Glass Walls:

Experimental Evidence on Access Constraints Faced by Women*

Ali Cheema, Asim I Khwaja, Farooq Naseer, Jacob N Shapiro[†]

This draft: October 2019

PRELIMINARY DRAFT

Abstract

Individuals progress when they are better able to access the opportunities offered to them. Yet many, especially women, often face significant barriers in doing so. This paper provides evidence on such access constraints in the context of skill acquisition. Using experimental evidence from rural Pakistan, we show that physical distance poses a significant hurdle. Women whose villages are randomly selected to receive a training center are more than three times as likely to enroll and complete a skills development course than women who have to travel an average distance of just a few kilometers. Over half of this penalty is paid simply upon crossing the (virtual) village boundary and therefore cannot be readily reconciled with time or economic costs associated with travel. Instead, this "boundary effect" is likely due to noneconomic/social costs women face when temporarily leaving their village. This constraint is costly to compensate. Using exogenous variation in stipend offered, we estimate that an amount equivalent to half of monthly household expenditure would need to be paid to allow women to cross this boundary. In examining interventions that may ameliorate this barrier, we find that while informational and social interventions have little impact, providing reliable group transportation goes a long way in addressing this access constraint. Our results further suggest the boundary effect is due to social perceptions that constrain women's agency and mobility: It is lower for women who enjoy more influence over domestic affairs, have fewer dependents, higher social status, and are from more ethnically diverse communities. Our work suggests that while non-economic obstacles faced by women are indeed substantial, policy interventions attuned to the local context can offer feasible ways to ameliorate them.

^{*}This project is the result of collaboration among many people. We thank Rosemary Berberian, Ismail Khan, Yanchuan Liu, Kunal Mangal, Guillermo Palacios Diaz, and Landin Smith for outstanding research assistance in Cambridge and Rehan Hassan, Hasan Murtza, Rania Nasir, Sahaab Sheikh, Wafa Masood, Sarah Shaukat, Anam Shoaib, Sameem Siddiqui, Minahil Raza, and Maheen Jahangir Nawabi for outstanding research assistance in Lahore. We are grateful to the seminar participants at the AALIMS - Princeton Conference, Boston College, Cornell University, ITAM, Sussex University, Paris School of Economics, Toulouse School of Economics, Aix-Marseille School of Economics, Trinity College, UC San Diego, and USC for their comments. This paper was funded through support from DfID Pakistan, DfID and IZA's GLM LIC programme, IDRC's GrOW program, and the WAPPP at the Harvard Kennedy School. The views expressed here are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of the many individuals or organizations acknowledged here.

[†]Cheema: Associate Professor of Economics, Lahore University of Management Sciences; cheema@lums.edu.pk. Khwaja: Professor of Public Policy, Harvard Kennedy School; khwaja@hks.harvard.edu. Naseer: Assistant Professor of Economics, Lahore University of Management Sciences; farooqn@lums.edu.pk. Shapiro: Professor of Politics and International Aairs, Princeton University; jns@princeton.edu.