendered nature of asset accumulation between 1978 and 2004 in Indio Guayas, a low-income community on the periphery of the city of Guayaquil, Ecuador. In so doing, it emphasizes both the importance of combining quantitative and qualitative intra-household data, as well as taking a longitudinal perspective rather than at a single point in time. This study seeks to examine the relationship not only between gender and urban income poverty but also, more importantly, between gender and urban asset accumulation, illustrating how the combination of quantitative econometric measurement of assets and qualitative in-depth anthropological findings on the complex underlying gender relations both contribute to a far more comprehensive analysis of asset accumulation processes in urban contexts than can be gained from any single methodological approach.

Methodology: The research methodology combined fieldwork (based on anthropological participant observation), with a longitudinal sociological survey. At the data analysis stage, the study further elaborated on the cross-disciplinary combined 'qual-quant' methodology and developed what is termed 'narrative econometrics'. This combines the econometric measurement of changes in asset accumulation derived from the sociological panel data surveys, with in-depth anthropological narratives. The project also constructed an 'Asset Index' to measure asset accumulation, see study by Moser and Felton (2007):

Findings: The central finding of the study is that female-headed households actually do better than male-headed households in terms of income poverty, but worse in terms of asset accumulation. These results point to the limitations of simple generalizations relating to female headship and poverty. They show the importance of longitudinal data that better reflect different stages in the lifecycle. The fact that the qualitative anthropological narrative provides the causal explanation as to why income poverty and asset accumulation are not necessarily entirely interrelated demonstrates the advantages of research that adopts a mixed methods approach.

For more information:

Moser, Caroline. 2009. Ordinary families, extraordinary lives: Assets and poverty reduction in Guayaquil 1978-2004. Washington DC, Brookings Press. Available at:

<http://www.brookings.edu/press/Books/2009/ordinaryfamiliesextraordinarylives.aspx>

Moser, Caroline, and Andrew Felton. 2010. The gendered nature of asset accumulation in urban contexts: Longitudinal results from Guayaquil, Ecuador. Working Paper No. 2010/17, UNU World Institute for Development Economics Research (UNU-WIDER). Available at: <http://www.wider.unu.edu/stc/repec/pdfs/wp2010/wp2010-17.pdf>

Moser, Caroline, and Andrew Felton. 2007. The construction of an asset index: Measuring asset accumulation in Ecuador. CPRC Working Paper 87. Washington DC: Brookings Institution. Available at: http://www.dfid.gov.uk/r4d/PDF/Outputs/ChronicPoverty_RC/87Moser_Felton.pdf

Feedback on case study 5 methodology based on an interviews with Caroline Moser and Andrew Felton:

1. What are the unique gender-asset questions/indicators you collected in your survey instrument that were particularly valuable or reflective of methodologies you would like to see replicated in future work and why?

The asset index we developed was based on human, social, physical and financial/productive capital but with important asset index categories. Probably the most important was the differentiation between household and community social capital.

2. Asset-gender dynamics are heterogeneous, complex and rooted in social, economic and institutional factors—are there any background factors that relate strongly to gender-asset dynamics that you either collected or wish you had collected?

The importance of community social capital in the early days of the community consolidation was linked to the lack of infrastructure, etc. As this was acquired so community social capital declined, while the shift to a neo-liberal privatized economy meant household social capital became stronger.

3. Are there any particularities about the region or country of implementation which you think are important to recognize in relation to the gender-asset indicators you collected which are important for other researchers to be aware of? Did any of these context- or country-specific factors influence your survey implementation methodology, and how?

This was an urban study – hence the importance of housing as the first most important asset.

4. What do you see as the largest methodological challenges in collecting gender-asset data in general and how can we as a research community work towards filling this gap?

The critical methodological issue in my work has been the combination of the quantitative asset index with in-depth qualitative data obtained by living as an anthropologist in the community over 30 years, hence the construction of ‘narrative econometrics’. I did not set out to look at gender-assets but at household assets – this is a critical difference. Therefore the data when cut from a gender perspective was obviously more limited that had it been a specific gender-asset study. On the other hand the qualitative data was largely constructed around the lives of five women – and their first and second generation families. Finally an important difference from most studies is it has a 30 year longitudinal perspective and so is able to provide interpretations more difficult in ‘snap-shots’ done at specific points in time.

Case Study 6. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO): Agri-Statistics Toolkit

Countries: Sub-Saharan Africa

Year(s) of project/ study: 1993 – 2006

Contact: Diana Tempelman (Diana.Tempelman@fao.org)

Background: This toolkit was developed by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) in support of enhanced production and use of sex-disaggregated agricultural data. It presents examples of gender relevant questions and tables jointly developed by national statisticians and FAO for agricultural censuses undertaken in Africa between 1993 and 2006. Statistics producers and users alike called for the development of such a tool to improve the production of reliable sex-disaggregated agricultural data needed for gender specific targeted policy formulation and planning of agricultural and rural development. The toolkit has been developed in line with the framework of the 2010 round of the World Programme for the Census of Agriculture. It is designed for a wide range of users involved in development planning, ranging from agricultural statisticians and researchers to policy planners and gender advocates.

Methodology: The methodology described in the toolkit was developed over two decades of research and direct work on census surveys in numerous countries in Africa. The first edition of the toolkit includes examples of gender-relevant questions and table formats used in agricultural censuses in fifteen African countries between 1993 and 2006. It covers topics such as agricultural population and households, access to resources, production and productivity, labor and time use, the destination of agricultural produce, income and expenditures, membership in farmer organizations and some indicators for food security and poverty. The toolkit consists of two sections. *Section 1* highlights examples of gender-sensitive questions and questionnaire components obtained from agricultural censuses. Most questions relate to subsistence and commercial farming activities carried out on small-scale agricultural production units rather than purely commercial activities performed on large-scale agricultural production units, as small-scale agricultural production units are predominant in most African countries. *Section 2* contains examples of tables that can be prepared with the data collected through the questions and questionnaire components presented in section 1 of the toolkit. Each table provides sex-specific information expanding the more classical presentation of agricultural census data with valuable information on the socio-economic position of men and women farmers. The format of the tables allows for data presentation at national and sub-national level as any gender disparities usually show better in data presented at lower levels of aggregation.

Findings: The toolkit is currently being used by statistics teams in Senegal and Togo, preparing their next agricultural census and is used by the statisticians in Lesotho assisting them in analyzing data their census collected recently.

For more information:

FAO Agri-Gender Statistics Toolkit: <http://www.fao.org/gender/agrigender/en>

The examples of gender relevant questionnaires included in the database have been obtained from agricultural censuses conducted in the following countries: Benin (forthcoming), Botswana (1993), Burkina Faso (1993), Côte

d'Ivoire (2000/2001), Ethiopia (2001/2002), The Gambia (2001), Guinea (2000/2001), Mali (1999/2000), Mauritania (2003/2004), Niger (2004 – 2006), Senegal (1998/1999), Tanzania (2002/2003), Togo (1996), Tunisia (1995) and Uganda (2003), are available at <http://www.fao.org/gender/agrigender/agri-gender-toolkit/the-database/en/> .

Feedback on methodology based on an interview with Diana Tempelman:

1. What are the unique gender-asset questions/indicators you collected in your survey instrument that were particularly valuable or reflective of methodologies you would like to see replicated in future work and why?

Most important is the use of the *sub-holder* concept, distinguishing the holder (usually the head of the household) from other active family members (sub-holders) that operate a part of the farm in their own right. To allow for intra-household gender analysis it is critical that a direct link is kept between the questionnaire section on household demographics and the separate plots cultivated or animals owned.

2. What are the unique gender-asset questions/indicators you either collected in your survey instrument that you would have implemented differently or you were not able to collect, but which you would have liked to collect and why?

The following aspects would benefit from more and more specific questions:

- The use of family labor by sex AND age (to find out about child labor)
- The destination of the produce: home consumption/ seeds/ animal feed/ sale
- Few countries collect data on credit availability and use by active household member
- Few countries collect data on membership of farmer organizations and the benefits derived from that
- Few countries collect data on availability of extension services and the content of the services provided by active household member
- Few countries collect data on the general food security situation of the household

3. Asset-gender dynamics are heterogeneous, complex and rooted in social, economic and institutional factors—are there any background factors that relate strongly to gender-asset dynamics that you either collected or wish you had collected?

Most countries that provided examples for the toolkit collected data on landownership/sex and origin. Only few countries indicated the sex of the owners of the different farm animals. Little information is available on the access to other farm tools, family labor and services like market information, financial services and other assets

4. Are there any particularities about the region or country of implementation which you think are important to recognize in relation to the gender-asset indicators you collected which are important for other researchers to be aware of?

Men and women in African farm households often keep separate budgets and have gender specific family responsibilities. The head of the farm household may provide seeds, fertilizer and pesticides to the other active household members (who are sub-holders when farming in their own right) or may not. The sub-holders may not always have control over the use of the produce they generate. It is important to relate access to assets with control over the outputs and compare these two with the gender – specific household budget responsibilities to get a meaningful picture of the data collected on gender-assets

5. Did any of these context- or country-specific factors influence your survey implementation methodology, and how?

I am not aware of any incidents related to male enumerators interviewing female respondents, though a few incidents of this nature may have occurred in selected situations. What is more important is that agricultural census manuals recommend that the Head of the Household is the sole respondent to the census questionnaire. This may have an impact on the viability of the responses concerning assets of and work undertaken by the other sub-holders of the holding.

6. What do you see as the largest methodological challenges in collecting gender-asset data in general and how can we as a research community work towards filling this gap?

Other than the areas mentioned under question 2 and 4, the challenge at this stage is not so much in the collection of gender specific data but more in promoting the USE of such data in policy analysis, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. The work of the research community is critical in this regard, as well-researched case studies, using census or survey data in substantiating “gender-findings” will help planners to understand and see the relevance of the use of this kind of data. Improved statistics user – producers collaborations and in particular feedback from the data users (researchers, activists or planners) on the usefulness (or not) of the gender specific data collected, will go a long way in keeping statisticians enthusiastic and open to continue collecting gender specific data in regular census and surveys.

REFERENCES

- Behrman, J. 1997. "Intrahousehold distribution and the family" In *Handbook of Population and Family Economics*, In Rosenzweig, M. and O. Stark (eds.) Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Duflo, E., R. Glennester, and M. Kremer. 2008. Using randomization in development economics research: A toolkit. In *Handbook of Development Economics*, Vol. 4, ed. by T. Paul Schultz and John A Strauss. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Frankenberg, E., and D. Thomas. 2001. *Measuring power*. Food Consumption and Nutrition Division Discussion Paper No.113. Washington, D.C.: International Food Policy Research Institute.
- Goody, Jack (1973) *Bridewealth and Dowry in Africa and Eurasia* in *Bridewealth and Dowry*, ed. J. Goody and S. Tambiah. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Haddad, L., Hodinott, J. and H. Alderman (eds). 1997. *Intrahousehold Resource Allocation: Methods, Models, and Policy*, Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press for IFPRI.
- Hallman, K. 2000 "Mother–father resource control, marriage payments, and girl–boy health in rural Bangladesh" Food Consumption and Nutrition Division Discussion Paper 93. Washington, DC: IFPRI.
- Hausmann, R., Tyson, L. and S. Zahidi. 2009. *The Global Gender Gap Report 2009*. Geneva: World Economic Forum Available at: <http://www.weforum.org/en/Communities/Women%20Leaders%20and%20Gender%20Parity/GenderGapNetwork/index.htm>.
- Johnson, N. and A.R. Quisumbing. 2009. "Data needs for measuring impacts on women's assets and asset disparities." Powerpoint presentation from the Inception workshop of the Gender, Agriculture and Assets Project. November 2009, Nairobi Kenya.
- Klasen, S. and F. Lamanna. 2008. "The Impact of Gender Inequality in Education and Employment on Economic Growth in Developing Countries: Updates and Extensions" IAI Discussion Paper No. 175. Gottingen, Germany: Georg-August-Universität Göttingen. Available at: <http://www2.vwl.wiso.uni-goettingen.de/ibero/papers/DB175.pdf>
- Njuki, J. 2009. "Qualitative methods for monitoring, evaluation & impact assessment." Powerpoint presentation from the Inception workshop of the Gender, Agriculture and Assets Project. November 2009, Nairobi Kenya.
- Quisumbing, A.R. (ed.) 2003. *Household Decisions, Gender, and Development: A Synthesis of Recent Research*. Washington, DC: IFPRI.
- Quisumbing, A. R. 2006. No Cookie-Cutter Approaches: Designing a Household Survey on Gender Issues "from Scratch" Presentation sponsored by the IFPRI Gender Task Force, 2006.
- Quisumbing, A.R. and J. Maluccio. 2003. "Resources at marriage and intrahousehold allocation: Evidence from Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Indonesia, and South Africa" *Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics* 65(3): 283-328.
- Quisumbing, A.R. 2010. "Evaluating the Impact of Agricultural Development Programming on Gender Inequalities, Asset Disparities and Rural Livelihoods: Overview of the Initiative." Presentation from Inception Workshop. November 2010: Nairobi, Kenya.
- Ravallion, M. 2008. Evaluating anti-poverty programs, In *Handbook of Development Economics*, Vol. 4, ed. by T. Paul Schultz and John A Strauss. Amsterdam: North-Holland.

Skoufias, E. 2005. PROGRESA and its impacts on the welfare of rural households in Mexico. IFPRI Research Report 139. Washington, DC: IFPRI.

Smith, L. *et al.* 2003. *The Importance of Women's Status for Child Nutrition in Developing Countries*. IFPRI Research Report 131. Washington, D.C.: IFPRI.

Smith, L.C. and L. Haddad. 2000. Explaining child malnutrition in developing countries: A cross-country analysis. *Research Report 111*. Washington, DC: IFPRI.

Todd, P. 2008. Evaluating social programs with endogenous program placement and selection of the treated. In *Handbook of Development Economics*, Vol. 4, ed. by T. Paul Schultz and John A Strauss. Amsterdam: North-Holland.

World Bank. 2001. *Engendering Development: Through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources, and Voice*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

**INTERNATIONAL FOOD POLICY RESEARCH
INSTITUTE**

2033 K Street, NW • Washington, DC 20006-1002
USA
T +1 (202) 862-5600 • F +1 (202) 467-4439
Skype: ifprihomeoffice • ifpri@cgiar.org

**INTERNATIONAL LIVESTOCK RESEARCH
INSTITUTE**

TOOLKIT EDITORS

Julia Behrman, Research Analyst, The International Food Policy Research Institute, **Zhenya Karelina**, Research Assistant, The International Food Policy Research Institute, **Amber Peterman**, Research Fellow, the International Food Policy Research Institute, **Shalini Roy**, Postdoctoral Research Fellow, The International Food Policy Research Institute, **Amelia Goh**, MSc Candidate, The University of Maryland.

Disclaimer style For more information about GAAP, please visit <http://gaap.ifpri.info/>

Copyright © 2012 International Food Policy Research Institute. All rights reserved. To obtain permission to republish, contact ifpri-copyright@cgiar.org.

This toolkit has been prepared as an output for GAAP (led by IFPRI and ILRI) and has not been peer reviewed. Any opinions stated herein are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the policies or opinions of IFPRI, ILRI, its partners, donors or collaborators, or of the cosponsoring or supporting organizations.