A Focus on Gender Inequality

ANNUAL REPORT 2023

Yale Economic Growth Center
About EGC

The Economic Growth Center (EGC) is Yale’s hub for economics research and teaching on issues relating to lower-income economies and the advancement of their populations. It was established in 1961 with funding from the Ford Foundation as the first research center at a major US university devoted to the quantitative analysis of lower-income economies. It quickly became the home of Yale’s master’s program in International and Development Economics (IDE), which continues to educate development researchers and policymakers. EGC is housed in the Yale Economics Department and hosts multiple research initiatives and programs. It supports the wider research community by enabling open access to large-scale surveys conducted by its researchers. It also supports policy outreach through communications and events.

EGC researchers investigate the links between economic growth, structural transformation, public policy, and individual outcomes, with a focus on how inequality and a changing climate affect individuals, especially those from marginalized groups. EGC researchers consider the political economy of development and how public policy can promote economic justice. Many EGC research projects occur in collaboration with governments and other policy actors, resulting in a direct link between research findings and the lives of millions of people.

“In the past year, EGC has successfully brought together researchers working in diverse fields across the entire Yale economics community to tackle some of the most important challenges facing developing economies today, including climate change, market failures, and gender inequality.”

EGC AFFILIATE PINELopi KOUJIANOU GOLDBERG, ELIHU PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS AND PROFESSOR OF MANAGEMENT AT YALE
A Focus on Gender Inequality

In 2024, more than half of the world's population will vote in national elections. This fact is particularly salient for the roughly two billion women who will be eligible to vote. The past century has witnessed a transformation of women's opportunities, and it is no coincidence that over the same period, much of the world has shifted to systems of electoral representative democracy that mandate full female suffrage.

However, globally we are seeing a resurgence of populist administrations that often promote an ideology that emphasizes a gendered division of labor and limits on individual agency, with women's primary responsibilities relating to the care economy, irrespective of whether it reflects their preferences. Often this is accompanied by a failure to invest in institutions that provide social and environmental protection to citizens, especially those from marginalized communities with limited political influence. Such failures disproportionately harm women: since they are overall less wealthy, they are less able to protect themselves against shocks, without governmental intervention — a prospect less likely under a socially conservative rule. We observed this effect with the Covid-19 pandemic, and we are seeing it again with the increasing climate shocks that the planet is currently experiencing.

An economy where half of the population is effectively unable to reach its full potential will likely grow more slowly overall, than one where women can compete in the labor market on equal terms, and where the costs of reproductive labor are collectively shared. Similarly, an economy where the negative environmental consequences of growth are prevented by well-implemented regulation will likely be more conducive to human welfare, long-term, than one where women, minorities, and the poor are left exposed to shocks from climate breakdown while the rich spend an increasing proportion of their income trying to protect themselves.

EGC researchers are exploring a more comprehensive and inclusive vision of growth. An early motivation for this work was provided by Simon Kuznets, a founding figure for EGC, who in his 1971 Nobel Prize acceptance speech described the under-recognized costs and benefits of processes that accompany structural transformation. Moving to the city might increase wages, he noted, but it can also disrupt communities. He continued: the hidden costs and returns involved in the shift toward urban life may apply to many other costs and returns involved in other shifts imposed by economic growth, for example, in the character of participation in economic activity, in the social values, and in the new pressures on deviant members of society. EGC is now at the forefront of efforts to understand women's roles in the economy. In addition to conducting economic research that sheds light on gender disparities, several of our affiliates are actively engaged in policy debates about how low- and middle-income countries can foster more inclusive economic growth.

Two billion women of women across the planet have the opportunity to vote this year. As they do so, in an environment where misinformation is often prevalent, we hope to be able to do our own small part in helping to give them the facts they need to vote in their own interest.

In this context, this year's Annual Report has a thematic focus on gender inequality. Our new Gender and Growth Gaps project was launched in November 2022 to explore the economic dimensions and consequences of gender inequality in lower-income countries, taking into account contextual factors like norms, institutions, economic structure, and growth dynamics. Our Kuznets speaker in 2023, Eléana La Ferrara, discussed her research on how policy and behavioral interventions can change harmful social norms, including gender discrimination and practices like female genital cutting. Following La Ferrara's lecture, the Kuznets Mini-Conference showcased the work of early career researchers focused on topics related to the lecture, including interventions to address gender inequalities. EGC and a range of partners — including Inclusion Economics, an EGC-MacMillan Center joint research initiative that studies ways to promote the equitable distribution of power and opportunity — have co-hosted gender-focused policy and research conferences in South and East Asia. Our EGC History Project paid tribute to Nancy Folbre, an EGC postdoc in the 1970's, who went on to be a brilliant analyst of the care economy.

We invite you to read about this work — as well as the EGC community's research, programming, teaching, and mentoring across a broad range of areas of international development.

EGC exists to support the many students and scholars at Yale whose research and teaching is engaged with the study of economic growth and individual well-being in lower-income countries. This year, like every year, we follow EGC's long tradition of measuring growth's costs while working to understand how its benefits can be shared more equally — and exploring the policies and interventions that help bring those changes about. Please feel free to email us with any thoughts or suggestions on our priorities and direction in the coming years.

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Yale Associate Professor of Economics
Yale University, economics, environmental policy, international trade, and more.

Meet our newly arrived faculty affiliates, specializing in labor economics, environmental policy, international trade, and more.

Eliana La Ferrara's lecture on how policy and behavioral interventions can change social norms that harm women and girls. March 2, 2023. Read about Eliana La Ferrara's lecture on how policy and behavioral interventions can change social norms that harm women and girls.

The 32nd annual Kuznets Memorial Lecture took place on March 2, 2023. Read about Eliana La Ferrara's lecture on how policy and behavioral interventions can change social norms that harm women and girls.

The Founding Women of EGC

Teaching & Mentorship
Outreach & Engagement
EGC Programs, Initiatives, & Project
EGC Updates
EGC Team
Looking Ahead
Economics, environmental policy, specializing in labor
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Enable the Yale development economics community to maximize its contributions and impact.

**EGC Mission**

**EGC Five-Year Goals (2021-2026)**

1. Continue leadership as a world-recognized research center in international development with global impact via research, training, and policy engagement.
2. Further EGC faculty contributions in research, teaching, and strategic engagement.
3. Structurally and financially fortify EGC as an institution with a robust and sustainable growth path ahead.

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**EGC by the Numbers**

- 37 faculty affiliates
- 588 IDE Masters students since 2000
- 164,324 people reached through online communications channels
- 27 Yale College and graduate interns
- 9,190 attendees and viewers across 23 events

**$850k awarded by EGC in student fellowships and research grants**

- 35 publications in top-tier academic journals
- 20+ focus countries

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**Cumulative Figures since 2019**

- 147 journal publications
- 85 Yale College and graduate interns
- 57,000 attendees and viewers across 51 events
- 254,857 people reached through online communications channels

**Over $10.5 million in external research grants**

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*As of July 1, 2023, or during the 2022-23 Academic Year*
Looking Ahead

Firms, Trade, and Development Conference

How can policymakers navigate the path to sustainable growth in developing markets with their unique constraints, manage the intricate interplay between markets and firms, and identify and implement solutions to market challenges? On October 19th and 20th, researchers engaged with these questions at Yale and the London School of Economics (LSE) during the 2023 Firms, Trade, and Development Conference, a collaborative effort between EGC’s Markets and Development Initiative and the International Growth Centre at LSE.

Climate, Energy, and Growth Initiative

2024 will see the launch of EGC’s Climate, Energy, and Growth Initiative, led by affiliate Nicholas Ryan. The initiative seeks to generate pioneering research on energy markets and environmental regulation with policy relevance for low- and middle-income countries. It will provide a focal point for EGC work on energy markets and climate change and a platform to share data and insights from EGC projects.

Yale Climate, Environment, and Economic Growth Conference

What is the future of economic growth in the climate transition? The 2023 Yale Climate, Environment, and Economic Growth Conference, held on November 9th and 10th, brought together a diverse group of researchers and policymakers to discuss and share research that addresses the measurement and implications of climate and environmental breakdowns. Several central themes were highlighted, including the importance of localized adaptation research in low- and middle-income countries, the need for sound regulatory reforms and oversight of renewable energy markets, and the integration of micro and macroeconomic research to effectively bolster climate-related research and policy insights. Nobel laureate Estelle Dubois from MIT highlighted the pressing “triple climate inequality crisis,” emphasizing climate change’s disproportionate impacts on poorer nations and peoples. The conference, led by EGC in partnership with the Yale School of the Environment and Yale’s Tobin Center for Economic Policy, emphasized the importance of interdisciplinary collaboration and community engagement for tackling these global challenges. This event was EGC’s first engagement with Yale Planetary Solutions.

Second Conference of “Bridging the Atlantic: Migrations and their Legacies”

As part of the “Bridging the Atlantic: Migrations and their Legacies” project, which examines the role of forced and voluntary migration on the economic development of the Americas region, EGC and the MacMillan Center co-sponsored a conference on “Rule and Resistance in Colonial Spanish America” on December 8th and 9th, 2023.

Festschrift honoring Naomi Lamoreaux

On April 26th and 27th, 2024, EGC will host a mini-conference in honor of EGC affiliate Naomi Lamoreaux. “Charting the Future of Economics, Governance, and Economic Development in the United States and Beyond” will explore the future direction of multidisciplinary research on the organization of firms and corporations, innovation and patents, and archival research — topics on which Lamoreaux has made significant contributions over her exceptional career.
EGC Updates

The EGC community continues to grow. EGC has welcomed new faculty affiliates, postdoctoral scholars, and visiting faculty, while also launching a new program to bring short-term visitors to Yale.

New EGC Affiliates 2023

David Argente
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS, YALE SCHOOL OF MANAGEMENT

Argente’s research interests include applied macroeconomics, macro development, innovation, and monetary economics. His recent research examines the use of alternative payment methods in lower-income countries.

“I am thrilled to join the Latin America and the Caribbean initiative of the Economic Growth Center, where I have discovered a dynamic community passionately driving forward solutions for the challenges in our region. We are dedicated to actively contributing to the positive reshaping of our region, leveraging insights gained from our ongoing research endeavors.”

Mayara Felix
POSTDOCTORAL ASSOCIATE 2023-24, YALE COWLES FOUNDATION & ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS AND GLOBAL AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS AND JACKSON SCHOOL OF GLOBAL AFFAIRS STARTING 2024-25

Felix will join Yale’s Department of Economics and Jackson School of Global Affairs as an Assistant Professor of Economics and Global Affairs in 2024. Her research interests include economic development, international trade, and labor economics, with a focus on the effects of liberalization-related reforms. Her recent research analyzes corporate tax reforms in Indonesia and trade and outsourcing reforms in Brazil.

“EGC’s resources and unique stewardship make me feel so lucky to be at Yale. I think that extreme dedication to the pursuit of answers to policy-relevant questions is what unifies us, and this is done so successfully because, as in the Yale Economics Department as a whole, EGC fosters a uniquely supportive environment where data, empirical methods, and theory all have room to contribute to the knowledge frontier.”

Eli Fenichel
KNOBLOCH FAMILY PROFESSOR OF NATURAL RESOURCE ECONOMICS, YALE SCHOOL OF THE ENVIRONMENT

Fenichel researches natural resource management and valuation, as well as human behavior and the dynamics of infectious diseases. Natural capital valuation, fisheries, infectious illness, groundwater, tropical forests, and grasslands are just a few of the systems where his work is being used.

“What economic growth is exactly, how do we measure it, and create policy to achieve it are persistent questions in economics. Yale EGC continues to push the frontiers with a clear understanding that measures of marketable output (e.g., GDP) are necessary, but hardly sufficient, to guide economic development policy. I am honored to be part of EGC’s efforts to push economic thought forward in order to expand understanding of what economic growth is and how to measure and act on expanded understanding of economic growth.”
Ilse Lindenlaub
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, YALE DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS

Lindenlaub’s research focuses on sorting and inequality within macroeconomics and labor economics. She studies wage inequality across gender, time, and space, as well as how it is impacted by the sorting of workers and firms in the labor market and spouses in the marriage market.

“It has been wonderful to be back in touch with EGC. [Longtime affiliate] T.N. Srinivasan was an early mentor of mine and I always think of him when I walk into the building. It’s even better to be part of the vibrant EGC community and participating in a wide range of seminars, workshops, and conferences.”

Jessica Seddon
SENIOR FELLOW AND LECTURER AT THE YALE JACKSON SCHOOL OF GLOBAL AFFAIRS

Seddon's research interests include institutional design for integrating science into policy and social initiatives. Her policy work in India and other countries focuses on the governance of various aspects of the atmosphere, from climate change to air quality to climate intervention.

Looking Ahead to Academic Year 2023-24

Ana Cecília Fieler has been appointed Faculty Co-Director of the IDE Master’s Program.

Samuel Kortum has been appointed Director of the Cowles Center for Economic Research.
Visiting Faculty, 2022-23 Academic Year

Antonella Bancalari visited from University College London as a UK-US Fulbright Visiting Scholar in Fall 2022.

“*My time at EGC was intellectually stimulating and led me to make incredible progress in my research. I’m grateful to have had the opportunity to present my research, build networks with leaders in economic development, and share my experience with students.*”

Deniz Sanin visited from the University of South Carolina in Spring 2023.

“*Visiting EGC was an excellent opportunity for me. I received feedback on my research from a diverse set of perspectives, had discussions that enhanced every aspect of my work, and attended forums that helped me come up with exciting ideas for new projects.*”

The Kuznets Visitors Program

In 2022, EGC established the Kuznets Visitors program, which hosts economists from other institutions for up to two weeks. The program enables participants to work closely with coauthors, meet with Yale students and PhD candidates, and deliver seminars. EGC actively seeks nominations for this program from under-represented groups in economics, as well as from scholars based in universities in lower-income countries.

- Samuel Ampaw, Postdoctoral Scholar, Northwestern University
- Jie Bai, Assistant Professor of Public Policy, Harvard Kennedy School
- Graciela Tenue Bollomelis, Professor and Director of the Institute of Research into Sustainable Development and Social Equity (IIDSES), Universidad Iberoamericano, Mexico
- Raquel Bernal, Professor of Economics and President, Universidad de los Andes, Colombia
- Ben Marx, Assistant Professor of Economics, Boston University
- Esteban Méndez-Chacón, Researcher, Central Bank of Costa Rica
- Andre Nickow, Research Manager, Global Poverty Research Lab, Northwestern University
- Meredith Startz, Assistant Professor of Economics, Dartmouth University
- Augustin Tapsoba, Assistant Professor of Economics, Toulouse School of Economics, France
- Chris Udry, Robert E. and Emily King Professor of Economics, Northwestern University
EGC Programs, Initiatives, & Projects

EGC hosts a variety of research programs, initiatives, and projects that bring together affiliates and other collaborators from across Yale and partner institutions to advance groundbreaking research agendas and contribute to policy debates. We are actively raising funds to advance these efforts.

Inclusion Economics Initiative

Yale Inclusion Economics (YIE), an EGC-MacMillan Center joint research initiative that studies ways to promote the equitable distribution of power and opportunity, was launched in February 2022. Co-directors Professor Rohini Pande and Dr. Charity Troyer Moore were joined by Managing Director Deanna Ford in 2023 as the initiative expanded its projects and deepened policy collaborations in South Asia and Africa.

YIE’s primary focus is frontier research on inclusive economic development in lower-income countries, concentrating on women’s access to economic opportunities, climate change adaptation, and the interaction of governance structures and power-sharing arrangements that enable or constrain equitable outcomes. Research-policy engagements include collaborations with state governments to improve women’s financial empowerment in India, democratic inclusivity in Nepal, early warning systems for natural disasters in both countries, and digital empowerment of entrepreneurs in Kenya. Collaborating with the Inclusion Economics India Centre and Inclusion Economics Nepal, which work directly with policy counterparts to implement studies and inform decisions, YIE exemplifies Yale’s strategic approach to producing impactful, interdisciplinary research and policy solutions for pressing global development challenges.

New institutional collaboration in India

EGC signed a two-year Memorandum of Understanding with the Institute of Economic Growth (IEG) in New Delhi to collaborate on joint initiatives, including a short-term visitors program and teaching and capacity building efforts, as well as events, seminars, and policy workshops.

“IEG and EGC are natural partners. They both started at a similar time, several decades ago, with the goal of becoming top research institutes focused on impacting development in low-income countries. Both institutes have been associated with leading academics and top policymakers. Both institutes inform economic policy, using quantitative techniques. The new collaboration between IEG and EGC will continue to promote these goals by enabling research excellence, faculty exchanges, and collaborations between scholars. This heralds an exciting beginning of what will hopefully be a lasting partnership.”

CHETAN GHATE, IEG DIRECTOR
Gender and Growth Gaps Project

EGC launched the Gender and Growth Gaps project in November 2022 to explore the economic dimensions and consequences of gender inequality, particularly in labor markets, focusing on lower-income countries. While economists have long studied gender inequality, the persistence of gender gaps has prompted them to shift from a traditional focus on women’s labor force participation across countries to more nuanced approaches that take into account country- and region-specific factors, such as norms, institutions, economic structure, and growth dynamics.

The Gender and Growth Gaps project brings together several of Yale’s micro and macroeconomists with policy-focused senior EGC and YIE staff to create a multipronged research program that broadens our understanding of the measurement, linkages, and implications of gender inequality. The project seeks to critically assess existing indicators and composite indices that track gender gaps in low- and middle-income economies, in order to propose methodological improvements that better reflect women’s economic wellbeing. From a macro perspective, project researchers work to understand how structural transformation influences gender gaps in labor market outcomes. From a micro perspective, project researchers develop new measures and data collection strategies that are more gender-intentional and reflect the underlying drivers of behavior, especially beliefs and social norms around women’s work, intra-household bargaining, informal employment, and unpaid labor.

Women’s Empowerment and Wellbeing in a Digital World: A Policy-Engaged Research Perspective

How are digital literacy initiatives transforming women’s empowerment? In lower-income countries, mobile phones enable crucial access to information, people, and jobs that can catalyze economic opportunities. Yet women still lag behind men in phone ownership and engagement in many countries. In India, for example, women are 40% less likely to own a smartphone. YIE is studying the sources of India’s digital gender gaps and evaluating policies to help women access the many benefits of mobile engagement. Research findings from this effort are actively disseminated and discussed with policymakers. For example, a December 2022 policy roundtable with the Government of Chhattisgarh highlighted research-backed approaches to increase women’s access to and usage of mobile phones.

Gender-Sensitive Economic Recovery and Resilience in Asia

What role has the Covid-19 pandemic played in shaping women’s longer-term economic participation in Asia, and how can insights from this experience help inform future gender-attuned crisis responses? In March 2023, EGC and YIE, in collaboration with the Asian Development Bank Institute (ADBI), hosted a conference in Tokyo to address these questions. The event highlighted research by the three institutions (YIE, EGC and ADBI), as well as other academic economists, that took place during the pandemic and centered on factors that enable and constrain women’s economic participation in the region, pointing to how recent findings can guide recovery efforts and policymaking during future downturns.

“As a think tank of the Asia-Pacific region, ADBI is pleased to have partnered with YIE and EGC since 2021 on gender-sensitive recovery, gender and growth gaps, and gender-climate issues. We look forward to continuing the partnership in 2024 and beyond.”

TETSUHIRO SONOBE, DEAN & CEO, ADBI

Gender and Growth Gaps in South Asia: Research and Policy Workshop

Economic growth and structural transformation are essential catalysts for social shifts across nations, but will such developments open new opportunities and close persistent gender gaps or further entrench inequalities? In August 2023, the “Gender and Growth Gaps in South Asia” workshop — co-hosted by EGC, YIE, Inclusion Economics India Centre, the Udaiti Foundation, and ADBI — brought together nearly 100 experts from various sectors to discuss these questions as they relate to South Asia, a region with some of the most significant gender gaps.

Presentations and discussions examined the various drivers and features of gender inequality and growth gaps in the region, including gendered labor supply- and demand-side factors, structural transformation marked by service-led and digitally-enabled growth, persistent normative barriers, and the specificities of each country’s growth trajectory. The workshop included breakout sessions on measurement challenges, policy tools, and gender and climate change. Highlighted throughout the event was the importance of adopting strategies that integrate both micro and macroeconomic perspectives when formulating policies aimed at fostering a more gender-equitable economic landscape.

“Organizing the conference with EGC was a wonderful opportunity for us to understand and benefit from the excellent research led by Rohini Pande and the EGC team. We were fortunate to be able to bring together some of the best minds from across the gender research, livelihoods, private sector, and policy spaces.”

YAMINI ATMAVILAS, PRESIDENT (STRATEGY & RESEARCH), UDAITI FOUNDATION
Main Areas of Inquiry:

1. Firm size and productivity: Firms in low- and middle-income countries tend to be small and inefficient; many are born and fail to grow — yet in contrast to advanced economies — rarely exit despite their lack of productivity. What are the market dynamics and possible distortions that can explain these patterns?

2. Market structure, competition, contracting, and trade: What obstacles to trade and market integration are most important for low- and middle-income country governments to address? What are the tools and technologies that can help small firms in low- and middle-income countries overcome contracting failures?

3. Environmental regulation: How do firms respond to environmental regulations, and how can emissions trading programs reduce the cost of regulation for firms? Work in this area also explores the efficacy of non-traditional regulations, such as market-based regulations or distributed monitoring.

4. Energy markets: How can low- and middle-income country governments play an effective role in regulating energy markets, resisting government or monopoly capture, and limiting negative externalities in terms of emissions, while increasing access to millions of energy-poor households and enterprises?

5. Markets for financial services: How can industrial organization tools be used to explore questions of market design in financial services, including the effects of widespread 3G technology on financial inclusion, the deep integration of mobile technologies with other goods and services markets, and the impacts of financial regulations at the market level?

The Unequal Effects of Globalization by Pinelopi Koujianou Goldberg

EGC celebrated the August 2023 release of a new book by EGC affiliate Pinelopi Goldberg that provides a fresh perspective on globalization’s effects on inequality and highlights policy alternatives for the future. The Unequal Effects of Globalization (The MIT Press) examines significant recent trends, including China’s economic ascent, shifts in the US manufacturing sector, and emerging signs of de-globalization. Advocating for sustained international cooperation, it offers insightful strategies for tackling the challenges posed by globalization and broader global issues like climate change. Goldberg adapted the book from her 2019 Ohlin Lecture with support from EGC and contributing writer Greg Larson.

Early Childhood Development and Women’s Empowerment in Africa

Many children in lower-income settings are at risk of not achieving their developmental potential due to poor nutrition and insufficient stimulation, leading to disadvantages later in life. Can low-cost interventions improve cognitive and socio-emotional development and health outcomes? Since 2021, EGC has supported affiliates Orazio Attanasio and Costas Meghir on the Early Childhood Development in Africa project, comprising three large projects examining early childhood development in Africa. These projects have leveraged recent research and funding successes, in collaboration with researchers from the Institute for Fiscal Studies, University of Ghana, Bangor University, Stockholm University, Kenyatta University, University of West Indies, and the Centre for Experimental Research on Fairness, Inequality and Rationality (FAIR) at the Norwegian School of Economics (NHH).

Studies within the Early Childhood Development in Africa project also examine the effects of ECD programs on parental outcomes such as health, well-being, engagement, time use, and economic empowerment. One of the primary research projects is evaluating the effectiveness of an early childhood care and education program that is being scaled across 4,000 preschools in Ghana. Building on an earlier efficacy trial, Attanasio and other researchers are conducting a large-scale four-year randomized controlled trial (RCT) to evaluate the Lively Minds education program in Ghana, which enlists parents to collaborate with teachers in early stimulation activities delivered through play schemes. Attanasio, Meghir, and other collaborators are starting two large projects in Tanzania, funded by a variety of grants. In the first, they are developing a large RCT aimed at comparing the effectiveness of cash transfers versus a stimulation intervention targeted at disadvantaged children, or a combination of both. In the second, they are starting a nationally representative longitudinal study that will follow a cohort of newborn babies for a few years to measure their development. Finally, in another study, Attanasio, Meghir, and other collaborators are working with Tharaka Nithi County, Kenya, to assess the impact of an innovative early childhood development program allowing rural children to attend preschool from the age of three — a year earlier than is standard in Kenya. The intervention will launch in early 2024. In 60 randomly selected schools, admission will be extended to 3-year-olds (currently it is limited to 4-year-olds) and an enhanced curriculum will be introduced — customized to the Kenyan context and supplemented by the provision of coaching for school teachers — with results compared to children and families living in the catchment areas of 60 control schools. The intervention aims to improve child development and school readiness for children, as well as increase the economic outcomes of mothers.

Photo Credit: Lively Minds

Markets and Development Initiative

How do market structures and dynamics shape firm growth and economic development in low- and middle-income countries? Research shows that market failures, limited public infrastructure and services, political interference, and varying regulatory capacities impede firm productivity. EGC’s Markets and Development Initiative, led by affiliate Pinelopi Goldberg, Amit Khandelwal, Nicholas Ryan, and Lauren Bergquist, employs techniques from various subfields in economics — industrial organization, trade, and development economics — to comprehensively analyze markets in low- and middle-income countries. The initiative welcomed several visiting scholars over the 2022-23 academic year. Visiting researchers collaborated closely with the program faculty on research projects and joint outputs, including the VoxDevicx review on international trade (first version released in October 2022), co-edited by Khandelwal and collaborator David Atkin of MIT.
Latin America and the Caribbean Initiative

Latin America and the Caribbean has been one of the world’s most unequal regions for over 70 years, with the wealthiest 10 percent of Latin Americans owning an estimated 60 percent of national income. Furthermore, despite significant progress in many dimensions during recent decades, the region continues to struggle with lagging growth, persistent poverty, and vulnerability to economic shocks. Through the Latin America and the Caribbean Initiative, EGC faculty deepen their connections with regional academics and policymakers and engage in policy-relevant research that explores significant challenges and opportunities facing the region.

Among the initiative’s chief research projects is the Latin America and the Caribbean Inequality Review (LACIR), a collaborative effort launched in 2021 by EGC, the Inter-American Development Bank, the London School of Economics, and the Institute for Fiscal Studies. LACIR is developed by a panel of 15 scholars from different disciplines, guided by a steering committee including EGC affiliate Orazio Attanasio and Yale political scientist Ana De la O Torres. The LACIR panel has commissioned 28 papers on 5 different topics. This work was discussed in two workshops, held in Cartagena, Colombia, in March 2023, where initial drafts of the review’s 28 papers were presented for discussion. In March 2023, at a conference in Cartagena, Colombia, panel members and other participants discussed the key insights from LACIR’s research themes.

As part of the series, Martinez-Pabon’s paper examined the net effects of policies that aim to reduce inequality and poverty through fiscal redistribution in Latin America and the Caribbean. Using extensive survey data from 16 countries across the region, she and her coauthors found that fiscal policies do improve income equality, but that their effectiveness varies widely by country. Poverty, on the other hand, appears to be a more vexing challenge: in half the countries examined, the researchers found that poverty is actually higher after fiscal redistribution.

Data Science for Development Pilot Program

The Data Science for Development pilot program, led by EGC affiliate Dirk Bergemann, aims to leverage advancements in data science, computer science, statistics, and other related fields to study and promote development in low- and middle-income settings. Under a pilot program in the 2022-23 academic year, EGC hosted the Data Science for Development Research Assistantship Program to provide undergraduate and graduate students with an opportunity to work closely with an EGC faculty affiliate to apply specific data science techniques to international development research.

“Data Science for Development Program is a great initiative to match researchers with students who are learning to apply statistics and data science tools to a development question. My RA, for example, helped create a code harmonizing water collection and climate data from multiple countries in three continents using both R and Stata.”

“As academics, we spend most of our time talking to colleagues who work in the same field, but on different topics. The “Columbian Shock” conference was an opportunity for people from different disciplines who work on the same topic to exchange ideas. We had academics who work in economics, history, political science, and geography come together and discuss analyses of a large number of archival sources related to Spanish America’s economic history.”

Bridging the Atlantic: Migrations and their Legacies Project

What historical factors have shaped the economic trajectories of the Americas? This question guided “The Colombian Shock: Explaining Long-Term Development of the Americas,” a mini-conference co-organized by EGC affiliate José-Antonio Espín-Sánchez and co-hosted by EGC in October 2022. The event brought together scholars at the intersection of development economics and economic history to explore the lasting impacts of colonialism and migration patterns in shaping the Western Hemisphere’s economic landscape and growth disparities. Central to the event was the introduction of a multidisciplinary project, “Bridging the Atlantic: Migrations and their Legacies,” aimed at digitizing and analyzing a wealth of archival sources related to Spanish America’s economic history.
Outreach & Engagement

A key component of EGC’s work is translating research for a broader audience and engaging with those audiences to enable research insights to spark new conversations, build support for policy innovation, and generate momentum for positive policy change.

Events at Yale

North East Universities Development Consortium (NEUDC) 2022 Conference

What is the frontier in development economics research conducted by young scholars? The North East Universities Development Consortium (NEUDC) annual conference was hosted by EGC in November 2022. The conference featured 134 research papers across 35 sessions on a range of issues, including household dynamics and human capital, gender and labor markets, governance and institutions, and agriculture and the environment.

PLENARY SESSION & NEW PUBLIC DATASET

The plenary session at NEUDC 2022 provided a pivotal opportunity for introducing researchers to the EGC-ISSER-Northwestern Ghana Socioeconomic Panel Survey, a comprehensive longitudinal survey launched in 2009 in collaboration with the Global Poverty Research Lab at Northwestern University, the Institute of Statistical, Social, and Economic Research (ISSER) at the University of Ghana. The plenary session, titled “Lessons Learned on Poverty Measurement through Household Panel Surveys,” marked the release of three rounds of the panel survey. Moderated by Rohini Pande, the session featured comments from Northwestern’s Chris Udry (the survey’s lead researcher), Andre Nickow, and Samuel Ampaw. This public dataset has been downloaded by over 380 users since its release.

NEUDC 2022 PARTICIPANTS

621 submissions from institutions in 42 countries

164 paper submissions were accepted by the Scientific Committee, composed of a panel of 53 academics from the northeast US

About NEUDC

The NEUDC has organized annual conferences in development economics since 1967. The location and sponsorship of the annual NEUDC conference usually rotates among the organizing institutions: Boston University, Brown University, Cornell University, Dartmouth College, Harvard University, MIT, Northwestern University, Tufts University, Williams College, and Yale. NEUDC 2023 was hosted by Harvard University.
2023 Kuznets Lecture

How can policy and behavioral interventions change harmful norms, such as female genital cutting? Eliana La Ferrara of Harvard University delivered the 32nd Annual Kuznets Memorial Lecture on March 2, 2023, addressing “Changing Harmful Norms.” La Ferrara discussed the efficacy of policy and behavioral interventions that encourage “stepping stone” behaviors, which moderate harmful norms over time rather than seeking to eliminate them rapidly.

Hosted annually by EGC since 1987 in honor of EGC founder Simon Kuznets, this lecture series is EGC’s marquee annual event featuring a prominent economist speaking on a key issue in economic development.

“It was a great opportunity for the international development-focused academic community — from professors to students to Yale staff — to converge for substantive and extended dialogue throughout the [Kuznets lecture] week.”

DAVID COWELL, EGC ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF FINANCE AND OPERATIONS

EGC Voices in Development Podcast Series

Through conversations with EGC affiliates and other guests, this podcast series explores issues related to sustainable development and economic justice in low- and middle-income countries. Catherine Cheney, Senior Reporter at DevEx and Yale alumni, moderates the series.

“Training the next generation of African economists”
Princeton University professor Leonard Wantchekon reflects on his work building the African School of Economics in his home country of Benin, where African students pursue policy-relevant economic research in a process of “self-discovery.”

“Understanding the backlash to globalization”
EGC affiliate Pinelopi Goldberg discusses her recent monograph, The Unequal Effects of Globalization, and its exploration of the complicated relationship between international trade, poverty reduction, and inequality.

“Transforming the future of agricultural markets”
EGC affiliate Lauren Falcao Bergquist, an economist who focuses on agricultural market research, examines how technology can offer new solutions to address food insecurity in East Africa.

“Demystifying the effects of systemic injustice”
EGC affiliate Gerald Jaynes explains how he uses interdisciplinary research methods to study structural inequalities, Black agency in the United States, and injustices in other countries’ agricultural development.

“Unraveling the impact of harmful social norms on development”
In conversation with Yale professor Samuel Moyn and Eliana La Ferrara of the Harvard Kennedy School, Rohini Pande explores how norms — especially long-entrenched or harmful ones — can affect the social, economic, and legal dimensions of development.
Teaching & Mentorship

Yale undergraduates are leaders of the future. International and development economics master’s students gain skills and analytical frameworks at Yale that they take to policy and academic positions in governments, think tanks, and top universities around the world, while Yale PhD students affiliated with EGC become thought leaders in economics and policy. The short time students are at Yale is an opportunity to inspire, engage, and connect them with some of the brightest minds in development economics.

Sheng (Charles) Cai focused on the growth impact of international and spatial knowledge spillovers. Charles joined the City University of Hong Kong as an Assistant Professor in September 2023.

“I am grateful for my time at Yale. This is where I grew as a researcher. I greatly benefited from the knowledge spillovers from the amazing faculty members and colleagues.”

Lucas Finamor worked at the intersection of labor economics, public finance, and development economics. Lucas is serving as a postdoctoral fellow at the Institute for Fiscal Studies in London for the 2023-2024 academic year and will join the São Paulo School of Economics from Fundação Getúlio Vargas (FGV) as an Assistant Professor in August 2024.

“My years in the Ph.D. program at Yale were outstanding. I received sharp academic training, which was essential for developing my research agenda. I learned much from each conversation with faculty, students, and visitors. Attending seminars and conferences, many of which sponsored by the EGC, I could learn from being exposed to cutting-edge research and observing the interactions and discussions.”

Matthew Gordon focused on the distributional consequences of environmental policy in low-income countries using structural econometrics, causal inference, and machine learning. In Fall 2023, Matthew started as an Assistant Professor at the Paris School of Economics.

“The faculty in the Yale development group taught me what it means to ask and answer important questions. It sounds very simple, but I think it is much harder than teaching methods or statistical tools — although I learned these too.”

Antonia Paredes-Haz studied political economy and development, focusing on identity politics particularly in low-income settings. Antonia joined the University of California, Berkeley Haas Business School as a postdoctoral fellow in 2023.

“Without EGC’s very generous Ph.D. grants, convincingly quantifying the supply side of informal transit markets and commuter preferences for different policy interventions would have been almost impossible, given the paucity of existing data on these networks. The technical guidance provided by my EGC advisors and the capable administrative support offered by EGC staff allowed me to put these funds to use.”

Zara Contractor researched dimensions of wage inequality. She recently joined Middlebury College as an Assistant Professor in the Economics Department and will begin teaching in 2024.

“My time at Yale was an incredible experience, and I am extremely grateful to have been part of such a collaborative and supportive research community.”

Lucas Conwell applied development and trade tools to study the government’s role in providing transportation. Lucas joined University College London as an Economics Lecturer (Assistant Professor) in 2023.

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“The EGC exposed me to scholars conducting research in numerous countries and contexts. Having professors who understand both the Latin American context and how my research can be generalized to other regions of the world has been extremely beneficial.”
The Master’s Program in International and Development Economics (IDE)

The IDE Experience: Learning Immersion in Economics, Policy, and Practice

The IDE program is a highly competitive master’s program in economics with a focus on development and policy that offers pathways to top economics PhD programs and quantitative policy positions. Co-directed by Michael Boozier and Ana Cecilia Fieler, the program celebrates its 67th year in 2023, bringing together high-quality technical training and mentorship to support the unique professional path of each student. The 2022-23 academic year saw the launch of the IDE-EGC African Student Scholarship program, which provides support to two students a year from sub-Saharan Africa with the aim of providing new opportunities for excellent students from a region central to development economics, encouraging further diversity in the IDE program.

IDE Placements

Graduates from the International and Development Economics one-year master’s program continue to enjoy an impressive job placement record.

IDE CLASS OF 2023 PLACEMENTS*

- **7%** entered PhD/Master’s programs
- **41%** are employed in predoctoral work
- **37%** are employed in the private sector
- **15%** are employed in public/international development sector

*Based on 27 responses to survey from 31 graduates in 2023.

IDE Faculty Spotlight

Ana Cecilia Fieler is the new Co-Director of IDE’s Masters Program, along with Michael Boozier. She researches international trade with a focus on developing countries, using quantitative models to study contrasting patterns of bilateral trade flows, prices, and factor usage between high- and low-income countries. She also uses firm-level data from low- and middle-income countries to explore how international trade shapes incentives for firms to upgrade technologies and the ensuing effects on the labor market.

“IDE-MA is a student-focused program that prepares students to work in applied areas in international development economics. Students are exposed to economic theory and data and are challenged to think critically about the difficulties facing poorer countries today.”

IDE Student Spotlight

An inaugural recipient of the EGC-IDE African Student Scholarship, Funmilayo Ajayi from Nigeria worked as a Research Assistant at David Engerman at the Yale Jackson School of Global Affairs, conducting research on quantitative and qualitative trends in development economics. Currently, she is a Pre-doctoral Research Professional at the Development Innovation Lab at the University of Chicago. In her current role at the Safe Water Initiative in Nigeria, she provides support to lead researchers Michael Kremer and Elisa M. Maffioli in their efforts to implement Nigeria’s Safe Water voucher initiative.

“My journey as an IDE Research Assistant strengthened my understanding of applied methods in microeconomics, econometrics, and statistics while immersing me in the world of development economics through extensive exposure to research papers. This experience deepened my interest in topics I’m passionate about and paved the way for my master’s thesis. The profound knowledge and skill set I gained here have proven indispensable in my current role as a pre-doctoral researcher.”

Hands-On Learning

Analytical RA positions during and after the program allow students the opportunity to build their research skills. The IDE-EGC Research Assistantship Program aims to provide students with hands-on, skill-building experience as a research assistant while supporting faculty-led research and the broader work of EGC.

Sasakawa Young Leaders Fellowship Fund (Sylff) Fellows

Selected each year as outstanding PhD students in development economics and trade.

**2022-23 FELLOWS**
- Jingyi Cui
- Nghiêm Huynh
- Jack Liang
- Christina Qiu
- Matthew Schwartzman
- Jillian Stallman
- Yan Yan

**2023-24 FELLows**
- Tianyu Fan
- Miao Hong
- Roberto Lee
- Ruiyinha Oh
- Sabrina Peng
- Matthew Schwartzman
- Christina Qiu

The profound knowledge and skill set I gained here have proven indispensable in my current role as a pre-doctoral researcher.”

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EGC Postgraduate Associate Program Placements

Diana Perez Lopez worked on projects related to early childhood development interventions, measurement in economics, and inequality. Diana started her PhD in Economics at Yale University in 2023.

“I am grateful for the opportunity to gain experience in conducting policy-relevant research as well as the guidance and mentorship received from my PIs in sharpening my research interests and navigating a career in academia.”

Marie-Rose Tongulino worked on projects at the intersection of development economics and energy/ environmental economics. Marie-Rose is attending Northwestern University as a post-baccalaureate Applied Mathematics student and is applying to PhD programs.

“We are grateful for the opportunity to gain experience in conducting policy-relevant research as well as the guidance and mentorship received from my PIs in sharpening my research interests and navigating a career in academia.”

Sarah Danner worked on the governance portfolio based in Nepal. Sarah started her PhD in Public Policy at Berkeley Haas in 2023.

“I am grateful for the opportunity to gain experience in conducting policy-relevant research as well as the guidance and mentorship received from my PIs in sharpening my research interests and navigating a career in academia.”

Fikremariam Gedefaw worked on a portfolio of projects focusing on state capacity and public service delivery in South Asia. Fikremariam started his PhD in Public Policy at Berkeley Haas in 2023.

“My experience with development economics research at EGC has been beneficial in my growth as a researcher and in gaining clarity about my research interests. I am grateful to my colleagues, including those based out of Patna, for their kindness and camaraderie.”

“Working at EGC has been a great learning opportunity and Nick Ryan has been a wonderful PI to work with. It has also been great meeting and engaging with an amazing group of peers who will likely be my colleagues in the future.”

Satish Wasti helped implement a randomized evaluation of flood alert dissemination in Bihar, India. Satish joined the Economics PhD program at the University of British Columbia in 2023.

“My experience with development economics research at EGC has been beneficial in my growth as a researcher and in gaining clarity about my research interests. I am grateful to my colleagues, including those based out of Patna, for their kindness and camaraderie.”

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The profound knowledge and skill set I gained here have proven indispensable in my current role as a pre-doctoral researcher.”
Creating Opportunities for Yale Students to Engage with International Development

EGC provides many opportunities for undergraduates and graduate students to get involved in the study and practice of international development. We host a vibrant internship program where students work on communications — authoring articles on development research to publish on the EGC website and external outlets — and data-related projects to support faculty research. We also host many events for undergraduates. The 2023-2024 academic year is our second year supporting the Salus Populi Foundation, a student-led organization focused on development.

Maya Aidlin-Perlman (’25), a double major in Economics and Global Affairs, joined the EGC in Fall 2022 to support Rohini Pande’s research on the economic effects of gender norms. Maya serves as the Outreach Director for the Salus Populi Foundation, where she is spearheading an economics dialogue program with students at the University of Havana.

“Working as a research assistant at EGC has broadened my understanding of gender economics and sparked a passion for the field of economic development. Dr. Rohini Pande’s mentorship and support throughout the research process, along with the EGC’s many academic and extracurricular opportunities, have shaped both my personal goals and professional aspirations.”

David Alzate, a Masters in Public Policy student at the Yale Jackson School of Global Affairs, worked on research management as an EGC intern, supporting growing research initiatives on inequality in Latin America and the Caribbean and the role of firms and markets in international development.

“Working at EGC was an excellent way to get engaged with Yale’s state-of-the-art economics research. I was able to learn directly from faculty about their stories, findings, and research objectives. I saw EGC at the core of a broader strengthening of the international development space at Yale and was happy to contribute to this growth as an intern.”

Bomi Okuyiga, a 2023 graduate of the Masters in Public Policy program at the Yale Jackson School of Global Affairs, began her work as a Production Intern at the EGC during Fall 2021, initially working on strategy and planning. In her second year working for the EGC, Bomi helped develop EGC’s podcast series, Voices in Development.

“Working at the EGC allowed me to join a new community of international development students and professionals at Yale. From the diverse group of EGC staff to the welcoming economics pre-major and beyond, I’m really grateful for the networks I built while working at the EGC and the flexibility I had to get involved in all aspects of the Center’s work.”

Ati Castro Asmussen (’24), a Political Science major, provides administrative support to the communications director by managing ECG’s website and ensuring the center’s research is presented in an accessible and visually appealing way. He is passionate about journalism and legal research, leveraging writing as a tool to enhance the reliability and transparency of political news.

“My time with EGC has been transformative, not just because of the skills I’ve acquired in communicating policy but also because of the friendships I’ve forged. EGC maintains a unique sense of community that makes going into the office a highlight of my week.”

Supporting the Salus Populi Foundation: A New, Development-Focused Undergraduate Student Group

In the fall of 2022, Yale undergraduates Bilal Moin (’24) and Daevan Mangalmurti (’24) collaborated with the Economic Growth Center to form the Salus Populi Foundation (SPF), a student organization that provides opportunities for undergraduates to explore development economics through speaker events and a fellowship program to introduce students to development topics. The EGC staff helped them design SPF’s program and goals. Moin and Mangalmurti, wanting to encourage students who have interests in development economics but are not economics majors to learn more about the field and apply insights to their academic and professional pathways, named SPF after Cicero’s famous Roman philosopher, Cicero: salus populi suprema lex esto, or “the welfare of the people should be the supreme law.”

The SPF is currently hosting the second cohort of its Fellowship in Improving Global Welfare, a thirteen-week program for ten first-year students chosen through a rigorous selection process. Last year, in collaboration with Economics PhD candidate Jillian Staliman, the SPF designed a curriculum addressing topics including the ethics of international aid, the limitations of randomized controlled trials, and the potential problems with fundamental concepts like perpetual growth. The fellows also engaged in sessions with EGC-affiliated researchers.

In the future, the SPF plans to propose an undergraduate Certificate in Development Studies, the equivalent of a minor or concentration. Students would select courses from a multidisciplinary curriculum of economics, social sciences, history, and area studies, and seniors would complete a thesis or capstone project.

“By encouraging the exploration of international development, we hope to inspire more Yale undergraduates to choose career paths that prioritize the betterment of society, helping to bring about a more equitable and prosperous world.”

Bilal Moin ’24 and Daevan Mangalmurti ’24, SPF Co-founders

Photo Credit: Dan Renzetti
EGC Research

What enables inclusive growth? EGC faculty bring diverse research expertise to produce frontier knowledge on various aspects of economic development. This knowledge advances our understanding of the factors constraining wellbeing at the individual, community, and country levels. Much of this work directly advances policy. Here are highlights of EGC faculty research from the 2022-23 academic year in our current focus areas.*

*Papers are selected based on research that was conducted in and has relevance to policy in low- and middle-income countries. Only original research is included; however, EGC affiliates publish a wealth of reviews and other literature. See the EGC website research page for more.

How did India’s unequal pandemic recovery worsen gender gaps in the labor market?

India’s nationwide Covid-19 lockdown forced millions of urban migrant workers to return to their home villages, making labor market reintegration a critical aspect of the country’s economic recovery. Understanding the gender dimensions of reintegration is important, given India’s low and declining female labor force participation rates — yet most studies have largely lacked a gender focus. To address this gap, Jenna Allard, Rohini Pande, Charity Troyer Moore, and coauthors conducted a new panel survey — finding that income across genders fell to about 17% of pre-pandemic levels by June 2020, but men’s earnings recovered by January 2021 due to remigration and reintegration. In contrast, by July 2021 female migrants had recovered less than 65% of their pre-pandemic income.

Can time-use surveys be more affordable without sacrificing precision?

Only 21% of Indian women are currently engaged in the labor force, making them one of the least employed populations in the world. However, women’s absence from the workforce doesn’t reflect low labor effort. Time-use surveys allow researchers to unpack how labor is allocated within the household and across activities. Despite the value of tracking time use, very few statistical agencies in low- and middle-income countries collect these data due to the time-intensive nature of collecting high-quality data. There are two widely accepted methods of collecting time-use data: hourly in-person observations, which is the “gold standard” method, and the more typical “traditional” model of one interview per respondent — making it less expensive but also less accurate than direct observation. Researchers in the Inclusion Economics network developed and tested a hybrid approach, where enumerators work with respondents using an innovative standardized system to assemble a more accurate characterization of how their time is used. This hybrid model has proven to optimize affordability and ease of use while preserving precision, a combination that has the potential to produce more widely available time-use data that can be used to inform gender-sensitive labor policy. Journal of Development Economics 164 (2023)
Measuring and Understanding Growth

How did local entrepreneurs in colonial India build thriving firms?

Between 1870 and 1890, Bombay’s cotton textile industry grew from 8,000 workers to more than 60,000 in over 70 mills. A recent study by Kaivan Munshi and coauthors utilized 19th century business directories to construct a dataset of entrepreneurs, their investments, and their jati — or broad social group, reflecting community networks based on tribe, sect, religion, or language. Entrepreneurs frequently relied on their jati connections to gain capital, develop managerial skills, share information, and learn technical know-how. Indeed, entrepreneurs overwhelmingly joined firms where members of their jati constituted the majority, and this ‘network effect’ expanded over time for every additional entrepreneur from a given jati in 1866, the researchers estimated that there would be 5.75 more from that jati by 1890. Journal of Development Economics 199 (2022)

Can daytime satellite imagery enhance analysis of local economic shocks?

While census and other administrative data are useful for analyzing long-run economic impacts over large geographic areas, they are less suitable for assessing short-run changes at more granular levels. In a novel study, Armit Khandelwal and coauthors examine “resource misallocation” in Chinese firms — when labor and capital for R&D are not allocated efficiently but instead go to relatively unproductive firms. They find that ensuring that R&D investments are made efficiently but instead go to less productive firms can also be a viable development strategy for the developing world. If so, who benefits? Michael Peters, Fabrizio Zilibotti, and Yale graduate student Tianyu Fan leverage a new methodology to infer productivity growth from micro data on employment, wages, and human capital since the late 1980s in roughly 400 Indian districts. They find that growth in non-tradable consumer services, such as retail and real estate, was a significant driver of structural transformation and rising living standards. However, these gains disproportionately benefited higher-income urban dwellers, highlighting the unequal distribution of gains from service-led growth. Understanding the productivity growth of India’s service sector is vital for thinking about policy design, but also helpful for exploring whether service-led growth can be successful in other low- and middle-income countries. Econometrica 91.4 (2023)

Is China on track to lead technology innovation?

Chinese research and development (R&D) investments have increased more than tenfold in absolute terms since 2000, but does this put China on track to lead in the technology sector? Fabrizio Zilibotti and coauthors examine “resource misallocation” in Chinese firms — when labor and capital for R&D are not allocated efficiently but instead go to relatively unproductive firms. They find that ensuring that R&D investments are made efficiently but instead go to less productive firms can also be a viable development strategy for the developing world. If so, who benefits? Michael Peters, Fabrizio Zilibotti, and Yale graduate student Tianyu Fan leverage a new methodology to infer productivity growth from micro data on employment, wages, and human capital since the late 1980s in roughly 400 Indian districts. They find that growth in non-tradable consumer services, such as retail and real estate, was a significant driver of structural transformation and rising living standards. However, these gains disproportionately benefited higher-income urban dwellers, highlighting the unequal distribution of gains from service-led growth. Understanding the productivity growth of India’s service sector is vital for thinking about policy design, but also helpful for exploring whether service-led growth can be successful in other low- and middle-income countries. Econometrica 91.4 (2023)

How can global geography influence economic policy?

Recent advances in economic geography offer important lessons on the spatial distribution of economic activity. Despite the inherent complexity of such frameworks, Costas Arkolakis and coauthor show that they can be analyzed through the familiar lens of supply and demand curves. The researchers highlight the importance of global geography — the connections between locations through the trading network — and its broad relevance for economic policymaking in our interconnected world. Journal of Economic Perspectives 17.2 (2023)

How does growth in India’s service sector affect economic development and inequality?

Can service-led growth be a viable development strategy for the developing world? If so, who benefits? Michael Peters, Fabrizio Zilibotti, and Yale graduate student Tianyu Fan leverage a new methodology to infer productivity growth from micro data on employment, wages, and human capital since the late 1980s in roughly 400 Indian districts. They find that growth in non-tradable consumer services, such as retail and real estate, was a significant driver of structural transformation and rising living standards. However, these gains disproportionately benefited higher-income urban dwellers, highlighting the unequal distribution of gains from service-led growth. Understanding the productivity growth of India’s service sector is vital for thinking about policy design, but also helpful for exploring whether service-led growth can be successful in other low- and middle-income countries. Econometrica 91.4 (2023)

Do unconditional cash transfers offer effective social protection for women microentrepreneurs during shocks?

Coping with negative economic shocks is a key challenge for individuals facing poverty, especially in the informal sector of low-income countries where social protection systems are weak or nonexistent. The Covid-19 pandemic represented one of the largest shocks in history, prompting governments around the world to experiment with new social protection programs. Analyzing data from a randomized controlled trial, Kevin Donovan and coauthors rigorously evaluate the effectiveness and impact of one such program in Kenya: one-time unconditional cash transfers (UCTs) to women microenterprise owners, delivered immediately preceding a spike in Kenya’s Covid-19 cases. Their results indicate that the UCTs had significant positive effects on business stability, profits, and household food expenditures during the economic downturn, particularly during lockdown periods. The study also found that the transfers increased spending on Covid-19 preventive measures like personal protective equipment and safer business practices — underscoring UCTs’ dual role in bolstering economic resilience and promoting public health measures. Journal of Development Economics 158 (2022)

“Structural transformation in developing economies is dominated by a decline of agriculture and growth of services with limited industrialization. What does it mean for the welfare of different groups of people? Affluent cities and poor rural areas? A reduction of gender inequalities? A more sustainable growth that reduces the pressure on natural and environmental resources? Is it possible to create a rich, just, and balanced world in which industrial production is a minor activity?”

FABRIZIO ZILIBOTTI, TUNTEX PROFESSOR OF INTERNATIONAL AND DEVELOPMENT ECONOMICS
How Does Trade Between and Within Nations Influence Growth and Poverty Reduction?

Do trade barriers matter less than country-level distortions?

In their new paper, Lorenzo Caliendo, Aleh Tsyvinsky, and coauthor highlight the importance of modeling the world as a single production network, using individual countries’ key sectors as their base unit of analysis. The paper shows that “internal distortions” within a given country (e.g., sector-specific taxes, regulations, or policies) not only affect the structure of that country’s economy, but also have larger effects on the global economy than “external distortions” (e.g., import tariffs, export subsidies, and other trade costs). American Economic Journal: Macroeconomics 14.4 (2022)

Is the bottom of the job ladder “slippery”?

Previous literature suggests that high labor flows are correlated with higher income levels, based on the theory that workers frequently changing jobs means that labor is being efficiently reallocated to where it is most productive. However, such labor studies have typically overlooked low- and middle-income countries due to the lack of high-quality data. To address this gap, a new study by Kevin Donovan and coauthors assembles and analyzes an innovative dataset comprising 80 million workers in 49 countries across the development spectrum. They find that high labor flows are in fact correlated with lower income levels, given that workers in poorer countries move frequently between informal wage work, self-employment, and other low-earning formal jobs. This suggests that the career ladder in low- and middle-income countries is often “slippery” at the bottom, with workers cycling through low-paying jobs without progressing upwards. The dataset will be publicly available on the research team’s project homepage. Quarterly Journal of Economics 138.4 (2023)

How did worker mobility affect conditions for laborers of foreign firms in Costa Rica?

During the 20th century, the United Fruit Company (UFC) gained an infamous reputation for exploiting workers in Latin America. However, an analysis of the UFC’s long-term impacts in Costa Rica by Diana Van Patten and coauthor reveal a surprising finding: households within UFC concessions had better living standards than other comparable households while the company operated, and this gap persisted even decades after the UFC left the country. Company documents explain that a key concern in Costa Rica was to attract and maintain a sizable workforce. The authors find that workers’ alternative employment options and high mobility induced by the firm to invest heavily in local amenities — such as education and health infrastructure. They also show how the firm’s effect could be negative in other contexts with less dynamic labor markets. Econometrica 90.6 (2022)

How can we improve migration subsidies?

Many studies have found that subsidizing rural workers to migrate to urban areas can stimulate the economy by shifting labor to its most productive centers. New analysis by Mushfiq Mobarak and coauthors, however, underscores that understanding why and when workers choose to move is key for determining whether subsidies will be successful. The study finds, for instance, that rural workers who are only willing to migrate if they receive a subsidy are typically poorer and less productive — and that the most productive workers have often already migrated to cities. This suggests that migration subsidies are just one part of a larger and more nuanced policy puzzle. The researchers also identify other important policy opportunities that can improve welfare and productivity — including efforts to improve urban infrastructure and address poor housing conditions in city slums. Econometrica 91.3 (2023)

“One of the things our dataset can offer is context — something [researchers] can use to evaluate whether the results seem consistent with broader cross-country patterns related to poverty and labor market outcomes. This type of complementarity is useful as we start to develop a suite of labor market policies for the developing world.”

KEVIN DONOVAN, ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS

MARKETS, TRADE & DEVELOPMENT

How does trade policy affect voting and legislative patterns?

In a recent paper, Peter Schott and coauthors examine the relationship between international trade and US elections. Analyzing 25 years of US voting and legislative patterns — a period during which surging Chinese imports coincided with a steep decline in US manufacturing — the researchers find that countries whose manufacturing output was most exposed to greater competition from China were more likely to vote for the political party that was more opposed to free trade. Journal of International Economics 139 (2022)

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How can seasonal agriculture inform policies to promote recovery and resilience?

In Nepal and Bangladesh, the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020 occurred around the end of the lean or “hunger” season. According to new analysis of migration and remittance data by Mushfiq Mobarak and coauthors, the effects of Covid-19 in both countries were more adverse than even typical lean season levels, effectively negating the anticipated benefits from the 2020 harvest season — underscoring the importance for researchers and policymakers to understand how pandemics and other crises interact with agricultural seasonality. Applied Economic Perspectives and Policy (2023)

How can we design better climate policies?

Concerns about “leakage” from climate policies — when polluting industries respond to emissions restrictions and other regulations by relocating to places with more lax policies — are central to most proposals to address climate change. Samuel Kortum and coauthors consider the most efficient ways to control leakage, finding that a combination of carbon taxes (on both producers and consumers of fossil fuels) implemented via partial carbon border adjustments is optimal. Environmental and Energy Policy and the Economy 4 (2023)

Do all countries experience climate change the same?

Future projections of the economic impacts of climate change are unclear, due to uncertainties around the climate system as well as uncertainties related to the damage that climate change will cause. Moreover, the effects of climate change will vary greatly across regions. In a new paper, Tony Smith and coauthors develop a model to quantify these uncertainties, finding that warmer countries will likely suffer disproportionately while cooler countries may even benefit. Environmental Research Letters 179 (2022)

How can we make accurate, low-cost pollution sensing maps?

Air quality monitoring is critical for designing urban policy, but the high costs of sensors limit governments’ ability to deploy them at scale. To monitor air quality in Delhi, for example, the Indian government relies on just 33 reference-grade monitors. In a new paper, Rohini Pande and coauthors use experimental data from a network of low-cost portable pollution sensors to model long-term seasonal changes in Delhi’s air quality, then train a complex neural network that can adapt to any region. Through such approaches, Pande and coauthors hope that sensor readings can eventually be crowdsourced, creating new pollution-sensing maps — and offering critical new data for both urban planning and efforts to promote clean energy. NPJ: Climate and Atmospheric Science 5.76 (2022)
Investing in the Education and Health of All People

Can early childhood interventions create lasting benefits?

With hundreds of millions of children at risk for developmental deficits in low- and middle-income countries, strengthening early childhood education is critical for development and growth. In a new study, Orazio Attanasio, Costas Meghir, and coauthors analyzed data from a randomized controlled trial in India that they designed and implemented, and found that social stimulation and early exposure to language — as well as enhanced preschool curricula — can yield lasting increases in IQ and school readiness. Challenges remain in ensuring that the effects of scalable interventions can be long-lasting and can improve the outcomes for a broad range of underprivileged children. Pediatrics 151.S2 (2023)

What is the most effective method for promoting sanitation?

About 15% of the world’s population practice open defecation, despite the widespread availability and affordability of flush latrines — contributing to diseases that kill nearly one million people annually, including nearly 20% of deaths for children under five in low-income countries. This challenge presents a classic collective action problem, since a community’s health benefits require individual families to install and maintain their own latrines. In a cluster randomized controlled trial with 19,000 households in rural Bangladesh, Mushfiq Mobarak and coauthors grouped neighboring households and introduced four treatments to encourage hygienic latrine maintenance: financial rewards, social recognition, private pledges, and public pledges. They found that financial rewards generated the largest effect, but didn’t last over time, while public pledges generated smaller but lasting effects; social recognition and private pledges had no detectable effects. Journal of Development Economics 162 (2023)

How did the pandemic affect mental health in rural communities?

Many studies have examined the pandemic’s mental health impacts in high-income countries, but there have been comparatively few analyses of these issues in low- and middle-income countries. After the pandemic, depression symptoms increased by 0.3 standard deviations, adjusted for seasonality. These findings suggest that the pandemic may leave low- and middle-income countries with a legacy of depression, especially in areas with insufficient mental health facilities. PLOS Medicine 4.6 (2023)

How do international regulatory agreements affect welfare when they are influenced by special interests?

With tariff levels already historically low, recent trade agreements have largely focused on domestic policies like environmental regulations and labor standards. Such “deep” agreements are controversial, however, given their exposure to lobbying by special interests. Giovanni Maggi and coauthor develop a novel model to examine the political economy and welfare impacts of deep integration, analyzing both product and process standards. They find that much depends on whether producer interests are aligned across countries — with broad implications for the evolving international regulatory landscape. American Economic Review 113.8 (2023)

Why do autocracies allow local elections?

It is well understood that autocracies often run national elections to cement the regime’s grip on power, but less attention has been paid to the fact that several autocracies have also introduced local elections, which have relatively little political consequence. Constructing a large new dataset, Gerard Padró i Miquel and coauthors track and analyze the onset of local elections in China during the 1980s and their eventual decline in the 2000s. They posit that local elections helped the capital limit corruption when it had weak control of the countryside. As control improved, the capital progressively reduced local autonomy. American Economic Review 112.9 (2022)

The Interplay of Market and Non-Market Institutions, and the Voice of the People

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- Martha Brooks, Global Public Policy Director
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In the 2023 academic year we established the EGC Incubation Fund to help EGC researchers pursue high-potential, time-sensitive, policy-focused research opportunities and to further engage Yale students, junior researchers, and international collaborators in research. If you are interested in supporting this fund, please contact: deanna馈 fora yale.edu.

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A YALE ECONOMIC GROWTH CENTER A N N U A L R E P O R T 2 0 2 3 4 5
At its founding in 1961, the Yale Economic Growth Center research and administration team included three pioneering women: Nancy Ruggles, Mariam Chamberlain, and Mary Reynolds. All three held Ph.D.s and made important contributions to the Center as researchers or administrators. However, their marriages to Yale economics professors gave rise to unfounded concerns of nepotism. By 1967, all three left their positions at the Economic Growth Center, moving on to brilliant careers elsewhere.

**NANCY RUGGLES**
Nancy Ruggles (Ph.D. Economics, Harvard University ’48) was a founding member of EGC, coauthoring extensively with her husband Richard Ruggles — a partnership they acknowledged and treasured. After her time at Yale, Ruggles served as Assistant Director of the Statistical Office at the United Nations from 1975 to 1980. Her work developing the UN’s rules for national income accounts in developing countries impacted worldwide economic policy. After 1980, Ruggles returned to Yale and became affiliated with the Institute for Social and Policy Studies as a senior research economist.

**MARIAM CHAMBERLAIN**
Mariam Chamberlain (Ph.D. Economics, Harvard University ’50) served as EGC’s executive secretary from 1961 to 1967 and oversaw the center’s day-to-day operations. Afterwards, she went on to become a prominent champion for women in academia, securing funding for many of the first women’s studies departments and research centers at universities across the country. Now known as the “fairy godmother of women’s studies,” Chamberlain founded the National Council for Research on Women (later merged to form the International Center for Research on Women) and served as a founding member of the International Association for Feminist Economics.

**MARY REYNOLDS**
Mary Reynolds (Ph.D. Political Science, Columbia University) was a founding member of the EGC in 1961 and helped establish the organization’s vast library collection. She then built an exceptional second career, abandoning political science for her original academic passion: literature, especially the work of James Joyce. Her seminal work, *Joyce and Dante* (Princeton UP), appeared in 1981. That same year she curated the centenary exhibition on Joyce at the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library. Scores of Yale students were introduced to Irish literature through her undergraduate seminars. Among her other important contributions to the field were her indices for Richard Ellmann’s monumental *James Joyce* and Oscar Wilde biographies, and her support for the first Chinese translation of *Ulysses*.

Read more about the faculty, students, staff, and visitors who made EGC at our History Project homepage: https://egc.yale.edu/history
“[This] comment on the hidden costs and returns involved in the shift toward urban life may apply to many other costs and returns involved in other shifts imposed by economic growth, for example, in the character of participation in economic activity, in the social values, and in the new pressures on deviant members of society.”

SIMON KUZNETS IN HIS 1971 NOBEL PRIZE ACCEPTANCE SPEECH