



Measuring women's empowerment and social transformation in the post-2015 agenda

Caroline Harper, ODI; Keiko Nowacka, OECD
Hanna Alder, ODI; Gaëlle Ferrant, OECD



Key messages

- Gender equality must be anchored at the front and centre of the post-2015 development framework. This requires both a specific gender goal and the mainstreaming of gender throughout the entire framework to enable transformative change and empower women to shape their own lives.
- The framework needs to address the social norms that hold women back, with clear transformative indicators to track progress throughout women's life cycle. Social norms manifest in preference for boys, unequal access to education and health, child marriage, violence against women and inheritance practices that deepen their poverty.
- This paper cites major improvements in gender-related data collection and disaggregation in recent years and argues that tracking trends in tackling discriminatory social norms is now both feasible and essential.
- It proposes a set of indicators under six key measurement areas that, taken together, would track the changes in social norms that signal the growing empowerment of women and girls:
 1. Women and girls exercise choice over their sexual and reproductive integrity
 2. Women and girls enjoy freedom from violence
 3. Women and girls enjoy enhanced decision-making ability over land and assets
 4. Women attain enhanced participation in political and civic life
 5. Equal value is given to girls and boys
 6. Unpaid care is equally distributed between women and men, girls and boys

Introduction

As the development community takes stock of progress made over the past 14 years towards the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the gender gaps that still compromise women's rights and hinder their empowerment take centre stage. The fundamental question underpinning current debates on post-2015 is: how could the MDGs have been more effective in achieving gender equality?

Much analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the MDGs in relation to gender over the past couple of years, as part of the post-2015 debate has tried to

answer this question.¹ Studies have shown how the MDGs focused donor interest and investment in areas, such as education and health², that are crucial for women and girls, and there has been visible progress on both, even if the targets have not been achieved.³ Yet, by focusing only on certain areas of the rights and well-being of a girl or woman, the MDG experience tells us that while such targets may generate limited progress in certain areas of gender equality, they will fail to produce the sustainable human-rights based social transformation that is needed.

The post-2015 framework faces a dual challenge: first anchoring gender at the front and centre of the development agenda, and second, ensuring that a stand-alone goal and its targets promote inclusive and social transformations that address poverty and exclusion at its roots. The question then is: how can we catalyse transformative change that can empower women and girls effectively and sustainably, in partnership with men, boys and the wider community?

The transformation of social norms is attracting policy and academic interest amid a growing recognition of their role in hindering progress towards gender equality. Indeed, the need for transformative change to be included within a new framework has now been widely recognised, with social norms featuring high up the priority scale in key negotiation arenas, including the draft conclusions for the 58th UN Commission on the Status of Women⁴ and in discussions among the Open Working Group on Sustainable Development Goals.⁵ This paper lays out how measuring discriminatory social norms using transformative indicators would facilitate the level of transformative change so widely recognised to be critical to achieving gender equality.

Social norms are the informal and formal laws, beliefs and practices that help to determine collective understanding of what are acceptable attitudes and behaviours. As such, they can either drive processes of social change or act as brakes and barriers to such processes. In the area of gender equality,

discriminatory social norms explain the slow or partial implementation of laws intended to protect and promote women's economic, political, social and cultural rights, and the continuing discriminatory practices and attitudes of large sections of the population.⁶ Even where there are laws in place, social norms can undermine implementation, for example the social stigma attached to rape in many societies might prevent women from seeking justice. The resultant underreporting, in turn, hides the full scale of the problem.⁷

Using a social norms lens to track a woman's pathway to empowerment

Social norms overlap with development outcomes throughout a woman's life-cycle: they will determine whether she has any opportunity to forge her own pathway to empowerment and to contribute to the empowerment of her community or not. Research on discriminatory social norms by ODI and the OECD have shown the many ways in which discriminatory laws and practices may curtail her ability to break the cycle of poverty and access the resources she needs for her empowerment.⁸ The OECD's Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI) and ODI's research and case studies on social norms,⁹ provide insights into how social norms are felt at all stages of her life and result in diminished development outcomes.

Even before she is born, a girl is more likely to be seen as a burden for her family: sex-selective abortions, female



© iStockphoto

infanticide, poor nutrition and healthcare, and the neglect of girls mirror the preference for boys that is prevalent across many societies.¹⁰ If she goes to school, discriminatory social norms may undermine her educational achievements and her ability to stay in school. These include gender stereotypes in school curricula, the risk of violence on the journey to school, as well as within the classroom, and household chores that leave her less time for her homework. She may also be one of the more than 35 million girls in the world whose education is cut short by child marriage, the costs of education or simply because her education is less valued than that of her brothers.¹¹

Social norms will also shape her life choices as a young woman. Her pathway may have already been chosen for her by others as a result of forced and/or early marriage, a social norm that, as well as being a violation of her human rights, exposes her to higher rates of maternal mortality, domestic violence and reduced decision-making power within her new family.¹² Her health and well-being may have been compromised by FGM/C, about which, as a young girl, she could exercise little informed choice.

For a young woman entering the labour market, social norms influence both the type and quality of employment. Occupations deemed ‘appropriate’ for women are often the most vulnerable and undervalued within the informal economy.¹³ For a woman entrepreneur, getting access to the necessary financial resources and credit is complicated by discriminatory practices, such as the inability to open a savings account in her own name without a male guardian or holding significant collateral.

Even within her own family, the decision-making ability of an adult woman is contingent on the value of her role as a daughter, sister, mother, and grandmother. The low value attributed to women is also mirrored in the unequal division of domestic care responsibilities, seen as ‘women’s work’, with women across all economies and societies having to juggle the double workload of paid and unpaid work.¹⁴ Inheritance laws and practices still prevent women accessing and controlling land and assets, disempowering millions of women in developing countries.

Violence against women is perhaps the clearest example of how discriminatory norms can disempower a woman to the point where she is in physical danger. Recent studies indicate that across the world, one in three women have experienced violence from an intimate partner.¹⁵ The almost pandemic nature of violence against women worldwide is a reflection of the unequal power relations between women and men, which see women even accepting violence inflicted against them as part of normal life.¹⁶ Although laws and political commitments to end violence against women are increasing around the world, cases that made global news in India in 2012 and 2013, coupled with data on the prevalence of violence, pinpoint discriminatory social norms as the driving force behind such violence, highlighting this as a pivotal focus for change.

Understanding the impact of social norms across the life-cycle of a woman reveals their complex, interdependent and seemingly intractable nature, often leading to a misplaced reluctance by policy makers and practitioners to tackle them at all. Processes of social norm change can and do occur, but they require a comprehensive approach that recognises their often messy and non-linear nature.¹⁷ What is clear, however, is that measuring social norms is critical for both understanding and supporting long-term transformative change for women.

Measuring social norms to support transformative change

Indicators that could shed light on deeply entrenched social norms and practices were not included in the MDGs because of a widely held perception that social norms are unquantifiable or that data collection across countries would be too patchy to be meaningful. In fact, a key development in data collection since 2000 has been the increasing availability of indicators and improvements in data sources that now make it possible to measure social norms across countries and over time. In short, social norms *are* measurable and tracking progress on efforts to tackle the drivers of inequality is feasible for developing and developed regions alike.

The OECD’s SIGI, for example, is the first cross-country measure of social norms, capturing the role of discriminatory social norms and institutions that drive inequality in over 160 countries. Its indicators are constructed to assess social norms holistically and quantitatively by looking at the *de jure* (legal) as well as the *de facto* (actual) situation of discriminatory social institutions. The rationale for the approach is that indicators that show changes in legal systems reflect a level of public commitment but do not, on their own, illustrate the implementation of laws or practices. In short, they cannot show socially transformative change on the ground. Therefore, *attitudinal* and *prevalence* data are essential to capture the *de facto* situation. For example, when measuring violence against women (VAW), the existence of a law that punishes such violence could be complemented by data on attitudes towards VAW and its prevalence. By approaching VAW in a holistic manner, policy-makers and researchers are better able to isolate the areas of resistance that stall progress on its elimination and pick out the fundamental drivers of such an extreme form of discrimination.

Data availability, comparability, quality and coverage are all challenges for understanding and supporting gender equality across all countries.¹⁸ However, progress on data collection in recent years will make the capture of social norms increasingly **accessible, affordable and regular**. For example, demographic and health surveys (DHS), attitudinal surveys (World Value Surveys, the Barometer series), and other national and international initiatives to extend the gender elements within household and labour-force surveys, now provide important data on social norm change.

The post-2015 framework presents a critical window of opportunity for the international community, governments and national statistical offices to invest in stronger national statistical systems to step up existing data collection through sex-disaggregation of all indicators and to include new indicators on social norms and gender equality. This also requires statistical capacity-building at the national and international levels, and the harmonisation of methodologies and approaches to ensure cross-country comparability. The costs of such an investment will be outweighed by data that ensures policies that are tailored to country-specific contexts.

Top six measurement areas with accompanying indicators for a gender goal that creates transformative change

A strong indicator that tracks transformative change in the underlying drivers of discrimination is one that illustrates real changes in attitudes and prevalence, and how these open (or close) empowerment pathways for women. Practices or attitudes on their own may change without necessarily greatly empowering women: men may refrain from physical domestic violence but still see women as inferior and continue to limit their empowerment. A sound indicator or set of indicators are, therefore, ones that show changed practice, changed attitudes and empowerment. For example, an increase in the age at which girls marry or bear children illustrates elements of empowerment as this trend is highly likely (outside crisis conditions) to be because girls are staying in school, refusing early marriage, controlling contraception and making their own choices about sexual activity. This empowerment can be confirmed in terms of its depth and sustainability by also tracking other measures such as educational achievement and asset ownership. Signs of women's empowerment are, therefore, fundamental to the proof of transformative change.

The following outcome areas and the corresponding indicators represent a priority package for a goal on gender in a post-2015 framework. Together, this package demonstrates how transformative change and empowerment can be measured through existing data sources.

1. Women and girls exercise choice over their sexual and reproductive integrity
2. Women and girls enjoy freedom from violence
3. Women and girls enjoy enhanced decision-making ability over land and assets
4. Women attain enhanced participation in political and civic life
5. Equal value is given to girls and boys
6. Unpaid care is equally distributed between women and men, girls and boys

Data on all of these existing indicators are already collected in at least 80 developing countries (unless otherwise noted). Where it is possible, they use two or more types of measurement to capture social norms through the *de jure* and the *de facto*.

1. Women and girls exercise choice over their sexual and reproductive integrity

The ability to exercise control over sexual and reproductive choices indicates the empowerment of a woman or girl and respect for her rights by her family, partner and community. Three key indicators that would capture these dimensions:

i) Age at first marriage

Young girls have little decision-making power and authority both as regards marriage partners and then, when in a union, they have significantly reduced bargaining power to make decisions over their own well-being, household incomes and key life choices for their children. Delaying marriage means that girls have greater chances to complete their education, have better knowledge, self-confidence and experience to make informed choices for themselves and their communities, and that their development pathway does not abruptly stall at age of marriage.

Data sources: DHS, MICS

ii) Age at delivery of first child

Measuring the age of a girl or woman at the birth of her first child is a useful proxy to capture the prevalence of girls involved in sexual activity in a formal or informal union, with reduced bargaining power to make decisions on childbearing and/or access to contraception. Any upward shift in the age indicates a change in levels of girls' empowerment in relation to delaying sexual activity or accessing contraceptives.

Data sources: DHS, OECD, United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE).

iii) Extent to which girls and women can exercise reproductive autonomy

This measures the percentage of married women and girls aged 15-49 with an unmet need for family planning and is defined as married women who do not want any more children for the next two years but who are not using contraception. This is an indicator of transformative change because exercising sexual and reproductive choice indicates the empowerment of women. It is important to note, however, that contraception may not be used because it is not available, rather than because of dis-empowerment. So, while uptake of contraception indicates some level of empowerment, changes may indicate increased availability of contraception rather than any actual increase in empowerment.

Data sources: DHS, Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys (MICS), WHO and other reproductive health surveys, UN Population Division.

2. Women and girls enjoy freedom from violence

Lower rates of prevalence and acceptance of violence against women and girls represent the degree to which social norms within a community act to recognise and value their physical integrity and human rights. Three indicators are proposed to capture transformative change in the law, in prevalence and in attitudes:¹⁹

i) Existence of national laws on violence against women

Whilst we know that laws do not necessarily translate into effective implementation on their own, legal change can still be one of the many drivers of change for social norms. Furthermore, the passing of law on VAW demonstrates high-level political will to tackle the issue, demonstrating that acts of violence will be punished, as well as facilitating a more favourable context for the implementation of targeted action at the grassroots level.

Data sources: National legislation e.g. specific laws on violence against women, Penal Codes, Civil Codes.

ii) Prevalence of domestic violence (physical or sexual)

Measuring the prevalence of domestic violence over time provides an indication of what is happening on the ground (and can be triangulated with the existence of national laws on VAW). It is important to note though, that this indicator can only capture what is reported, and given the chronic underreporting of domestic violence this indicator is only useful in conjunction with attitudinal data.

Data source: DHS, MICS surveys, National violence against women surveys²⁰

iii) Percentage of women and men who agree that a husband/partner is justified in beating his wife/partner under certain circumstances.

Attitudes to domestic violence in many countries are alarming with many women accepting that it is justified. This represents an internalisation of disempowerment. Changes in these attitudes for women as well as men indicate change on the ground, as attitudes and prevalence are closely linked: countries with high levels of acceptance of domestic violence have double the lifetime prevalence of domestic violence than those with low levels of acceptance.²¹

Data sources: Eurobarometer 344 (2010), DHS

3. Women enjoy enhanced decision-making power and rights over land and assets

Women's economic empowerment depends on their rights, access and ability to make decisions over land and assets. Decision-making power over land and assets is linked to economic empowerment, such as through entrepreneurship or accessing credit. It also increases their status within the family and their ability to make joint decisions involving the household. Here we propose two key indicators:



© iStockphoto

i) Extent of women's secured access and equal decision-making over land and assets.

Discrimination in the laws and practices that govern inheritance or land and asset ownership deepens women's economic vulnerability to external changes and severely reduces their ability to escape poverty. Measuring the extent of women's secured access to and decision making power over land and assets indicates women's empowerment and can be demonstrated by articles in national legal frameworks (*de jure*) on equal rights as head of household, equal rights in inheritance, equal decision-making rights over common property and triangulated with the percentage of women registered with land titles (*de facto*).

Data sources: national legal frameworks (e.g. Civil Code), national and shadow reports on compliance with the CEDAW, customary laws, country databases of the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), agricultural censuses, labour force and business surveys, household surveys, DHS.

ii) Extent to which women participate in household decisions

Joint decision-making ability within the household is key to women's empowerment. Women who can jointly participate in household decisions have a greater say over how their own income is spent, over key decisions affecting their children's health and education, as well as over their own well-being.



© iStockphoto

This can be measured using DHS and other household surveys in which participants respond to questions under the following three headings:

- a) who decides how to spend money (the wife? the husband? both?)
- b) women's control over earnings
- c) women's participation in decision-making.

Data sources: DHS and other household surveys.

4. Women attain enhanced participation in political and civic life

Empowering women to attain enhanced participation in political and civic life is about women and girls being visible in public spaces, having a say in their communities and enjoying equal decision-making power over policies and allocations of resources at the national and subnational levels. Three indicators capture the legal, actual and attitudinal dimensions necessary to ensure transformation:

- i) **Existence of quotas in national legislation to ensure a minimum level of female political representation (*de jure*)**

Capturing this data is an important starting point for indicating high-level political will towards affirmative action and can be used to triangulate between legal requirements and actual levels of

participation, as well as send a clear message to the international community about national commitments to achieving gender equality.

Date source: National legislation

- ii) **Percentage of women in government²² (*de facto*)**

Increased numbers of women in government demonstrates that formal political space is open to women, and shows the efficacy of quotas and other temporary measures. It also indicates a degree of acceptance of women as leaders (see below). Women in government has been linked with increased focus in national laws on health and education, and other service provision areas that impact directly on women's lives.

Data source: Inter-Parliamentary Union, Women in Parliament Database

- iii) **Proportion of those of voting age who agree or strongly agree that, on the whole, men make better political leaders than women**

Capturing the views of voters across the population would enable us to measure changes in attitudes towards women in political spaces over time, as well as how such changes relate to legal change and actual increases of women in parliament. In asking the voter-age population whether: 1. *Men make better political*

leaders than women, and should be elected rather than women; we can capture *opinions* towards the participation of women in political and civic life. This data is already being collected in at least 74 countries.

Data sources: i) The Quota project; ii) Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) Women in Parliament database; and iii) World Values Survey (WVS), Afro Barometer, Arab Barometer, Eurobarometer.

5. Equal value is given to girls and boys

Widespread unequal investments in the care, nurture and resources allocated to sons and daughters within the household result in myriad negative developmental outcomes, from mortality through to human capital development deficits and time poverty. We propose two indicators that measure change in the value attributed to girls as compared with boys over time to capture progress:

i) Sex ratio: “missing girls” (*de facto*)

Whilst girl infants are statistically more likely to survive than boys in the absence of any form of discrimination or neglect,²³ in those contexts where girls are routinely neglected or where sex selective abortion is practiced, the ratio of boys to girls is likely to be significantly skewed in favour of boys. Reductions in ratio disparities over time would reveal a corresponding positive change in the value attributed by parents and communities to girls. The analysis for this indicator is based on considering expected age-specific sex ratios and comparing them to actual ones. Age cohorts cover 0-4, 5-9, 10-14, 15-19. The score is particularly influenced by sex ratios in young age, although adult sex ratios are also considered as secondary information.

Data Source: Sex ratio data from UN Population Division and Central Intelligence Authority (2011)

ii) Son preference in education, measuring the percentage of respondents who agree that ‘Education is more relevant for boys’ (attitudinal)

In measuring attitudes over time towards the education of girls, we gain a better understanding of the value placed by families and communities on girls as compared to boys, beyond their time spent in the education system. If populations believe that education is just as relevant for girls than boys, then school completion rates for girls are likely to be higher, and it is more likely that girls will then go on to higher education or enter the labour market. These data are available across 75 countries.

Data sources: World Values Survey.

6. Unpaid care is equally distributed between women and men, girls and boys

The OECD Technical Note²⁴ presents an innovative analytical framework that links time-use data collection to policies that address gender equality from a social norms perspective. Time-use data can be used as a proxy to capture gender roles. Such data captures the unequal distribution of caring responsibilities between men and

women, explains gender gaps in education; makes visible the cost benefit of time-saving infrastructure, such as electricity, roads, and water supplies; reveals the scale of the care economy that needs to be addressed for both labour productivity and welfare provision; and reveals the hidden nature of women’s economic contribution to the national economy. Two indicators are suggested in the technical note proposing how time use data can be used for gender-responsive policy making:

i) The female to male ratio of average time devoted to household chores (unpaid care)

(ii) The female to male ratio of total workload (both paid and unpaid work).

Through these two indicators, time-use data allows policy-makers to understand women’s full range of activities, which is essential to design social changes that will generate a shift towards gender equality and family-friendly policies that allow a satisfactory work-life balance.

Data sources: National Time Use Surveys, Living Standards Measurement Surveys

Conclusion

The MDG experience shows us that failing to use indicators that illustrate social transformation has limited progress towards gender equality. At this moment, we have a golden opportunity to build a post-2015 framework that produces sustainable human-rights based social transformation for girls and women. It is clear that the most effective approach to this is to focus on transformative discriminatory social norms which are then measured through transformative indicators, both under a dedicated gender goal and mainstreamed throughout all other goals.

Improvements in data collection in recent years have made the capture of social norms accessible, affordable and regular and will continue to do so. The inclusion of our six recommended measurement areas and accompanying indicators in the post-2015 framework will send a robust message to the international community, to governments and to national statistical offices to invest in stronger national statistical systems to step up existing data collection through the sex-disaggregation of all indicators and to include new indicators to zoom in on social norms and gender equality. Only then can we hope to achieve the kind of lasting transformative change that will catalyse real and long lasting empowerment for girls and women.

References

1. Examples include: ActionAid (2012) *Righting the MDGs: contexts and opportunities for a post-2015 development framework*, September 2012; Jones, N., Holmes, R. and Espey, J. (2010) 'Progressing gender equality post-2015: Harnessing the multiplier effects of existing achievements', *IDS Bulletin*, Volume 41 Number 1: January, 2010; Kabeer, N. (2010) *Can the MDGs provide a pathway to social justice? The challenges of intersecting inequalities*, IDS and the MDG achievement fund; Francavilla and Cerise (2012), *Tackling the Tackling the root causes of gender inequality in the post-2015 development agenda*, <http://bit.ly/MPY9Lf>; Woodroffe, J. and Esplen, E. (2012) *Gender equality and the post-2015 framework*, Gender and Development Network Briefings 3: July 2012.
2. In 2010/11, OECD DAC members spent a reported \$20.5 billion on gender equality: OECD (2013) *Aid in Support of Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment - Donor Charts*. Statistics based on DAC Members' reporting on the Gender Equality Policy Marker, 2010-2011 Creditor Reporting System database. Accessed: bit.ly/1kAoEDx
3. United Nations (2012) *The Millennium Development Goals Report*. New York: 2012
4. CWS Bureau (2013) *Challenges and achievements in the implementation of the Millennium Development*
5. Goals for women and girls. Draft agreed conclusions. Commission on the Status of Women 58th session 10 – 21 March 2014: bit.ly/1c2kbkM
6. UNWOMEN (2014) A focus on gender equality as the Open Working Group on Sustainable Development Goals meets <http://bit.ly/1eVEzc6>
7. Jones, N., Harper, C., and Watson, C (2011) *Stemming girls' chronic poverty: catalysing development change by building just institutions*, CPRC: 2011 <http://bit.ly/1nbvbmE>
8. World Health Organisation (2013), 'Global and regional estimates of violence against women: prevalence and health effects of intimate partner violence and non-partner sexual violence', Geneva: 2013 <http://bit.ly/1cBnTIC>
9. Jones, N., Harper, C., and Watson, C (2011) *Stemming girls' chronic poverty: catalysing development change by building just institutions*, CPRC: 2011 <http://bit.ly/1nbvbmE>
10. See ODI's work on *Transforming the lives of adolescent girls* <http://bit.ly/1otwk7V>
11. Jones, N., Harper, C., and Watson, C (2011) *Stemming girls' chronic poverty: catalysing development change by building just institutions*, CPRC: 2011 <http://bit.ly/1nbvbmE>
12. Recent ODI field research in Uganda revealed that the continuing influence of social norms that limit the expectations of girls beyond marriage and the family, as well as the need for girls' labour at home all make parents less likely to invest in the education of their daughters (Watson, C. et al. (2013) 'Good policies versus daily discrimination: Adolescent girls and gender justice in Uganda', London: Overseas Development Institute <http://bit.ly/1g9LsTl>).
13. See also Jones, N. et al (2013) 'Social justice for adolescent girls in Ethiopia: tackling lost potential', London: Overseas Development Institute for recent research insights on early forced marriage and its impacts on adolescent girls <http://bit.ly/1oqaylh>
14. In sub-Saharan Africa, for example, countries with higher levels of discriminatory social norms (notably lower bargaining power within the family and unequal access to productive resources) also have a higher percentage of women in vulnerable employment
15. In Kenya and Uganda, for every hour spent by men on paid and unpaid work combined, women spent 1.4 hours (ActionAid (2012) *Righting the MDGs: contexts and opportunities for a post-2015 development framework*, September 2012. London: ActionAid)
16. WHO, LSHTM, South African Medical Research Council (2013) *Global and regional estimates of violence against women*.
17. Ibid.
18. Marcus and Harper (2014) *Gender justice and social norms – process of change for adolescent girls*, London: Overseas Development Institute
19. See Wikigender's online discussion report, 'Data gaps on gender equality' (www.wikigender.org).
20. Only domestic violence is included in these indicators; however, similar indicators could be constructed for rape, sexual harassment and other forms of sexual, psychological and physical violence.
21. UN Women regularly update a matrix of national VAW prevalence surveys: <http://bit.ly/1nhFoy3>
22. OECD Development Centre (2013). *Transforming social institutions to prevent violence against women and girls and improve development outcomes*. Issues Paper, OECD Development Centre
23. Measuring parliamentary ratios initially, before progressing to government at all levels as data collection is strengthened in these areas over time.
24. See OECD, www.oecd.org/dev/gender



This material has been funded by UK Aid from the UK Government, however the views expressed do not necessarily reflect the UK Government's official policies.

The OECD Development Centre's Gender Programme is supported by the Austrian Development Agency (ADA), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Norway, and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland.

Readers are encouraged to reproduce material from ODI resources for their own publications, as long as they are not being sold commercially. As copyright holder, ODI requests due acknowledgement and a copy of the publication. For online use, we ask readers to link to the original resource on the ODI website.

The views presented in this paper are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily represent the views of ODI.

© Overseas Development Institute 2014.

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial Licence (CC BY-NC 3.0).

ODI is the UK's leading independent think tank on international development and humanitarian issues.

Our mission is to inspire and inform policy and practice which lead to the reduction of poverty, the alleviation of suffering and the achievement of sustainable livelihoods.

We do this by locking together high-quality applied research, practical policy advice and policy-focused dissemination and debate.

We work with partners in the public and private sectors, in both developing and developed countries.



Overseas Development Institute
203 Blackfriars Road
London SE1 8NJ

Tel +44 (0)20 7922 0300
Fax +44 (0)20 7922 0399