Building Resilience and Adaptation to Climate Extremes and Disasters (BRACED) Programme

***Anukulan*: Developing Climate Resilient Livelihoods for local communities through public-private partnership for 500,000 poor people in western Nepal that suffer from climate extremes and disasters**

Linking Women's Empowerment and their Resilience

Literature review

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1. Introduction

Empowerment is a term widely used by academicians, policy makers and development workers, which has resulted in a vague and contested nature of the term's conceptualization and methodology. Despite its multiple, and partially complex interpretations and what Sharp, Briggs, Yacoub, and Hamed (2003) call a "fluidity in meaning", the link of empowerment to other concepts relevant to gender and development studies, such as resilience, remains unexplored. This literature review seeks to understand the concept and possible links to resilience in the context of the feminization of agriculture and male out-migration in Nepal. The guiding research question for this literature review is:

How does women's empowerment link to resilience to climate related shocks and stresses?

To analyze possible links of empowerment and resilience in a changing agricultural sector in Nepal, it is necessary to understand both concepts and their methodological considerations and empirical evidence in the wider academic literature. For this purpose, this literature review takes theoretical perspectives on power and empowerment, particularly by Lukes (1974), Rowland (1998) and Kabeer (1999) into account and reviews approaches to quantify empowerment, e.g. the WEAI by Alkire et al. (2013), and studies uncovering the factors and relations influencing women's agency and related conceptualizations of empowerment. A review of these studies will facilitate a multidimensional, relational and processual understanding of the possible influence of women's empowerment on resilience. Further, this literature review provides the grounding for an empirical study for the BRACED project "Anukulan" which will analyze the interlinkages between women's empowerment and resilience to climate related shocks and stresses in two case studies in the West and Far West of Nepal.

2. The origin of the term *empowerment*

The term, or philosophy, of empowerment did not initially develop in a gender context, but through the Brazilian educationist Paulo Freire (1921-1997). He developed the "Pedagogy of the Oppressed" (1970) to empower the poor, the "oppressed", to resolve the contradiction to the "oppressors", those in power. Freire's approach led to an influential social and educational movement and literacy program to create empowerment through critical consciousness, "la conscientização" (Freire, 1996: 17). Later he was named the founder of *critical pedagogy* which views the role of education as promoting capabilities for individual development from a human rights approach. The central objective of critical pedagogy is both the individual liberation to become a transformative democratic citizen, and the collective struggle of creating social transformation towards social justice in an egalitarian society. Through this educational awakening, the "oppressed" become aware of the mechanisms of their social oppression and can liberate themselves from manipulation.

This educational and radical perspective of empowerment changed when it entered the wider development as well as the gender and development (GAD) discourse in the 1980s. In contrast to the Women in Development (WID) approach of the 1970s, which aimed at the *inclusion* of women in

development projects and discourse, GAD looked into power in gender *relations* and social norms in particular contexts, and thus in more in-depth analysis of underlying structural causes of women's subordination. Broader associations of the term are the capability approach (Sen, 1992), participation (Agarwal, 2001), and sectoral approaches, such as social, political and economic empowerment (Luttrell, Quiroz, Scrutton, & Bird, 2009). Cornwall and White (2000) addressed the lack of men and masculinity in the GAD debate and open the discussion in an IDS Bulletin edition on "bringing men in" by reminding that they can also be marginalized and powerless and dependent on women's love and respect. However, addressing masculinity is not only about this debate; furthermore, it examines how men behave to perform as men in a culture or a set of institutions which reward and values masculine traits.

The definitions of empowerment vary from narrow to broader and more complex: they align somewhere on a continuum of instrumentalist development project targets and wider structural and social change, which academic feminists' perspectives envision. Particularly development agencies aiming at empowerment through economic interventions evoked critical voices accusing empowerment as buzz word of neo-liberal policies (Batliwala, 2007). One major line of the discussions is that the term is criticized as a predictive, static outcome, rather than a process (e.g. Kabeer 1999). To shed light on the different facets of empowerment, it is useful to review the conceptualizations of power.

3. Conceptualizing power – a three-dimensional perspective on power

To understand the underlying perspective on power and the form of conflict in the gender and empowerment literature, a review of the three-dimensional model of power by Lukes (1974) will promote a categorical conceptualization of power (cf. Table 1). Lukes (1974) changed the notion from *community power* to a focus on power as structural element as he differentiated *three dimensions of power*. The one-dimensional view is developed primarily by Dahl (1961), who assumes overt conflicts in a *pluralistic* society in which interests can be bargained and thus the powerful and powerless are defined by their success and defeat in making decisions over the interests of others within a community. This perspective is taken in the "Women in Development" (WID) discourse since the 1970s, and until today prevalent in many studies on women's empowerment. This one-dimensional view on power is limited to a behavioral study of direct, actual and observable conflicts between actors with different interests, but "inevitably takes over the bias of the political system under observation and is blind to the ways in which its political agenda is controlled" (Lukes, 1974, p. 262). The "Two face of power" are described by Bachrach and Baratz (1962) and highlight boundaries to political issues, as not all interests are engaged in decision-making. The non-participation in decision-making is due to reinforced social and political values and institutional practices which create barriers for people to participate. This two-dimensional perspective examines *how* control over the political agenda is practiced and *how* potential issues are kept out of political processes. The interests of the powerful are promoted, while it is anticipated that the powerless show covertly sub-political *grievances*. This assumption is, however, challenged by empirical studies, e.g. by Zwarteveen and Neupane (1996) who brought evidence that non-participation in decision-making processes can bring women in a covert powerful position in accessing water resources (cf. chapter 4). The three-dimensional view of power, as developed by Lukes (1974), extends this perspective by assuming that the powerful defend the status quo so pervasively that the powerless are unconscious of potential challenges and

alternatives to the political process. Their perceptions are manipulated through values and institutional processes reinforced through communication processes and information transfer in form of social myths, symbols and language. This is what Bourdieu (1977) calls the *doxa*, when particular practices and relations are not questioned or even experienced as unequal. Practices such as beating, purdah or eating as the last in the family can be not contested as they align to cultural norms defining a good mother or wife. To uncover the latent conflict in this three-dimensional perspective of power requires a socio-cultural in-depth analysis of behavioral patterns of groups and institutional practices. This sociological perspective is widened by Foucault as his concept of power applies to "all fields of the social sciences and the humanities" (Sadan, 2004, p. 37), as he does not locate power within organizations or agents, but assumes that subjects are discursively *constituted* through power. Instead of defining power as "a finite entity that can be located" (Rowlands 1998: 13), Foucault (1982) models power *relations* in terms of knowledge and language which shape institutions and every day practices and in form of social networks with resistance as necessary antagonist to power. Hence Foucault views power from a post-structuralist perspective.

Type of power	**One-dimensional view of power**	**Two-dimensional view of power**	**Three-dimensional view of power**
Conflict	Overt conflict	Covert conflict	Latent conflict
(Non-) Participation in Decision-making	Open conflict in decision-making, assuming a *pluralistic* society, in which all the community's interests are represented by means of open processes	Non-participation in decision-making, mobilization of bias that reinforces and emphasizes values, beliefs, ceremonies and institutional procedures	Influence on consciousness and perception by the ability to implant interests in people's minds that are contrary to their own good
Awareness of the powerless	Powerless are conscious and openly display their opinions, however do not have influence	Powerless are conscious, but prevented to participate in decision-making	Powerless are unconscious as their perceptions are manipulated
Method to study	Behavioral analysis of decision-making	Observation of grievances, studying the mechanisms how the powerful prevent participation in decision-making as well as the exclusion of particular topics	Analysis of social and historical factors, use of social myths, language and symbols, study of communication processes and information transfer
Authors	Dahl (1961)	Bachrach and Baratz (1962)	Lukes (1974) Gaventa (1980)

Table 1: Three dimensions on power based on Lukes (1974) and as reviewed in Sadan (2004)

The three-dimensional model of power by Lukes (1974) highlights that the third dimension of power is rarely addressed in women's empowerment studies, knowingly that it is a complex endeavor to examine underlying social and cultural structures in gender relations. Most studies reviewed examine either an overt conflict by analyzing who is making decisions, particularly when it comes to measuring empowerment, e.g. through the WEAI (cf. chapter 5), or a covert conflict, in which women are conscious of their exclusion from decision-making, but also have their means in benefitting from their non-participation, e.g. in the study by Zwarteveen and Neupane (1996, cf. chapter 4). Before empirical studies on women's empowerment are reviewed, conceptualizations of empowerment are depicted.

4. Conceptualizing empowerment – a relational and processual perspective

Kabeer (1999) and Rowlands (1998) take relational, time and scale perspectives on empowerment which will be introduced as they are useful for the theoretical understanding of empowerment. Kabeer (1999: 436) defines empowerment as "the process by which those who have been denied the ability to make strategic life choices acquire such an ability". She conceptualizes empowerment as a *process* of change from disempowerment to empowerment by expanding people's ability to make first order decisions which result in *desired* outcomes. The ability to make strategic choices incorporates three interrelated dimensions: *agency, resources* and *achievements*. The ability to define one's goals and act upon them determines someone's *agency*. However, this choice is only possible if alternative options exist, which enables the "emergence of a critical consciousness, the process by which people move from a position of unquestioning acceptance of the social order to a critical perspective on it" (Kabeer, 1999, p. 440). The idea of a critical perspective links to Freire (1996) and his writing on the importance of the critical consciousness to overcome oppression. A pre-condition to exercise choice is the access to and control over material, human and social *resources*. As a further dimension, the *achievements* of choice must be understood in terms of well-being outcomes (e.g. nourishment, health, shelter…) as this sheds light on the equality of, and not differences in choices. The interrelation of these three dimensions models the process of how resources translate into the realization of choice as well as its impact. However, Kabeer (1999) does not provide a concrete operationalization of these three dimensions.

In an attempt to uncover the meaning of empowerment, as it is used in the discourse and practice of development, Rowlands (1998) and also Charmes and Wieringa (2003) distinguishes between different *modes of power visibility*, linked to the three dimensions of power by Lukes (1974). The "power to" is a generative or productive power, as in the one-dimensional perspective of power (Lukes, 1974) which addresses the exercise of power over others' interests through force or rebellion. "Power over" refers to being able to control actions and resources to suppress certain conflicts to be discussed. This related to the second dimension described by Lukes (1974), referring to a power within certain biases, and to become empowered is related to move from non-participation in decision-making to participation by making covered grievances a subject within the economic and political structures of society. "Power within" refers to enabling personal qualities of self-acceptance, self-respect or spiritual strength (Rowlands 1998: 14). "Power with" relates to collective power which can be greater than individual

power[1]. Charmes and Wieringa (2003) also differentiate between the *mode of operation* of power (oppressive, challenging, creative), and the *mode of appearance* (in speech acts and texts, in institutions and in daily practices).

Based on the analysis of a women's educational program on Honduras from an empowerment perspective, Rowlands (1008: 23) constructs a model of empowerment in different spaces of women's lives by differentiating between *personal* and *collective* power, and also the power in *close relationships*, particularly with husbands and immediate family members, as product of empowerment processes. The *Women's Empowerment Matrix* by Wieringa (1994) also includes the state, region and global level and looks at interconnections of every level with physical, socio-cultural, religious, political, legal and economic spheres. The relational view of Rowlands (1998) takes different scales of agency into account and may gain in value when linked to Kabeer's (1999) processual perspective (Fig. 1). The scale arrow extends from the individual to the household to the community level, while the time arrow demonstrates the sequence of investigating empowerment. Resources are seen as a pre-condition to agency, and achievements are the well-being outcome. This process can also be seen as cyclic, as well-being outcomes influence resources as well as agency.

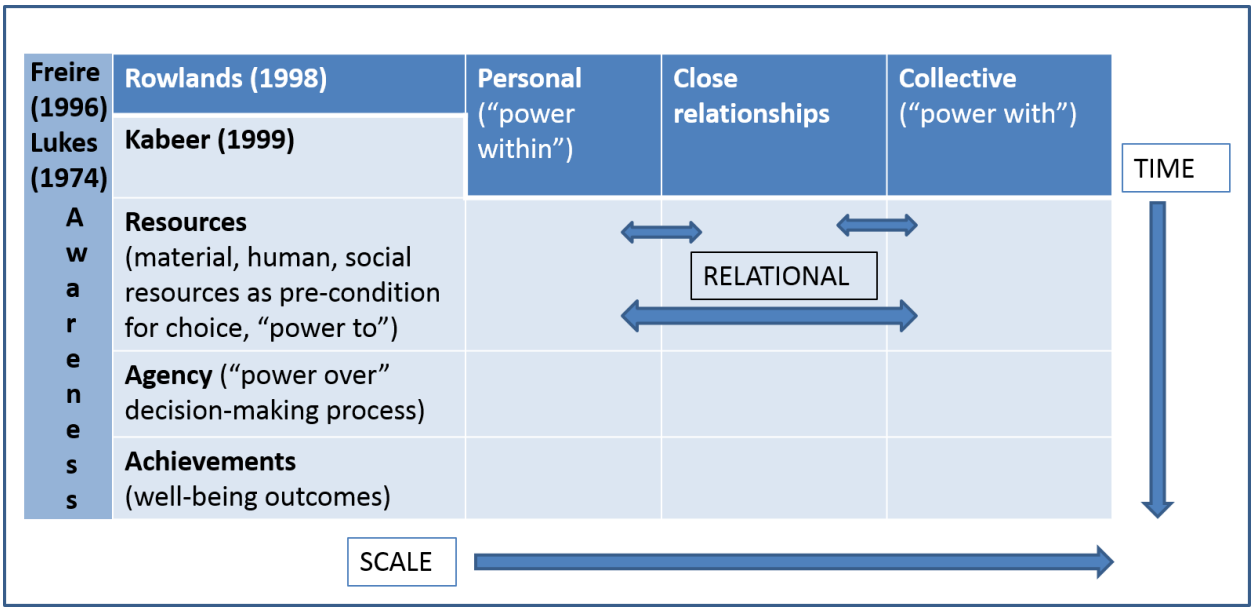

Fig. 1: Relational, time, scale and awareness dimensions of empowerment

Charmes and Wieringa (2003) conceptualize women's empowerment close to the definition of Kabeer's and view empowerment as a process from awareness to agency, which depends on resources, education, political conditions and subjective factors, which influence the existence and consciousness of choice.

[1] For operational implications of these types of power relations from an agency and structural perspective of empowerment, cf. Fig. 11 in the appendix; for examples of outcomes on assets (capabilities) of different definitions of power on a variety of scales, cf. Fig. 12 in the appendix.

I suggest to conceptualize awareness with the *critical consciousness* by Freire (1996). A critical consciousness is an important pre-condition in addition to resources and to agency. A critical consciousness of gendered relations and practices due to cultural norms, communication processes and knowledge transfer is necessary to understand the socio-culturally embedded roots of unbalanced power relations. Freire's perspective is, as Dahl's, an overt form of power as he "makes oppression and its causes objects of reflection by the oppressed and from that reflection will come their necessary engagement in the struggle for their liberation" (Freire, 1996: 30). He suggests that, instead of becoming integrated and conformed to the present system, the "oppressed" are prepared to work towards their liberation from oppression. His radical perspective highlights the importance of dialogue with authentic words of reflection and action, to be freed from a culture of silence (Freire, 1996 : 12). Freire's idea of a critical consciousness can be developed further by integrating the second and third dimensions of power, resulting in changing the focus of raising critical awareness on the agents of power to the *instruments and mechanisms of power*, as well as identifying how gendered practices within a particular cultural context are reproduced. This post-structural perspective of dispersed power helps to overcome Freire's binary view of the oppressors and the oppressed, which would translate into an essentialist perspective on men as the oppressors and women as the oppressed. Instead, power can be examined as a process which discursively constitutes agents both in powerful and powerless positions. This conceptualization helps to integrate awareness as the third dimension defined by Lukes (1974) in the conceptualization of Kabeer and Rowland.

Zwarteveen and Neupane (1996) challenge the second dimension defined by Lukes (1974), as they demonstrate that non-participation in decision-making processes does not necessarily mean that those excluded are disempowered. Their gender analysis of the Chhattis Mauja scheme in Nepal empirically evidenced that women, despite being excluded from the management of the scheme's organization, "succeed extremely well in getting their irrigation needs accommodated" (Zwarteveen & Neupane, 1996: v). They are "free-riders" as they take more water than they are entitled to and contribute less to maintenance work as they are not obeying the rules as non-members. This study shows that due to women's exclusion of decision-making processes, they can use the prevailing gender ideology of physical weakness and the need of social protection to develop a privileged position for getting water. These processes of manipulation, deception and negotiation of power relations is what Kabeer (1999: 447) points out as relevant in her definition for agency. Further, Zwarteveen and Neupane's study depicts farming as a "collective endeavor" (1996: 1), rather than an individual livelihood. Women turn the prevailing gender ideology in favor of their own effectiveness, and directly ask the village irrigation leader rather than spending time to participate in meetings (Zwarteveen & Neupane, 1996: 16). As this study highlights the extent of women's agency despite, or rather because of, gender ideologies, empowerment may not be identified through counting who makes more decision, examined by asking questions on "Who during the last growing season generally made the decisions about what inputs to use on land?" (E12, WEAI). Instead, the study highlights how power cannot be reduced to the participation in decision-making, as women know how to manipulate the access to water to their own interests. As contextual in-depth understanding in this case study revealed, the assumption that women need to be included in decision-making processes to receive their share of resources is not necessarily true as women are able to subvert

gender ideologies to their own advantage. This study sheds light on covered forms of empowerment, which need to be considered closely when examining agency.

Nazneen, Hossain, and Sultan (2011) depict how the term empowerment evolved in Bangladesh from the initially instrumentalized logic of international donors to a more nuanced understanding with multiple discourses on divergent meanings. They have classified in their review of documents by NGOs, political parties, women's groups and donors in Bangladesh that empowerment is seen mostly as individual, and not collective and institutionalized mechanism, focused on material means, rather than greater structural change. The author's visualized this in a double continuum of empowerment from individual to collective and from economic to political empowerment (Fig. 2). Sultan (2015) has researched women's perception of empowerment in Bangladesh and concluded with the need to "move beyond seeing women as victims or heroines, and engage with their everyday realities… (and) to do more than give individual women economic opportunities… to tackle deeper-rooted structural constraints that perpetuate inequalities."

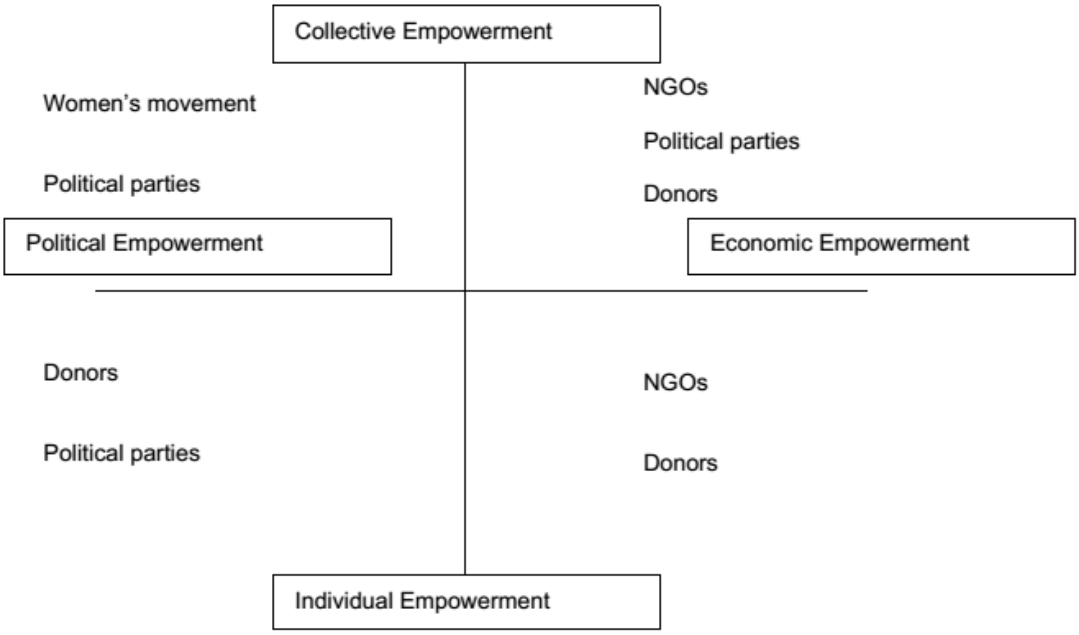

Fig. 2: Double continuum of women's empowerment (Nazneen et al. 2011: 32)

As many conceptualisations of empowerment for development projects exist, the one of Longwe (1995) will be shortly presented here. Longwe's framework includes five levels of women's empowerment: welfare, access, conscientization and awareness raising, participation and mobilization, and control (Fig. 3). These are in hierarchical order and serve to analyze projects' objectives from a women's empowerment perspective. For the purpose of a gender analyses through practitioners, the five levels are listed and checked off if project objectives meet these aspects of empowerment. The framework suggests that these levels of empowerment follow a linear process and that women, while men and institutions involved are excluded in the framework, traverse as homogenous group through these levels. Hence

various specific factors influencing empowerment as processual and relational concept are not included in the framework and may lead to a decontextualized perspective on women's empowerment.

LEVELS OF EMPOWERMENT	DESCRIPTION
CONTROL	Women and men have equal control over factors of production and distribution of benefits, without dominance or subordination.
PARTICIPATION	Women have equal participation in decision-making in all programs and policies.
CONSCIENTIZATION	Women believe that gender roles can be changed and gender equality is possible.
ACCESS	Women gain access to resources such as land, labor, credit, training, marketing facilities, public services, and benefits on an equal basis with men. Reforms of law and practice may be prerequisites for such access.
WELFARE	Women's material needs, such as food, income, and medical care, are met.

Fig. 3: The Women's Empowerment Framework by Longwe (1995)

5. Measuring empowerment

To measure and monitor empowerment processes and outcomes, several frameworks and indices have been developed which can be used as powerful policy instruments. The *Gender-related Development Index* (GDI) looks at the gender disparity of the Human Development Index (HDI) which globally compares the average level of income (oriented on the GDP per capita), education (literacy and gross enrolment), and life expectancy. One of the major critiques is that the GDI highly correlates with the GDP, which in itself does not include agricultural and informal wages as well as subsistence, reproductive and care activities, in which women are particularly involved (for further critique, cf. Charmes and Wieringa (2003)). The *Gender Empowerment Measure* (GEM) compares three indicators globally: female seats in parliament, managerial positions in the administrative and professional sectors, and income. As in the GDI, the GEM is based on secondary data, which lead to a number of problems on the reliability and validity of these indicators, and most importantly, it is worthwhile to reflect on the limited

conceptualization of women's empowerment in these indices, as they exclude, for example, women's rights and opportunities of choice, as well as cultural and religious factors.

As more detailed indices and based on primary data analysis, the "Measuring Empowerment Framework" by Alsop and Heinsohn (2005), the Concept of "Measurement of Women's Empowerment in Rural Bangladesh" by Mahmud, Shah, and Becker (2012) and the "Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index" (WEAI) by Alkire et al. (2013) will be discussed in the following. The first is based on Sen's *capability approach* (1999) on which the quality of life is based on what people "have reason to value", and its authors define empowerment as "a person's capacity to make *effective* choices; that is, as the capacity to transform choices into desired actions and outcomes" (Alsop & Heinsohn, 2005, p. 6). The indicators they use are *asset endowments* for personal agency, the capacity to make purposive choice (psychological, informational, organizational, material, social, financial, or human), and *opportunity structure* for the institutional context which include the presence and operation of formal and informal institutions, including the laws, regulatory frameworks, and norms governing behavior. Agency and opportunity structure are evaluated in the domains of the state, the market and the society[2]. The authors hypothesize that the degree of empowerment measured by the *existence*, *use* and *achievement* of choice influences development outcomes (visualized as three arrows in Fig. 4). The strength of this framework is that it considers both individual decision-making capacities and opportunities at local, intermediary and global scales and in different domains. However, the separation of agency and structure contradicts theoretical debates of sociologists, such as Giddens (1984) who developed the *structuration theory* which argues for the duality of structure in which agents and structure have an equal ontological status and are both medium and outcome of social action. Nevertheless, this framework differentiates in multiple dimensions and can be used to give evidence for factors which facilitate or inhibit decision-making in any sector.

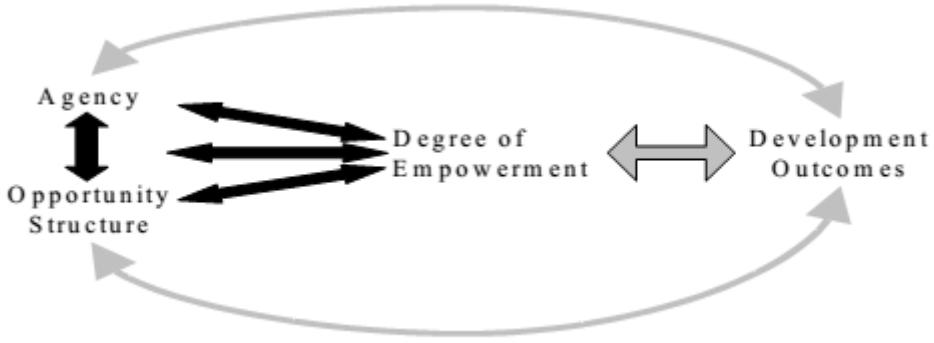

Fig. 4: The relationship between outcomes and correlates of empowerment (Alsop & Heinsohn, 2005)

Mahmud et al. (2012) conceptualize empowerment as a dynamic, multi-dimensional process which is strongly influenced by resources and settings, measured by the four determinants age (demographic status), household wealth (economic status), women's schooling (social status) and media exposure to TV

[2] for a detailed table of the "Measuring Empowerment Framework", see Fig. 8 in the appendix

or radio. These result in four dimensions of empowerment, "self-esteem", "control of resources", "decision-making", and "mobility", however not simultaneously. The authors note that empowerment processes are not directly observable, but that indicators or proxies can be used, which need to be relevant to the particular context. In rural Bangladesh, the authors found in their sample of 3,500 women in 128 villages that women are most likely to feel empowered in having a say in decisions and one of the two self-esteem indicators, which are women's perception on the number of areas they should have a say and whether beating is justified in different occasions. Interestingly, at the same time, women may be less empowered in terms of access to cash ("control of resources"), and least likely to be empowered with respect to their freedom of mobility.

These results demonstrate the non-linear, multi-dimensional process of empowerment. The data shows that the exposure to TV is a significant predictor of the level of schooling and the two self-esteem indicators. Interestingly, wealth has a significant positive association with resource control (measured in whether women can spend money as they wish), but a significant negative association with her total decision-making score. The level of schooling is significantly associated with one self-esteem indicator and the freedom of mobility. All results show that women's self-esteem and declined acceptance of their lower status in form of influence in decision-making and physical violence constitute an important dimension of empowerment. To measure women's own perceptions and attitudes is not included in the other empowerment frameworks and indices, but provides an important inside in empowerment processes.

The authors acknowledge that empowerment leads to both rights and responsibilities, which could lead to greater risks, such as increased mobility leads to greater exposure to violence. This demonstrates that empowerment is more likely to happen in supportive contexts and in form of collective empowerment processes, which change deeply entrenched gender norms and gendered behavior, as well as perceptions about class, caste and other social distinctions.

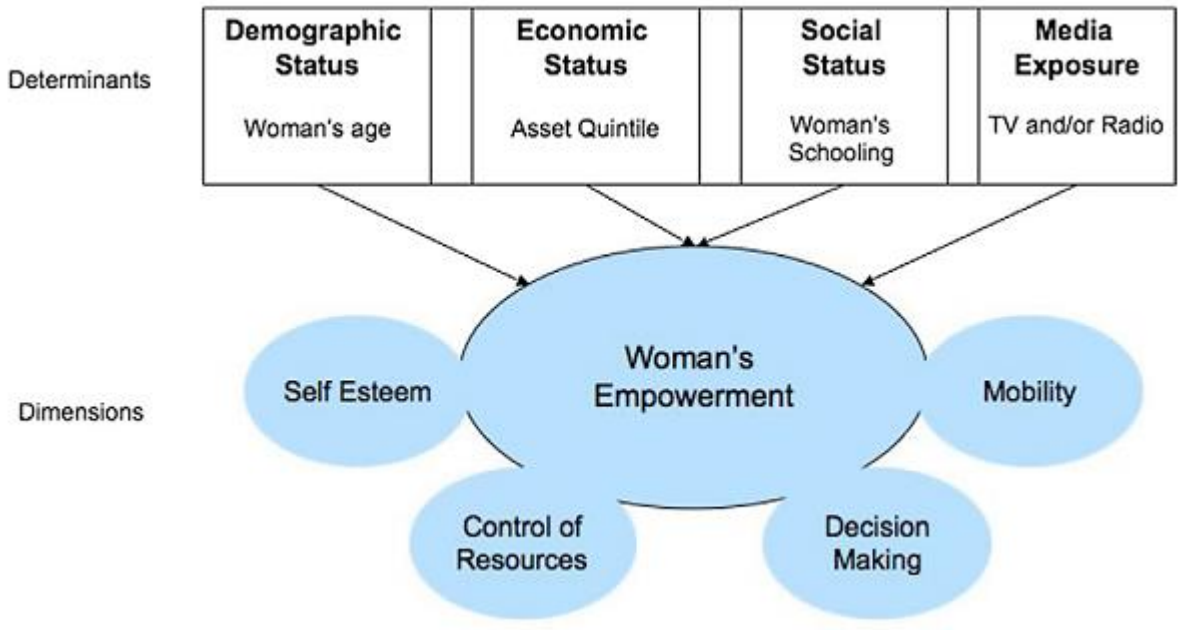

Fig. 5: Determinants and dimensions to measure women's empowerment in rural Bangladesh by Mahmud et al. (2012)

Recognizing the lack of measurements and quantifications of empowerment in agriculture, Alkire et al. (2013) developed the "Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index" (WEAI). To quantify women's inclusion in the sector of agriculture, the index measures the following five domains of women's empowerment relative to men: (1) decisions about agricultural production, (2) access to and decision-making power about productive resources, (3) control of use of income, (4) leadership in the community, and (5) time allocation (Fig. 5). The designed questionnaire weighs answers on ten indicators according to the "adequate autonomy" (Alkire et al., 2013: 74) of women and results in a relative score on their participation in decision-making. If a woman reaches "adequacy" in 80% or more of the weighted indicators, she is empowered. Although the authors claim to measure "agency", as defined by Kabeer (1999), this score provides a situational and static quantification of empowerment from an economic perspective which overshadows complex power relations within a particular context. Kabeer's argument that agency needs to be analyzed as a process and in its relation to resources and achievements is not considered in the WEAI. Particularly social and human resources can play a great role and may lead to different forms of empowerment which cannot be grasped through scoring decision-making on resources, production, income or representation in community groups. For example, not to work or contribute to the household economically can be a choice and does not necessarily demonstrate disempowerment. Quantitative assessments on how time is spent (WEAI domain 5) could therefore be easily misinterpreted. Cornwall (2007) states on empowerment and choice uncovering "gender myths":

> *"Seeing poor women as individuals who pursue entirely independent and goal-oriented strategies, as is often the case in discourses on 'empowerment' and 'choice' in development, is to deny the complexities of their relational ties and the contingencies of lived experience." (A. Cornwall, 2007, p. 158)*

Hence the WEAI labels women as either 'disempowered' or 'empowered', which could lead to their depiction as "victims" or "heroes". Further, women of women-headed households have scores which indicate they are 'empowered' as they make all decisions, but they may have limited choices or feel strongly overburdened in their role as sole decision-makers. Nevertheless, a simplified score may proof helpful in raising awareness on women's empowerment in the development discourse. To understand the cases in the respective contexts, however, in-depth gender analyses are necessary.

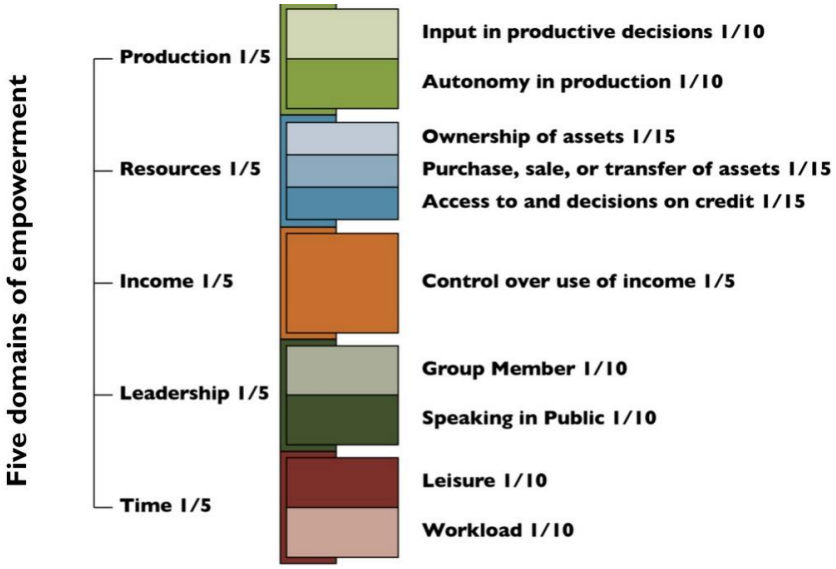

Fig. 5: Five domains of the Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index (WEAI presentation by IFPRI 2014, based on Alkire et al. (2013)

6. Factors influencing and mediating empowerment

Trommlerová, Klasen, and Leβmann (2015) provide an overview of and add to studies on correlates and variables of empowerment. They identify determinants of empowerment in a capability-based poverty approach with household-level information and advanced econometric techniques. Their study measures the correlation of a number of factors with individuals' self-reported ability to induce changes in their lives at both communal and individual levels. Their statistical findings suggest that age, gender, marital status, nationality, economic activity, health, self-reported capabilities and communal empowerment determines empowerment at communal and individual levels suggesting that this may help to target policies. However, quantitative approaches as this one miss relational and processual perspectives which in-depth qualitative studies can provide. In the following, three studies will be discussed to show the relevance of qualitative studies and how particular assumptions can be debunked.

The assumption that economic empowerment will lead to overall greater agency is challenged by Rao (2014) who has shown in her study that workforce participation is hardly the determining factor of women's agency and well-being. A household survey and in-depth interviews in rural Tamil Nadu provided evidence that the nature and social valuation of women's work, as well as other factors such as age and stage in life cycle (e.g. own and children's marital status), reproductive success (especially by the birth of a boy), and caste and economic status influence women's agency. Women's reproductive work, such as the birth, educational and marital status of a son, can have a strong impact on women's agency. For example, the position of a young wife changes through the birth of a son and by "gaining recognition… (by) maintaining an image as a good woman, wife, and mother" (Rao 2014: 11). This can lead to greater

agency on education and health care of their children within the family. As masculine and feminine identities are constructed through different values, "men face social pressures to earn and provide, women face pressures to reproduce – in particular, to produce sons" (Rao 2014: 12). Although this study was not conducted in the agricultural sector, it highlights the separate spheres of productive and reproductive space in which decision-making is relevant. Lundberg and Pollak (1993) also identify these separate spheres of a bargaining model in marriages (Kandiyoti, 1988) which include a non-cooperative equilibrium reflecting traditional gender roles. This understanding may be even differently important in the agricultural context, in which these spheres are not as separated, as involvement in agriculture, depending on the type of work and access to land, can contribute to family nutrition. Especially in the agricultural sector, in which productive and reproductive spheres are closely interlinked, questions of the WEAI on agricultural resources and production may overlook the importance of women's ability to make strategic choices on child care, nutrition and household management. The type of work also influences whether work is actually perceived as drudgery or work burden, despite the raise of self-worth through contributing to the family's income (Rao 2014: 4). Particularly in the South Asian context, the interrelation of multiple factors influencing women's agency needs to be taken into account when analyzing women's empowerment. These factors include, for example, educational status and land ownership, as its influence can be ambiguous and needs to be considered in its particular context. Guérin, Kumar, and Agier (2013, p. 76) stress the importance of women's relationships with one another when analyzing the impact of microcredits on women's empowerment in Tamil Nadu, India, as "even where there is solidarity between women, women having agency require or imply domination over other women".

Another assumption is that the inclusion of women in politics leads to better political outcomes, but Joshi (2014) states that women in positions of power are as affected as men by political coercion structured by gender, class, ethnicity and other social divides which influence context-specific cultural norms in Darjeeling. Women do experience a structural and symbolic relation with environmental resources derived from a "universal patriarchy" (Molyneux 2001). But this relationship is crosscut by ethnicity class, color, race, and religion and evolves spatially and temporarily, leading to varying experiences. "Individual needs and priorities take precedence in the lives of women in political positions" (Joshi, 2014, p. 252), leading them to be unable or unwilling to address the complexity of water injustices in the political and water crisis. Joshi (2014) outlines challenges to a politics of solidarity among diverse groups of women with differing needs, challenges, and individual priorities. She argues that simplifying complex realities depoliticizes social hierarchies and inequalities (p. 253). Her study on water inequalities in Darjeeling demonstrates how politics, ethnicity, class, and religion interferes with an expected solidarity amongst women. She argues for viewing gender as relational identity, and not as social difference, as for example in the Harvard Framework (cf. Okali, 2011). This shows that a homogeneous perspective on women, when talking about women's empowerment, may exclude marginalized women, e.g. Dalits, and may not lead to the change expected. Joshi's study challenges empowerment as neutral concept addressing practical interventions and argue for analyzing, understanding and including structural and political issues obstructing empowerment.

Only few studies have considered women's perspectives and understandings of empowerment. The earlier mentioned study of Guérin et al. (2013) points out that women are "not necessarily looking for autonomy and independence from men, but rather for respect within their own community" (also see

Basu, 1995; Kabeer, 2001; Cornwall, 2007: Ciotti, 2009). During their empirical study on microfinance in Tamil Nadu, many women did not understand the term empowerment, but when explained, defined them in their own words as the ability "to solve problems" and "to manage suffering" (Guérin et al., 2013, p. 80). Some related this to material constrains, while others related empowerment to the freedom of mobility and being respected by the family. These shows that women perceive their empowerment not as emancipation from male domination, but in relation to other women, their husbands, families and communities.

7. Patriarchal bargains and cooperative conflicts

An important consideration on decision-making is the negotiation, and possibly manipulation of power relations and *patriarchal bargains.* Patriarchal bargains describe how "women strategize within a set of constraints… to maximize security and optimize life options with varying potential for active or passive resistance in the face of oppression" (Kandiyoti, 1988, p. 274). Kandiyoti (1988) describes a continuum from less cooperative household, in her example of relative autonomy of mother-child unit in polygamy in Sub-Saharan Africa, to more cooperate male-headed families in South Asia which are marked by subservience and manipulation. In the former example, women openly resist patriarchy, while in the latter of "classic patriarchy" (Kandiyoti, 1988, p. 278), women accommodate to the internal logic of the patriarchal system. The conceptualization of these bargains offer a systemic perspective to analyze women's agency within the power relations of patriarchy. Sharp et al. (2003) provide an interesting example with the empirical analysis of Bedouin women in Southern Egypt by analyzing gender relations to the effect that women prefer subordination rather than empowerment as they experience greater advantage by not challenging the established order. To understand these differing realities is what Bourdieu (1977) calls "doxa", the traditions and culture beyond discourse and argumentation which "have become naturalized" (in Kabeer, 1999, p. 441).

Sen (1990) views gender relations at the intra-household level as *cooperative conflicts*, as both, *cooperation* (adding to total availabilities) and *conflict* (dividing the total availabilities among the members of the household) are simultaneously involved. He includes in his cooperative-conflicts model objective and *perceived* personal welfare, levels of contribution, and breakdown positions as influencing bargaining outcomes. Also perception may have an impact on bargaining outcomes. For example, the absence of protest and questioning of inequality is no evidence of the absence of inequality, which otherwise may turn towards the danger of legitimizing an unequal order (Sen 1990: 126). Similarly, Freire (1996) has argued for the need of developing a critical consciousness to break the silence on injustice.

Jackson (2013) criticizes in Sen's model the assumption of lower self-perceptions of personal welfare among women and on the role of cash contributions to the household as the basis of bargaining power. With experimental evidence on money allocations with husbands and wives that proved that wives do not pool more money than their husbands, she contradicts the stereotype that women are more altruistic, oriented to collective well-being, and have a lower sense of personal welfare than men. She argues instead for a more nuanced characterization of the breakdown positions by including women's reproductive work and domestic labor, similarly to Rao (2014). She further argues that Sen's assumption of an internalized

false consciousness "could also be a culturally approved representation in speech rather than an authentic expression of self-devaluation: or it could be an accurate understanding of individual well-being as dependent…. on the well-being of others" (Jackson, 2013). With this, she also argues for a more relational and multi-dimensional idea of well-being than individual capabilities as well as conjugal intra-household relations.

The assumption that women's participation in decision-making bodies and grassroots organizations empowers women is rejected by Agarwal (2001), as she stresses the point that participatory institutions are not necessarily inclusive in decision-making on the management of natural resources. She distinguishes between nominal, passive, consultative, activity-specific, active and interactive types of participation, of which only *interactive participation* represents effective participation. Interactive participation can be a measure of citizenship and a means of empowerment, which also effects equity, efficiency, and sustainability of community management of natural resources. However, as Zwarteveen and Neupane (1996) have shown, women can despite non-participation in decision-making bodies have a strong agency and access to resources. Participation is determined by *rules, social norms* (such as gender segregation of public space, gender division of labor and gendered behavioral norms) and *social perceptions*. Agarwal assumes that women's abilities to change these factors depend on their *bargaining power with the state, the community and the family, but women can have more subtle, manipulative and deceptive influence on shaping access to resources*. She introduces a bargaining framework for enhancing participation, in which she points out the relevance of enhanced self-confidence and a critical mass of women (in number and with a willingness for change) with a sense of group identity beyond class and caste to express their opinions and to be heard. She also mentions improved male perceptions about women's capabilities and weakened social norms as drivers for enhancing participation.

Das & Nicholas (1981, in Sen, 1990: 126) criticize the viability of personal welfare approaches in societies with strong family-centered perceptions of identity, as it is difficult for e.g. an Indian rural woman to talk about her own welfare if her answer would solely be concerned with the welfare of her family. This may also hold true for the WEAI questionnaire, as O'Hara and Clement (forthcoming) identified a strong correlation between the empowerment of husbands and wives, as well as difficulties in identifying individual scores of empowerment. They recommend to add qualitative questions on women's own perception of empowerment.

Further to this, I suggest to include qualitative questions on perceptions, which could strengthen quantitative measures towards a more processual and relational perspective, such as adding a question to time measurements whether the interviewee's feel overburdened with work, and how people assess their own skills, knowledge and influence on decision-making processes. Subtle and manipulative forms of decision making may take place through agency in the reproductive sphere, and thus the interviewee's satisfaction in terms of their contribution to both productive and reproductive spheres, could be measured. Additionally, women's estimation of their own influence on their children, husband, mother-in-law, father-in-law and other women from their social network could be measured. Furthermore, it is crucial to identify whether women have a range of options to choose from, as they could be responsible for making decisions, but not actually have choices. Particularly women-headed households in the course of the feminization of agriculture may be considered as empowered as they are the major decision-makers, but at the same time they could feel overburdened and limited in their choices. To bring a long

term perspective into changes in decision-making, it could be measured how people perceive change in their own empowerment in different dimensions in the last five or ten years.

8. Linkages to resilience

As a concept originally based on ecological principles, evolved framings of resilience offer several opportunities to reflect on women's empowerment, particularly in the agricultural sector. Resilience describes the capacity of a system to experience shocks while retaining function, structure, feedback capabilities and therefore identity (Walker et al. 2006). Adaptive capacities relate to decision-making processes and actions undertaken to adjust a socio-ecological system to future shocks, stresses, or other changing conditions (Nelson et al. 2007). How does women's empowerment interact with resilience in the context of other socio-economic drivers of change, such as increasing male out-migration, and environmental or climate change? This section will provide different insights from studies on how to conceptualize links of women's empowerment and resilience to climate change risks.

One opportunity the resilience concept offers is to look into spatial and temporal scales. As an approach to understand socio-ecological systems, levels and interactions of household, community, institutions and policy level are incooperated into a resilience perspective. Besides a spatial scale, change over time becomes an important variable. A temporal scale offers perspectives to envision wider socio-ecological change, particularly when focusing on adaptability, or adaptive capacities, and transformability, as normative concept, instead of its initial definition "to bounce back or return to equilibrium following disturbance, or 'engineering resilience'" (Armitage, Béné, Charles, Johnson, & Allison, 2012).

For a hybrid approach to complex human-ecological systems, Armitage et al. (2012) attempt to unpack the social dimensions of socio-ecological resilience by linking it to well-being to include relational and subjective dimensions. They argue that the interplay of these two concepts "allow for a fuller analysis of the material, relational, and subjective aspects of people's lives (…) necessary to define resilience of 'what, to what, and for whom'" (p. 25) as it provide better insights for optimization thinking, the role of human agency and values, understandings of scale, "controlling variables" and threshold and boundaries.

Similarly, resilience could be linked to the particular conceptualizations of empowerment reviewed earlier. One could estimate to which extent different dimensions or indicators for empowerment influence resilience, and how Luke's three-dimensional view of power could be linked to resilience. Taking Kabeer's definition into account, the relationship of material, social and human resources, the decision-making process, and well-being outcomes can be examined for their impact on resilience. Most importantly, the awareness, the individual availability of and ability to make choices needs to be placed in the particular setting, as well as the degree to which a setting is an enabling environment needs to be taken into account separately to analyze them in regard to resilience. It may be possible that empowered women, e.g. according to the WEAI, are not more resilient than disempowered women, possibly because particular wider structural factors are excluded, or because some dimensions of empowerment are more relevant to resilience than others. Hence, to assess whether empowered women are more resilient, it is necessary to examine to which extent each dimension or indicator of empowerment influences resilience. One could further examine to which extent close relationships and individual or collective empowerment play out for resilience. According to Mahmud et al. (2012), women's self-esteem is particularly relevant,

which could strongly influence the perception and attitude on their adaptive capacities and hence their resilience.

Furthermore, the underlying conceptualization of power needs to be unpacked in a particular setting to determine how resilience can be increased. To what extent does "power to", "power over", "power within" and "power with" influence resilience? The second and third dimension of Luke's power perspectives may embed resilience in a wider context for social change, as it is questioned *how* control over the political agenda is practiced and *how* potential issues are kept out of political processes. Non-participation in decision-making may make people more vulnerable to hazards, and particular values, beliefs and institutional practices may exclude women to become resilient. A well-cited case is the restricted mobility of women and the danger of sexual harassment which prevents women from staying in shelters (e.g. Climate Change Cell, 2009). When women's consciousness is influenced by the power of values and institutional practices to such an extent that they are not even aware of their opportunities to enhance their resilience, empowerment interventions to promote resilience have to engage with and challenge these existing cultural structures.

Similarly, Folke (2006) points out linkages of resilience to other social concepts such as social learning, adaptive capacity and knowledge-system integration, which benefit from change analysis in temporal and spatial scales. He identifies resilience concepts emerging from a narrow technological focus to the inclusion of broader social dimensions (Fig. 6).

Resilience concepts	Characteristics	Focus on	Context
Engineering resilience	Return time, efficiency	Recovery, constancy	Vicinity of a stable equilibrium
Ecological/ecosystem resilience social resilience	Buffer capacity, withstand shock, maintain function	Persistence, robustness	Multiple equilibria, stability landscapes
Social–ecological resilience	Interplay disturbance and reorganization, sustaining and developing	Adaptive capacity transformability, learning, innovation	Integrated system feedback, cross-scale dynamic interactions

Fig. 6: Resilience concepts from a narrow interpretation to a broader socio-ecological perspective (Folke, 2006)

The link to adaptive capacity seems especially relevant when addressing changing gender relations in the agricultural sector. As, for example, Bhattarai, Beilin, and Ford (2015, p. 130) examine in the context of agrobiodiversity management and climate change in Hansapur, Kaski District in Nepal, they state that

> *"the gender–adaptation link is not straightforward, requiring a nuanced view of the interplay between gendered forms of knowledge, power, and decision-making practices in specific social, political, and environmental contexts. Second, gender equity in adaptation cannot be achieved without taking into account other intersecting social differences based on class, ethnicity/race, and other cultural forms of marginalization common throughout the development sphere, such as caste within the study site. Third, the interface of gender and climate adaptation occurs at multiple scales:*

> *household, community, national, and international levels; and adaptive capacity of households and communities is contingent upon how gender forms of knowledge and power are linked or disconnected across scales."*

Adger (2006) stresses common elements of interest between vulnerability and resilience research such as shocks and stresses experienced by the social-ecological system, the response of the system, and the capacity for adaptive action. It may be worth to note that several theoretical overlaps exist to other concepts focusing on multi-scale and multi-level challenges in global change discussions, such as sustainability and robustness (Anderies, Folke, Walker, & Ostrom, 2013). Ostrom (2007) integrated different variables into a multitier framework for the study of socio-ecological systems (SES) to overcome simplified models for universal solutions. Locke, Kantor, Morgan, and Kawarazula (2014) argue for linking SES to feminist political ecology (FPE) to address power and agency, intersectionality, and critical reflexivity, as well as "going beyond below the community level" and, to ask from a gender perspective: "resilience of what, for whom and at what cost?". This would allow to unpack resilience in terms of its biases within societies strongly structured by gender, class, caste, and other social divides, and enable a context-specific, yet (post-)structural perspective of power relations influencing resilience.

Based on a literature review of 68 articles, Keck and Sakdapolrak (2013) argue for the concept of social resilience addressing questions of human agency, social practices, power relations, institutions, and discourses. They acknowledge three fundamental principles of social resilience "that make it a concept in the making, which moves beyond its initial meaning, referring simply to actors' capacity to respond, and enlarged to encompass actors' capacity to learn and adapt; now the concept also includes their capacity to participate in governance processes and to transform societal structures themselves" (Keck & Sakdapolrak, 2013, p. 13). The three important dimensions of social resilience include (Fig. 7):

> *"social actors' capacities to cope with and to overcome all kinds of immediate adversities (coping capacities), their capacities to learn from past experiences and adjust themselves to pressing new challenges in the future (adaptive capacities), and their capacities to craft institutions that foster individual welfare and sustainable societal robustness in the event of present and future crises (transformative capacities)."*

	Coping capacities	Adaptive capacities	Transformative capacities
Response to risk	ex-post	ex-ante	ex-ante
Temporal scope	short-term	long-term	long-term
Degree of change	low, status quo	medium, incremental change	high, radical change
Outcome	restoration of present level of well-being	security of future well-being	enhancement of present and future well-being

Fig. 7: Three capacities of social resilience (Keck & Sakdapolrak, 2013, p. 10)

They further urge to include "context, feedback and connectedness" in a resilience context, while also considering "power, politics, participation" (Keck & Sakdapolrak, 2013, p. 13). In short, many attempts of linking resilience to social concepts have given greater insights into socio-ecological change. Thus, it may be worth to use aspects of the concept to embed a gender perspective in wider human-environment interactions.

While so far, social sciences have not attempted to examine possible conceptual linkages of empowerment and resilience, the research discipline of community psychology developed such a transconceptual model (Brodsky & Cattaneo, 2013). Acknowledging that the lack of consensus regarding the both concepts' definition, operationalization, and measurement as well as both concepts' boundaries and interaction is particularly concerning when the terms are used together or interchangeably, the authors recognize these commonalities: empowerment and resilience are both strengths-based approaches, which support marginalized communities and recognize and promote local capacity, local values and cultural contexts to improve quality of life by attending to resources that are inherent or able to be developed within the individual and community. Hence Brodsky and Cattaneo (2013) name the goal determinants context, power differentials, risks, and resources which interact as "kindred community concepts" and view resilience internally and empowerment externally (Fig. 8). The visualization of their contextualization demonstrates that both concepts as processes of action and reflection are embedded within a context of fundamental risk and are based on shared resources.

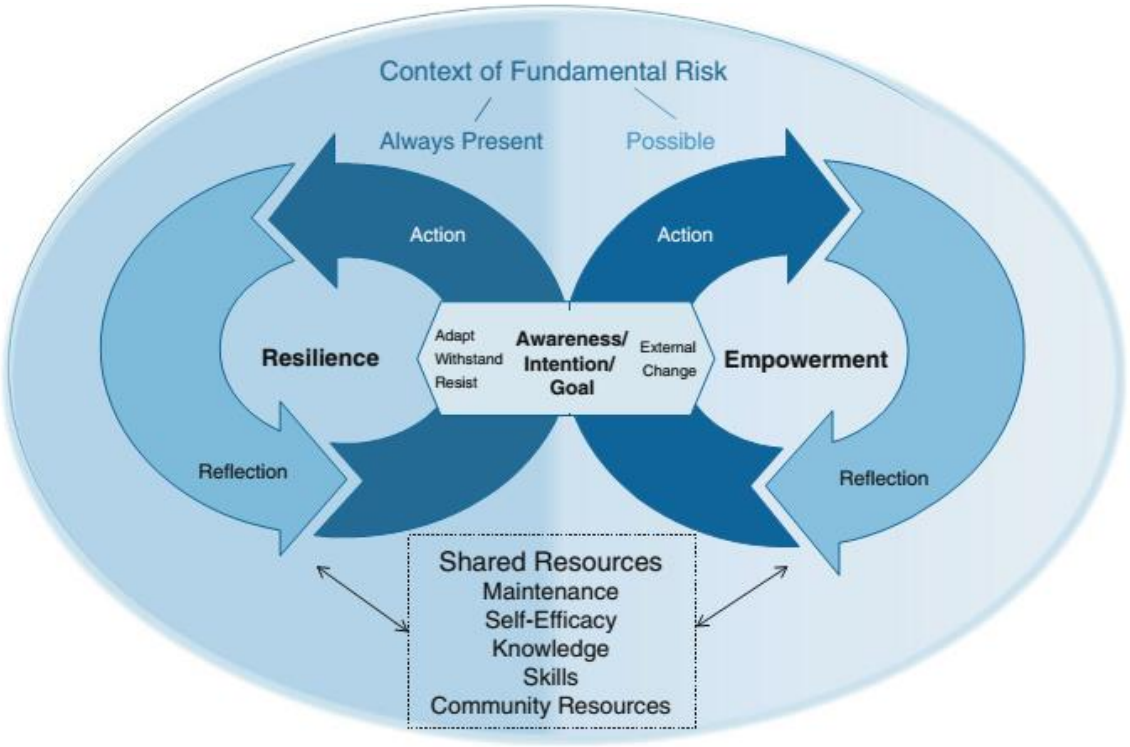

Fig. 8: Transconceptual model of empowerment and resilience (TMER) by the community psychologists Brodsky and Cattaneo (2013)

Although the understanding of the concepts fundamentally differ from those perspectives in developing contexts, this presents one method of linking these concepts. Possible conceptualizations for developing

contests could be a particular link of women's empowerment to capacities of social resilience. Especially when considering the links of women's empowerment to their household's or community's resilience, empowerment must be seen as a complex *process* which needs to consider gendered power *relations* in its particular *context* and within both productive and reproductive *spheres*. The mentioned studies in this review show that agency also comprises covert negotiation and decision-making processes and that social and human resources in their particular context can play a decisive role on the extent of women's empowerment. This, however, signifies that achievements are valued differently according to its particular contexts and thus aggravate the measurement and comparability of empowerment. However, in-depths analysis can reveal multiple forms and processes of empowerment, which may even gain greater insights when linked to the wider perspective of climate resilience.

9. Conclusion

This literature review has highlighted a relational and processual perspective of empowerment, with Kabeer (1999) providing a theoretical underpinning of empowerment in resources, agency and achievements and Rowland (1998) distinguishing between "power within", "power with" and "power to" (cf. Fig.9). These conceptualisations of empowerment contrast operationalisations of empowerment in form of measuring decision-making (Alkire et al. 2013) and the presence, use and effectiveness of choice (Longwe 1995), as these represent an individualized and situational perspective on empowerment. Lukes three-dimensional view of power gives insights to which extent studies, frameworks and indices engage with structural forms of power. His perspective highlights that engagement in decision-making is only a behavioural analysis and does not examine covert conflicts demonstrable in form of grievances, or even power operating within a particular system to such an extent, that perceptions are manipulated.

Empirical studies such as Rao (2014), Zwarteveen & Neupane (1996), Joshi (2014) and Guerin et al. (2013) debunk certain assumptions such as that economic empowerment will lead to overall empowerment or that the participation in decision-making processes will empower women. These qualitative studies provide a more nuanced understanding of factors influencing and mediating empowerment. Such an understanding of empowerment is related to other concepts in gender and development research, such as Kandiyoti's (1988) "patriarchal bargains" and Sen's (2014) "cooperative conflicts".

Most importantly, empowerment needs to be viewed as a highly contextualized, multi-dimensional process on which women themselves have differing perspectives. Hence it is important to understand subjectivities and the respective influencing factors and their interlinkage in specific contexts. Approaches to understand empowerment as relational and processual concept take social structures and agency into account. The linkage to resilience may bring a focus on how interventions can target particular dimensions of empowerment to foster coping, adaptive and transformative capacities to effectively participate in decision-making processes which translate into resilience.

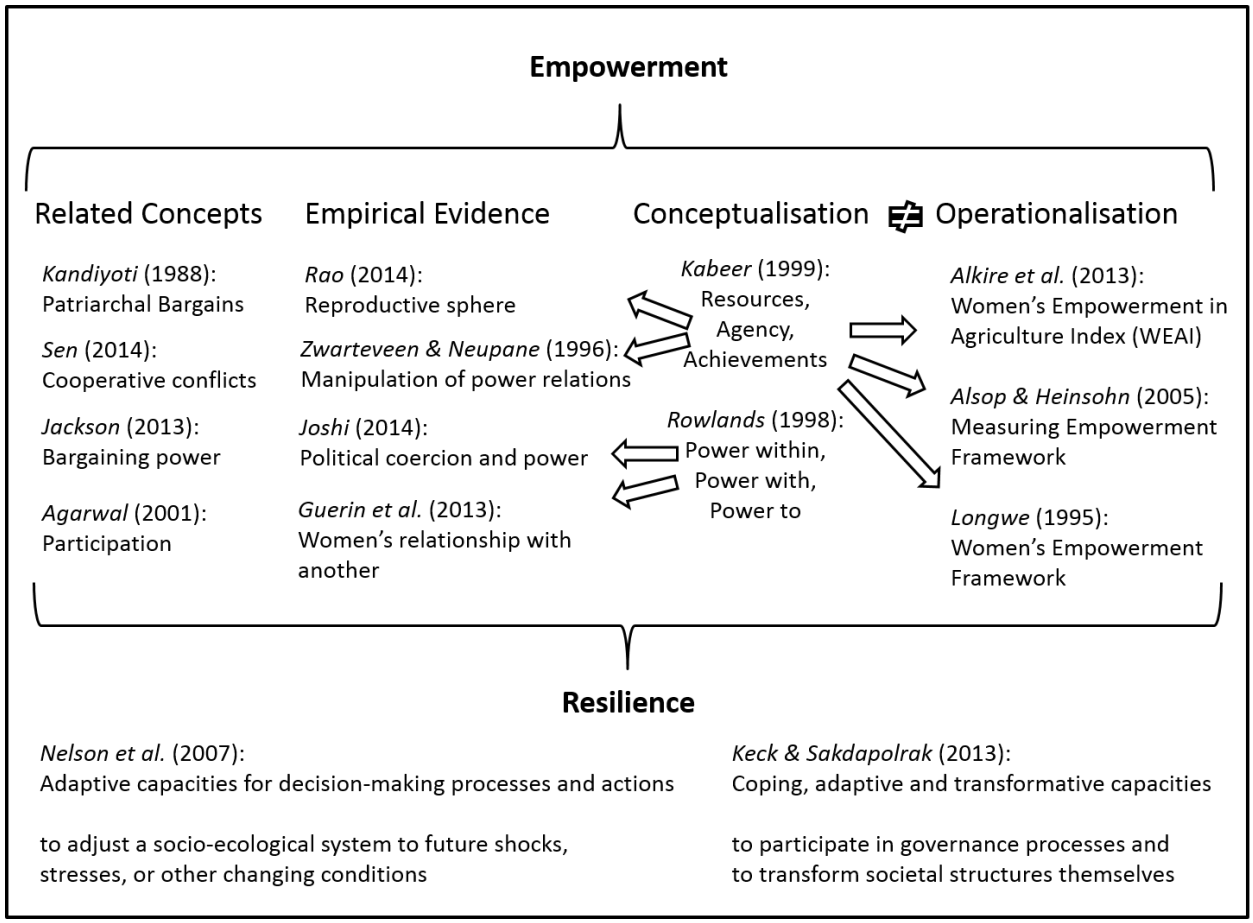

Fig. 9: Conceptualisation and operationalisation of empowerment in the reviewed literature (source: own draft)

10. Appendix

DOMAIN		CONTRIBUTORY FACTOR	LEVEL		
	Sub-domain		Macro	Intermediary	Local
State	Justice	Agency (A)[1]	Degree of Empowerment (DOE) [3]		
		Opportunity Structure (OS)[2]			
	Politics	A			
		OS			
	Service Delivery	A			
		OS			
Market	Credit	A			
		OS			
	Labor	A			
		OS			
	Goods	A			
		OS			
		OS			
Society	Family	A			
		OS			
	Community	A			
		OS			

[1] Agency: measured through endowment of psychological, informational, organizational, material, financial, and human assets.
[2] Opportunity Structure: measured through presence and operation of informal and formal rules.
[3] Degree of Empowerment: measured through presence of choice, use of choice, effectiveness of choice.

Fig. 10: Measuring Empowerment (ME) Framework (Alsop & Heinsohn, 2005)

Type of power relation	An 'agency' approach to empowerment	Transforming 'structures' for empowerment
Power Over: the ability to coerce and influence the actions and thoughts of the powerless	Changes in power relations within households and communities and at the macro level, e.g. increased role in decision making and bargaining power	Respect equal rights of others, challenge to inequality and unfair privileges
Power To: the capacity to act, to organise and change existing hierarchies	Increased skills, access and control over income and resources, and access to markets and networks	Increased skills and resources to challenge injustice and inequality faced by *others*
Power With: increased power from collective action, social mobilisation and alliance building	Organisation of the less powerful to enhance abilities to change power relations Increased participation of the less powerful	Supportive organisation of those with power to challenge injustice, inequality, discrimination and stigma
Power from Within: increased individual consciousness, self-dignity and awareness	Increased confidence and awareness of choices and rights; widened aspirations and ability to transform aspiration into action	Changes in attitudes and stereotypes; commitment to change

Fig. 11: Operational implications from an agency and a structural perspective of empowerment (Luttrell et al., 2009, adapted from Mayoux 2003)

Type of power relation	Economic capability	Human and social capability	Cultural and psychological capability	Political and legal capability	Protective capabilities
Power Over: the ability to coerce and influence the actions and thoughts of the powerless	Women gaining increased control over income from loans, saving and household production. Ethnic minorities increase their ability to challenge discrimination in access to resources and markets. Wives gain control over productive assets and property.	Women increase control over household consumption and decision making.	Immigrant groups are able to challenge cultural perceptions at community and household levels.	Involvement of ethnic minorities in formal decision making. Engagement with positions of authority by low-caste groups.	Children increase their individual ability to defend against violence.
Power To: the capacity to act, to organise and change existing hierarchies	New immigrants increase their access to income and microfinance. The burden of unpaid work and childcare on women is reduced.	Increased literary skills among Afro-Caribbean boys. Improved health and nutrition status among those with HIV. Urban migrants increase their awareness of, and access to, public welfare services.	Increased mobility and access beyond household for the disabled.	Knowledge of legal and political processes and removal of formal barriers suffered by low-caste groups.	The reduction of risk, vulnerability and insecurity for the over-70s.
Power With: increased power from collective action, social mobilisation and alliance building	International women's groups collectively challenge discrimination.	NGO coalitions develop joint action for increased public welfare provision.	Increased status and dignity among *dalit* groups.	Participation in movements by informal sector workers to challenge subordination. National networks of community forestry groups lobby for their interests.	Access to networks by the disabled which provide support in times of crisis. Joint action ethnic minorities groups to defend others against abuse.
Power from Within: increased individual consciousness, self-dignity and awareness	Increased levels of self-esteem and recognition of individual economic contribution among immigrant groups. Desire by women for equal rights to resources.	Increased confidence and happiness of the over-70s. Desire by the disabled to take decisions about self and others. Desire by informal sector workers for equal wellbeing.	Increased assertiveness, self-esteem and sense of autonomy among sex workers. Recognition of the need to challenge cultural subordination by *dalits.*	Desire of immigrants to engage in cultural, legal and political processes. Recognition of the need among ethnic minorities to challenge legal discrimination and political exclusion.	Increased resilience for low-income groups to shocks, disasters, economic crises.

Fig. 12: Examples of outcomes on assets (capabilities) of different definitions of power on a variety of scales (individual, household, group etc.), based on Luttrell et al. (2009, p. 8)

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12. Table of Figures