



GAAP^{phase} 2

Gender, Agriculture & Assets Project

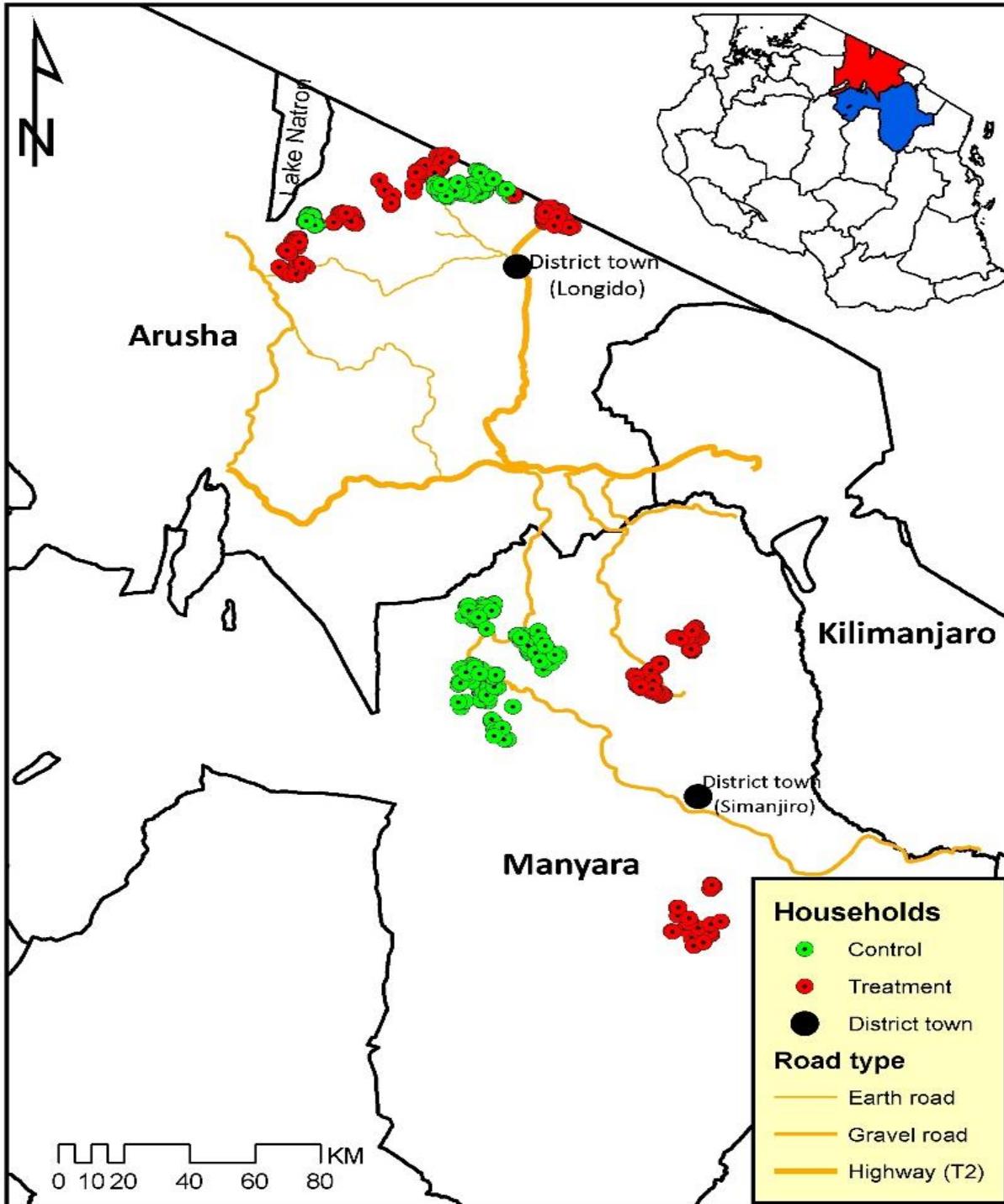
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Pastoralists and Power: The Impact of a Food Security Program on Women's Agency in Northern Tanzania

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Northern Tanzania



Context

- ▶ Pastoralist
- ▶ Polygamous
- ▶ Low levels of education
- ▶ High fertility
- ▶ Poor
- ▶ Swahili and Maasai speaking

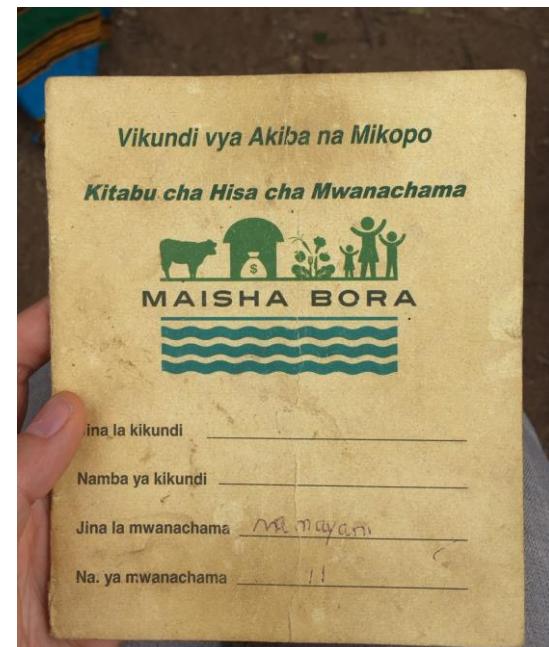


Gender Context

- ▶ Few women completed Standard 7 and many have no education
- ▶ Women face language barriers (few speak National language of Swahili)
- ▶ Early, arranged marriage is common
- ▶ Maasai are often recognized as one of the most patriarchal societies in East Africa

Maisha Bora Project

- ▶ Access to Credit and Training (Trias)
 - ▶ Women and youth microfinance groups (Village Community Banks)
 - ▶ Entrepreneurship and business trainings
 - ▶ Supply chain support, such as tannery and livestock fattening
- ▶ Nutrition (World Food Programme)
 - ▶ Nutrition and sanitation education
 - ▶ School-level vegetable gardens
- ▶ Livestock (Vétérinaires Sans Frontières)
 - ▶ Vaccination and livestock health education



Maisha Bora Project

- ▶ Women's Rights (Ujamaa Community Resource Trust)
 - ▶ Intimate partner violence
 - ▶ Legal rights (land and livestock ownership)
- ▶ Water (Iles de Paix)
 - ▶ Water management committees
(50% women who can read/write)
 - ▶ Constructing/rehab water access, water management



Theory of Change

The Maisha Bora setting for empowerment includes:

- ▶ Access to credit and markets
- ▶ Information
 - ▶ Increasing knowledge about livestock, agriculture, sanitation, and nutrition, human rights
 - ▶ Business and entrepreneurial training
- ▶ Social Capital
 - ▶ Through participation in groups and building social networks
 - ▶ Understanding rights and learning to communicate
- ▶ Alleviating Time Pressures
 - ▶ Spend less time fetching water

Data Collection

- ▶ Baseline data collected in 2016
- ▶ Endline data collected in 2019/20

- ▶ 7 Treatment Villages,
- ▶ 7 Comparison Villages

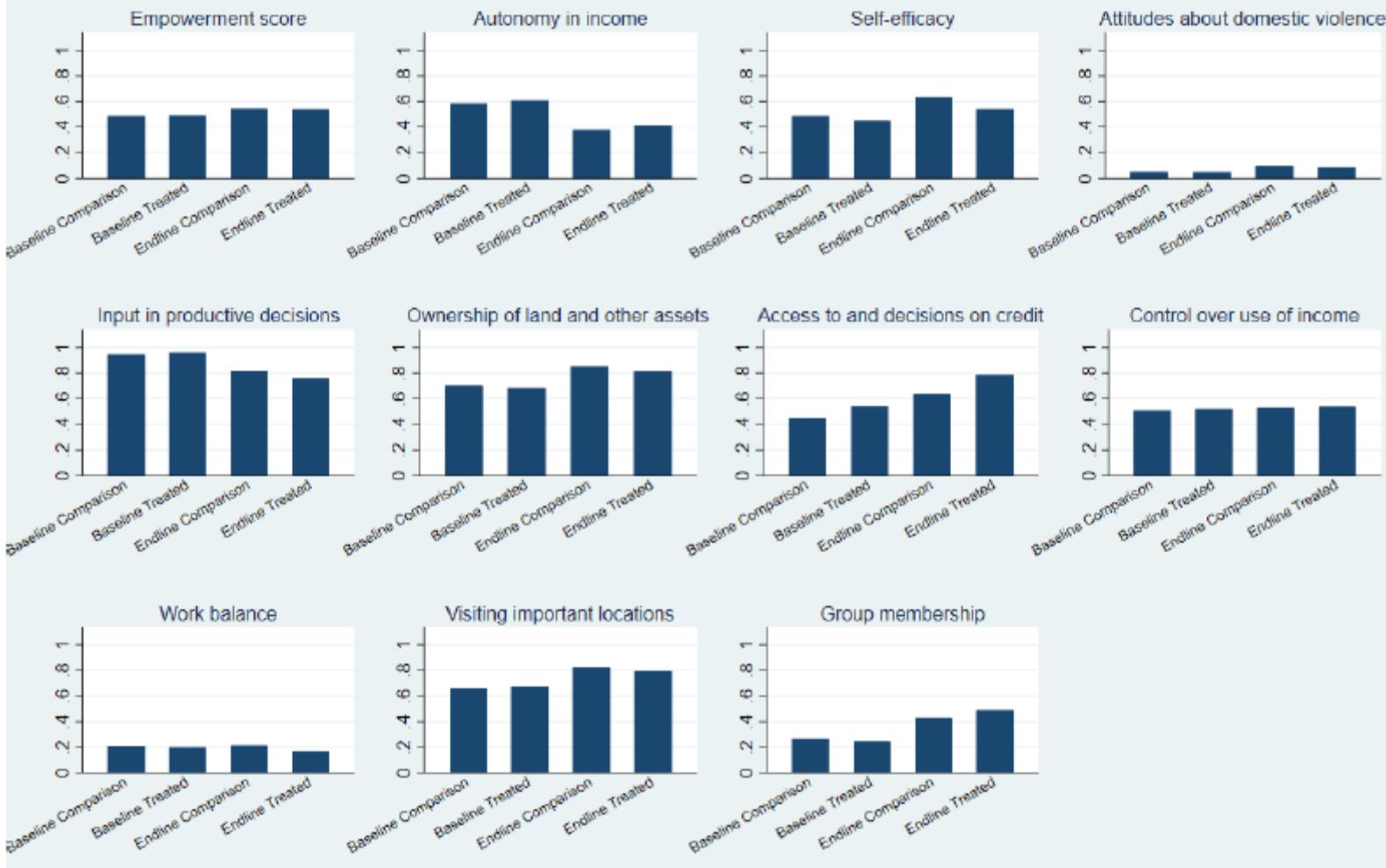
- ▶ 1,118 Baseline Individuals
 - ▶ 228 Men / 790 Women

- ▶ 1,072 Endline Individuals
 - ▶ 367 Men / 705 Women



Descriptive Statistics

Variable	(1) Comparison Group	(2) Treatment Group	(3) Difference
Age	35.345 (13.201)	34.170 (13.995)	-1.175 (0.976)
Age-squared	1,423.150 (1,073.491)	1,362.911 (1,187.907)	-60.239 (81.053)
Female-headed HH	0.637 (0.482)	0.579 (0.494)	-0.057 (0.035)
Number of wives	2.258 (1.638)	2.081 (1.385)	-0.177 (0.110)
Protestant	0.470 (0.500)	0.620 (0.486)	0.150*** (0.035)
Female head completed Form 4	0.024 (0.152)	0.025 (0.155)	0.001 (0.011)
Male head completed Form 4	0.045 (0.207)	0.014 (0.119)	-0.030* (0.016)
Female head completed primary	0.271 (0.445)	0.172 (0.378)	-0.099*** (0.030)
Wealth index	0.151 (1.795)	-0.223 (1.142)	-0.373*** (0.109)
Male head completed Primary	0.272 (0.446)	0.248 (0.433)	-0.025 (0.042)
Household size	4.638 (1.765)	4.940 (1.808)	0.302** (0.128)
Dependency ratio	0.589 (0.200)	0.512 (0.220)	-0.077*** (0.015)



Mean Empowerment Level

Pro-WEAI Impact Evaluation Results

VARIABLES	(1) Empowerment Score	(2) Intrinsic Agency: Income Autonomy	(3) Intrinsic Agency: Self-efficacy	(4) Intrinsic Agency: Attitudes about IPV	(5) Collective Agency: Group membership
Treat*Post	0.00269 (0.0175)	0.0189 (0.0526)	-0.0267 (0.0531)	-0.0124 (0.0268)	0.108** (0.0491)
VARIABLES	(1) Input in productive decisions	(2) Ownership of land and other assets	(3) Access to and decisions on credit and financial accounts	(4) Control over use of income	(5) Work balance
Treat*Post	-0.0654* (0.0355)	-0.0262 (0.0443)	0.0838* (0.0494)	0.00448 (0.0536)	-0.0450 (0.0417)

- Increases in group membership and access to credit
- No impact on measures of intrinsic agency important for intra-household bargaining
- Decline in input into productive decisions

Food Insecurity

VARIABLES	(1) No. of Unique Foods	(2) No. of Unique Foods Groups	(3) Women's Dietary Diversity Score'
Empowerment score	1.555*** (0.501)	0.909** (0.362)	-0.777*** (0.213)
Observations	646	646	641
R ²	0.162	0.163	0.061

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

- A higher empowerment score for a woman is correlated with greater dietary diversity for the household, but lower dietary diversity for herself

Intimate Partner Violence

VARIABLES	(1) Believe intimate partner violence against women is never justified	(2) Husband hit with stick	(3) Co-wife hit with stick	(4) Physically Abused	(5) Emotionally Abused	(6) Sexually abused
Empowerment score	0.0802 (0.0712)	-0.183* (0.0999)	-0.0291 (0.0530)	-0.160 (0.129)	-0.249** (0.119)	-0.0154 (0.0554)
Observations	647	641	409	439	548	617
R ²	0.079	0.046	0.037	0.067	0.086	0.043

- A higher empowerment score for a woman is correlated with lower rates of physical and emotional abuse by husbands

Asante Sana



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Pro-WEAI Impact Evaluation Results

VARIABLES	(1) Empowerment Score
Treat*Post	0.00269 (0.0175)
Treat	0.0144 (0.0124)
Post	0.0523*** (0.0120)
Age	0.0101*** (0.00209)
Age-squared	-9.94e-05*** (2.42e-05)
Female-headed HH	0.0253*** (0.00963)
Number of wives	-0.000331 (0.00288)
Protestant	0.00796 (0.00920)
Female head completed Form 4	0.0649** (0.0301)
Female head completed primary	0.00198 (0.0134)
Household size	0.000387 (0.00351)
Dependency ratio	0.0186 (0.0296)
Educated adults in HH	0.00747 (0.00650)
Cows owned by HH	-1.23e-05 (6.48e-05)
District	0.000273 (0.00932)
Constant	0.215*** (0.0363)
Observations	1,398
R ²	0.090

Intrinsic Agency

VARIABLES	(2) Intrinsic Agency: Income Autonomy	(3) Intrinsic Agency: Self-efficacy	(4) Intrinsic Agency: Attitudes about IPV	(5) Collective Agency: Group membership
Treat*Post	0.0189 (0.0526)	-0.0267 (0.0531)	-0.0124 (0.0268)	0.108** (0.0491)
Treat	0.0102 (0.0384)	-0.0365 (0.0383)	0.00891 (0.0162)	-0.0187 (0.0336)
Post	-0.206*** (0.0357)	0.134*** (0.0359)	0.0433** (0.0189)	0.151*** (0.0326)
Age	0.00725 (0.00595)	0.0192*** (0.00572)	-0.000750 (0.00345)	0.0118** (0.00596)
Age-squared	-9.02e-05 (6.98e-05)	-0.000221*** (6.62e-05)	9.82e-06 (3.92e-05)	-0.000104 (7.01e-05)
Female-headed HH	0.0791*** (0.0287)	0.0283 (0.0288)	-0.00848 (0.0147)	0.0645** (0.0267)
Number of wives	0.0149 (0.00930)	-0.0133 (0.00939)	-0.00595 (0.00423)	0.0204** (0.00906)
Protestant	0.0279 (0.0280)	0.0316 (0.0282)	0.0108 (0.0139)	0.0609** (0.0261)
Female head completed Form	0.111 (0.0945)	0.111 (0.0840)	0.00150 (0.0555)	0.151* (0.0873)
Female head completed prim.	0.0515 (0.0414)	0.00279 (0.0417)	-0.0237 (0.0220)	-0.0351 (0.0376)
Household size	0.0201* (0.0107)	-0.00157 (0.0105)	-0.000868 (0.00604)	0.0254** (0.00998)
Dependency ratio	-0.178** (0.0862)	-0.0332 (0.0860)	-0.00862 (0.0430)	0.0173 (0.0817)
Educated adults in HH	-0.0335* (0.0197)	0.0187 (0.0193)	0.0325*** (0.0118)	0.0469** (0.0186)
Cows owned by HH	-0.000180 (0.000130)	7.95e-05 (0.000152)	-5.43e-05 (7.56e-05)	-0.000203 (0.000147)
District	0.0657** (0.0280)	0.00170 (0.0286)	0.0604*** (0.0147)	-0.0673** (0.0264)
Constant	0.351*** (0.108)	0.110 (0.107)	0.0154 (0.0626)	-0.290*** (0.103)
Observations	1,398	1,398	1,398	1,398
R ²	0.061	0.039	0.044	0.126

Instrumental Agency

VARIABLES	(1) Input in productive decisions	(2) Ownership of land and other assets	(3) Access to and decisions on credit and financial accounts	(4) Control over use of income	(5) Work balance	(6) Visiting important locations
Treat*Post	-0.0654* (0.0355)	-0.0262 (0.0443)	0.0838* (0.0494)	0.00448 (0.0536)	-0.0450 (0.0417)	-0.0208 (0.0454)
Treat	0.0320* (0.0175)	0.0102 (0.0351)	0.0819** (0.0384)	0.0111 (0.0389)	0.0272 (0.0303)	0.0246 (0.0352)
Post	-0.135*** (0.0233)	0.154*** (0.0288)	0.194*** (0.0350)	0.0192 (0.0365)	0.0170 (0.0291)	0.160*** (0.0308)
Age	0.00279 (0.00390)	0.0112** (0.00491)	0.0185*** (0.00563)	0.0111* (0.00604)	-0.00151 (0.00494)	0.0211*** (0.00541)
Age-squared	-2.07e-05 (4.53e-05)	-8.96e-05 (5.67e-05)	-0.000204*** (6.57e-05)	-0.000116 (7.04e-05)	9.78e-05 (5.96e-05)	-0.000250*** (6.46e-05)
Female-headed HH	0.0451** (0.0193)	0.0342 (0.0249)	0.0964*** (0.0273)	-0.0542* (0.0292)	-0.0287 (0.0228)	-0.00462 (0.0250)
Number of wives	0.00156 (0.00515)	0.00295 (0.00702)	-0.00325 (0.00850)	-0.0220** (0.00939)	-0.000799 (0.00811)	0.00399 (0.00815)
Protestant	-0.00787 (0.0178)	-0.0291 (0.0238)	0.0443* (0.0266)	-0.0411 (0.0284)	-0.0199 (0.0219)	0.00267 (0.0244)
Female head completed Form 4	-0.0868 (0.0739)	0.185*** (0.0595)	-0.000438 (0.0813)	0.00387 (0.0965)	0.0319 (0.0742)	0.142** (0.0685)
Female head completed primary	0.00456 (0.0260)	0.00796 (0.0357)	-0.0303 (0.0386)	0.0318 (0.0418)	-0.0223 (0.0312)	0.0311 (0.0347)
Household size	-0.00431 (0.00688)	-0.00496 (0.00859)	-0.00337 (0.0101)	-0.0102 (0.0107)	-0.0180** (0.00885)	0.00331 (0.00936)
Dependency ratio	0.0449 (0.0576)	0.0657 (0.0726)	0.116 (0.0800)	0.0575 (0.0848)	0.00842 (0.0752)	0.100 (0.0748)
Educated adults in HH	0.0109 (0.0115)	0.00613 (0.0161)	0.0159 (0.0180)	-0.0342* (0.0198)	0.00885 (0.0162)	0.00308 (0.0162)
Cows owned by HH	-0.000147 (0.000102)	0.000116 (9.64e-05)	-0.000214 (0.000172)	5.00e-05 (0.000152)	0.000196 (0.000147)	0.000170 (0.000132)
District	0.0679*** (0.0182)	0.0462* (0.0238)	-0.114*** (0.0268)	-0.00996 (0.0288)	0.0461** (0.0222)	-0.0935*** (0.0246)
Constant	0.793*** (0.0688)	0.309*** (0.0918)	-0.0105 (0.103)	0.467*** (0.110)	0.215** (0.0890)	0.186* (0.0980)
Observations	1,398	1,398	1,392	1,398	1,398	1,398
R ²	0.090	0.066	0.117	0.020	0.059	0.069

Collective Agency

VARIABLES	(5) Collective Agency: Group membership
Treat*Post	0.108** (0.0491)
Treat	-0.0187 (0.0336)
Post	0.151*** (0.0326)
Age	0.0118** (0.00596)
Age-squared	-0.000104 (7.01e-05)
Female-headed HH	0.0645** (0.0267)
Number of wives	0.0204** (0.00906)
Protestant	0.0609** (0.0261)
Female head completed Form 4	0.151* (0.0873)
Female head completed primary	-0.0351 (0.0376)
Household size	0.0254** (0.00998)
Dependency ratio	0.0173 (0.0817)
Educated adults in HH	0.0469** (0.0186)
Cows owned by HH	-0.000203 (0.000147)
District	-0.0673** (0.0264)
Constant	-0.290*** (0.103)
Observations	1,398
R ²	0.126

Increase in Empowerment

- ▶ The Maisha Program and other cultural factors helped empower Maasai women on multiple dimensions
 - ▶ “These women [VICOBAs participants] have become different than others because they are in the next good level of their lives. It makes other people see them as good examples in the community, and they say: ‘This woman is almost becoming the same as a man who is doing well in his life within the village.’”
 - ▶ “This is a woman who is courageous and speaks with confidence and leaves the old traditions when most women were desperate and were afraid of expressing themselves in the society. That’s why she put those decisions into action because in the past, women were not knowledgeable about many things but for these days, women are able to claim their rights for equality and justice.”
 - ▶ “Women who participated in Maisha Bora microfinance groups are women who were in poverty, but after joining the VICOBAs, their life has improved through livestock that they were given by the project, like a goat and others benefited through the experience of doing business through trainings.”

Qualitative: Intrinsic Agency

- ▶ *Decision making*
 - ▶ “Women who joined the VICOBA groups are taking care of their responsibilities and implementing their life plans such as building the houses and buying livestock.”
 - ▶ “They are hard working women with financial capabilities within their villages and they make decisions within their families.”
- ▶ *Relationship improvement*
 - ▶ “Through trainings that we have gotten from the VICOBA, we teach one another to have unity and love among us so that we can continue to perform group activities peacefully
 - ▶ “These women have become good leaders in their families because they are the ones who cooperate with their husbands to discuss different issues in the boma, for example about food, clothes and livestock.”
- ▶ *Self efficacy:*
 - ▶ “Because nowadays women attend different meetings, and they stand confidently to share their ideas and they are heard.”
 - ▶ “Women being in groups has increased love in the family because men have recognized us to some extent, and we have been able to speak with our husbands [more] compared to the past when we were afraid to sit at one table with our husbands talking about a certain issue.”

Instrumental Agency:

- ▶ *Access to credit and control of income:*
 - ▶ Membership in the Maisha Bora VICOBA groups allowed women to start new businesses and earn money independent of husbands.
 - ▶ Women gained control of funds earned from petty trading and accessed loans to cover shocks.
 - ▶ Relationships with family members improved when women contributed funds and helped men from forced livestock sales
 - ▶ Women's self efficacy increased because members paid for food for family, soap clothing, and housing improvements.
- ▶ *Mobility:*
 - ▶ "Before joining to the VICOBA, we were very poor people and we did not go anywhere outside of our village; but now we are going to different places out of this village to do business and, through this, we have seen many changes in ourselves. So the old people said "Engang'u naipung'o eng'en" This is a Maasai saying which means "An eye that visited different places is the one which is clever."

Instrumental Agency:

Work Balance

Women in VICOBA remain responsible for household chores but sometimes receive more help from husbands

- ▶ “A woman is the “minister of home affairs, I mean she is the one who decides about everything in the house such as, what to cook, how much to cook, what time to cook, who to eat, washing, cleaning, fetching water, collecting firewood, look after children and also looking after sick people.” (*man with wife in VICOBA*)
- ▶ “There are changes because now days we are doing our domestic work faster in order to attend VICOBA on time as agreed by members so that we can avoid the fines levied for the late comers.” (*woman in VICOBA*)

Collective Agency

► *Solidarity of group members*

- ▶ “Before the VICOBA, women were not able to send their children to school but after joining to the group women became unified in the community and helped each other more closely.”
- ▶ “Through the VICOBA, we have seen men and women be influenced about different issues. If there is a certain governmental event or from another organization, people respond, and they come to the area of an event on time.”
- ▶ “There are changes because when a woman fails to send her child to school, she can be helped by the group by contributing her small amount of money so that she/he will continue with studies therefore I feel empowered through my group.”

Qualitative: Food Insecurity

- ▶ Women in VICOBA reported buying food for family from their savings or through group support.
 - ▶ “Before VICOBA, we depended on our husbands for everything so when they failed to get what we needed [food], then children slept on empty stomachs but now we are working very hard and our children are not sleeping hungry because we [women] will provide for our families in circumstances when men could not.”
- ▶ Respondents in almost all FGD reported training in nutrition, dietary
 - ▶ “Yes, Maisha Bora has brought about changes in how to make a balanced diet in the family for example, people have been educated to eat variety of foods; mothers to only breast feed their babies in their first six months and pregnant women were taught to attend pre-natal clinics and to eat fruits. The one who trained us was a community nutritionist.”
 - ▶ “They provided kitchen garden training. They provided seeds and people planted them. They benefitted through getting vegetables and food security to households. And women who attended the training got the knowledge of how to cook different kinds of food.”
- ▶ More remote villages had a difficult time accessing vegetables

Qualitative: Intimate Partner Violence

- ▶ Some respondents reported incidences of violence decreased due to a combination of factors:
 - ▶ Cultural change because of exposure to other people and media
 - ▶ Trainings from churches
 - ▶ Reduction in arranged marriages in younger age sets
- ▶ Some women and men said that women now knew their rights and could take abusive husbands to village leaders.
- ▶ Deeply embedded norms allow men to beat women.
 - ▶ Disobedience, arrogance
 - ▶ Losing cattle
 - ▶ Not cooking meals on time
 - ▶ *“No, slapping a woman is not allowed but hitting with a “njipishipi” meaning hitting her with a small stick when she is wrong is okay.”*

