

Women discuss women's empowerment during a focus group discussion in Mapato

Research on Women's
Empowerment and
Participation in Farmer
Groups, Savings and
Internal Lending
Communities, and
Nutrition Groups

A RIFA research project in collaboration with Feed the Future Zambia Mawa
Project

Capstone for International Agricultural Development Graduate Program

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Introduction

"Research on Women's Empowerment and Participation in Farmer Groups, Savings and Internal Lending Communities, and Nutrition groups" sought to measure the impact of participation in the Feed the Future Zambia Mawa project on women's empowerment. The research project began in February of 2016, with in country research taking place from August 2016 – December 2016. This report shares the goals, activities, and results of the research and includes discussion for interpretation and future uses of the results.

Background

In Zambia, barriers to women's control over land, assets and income cut across the challenges of poor agricultural growth and poor nutrition. The Sustainable Development Agenda states that it will "end poverty and hunger, in all their forms and dimensions," to "ensure that all human beings can enjoy prosperous and fulfilling lives" (Nam, 2015). To do this, the goals focus reducing gender and social inequality (Goals 5 and 10), and ending hunger and promoting good health and well-being (Goals 2 and 3). USAID and other donor organizations seek to combat poverty through the empowerment of women and girls; however, the linkages between gender, nutrition, and agriculture need further research.

The Feed the Future Zambia Mawa Project (2012-2017) is an integrated food security activity linking improvements in both health and nutritional status with improvements in food and economic security. Mawa seeks to improve the nutritional status in children under two by linking nutrition-sensitive economic and food security activities with nutrition-specific interventions in Zambia's Eastern Province. Mawa engages with rural households through nutrition and health services, agricultural extension and community-based savings groups to target key issues of gender inequality, undernutrition, and access to capital. Mawa's integrated package of interventions is designed to help householdss reap the nutritional and economic benefits of diversified agricultural production. Mawa supports gender-responsive interventions, designed to maximize women's participation and capture the value of productive, reproductive and community roles within the household and the community for lasting agricultural, nutritional and economic gains (CRS, 2016).

"Research on Women's Empowerment and Participation in Farmer Groups, Nutrition groups, and Savings and Internal Lending Communities" with Catholic Relief Services, measured the impact of participation in Mawa groups on women's empowerment and gendered balance of power within the household. The research specifically evaluated farmer groups, savings and internal loan communities, and nutrition groups initiated by Catholic Relief Services' Mawa project for gender impacts. This project utilized focus group discussions and individual interviews with farmers to collect information from Mawa communities about women's empowerment and household and agricultural activities to evaluate changes in empowerment resulting from participation in Mawa.

Literature Review

The international development community's interest in gender issues has varied in the past, but with the inclusion of women's and girl's interests in the Millennial Development Goals, focus on gender equity and women's empowerment has become more prominent within development agencies. The Sustainable Development Goals further carry this mission with goal 5 which states that a global development objective is to empower all women and girls (Assembly, 2015). A review of development organizations and projects in Ghana revealed that a dominant theme across agencies was that of economic empowerment for women (Anyidoho & Manuh, 2010).

The economic empowerment of women has become a particularly important focus as it has been as it is cited as the key to economic development for households, communities, and nations. The World Bank calls it "smart economics," lauding its ability to enhance productivity and spinning the wheel of industry which ultimately increases national GDPs and lifts states out of poverty (Bank, 2011). As examined by Kabeer, gender issues have prioritized by agencies "insofar as they are consistent with other development concerns (including poverty) and insofar as women are seen to offer a means to these, other, ends" (Kabeer, 1997). This neo-liberal approach, however, overlooks social justice concerns, reducing women's empowerment to individual achievements by development organizations. As such, policies tend to overlook how interaction with existing power structures and social norms may impact women's agency and autonomy (Hillenbrand, Karim, Mohanraj, & Wu, 2015).

With such an achievement-focused outlook within the development community, women's empowerment has come to be identified through achievements: numbers of women in the labor force, numbers of women who receive loans, numbers of girls attending school, improved maternal health. Meanwhile, rights based actors, such as Eyben et al., have argued that empowerment is more than just outcomes, but "the power to redefine our possibilities and options and to act on them, the power within that enables people to have the courage to do things they never thought themselves to be capable of, and the power that comes from working alongside others to claim what is rightfully theirs" (Eyben, Kabeer, & Cornwall, 2008). Empowerment is fundamentally about power. There is an internal power recognized within ourselves, and an external power to act upon what is recognized inside. The internal power, or "power within," consists of personal beliefs of what we are and are not entitled to, while the external power, or "power with," is a relationship with existing power structures (Eyben et al., 2008). These forces of power interact to enable and disable each other. Where social power structures restrict women from holding public office, women will believe they are not able or entitled to holding public office, and thus further discouraging their participation in the political process.

If empowerment is about power, then it must refer to those who do not have power, the disempowered. As stated by Sen, "the roots of deprivation and inequality lie in power relations that cut across multiple aspects of people's lives and are not specific to particular issues such as education or health or hunger. Rather, they appear to be specific to particular groups of persons such as women and girls, and also groups disadvantaged or subordinated on other grounds" (Sen, 2013). Empowerment does not reflect lack of certain achievements, but rather groups of those who encounter obstacles to realizing those achievements.

This disempowerment occurs when obstacles are created around social structures. For women, this social structure manifests itself in gender roles, or "social constructions of womanhood centered on reproductive roles, which restrict women's access to productive resources such as credit, land, training and education, and also to decision-making structures and processes" (Anyidoho & Manuh, 2010). Women's empowerment and disempowerment are tied to their relationships within power structures and how these structures enable and disable them. However, while power structures are most often unequal, they are not static, negotiations are constantly occurring within households and communities (Caretta & Börjeson, 2015). As Charmes and Wieringa tell us, the process of empowerment is about exposing the oppressive power of existing gender relations, critically challenging them, and creatively trying to shape different social relations (Charmes & Wieringa, 2003). Thus, empowerment reflects the disempowered's changing relationships with social constraints and represents a journey rather than an end goal- a verb, rather than a noun.

Even as a process that consists of challenging power structures, empowerment can be broken down into broad indicators. As conceptualized by Kabeer, the three critical pieces of empowerment are agency, resources, and achievements. Agency is "the ability to define one's goals and act on them," encompassing meaning, motivation and purpose within individuals (Kabeer, 1999). It is about how people see themselves, or their sense of self-worth—the power within. In turn, it is about how they are seen by others around them—the power with. Resources are the "medium through which agency is exercised" (Kabeer, 2005). They encompass both economic resources as well as human and social capital. Achievements refer to the outcomes of agency and resources together—"agency exercised and its consequences" (Kabeer, 2005). Empowerment is not just about the outcome (achievements, or resources), but about the process (agency + resources creating achievements).

Agency and resources create the opportunity for women to make choices for themselves. Empowerment is "not just about enlarging the boundaries of action. It is also about extending the horizons of possibility, of what people imagine themselves being able to be and do" (Cornwall & Edwards, 2010). Empowerment is the extent to which women are able to define self-interest and their ability, as well as their entitlement, to act on it (Adjei, 2015). Thus, empowerment is about defining and acting on strategic life choices. A difference exists in women's choices. Some are empowering in that they reveal an agency that is transformative in nature. It indicates that women are able to practice the aforementioned extension of the horizon of possibility, and to achieve that which has been previously denied. Other choices exist to reinforce the gendered division of labor in which women are only "allowed" to make choices in certain areas pertaining to their realm of "women's" responsibilities (Charmes & Wieringa, 2003; Kabeer, 1999). These indicate a "greater 'effectiveness' of agency" allowing for women to perform their expected responsibilities more effectively (Kabeer, 1999). Transformative agency challenges the power structure, while effective agency embeds women and men deeper within this structure.

Throughout this paper, outcomes of the Mawa project and discussions for women's empowerment will be examined for agency, resources, and achievements, and outcomes will be identified as either transformative or effective.

Hypotheses

The purpose of this research sought to answer if women are feeling more empowered after participation in Mawa, and in what ways Mawa has successfully impacted this empowerment. The following hypotheses were set:

- Participation in one or more Mawa activity improves household dialogue to increase women's
 participation in the decision making process and increasing women's ability to control or share
 control of decisions regarding the use of household and agricultural resources, income and
 expenditures, and household and agriculture tasks.
- 2. Participation in more than one Mawa activity will have a larger impact on women's feelings of empowerment than participation in just one activity.
- Mawa participants who also participated in household and community dialogues, as well as other
 activities, will feel the largest impact on women's feelings of empowerment as compared to only
 participation in other activities.

Methodology

To answer the above hypotheses, households from four different Mawa groups were identified— (1) those in farmer groups, (2) those participating in nutrition groups, (3) members of savings and internal lending communities (SILC), and (4) participants in gender education. First, women's empowerment was defined. Second, Mawa activities and impacts were evaluated against the resulting definitions to see how Mawa has impacted women's feelings of empowerment.

Data collection consisted of two parts. The first was a series of three focus group discussions aimed at gathering information about participants definitions of women's empowerment, how men and women divide household and agricultural tasks, and how men and women divide household and agricultural expenditures. Individual interviews with 16 households—or 30 individuals—were conducted to explore topics shared in the focus groups.

Two approaches were used in defining women's empowerment. The first was using the Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index (WEAI) for general parameters, and the second was asking men and women in Mawa communities for their own definitions.

The WEAI is used to measure women's empowerment in five areas—control over agriculture production, access to and control over productive resources, access to and control over income, leadership in the community, and time use—as compared to men (Alkire et al., 2013). The WEAI was used to define general parameters for the research. This approach allowed the research project to collect information that is comparable to other studies on women's empowerment. Furthermore, by using the WEAI for general

guidelines and collecting local definitions of women's empowerment, the study is able to highlight areas in which the WEAI cannot conform to all impressions and concepts of empowerment.

As empowerment is a process in which individuals challenge structures of inequality, rather than a set of achievements, measuring empowerment can be difficult. The difficulty in measuring empowerment is that it is value laden. Mayoux notes that 'the selection of any particular set of indicators... is inevitably based on underlying theoretical, and often political, understanding of what types of impacts are important' (Mayoux, 2003). These theoretical and political understandings can misrepresent women, as Cornwall and Edwards note, "women's lived experiences of empowerment cannot be understood adequately by approaches that atomise women, abstracting them from the social and intimate relations that constrain and make possible their empowerment or disempowerment" (Cornwall & Edwards, 2010). As empowerment is inherently linked to the process of overcoming existing power structures, to abstract the definition of empowerment from these lived experiences with power structures would result in an incomplete, and shallow, definition of empowerment. Furthermore, by allowing those being empowered to create the definition, it is possible to compare both positive and negative changes within a community (Carr, 2008). Finally, measuring one's own empowerment can, in and of itself, be empowering, and therefore should not be something done by the more powerful to the less powerful (Jupp, Ali, & Barahona, 2010). As such, this research project sought definitions of women's empowerment from the Mawa communities themselves.

Part 1: Focus Group Discussions

Members of the Zambian Ministry of Community Development were trained to conduct single gender Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with each of the identified groups. These discussions were used to learn about local definitions of women's empowerment, time use, and expenditure priorities and responsibilities.



Members of the Zambian Ministry of Community Development and Mawa enumerators training to lead and record focus group discussions

Focus groups were used to gather local definitions of women's empowerment and to evaluate Mawa's impact on women's empowerment. Each FGD consisted of two parts, (1) an activity followed by (2) a facilitator led discussion.

Focus group discussion 1B-FGD: Empowerment and Dramas (Appendix A) was used to gather

definitions of women's empowerment and was modeled on an activity developed by researchers in Bangladesh, using dramas as method of participatory rural appraisal (Jupp et al., 2010). The activity asked

participants to share their ideas on women's empowerment by designing and performing dramas that depicted 3 scenes: (1) life before Mawa, (2) life during Mawa, and (3) Life as they anticipate in 3-5 years after Mawa has finished.

Evaluating Mawa's impact on women's empowerment consisted of two Focus Group Discussions and individual interviews modeled after activities promoted by gender researchers working for IFAD (Kubberud, Carloni, & Johnson, 2002). Discussions after each activity included questions on what, if any, impacts Mawa had on these activities.

The FGD "1C – FGD: Household and Agriculture Tasks," (Appendix B), asked participants from 24 groups to create 24-hour charts of their daily activities to identify how men and women divide household and agricultural tasks. Each participant was assigned a different part of the year to depict—planting,

harvesting, rainy season, dry season, and marketing.

The FGD "1D – FGD: Household and Agriculture Expenditures," (Appendix C), used an expenditure chart with 24 groups to identify how expenditures are prioritized by men and women individually, and the household generally. The activity asked participants to identify expenditures made by their families, who makes the decision for each of those expenditures, and who is responsible for purchasing each of those expenditures, while the facilitator marked their answers on the chart. Afterwards,



Beatrice from the Ministry of Community Development places a sticker on the expenditure chart during a focus group discussion in

participants used stickers to rate expenditures in order of importance from one to five.

Table 1: Focus Group Discussions

| Name | Key Message | Activity | Group Size | # FGDs Conducted |
|---|---|----------------------|---------------|---------------------|
| 1B - FGD: Empowerment Dramas and FGD | Men's and women's perceptions of women's empowerment | Drama | 10 – 20 | 29 |
| 1C - FGD: Household and Agriculture Tasks | Men's and women's division of tasks in agricultural and household labor, and how this division is negotiated | 24-hour chart | 5 | 24 |
| 1D - FGD: Household and Agriculture Expenditures | Men's and women's expenditures for agriculture and the household, and how these expenditures are prioritized and negotiated | Expenditure chart | 10 | 24 |

Part 2: Individual Interviews

In-depth interviews, (Appendix D), were designed to reflect and expand on information collected by the facilitators during the Focus Group Discussions. Each interview consisted of two parts:

1. General Interview

- a. Definitions of women's empowerment
- b. Decision making in the household
- c. Views of men and women/sons and daughters

2. Mawa Activity

- a. SILC
- b. Agriculture
- c. or Nutrition

Every participant engaged in the General Interview, and households were specifically selected to answer questions about either SILC, Agriculture, or Nutrition activities. In total, sixteen households, or twenty-nine individuals, participated in interviews.

Locations

Focus group discussions and interviews were conducted in 5 Mawa camps.

Table 2: Location of Focus Group Discussions

| Mawa Camp | Village |
|-----------|-------------------|
| Katonda | Katonda |
| Mzapawi | Mzapawi Village |
| Pwata | Kang'ombe Village |
| Ng'ongwe | Mapato Village |
| Shamombo | Kamtemeni Village |

Community Definitions of Women's Empowerment

The FGD "1B – FGD: Empowerment Dramas" (Appendix A) was conducted with 29 groups in Mawa communities, split by gender and Mawa activity. The dramas depicted several themes that were primarily focused on women's inclusion in decision-making, work-load reduction, increased income, and healthier children.

In interviews and focus group discussions women and men often explained women's empowerment as men and women being equal. When asked to explain what this means, participants brought up a variety of ways men and women are considered equal, such as: (1) men and women help each other with work,

(2) women see the money that is earned from farming, (3) women can help decide how money should be spent, (4) women can keep the money to purchase things they need. One man explained that "before Mawa came to this place, I was oppressing the wife. I used to hide my money and my wife couldn't know where the money was kept. Now I put money in an open place so that even if I am not around my wife is able to know where the money is kept. Before Mawa, I used to do gardening on my own but now



Men perform dramas about women's empowerment in Mapato

that Mawa came we are able to do it together with my wife. I am able to do household chores, but before then I couldn't. My wife was doing the household chores on her own. Before then, tradition taught us to say only women had to do specific jobs and men had to do specific jobs so it was difficult for us to live together."

In a focus group discussion, men shared that they liked women's empowerment, stating that "women's empowerment is ok because truly speaking we use to suppress women, hence giving them huge tasks in



Women perform dramas about women's empowerment during a focus group discussion in Katonda

terms of work. But now we even involve them in budgeting and it's because of this our houses are better. Because we involve them. They bring in new ideas of development."

Men and women also shared that they think women are more empowered when they know how to feed their families well. Women and men in focus groups shared that they are empowered by the health of their children. Participation in nutrition groups have also empowered women, who state that they have "been empowered in terms of knowledge, because before then they didn't know anything."

Throughout the course of the focus group discussions and interviews, men and women defined women's empowerment in ways that aligned, for the most part, with the WEAI. They expressed that women's empowerment is the inclusion of women in decision making and budgeting income (decisions over agriculture production, access to and control over productive resources, access to and control over income), as well as the participation of men in household tasks to reduce women's labor (time use). Outside of the WEAI, Women and men also stated that women's ability to feed children nutritious food, due to households' changing priorities around feeding and spending, was an example of women's empowerment.

Discussion: Local Definitions of Women's Empowerment

Women are identifying their agency through changing ideas about what constitute as women's responsibilities and men's responsibilities. Changes in gendered division of labor that result in more cooperation between men and women and allow for more resting time for women improve women's agency. As gendered responsibilities transform to include women in decision making about spending money, women have greater access to financial resources. Participation in SILC allows women access to money and the spending power to utilize this money to further increase resources and/or agency. Participation in nutrition groups impart knowledge about healthy feeding practices, resources that women find empowering.

Many of men's and women's definitions of empowerment consist of achievements. Reduced labor, keeping of money in the household, making purchases on their own, and healthier and more nutritious children.

Some definitions represent empowerment based on efficiency. When women help budget, keep the money in the household, and help make decisions, they are able to ensure they have the resources they need in order to be good caretakers per their role as wives and mothers. They can stock their households and kitchens with items necessary to care for the family.

Other definitions represent transformative empowerment. Men's and women's views of women are changing, as they see that women can contribute good ideas for the household and development. When women participate in budgeting, they are able to see the fruits of their labor, which improves their self esteem. Men's appreciation of women's abilities to improve decision making in the household increases men's respect of their wives, which in turn can impact their willingness to further include their wives in a variety of decisions impacting the household's livelihood.

Data from FGDs and Interviews

The parameters of the WEAI and the additional parameter introduced by the community on women's ability to feed children nutritious food will be explored in depth using the answers from each of the identified Mawa groups. The first 3 parameters of the WEAI—control over agricultural production, access to and control over productive resources, and access to and control over income—have been combined to reflect the interdependent relationships found between these parameters in Mawa communities.

Control over agricultural production, access to and control over productive resources, access to and control over income

Farmer Group Members

In focus group discussions, men and women shared that production decisions used to be made solely by men, but that after participating in Mawa agricultural lessons, women were now being included in the decision-making. Men informed facilitators that men should make the final decision regarding production, as they are the heads of the household, but that women may make polite suggestions. Women concurred, saying that their husbands make the final decisions, and they "are just married to him. The husband owns the field." During interviews, participants stated that they make decisions about how much of the harvest to keep for consumption and how much to sell. Participation in these decisions give women more access to and control over production, as well as better footing in their ability to prepare food by ensuring enough production is kept for consumption.

Men and women say that Mawa has taught them to make budgets together. After the husband sells the produce, he now comes home with the money to budget as a family. During interviews, men expressed that before participating in Mawa, it was difficult for them to make proper decisions on how to spend money because they did not know how to budget. They also said that they budget as a family in order to avoid making the wrong decision by themselves and wasting money. Budgeting has taught them to prioritize big items, like farming inputs and school fees. One man stated that participating in the farmer group taught him that farming is his business, which is why it is important to budget and ensure there is money for inputs. While budgeting is a family activity, purchases remain gendered within households.



Joseph from the Ministry of Community Development leads a focus group discussion with women in Mzapawi

During focus groups, women and men said that women purchase items for the home while men are responsible for bigger purchases—cattle, ploughs, and ox-carts. The division is driven by social norms in that men stated they were better purchasing than womenthey know what good quality is—and that as heads of thee household, "the power from God," drives these purchasing responsibilities.

Men and women in focus groups said that Mawa has taught them to have wives keep the money in the house. 78 percent of interview respondents said that women keep the money. Men explained that this was helpful for when women need to purchase items for the house, or if there was an emergency, while the husband is away. During interviews, men explained that women "can't spend anyhow,"—a comment meaning that "they will not spend frivolously or spend any which way"—and that if their wives spend any

money, they need to either ask permission or explain what they purchased and why. Men also said that they would not spend money unless it was on something that had been agreed upon during budgeting. One man said that his wife will not waste the money, whereas he could spend the money on anything he wants if he keeps it on himself. Wives keeping the money in the house encourages accountability for sticking to the budget.

SILC Group Members

In focus group discussions, men say that they make decisions together with their wives, and women acknowledged that men are sharing important assets now. Women did state, however, that the husband makes the final decision.

Men and women in focus groups said that households are making budgets together. Women shared, however, that they do not trust their husbands to prioritize well because they have seen them waste money in the past. During interviews, men and women explained that they are able to prioritize spending when they budget together, and put emphasis on school fees, food, and farming inputs. Additionally, they make sure to budget some money to be saved in SILC. Women say that when their husbands bring home the money to budget, they feel empowered because they are now able to see the money earned from their agricultural labor. Men say that now there are less challenges at home when they budget together, as together they make good decisions, and that there is less conflict since their wives know how the money is spent.

Men and women said during the focus group discussions and interviews that their wives keep the money. In interviews, 89% of respondents said that women keep the money. Women in focus groups stated that

they did not trust men to keep the money, as they are "crooked by nature." Men in focus groups and interviews concurred that they were careless spenders, and that they are likely to spend money on beer and forget about the family. Women, however, do not waste because they must explain any purchases they make.

During the focus groups and interviews, participants shared that both men and women contribute to money saved in SILC. They budget money for SILC together, men will sell livestock and give the money to their



Women discuss SILC during a focus group discussion in Mapato

wives to put in SILC, and women will do piecework. Money from SILC is used to supplement income to budget for farming inputs, school fees, and animals. Those who are starting businesses from SILC loans state that they use the income from that business to supplement income, re-invest in the business, and put savings into SILC. Women feel empowered that they are directly responsible for income used to

supplement the budget. Men feel good that there is extra money, and feel empowered that they no longer need to get credit to purchase farming inputs.

Nutrition Group Members

In focus group discussions, men shared that they have learned to share production roles with their wives, but women stated that men still make the final decisions.

Men and women in focus groups stated that they budget together now. Women say they feel empowered helping to budget. Women said that they think of family first and when they are included in budgeting, household nutrition improves. Men see the value of sitting with their wives to put ideas together on how to budget. Purchases are gendered, with women buying home items like salt, soap and kitchen utensils. Men say that they will buy big items, and that this is dictated by gender and social norms. They say that it is traditional for men to buy cattle because women could be harmed by the big animals and they cannot travel far like men can.

Men and women say that wives keep the money in the home—including 80% of interview respondents—and that women feel good knowing how the money is spent. However, like the other groups shared, women cannot spend money without permission or justifying to their husbands, and will have to resell anything that their husbands do not approve.

Time use

Farmer Group Members

In focus group discussions, women said they were noticing that men were helping with childcare after participation in Mawa. In interviews, 80% of respondents say that men are helping their wives with household work. Men said they help with washing, fetching firewood, and changing nappies for children. Men say they help when they see that their wives have a lot of work. They like to help when they see that their wives need help, but do not want their wives to assign them tasks. In interviews, men say that when husbands and wives help each other, the work in the household is reduced and even men find it easier to rest.

Men and women in focus groups said that women have many jobs to do, but now that men help, women have less work and can rest now. Women said that they can now bath and take care of themselves. Women did say that even though they have more rest than before Mawa, they do get less rest than men. They wake up earlier because they have more jobs to do, and men say that since they paid the bride price, women should work more.

In interviews, women say that when they go home from the field at midday to cook and clean, they consider this rest. Men, too, think that because they stay in the fields while women go home, they are working more than women. While 50% of respondents said that women work more than men, and 40% said that both men and women work the same (with only 10% saying men work more), in interviews men said that women are lazy if they are at home instead of in the field, suggesting that reproductive work is not as valued as productive work.

In interviews, men and women say that women's empowerment can make women lazy. Women explain that a woman is lazy if a man is doing more work than his wife, while men say that women are lazy if they rely on men for help.

SILC Group Members

In focus groups, men and women said that men can help now by washing, fetching water, and collecting firewood. During interviews, 89% of respondents said that men are now helping with the household work. Men say that sometimes they are shy to help because they are afraid that their wives may tell other women "look, my husband is under me." In interviews, men said that they were happy to help reduce their wives workload when they notice that their wives are busy.

During the focus groups, men said that women were overworked before Mawa, but that now they can help with the workload so that their wives can find time to rest. 50 percent of the interview respondents said that



A woman shares her 24-hour chart during a focus group discussion in Mzapawi

women work more in the household, while 33% said the men work more. In interviews, men explained that women work more because of tradition, and that it is important for wives to rest since they work so much. They say women should not rest, however, if there is work to do. Women say that with men helping them, they are able to rest and chat with their friends. In interviews, women mentioned that when they are resting, they are playing with grandchildren or breastfeeding, suggesting that mothers' duties are a part of resting for women. Women also say they work continuously, while men work in intervals.

Nutrition Group Members

In focus groups and interviews, men said that they help with chores, such as fetching water, collecting firework, cooking, and helping with the baby. They will take sick children to the clinic when their wives have a lot of work to do. In interviews, 70% of respondents said that men help now with the chores. Men say they prefer to help when they observe that their wives have a lot of work to do, but that they are afraid that if they help with chores they will be laughed at, or women will take advantage of them. In the focus groups, they shared that some men haven't adopted Mawa practices of sharing work in the household because they are afraid that power sharing will make them inferior.

In focus groups, women say that they feel respected when their husbands help with housework. They explained that when men help, they are able to rest and chat with friends like their husbands do. Men think that it is good for women to get rest so that they can refresh.

Improved Household Nutrition

Households that had participated in nutrition activities shared definitions of women's empowerment that included the ability to feed their families nutritious food. Women stated that they felt empowered

because they had received the knowledge of how to feed their families properly. Men and women shared that feeding practices in their households had changed participating in Mawa. During an interview, one man explained that before his wife had worked with Mawa, they would feed their children at midday, but that after participating in the care group, they learned they should feed their children in the morning before leaving for the field. He said that his children were healthier now and that he and his wife felt empowered knowing children were growing up healthy. All households that had participated in nutrition activities shared that they had changed the eating order, so that children were fed first, as opposed to previously when men were prioritized. Men and women mentioned that they were feeding a variety of different food to their children-groundnuts, cowpeas, and pumpkin leaves—that they had not fed before in large quantities and that they were empowered by seeing their children healthy and fit.



Women discuss participation in nutrition groups during a focus group discussion in Pwata

Several men and women stated that the women were empowered by the knowledge they received from the nutrition volunteers, and that husband had respect for their wives' changing feeding practices. All 8 of the mothers' and care group households interviewed said that husbands were spending more time than before looking for food for the household. Households participating in nutrition activities had helped men recognize the importance of obtaining nutritious food for their families.

Households who participate in nutrition activities received lessons about men helping with household work, which has increased the amount of help men are giving to their wives. All 8 of the households had responded that husbands are helping more around the house.

Answering Hypotheses

1: Participation in one or more Mawa activity improves household dialogue to increase women's participation in the decision making process and increasing women's ability to control or share control of decisions regarding the use of household and agricultural resources, income and expenditures, and household and agriculture tasks.

Control over agricultural production, access to and control over productive resources

After participation in Mawa farmer groups, men shared that they are viewing their farming as a family business, and need to make production, market, and budgeting decisions as a family for the benefit of this business. As such, women are being included in decisions about agricultural production. Men and women shared that they sit as a family to make decisions about what to plant, how much to sell and how much to save for consumption, and how much fertilizer and other farming inputs they need to purchase. One woman told us that she sits with her husband to decide how much maize they need to keep and store to feed the family for the year, and then he will go and sell the rest. Men and women also explained that women can make suggestions, and that men will listen to their opinions, but it is the man who will make the final decisions. While women do not control decision making, they have made major gains in influencing their husbands—the ones who maintain this control.

Control over and access to Income

Mawa participants shared that they had learned to budget from Mawa, which taught them to sit as a family to make the budget. As a result, wives were included in the budgeting activities, and as the family became more empowered to make use of their income, women were, often for the first time, included in decisions on how money should be spent. All 15 of the households interviewed stated that women are now involved in budgeting and keeping of money after participating in Mawa, when previously they had not been. One woman told us that before Mawa "my husband went to sell and I had no knowledge of the money...[now] after selling, my husband comes home with the money and sits with me" to make a budget. Budgeting has increased women's access to and control over income in Mawa households. Men shared that they see benefits from including their wives in budgeting because they find that "women have good ideas for development." They say that men are bad at keeping money, and when women are involved, there is more development in the household.

Many of these households also adopted Mawa lessons about women keeping money in the home, rather than men carrying it with them when they leave. This allows women to know how money is spent in the household, as well as to have access to use the money for household needs and emergencies. One man shared that his children are now able to go to the clinic whenever they are sick, whereas before they would have to wait for men to come home with the money. Men say that they will just spend money on beer, whereas women think of the family. As caretakers, women can better fulfill needs of the household when they have access to the money.

One man stated that he likes when his wife keeps the money because his wife will stick to the budget, and "will not spend money, anyhow."—meaning that his wife will not spend money frivolously or any which

way. He says this is empowering for him because now there is always money available for big items like farming inputs. Women have stated that they feel good seeing the money made from agricultural production, and see the results of their hard work. They are inspired to continue to work hard on successive production.

During interviews and focus groups, men and women shared expenditure responsibilities, revealing that purchases are gendered based on division of labor and social norms. Women are responsible for household items, and are not allowed to purchase cattle as it is a man's job. As such, a woman will not have ownership of big items, cattle, or other valuables. Women who participate in SILC shared that they use SILC money to purchase smaller livestock, such as goats and chickens, to act as capital savings or business assets for their households.

Items listed in the expenditure focus groups were divided into productive resources—farming inputs, building materials, livestock—and reproductive resources—cooking, cleaning, and child care items. Men and women shared the decision to purchase 81% of the productive items. Men were in charge of actually making the purchase for 73% of the items. Women made the decision to purchase 59% of reproductive items and were in charge of purchasing 45% of those items. Decisions were either unilaterally made my men or women or made together, but women were only unilaterally deciding on 1% of productive purchases while men were only unilaterally deciding on 1% reproductive purchases. Women and men are included in both productive and reproductive decisions by budgeting together, but expenditures are still highly gendered both in decision making and in purchasing.

Table 3: Decision and Purchasing Responsibility by Category of Expenditure

| | Decision Responsibility | | Purchasing Responsibility | | | |
|--------------|-------------------------|-----|---------------------------|------|-----|-------|
| Category | Both | Men | Women | Both | Men | Women |
| Productive | 81% | 18% | 1% | 26% | 73% | 1% |
| Reproductive | 40% | 1% | 59% | 40% | 15% | 45% |

In the expenditures focus group discussion, participants rated the importance of purchases from one to five. Purchasing decisions were shared across priorities, with some items decided unilaterally by men or women. Purchasing responsibility was also shared across priorities, with men in charge of more unilateral purchases than women, suggesting that priority of expenditure does not influence gendered responsibilities, rather that cultural norms dictate purchasing responsibility.

Table 4: Decision and Purchasing Responsibility by Expenditure Priority

| | Decision Responsibility | | Purchasing Responsibility | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------|---------------------------|------|-----|-------|
| Expenditure Priority | Both | Men | Women | Both | Men | Women |
| 1-2 | 68% | 7% | 25% | 38% | 43% | 19% |
| 3 | 69% | 10% | 21% | 42% | 44% | 14% |
| 4-5 | 62.8% | 11.6% | 25.6% | 34% | 44% | 22% |

Productive and reproductive items were rated by priority. Productive purchases held higher priority in the top and middle of the ranking, with the highest rated purchases being productive items. In the lower rankings, reproductive items were 1 percent higher than productive resources. While both productive and reproductive purchase decisions and responsibility were shared by men and women as seen above, women have more responsibility over reproductive purchases. With reproductive purchases ranking lower in importance than productive items, participants share that women's expenditures are less valued than men's.

Table 5: Expenditure Priority by Expenditure Category

| | Priority | | |
|--------------|----------|-----|-----|
| Category | 1-2 | 3 | 4-5 |
| Productive | 29% | 10% | 20% |
| Reproductive | 13% | 7% | 21% |

Even though women have greater access to money and income, men and women have stated that wives should not purchase anything without both agreeing during budgeting or without the husband's permission. A man must make the final decision about expenditures.

Control over agricultural production, access to and control over productive resources, access to and control over income: Discussion

Women are more empowered in an efficiency capacity to fulfill their roles as mothers and caretakers when they have more access to and control over agricultural production, resources, and income. When they have more decision making power in agricultural production, they can regulate how much is saved for consumption so they can feed their families. When they are included in budgeting, they can promote household needs such as food, clothing for children, and other care items. When they keep money in the household, they have access to purchase these necessities in order to feed their children, provide for the family's health, and ensure nothing is lacking within the household. They have the resources to care for their families. Inclusion in decision making has transformed their agency, their access to the money in the household and budgeting for household goods has increased their resources, which in turn have resulted in achievements in a great capacity for caring for the household. Yet this change has not been transformative of their role in the household, merely increasing their performance in set gender roles.

Women are empowered in a transformative way when they have more access to and control over agricultural production, resources, and income. When they have more decision making power in agricultural production, they are taking part in agricultural labor as a partner, rather than being ordered by their husbands, resulting in greater agency. When they are included in budgeting, they are being included as partners in deciding how the money they helped earn is spent—an increase of both resources and agency. They are able to share their opinions and lobby for their needs when they participate in budgeting (greater agency again). Women have said they feel respected when they keep the money in the house and are proud when they are able to purchase items they need in the household, an achievement that results from greater agency and resources, and increases future agency as they will be able to continue to exert their needs in budgeting and household decision making.

Time Use

Men and women in 13 households say that women are receiving more help with household chores, either from their husbands or from their children, after participation in Mawa. Dramas performed by focus groups depicting life before Mawa showed women and children doing all the field and household work, while in interviews men and women say that because of Mawa, men have seen that their wives have a lot of work to do, and have begun helping in household chores. Reduced workload has increased the time available to women to rest and to participate in other Mawa activities. Women say that they feel respected when their husbands help with household chores, while men say they feel proud to help in household tasks when they see their wives have a lot of work to do.

Women say that while they do find more time for rest than before, they still wake up earlier than men and do more work. One women stated during her interview that "men work in intervals, while women work continuously." When asked about women's workload, men in focus groups and interviews said that tradition is the reason women work more. One man explained that "it was me that paid the bride price, so the wife is the one who has to work more." Furthermore, many focus group and interview participants expressed the belief that agricultural and other income-generating activities—productive activities—were "work," while care and household activities—reproductive activities—were not. Seven participants interviewed, both men and women, said that men work more because they spend more time in the field. One woman shared that when she and her husband are working in the field and "the child cries, I know the child needs some milk, so I will go and breastfeed. That is the time I find rest, and the husband will continue cultivating." Another woman explained that when if she and her husband are in the field cultivating, "the husband needs to tell the wife to go home and rest and prepare lunch." Duties that take up women's time and energy are often considered something other than "real work", compared to the work that men do.

Men in focus groups and interviews are very clear to note the difference between "helping" their wives and being asked to help. Many men stated that they are happy to help when they see that their wives have a lot of work to do, but would not like to be asked by their wives to help. They have stated that before Mawa taught them that men can help with tasks that were previously seen as women's work, they were afraid that they would be laughed at by other men and women. Now, they feel comfortable doing the work, but one man says he doesn't want his wife to tell him to work and go tell her friend that "look my husband is under me." For men, their role as head of the household, allows them to offer to help, but should not allow wives to ask for or demand help.

Time Use: Discussion

Women are more empowered in an efficiency capacity to fulfill their roles as mothers and caretakers when their husbands and children help with household tasks. They have more time to rest, which for pregnant and lactating mothers can improve the health of their children. Their agency is increased with changing attitudes about women and rest, while the time they have to rest is, in and of itself, a resource. The resulting achievement of this rest is an ability to improve the health of their children. Their own increased health is a transformative achievement.

Women are further empowered in a transformative capacity when their husbands and children help with household tasks. One woman interviewed said that she felt respected when her husband helped her with

household tasks. A focus group shared that women whose households participated in Mawa have more time to rest and bathe themselves so that they looked as nice as women in cities do. Women feel physically and mentally better when they have opportunities to rest and when they see that the work they do is valued by their husbands who help out. The increased agency as a result of changing attitudes towards household work has resulted in an the resource of resting and self-care time. The achievement of the improved self-esteem and feelings of respect is transformative of women's place within social structures from a caregiver and laborer to someone entitled to leisure.

Nutrition

Households that participated in nutrition groups had a greater focus on improved nutrition and health of their children when discussing women's empowerment. Men and women say that they "know how to feed their children nutritious food now, as compared to before Mawa." Including men in these discussions has led to an increased prioritization of children's health, and increased participation of fathers in household chores related to childcare. As a result, women are finding the time to rest and care for themselves. Rest during pregnancy has a direct impact on the health of the child, and may contribute to men's incentives to help their wives rest.

Women are more empowered in an efficiency capacity fulfill their roles as mothers and caretakers when nutrition is prioritized by the family. With both the knowledge and the support of their husbands, they are able to improve the nutrition and health for their families. Their husbands are encouraged by the improved wellbeing of the family and are encouraged to keep supporting their wives' participation in Mawa and in the new practices they bring home. Women are encouraged by the health and growth of their children and feel satisfaction in the success they have in raising healthy and intelligent children. One woman shared that she sees that her "child is healthy now... that is the benefit I get from it."

Women are empowered transformatively when they bring improved nutrition practices into the home by the respect they receive from their husbands. Their husbands are proud of the new development brought by their wives into the household. When this respect translates into men helping with care duties, women feel even more respect. They have time to rest and are healthier themselves. They see their work and efforts being valued and resulting in healthier families and rest for themselves.

2: Participation in more than one Mawa activity will have a larger impact on women's feelings of empowerment than participation in just one activity.

Lessons from all of the Mawa groups integrate gender inclusive messaging. Households that participate in more than one Mawa activity incorporate a variety of gender inclusive practices into their homes, allowing women in these households to feel more empowered. The practice that makes the biggest impact, when combined with other Mawa practices, is budgeting. Many participants had not budgeted or did not create budgets before participating in Mawa. By approaching budgeting as a household-inclusive activity, Mawa has taught their male participants to include their wives and children in financial decision-making. As a result, women have greater access to and control over income and other resources in the home.

Women's larger voice in income has led to an increase in decision making over agricultural production and productive resources. They participate in making decisions about when and how much to sell. After selling, husbands will return home with the money and women will help decide how it will be spent. They help their husbands prioritize fertilizer and seed, inputs that were previously only bought at planting with whatever money men had left. Women who participate in SILC will designate money for savings at the time of budgeting. Any purchases made from SILC loans or savings result from women's increased access to and control over money from agricultural production.

During budgeting, women will help their husbands prioritize food expenditures. In focus groups about expenditures, women prioritized food purchases higher and more often than men did. Participating in budgeting allows women to ensure they have the resources to feed their family nutritiously.

Women feel like they have a voice in the household, which makes them proud and happy with their homes. They are realizing the benefit of their labor. Men have learned that their wives have good ideas for development in the household, and are more likely to include their wives in future decisions.

In farmer group and mother and care group households, 80% and 89%, respectively, respondents said that men make most of the decisions within the household. In agricultural households, the other 20% of respondents said that decisions are shared, and in mother and care group households the other 11% said that women make most of the decisions. In SILC households, 38% of respondents said that men make most decisions, another 38% said women make most of the decisions, and 25% said that most decisions are shared. Participation in SILC appears to be the most effective in empowering women to share in decision making, either with their husbands or on their own, while participation in nutrition groups have had less effect on encouraging shared decision making. Access to financial resources through SILC have resulted in more participation in decision making—an increase in acheivements.

Table 6: Decision Making by Mawa Group

| Mawa Group | Who makes most of the decisions in the household? | | |
|-----------------------|---|-------|------|
| | Husband | Wife | Both |
| Farmer Group | 80% | 0% | 20% |
| Mother and Care Group | 89% | 11% | 0% |
| SILC | 37.5% | 37.5% | 25% |

Mawa lessons about budgeting have increased women's agency within the house as they have opened household spending practices to include women's voices. The increase in agency through budgeting has increased women's access to resources as well as their agency in other areas of the production. While some of these achievements are efficient empowerment, increased control of resources for use in the household, the snowball nature of the increased agency in other areas through increased decision making through budgeting is transformative in nature. By increasing agency in one area to impact agency and

access to resources in another—particularly a productive area—is transformative of women's role within the household.

3: Mawa participants who also participated in household and community dialogues, as well as other activities, will have the largest impact on women's feelings of empowerment as compared to only participation in other activities.

The gender messaging included in each of these groups, combined with the gender workshops provided by Women for Change, have the greatest impact on how these groups view household dynamics and apply the lessons learned through these groups. It increases women's access to the table of decision making in the household, both by changing gendered norms and by reducing the distraction of a woman's workload.

By encouraging men to take part in child caring activities and other household activities, Mawa has helped de-stigmatize gendered work and improve children's health. Coupled with nutrition and health messaging from nutrition activities, household in which men help with the household work can have healthier children and healthier women. Women have more time to rest and care for themselves. In turn, healthier women lead to healthier pregnancies and children.

When husbands help, women feel better about themselves. Many women mentioned that before Mawa, they felt like slaves. When their husbands help with the housework, it raises their self esteem.

Mawa has encouraged households to work together as a family to budget and care for the household. The team-work of the husband and wife has improved women's health, by encouraging rest, as well as increased their participation in decision making.

Gender messaging is the key driver of transformative empowerment from the Mawa project. It challenges gender norms and opens space for women's agency and access to resources to grow in a variety of areas. As a result, women have greater access to decision making and income, both in the home and in agricultural production.

Looking Forward

In general, men and women shared through focus groups and interviews that participating in Mawa has helped empower women. Women shared that they felt proud of seeing the money from agricultural production and helping decide how the money should be spent. They also felt empowered knowing how to feed their children nutritious food. Husbands were proud of their wives for the way they keep money, the good ideas they have for the budget, and the knowledge they have brought into the family in terms of nutritious feeding practices. Women and men recognize that their children are healthier and contribute this health improvement to women's participation in Mawa. As agency in budget making grows, women's agency across many areas of livelihood grow, allowing for greater access to resources and achievements that improve households' and women's livelihoods.

Gaps

During the focus group discussions, men and women expressed a concern that women's empowerment can make women lazy or lead to divorce. During interviews, participants told us that women's empowerment and sharing of housework could lead women to demand men work more, while women "just sit." One woman told us that women may think they have "more power in the house because of empowerment." Men said that if women don't come to the field when men do, then women are lazy. Men state they are the heads of the household and pay the bride price, so if women think they have more power than their husbands, then they will divorce. Men do not want to relinquish their position as head of the household.

Men are happy including women in decision-making and budgeting, and participating in household chores, when the result is development in the household. They see the impact in the better health of children, the improvement of agricultural production, and the increase in income. Yet, it is important to note that during focus group discussions and interviews, both men and women emphasize men as the head of the household, and the one who has more power. Eleven households stated that men make most of the decisions because he is the head of the household. There is genuine fear that women may become "more powerful" than their husbands, and inclusion of women in decisions for the household and income come with limitations.

Opportunities

Men's fears about losing power in the household can impede projects that hope to be gender-transformative and include stand-alone or explicit women's empowerment in their objectives. Focus on equal contribution to household development and overcoming gender-barriers to increase nutrition and health for children within project messaging will have better success at impacting the areas of the WEAI than aiming to empower women absent these broader goals.

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1B - FGD: Empowerment and Dramas

Can be used with Farmer Groups, Area Associations, SILC, Nutrition groups

- Groups of 10 20
- Single sex groups
- Time: 90 minutes

Goal: Have the community define what women's empowerment means to them. Differences between scenes should be noted. Close attention should be paid to what empowerment in the future looks like.

Materials: N/A

Instructions:

- Two parts: (A) Dramas, and (B) Focus group Discussions
- Moderator will explain that she is trying to understand how they perceive women's empowerment. The groups put on dramas with 3 scenes: Before Mawa, Currently, and the Future (2-3 years).
- After the dramas, moderator will lead a focus group discussion using questions developed from watching the dramas.

Getting started: Split into groups of ~5

A. Dramas

Step 1: Ask the participants to create 3 scenes about women's empowerment. The first scene will depict something about life before participating in Mawa, the second scene will depict something about life currently, and the third scene will depict something about what they think life will be or should be in the future (2 - 5 years). Allow 30 minutes for the groups to put together their scenes.

Step 2: Groups will perform their scenes for the larger group. Allow 10 - 15 minutes per group. Moderator will use the dramas to develop questions for the group discussions.

B. Focus Group Discussions

Step 1: Focus group discussion lead by moderator. Allow 30 minutes. Topics of discussion should include:

- Topics depicted in the dramas- why were these chosen
- What the group thinks women's empowerment means
- What the group hopes for their daughters and sons re: women's empowerment

1C - FGD: Household and Agriculture Tasks

Can be used with Area Association, SILC, and Nutrition groups

- Small groups of 5 or less
- Single sex groups
- Time: 1 hour

Goal: Identifying which tasks men and women perform and how these tasks are divided and decided within the household. How has participating in Mawa impacted which tasks are done and by whom?

Materials:

- Large paper
- Markers

Instructions:

- Each person will make a 24 hour chart, documenting the activities they do in the day. These activities include: agriculture work, other types of work, travel, household care (including cooking, cleaning, caring for children), leisure (including resting, socializing, eating, sleeping).
- Each person will present their day to the group and moderator will take notes and form discussion questions/topics.
- After everyone is done with sharing, moderator will commence discussion.

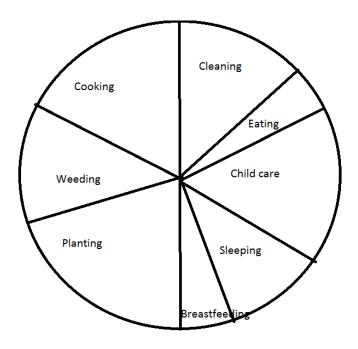
Getting started: Pass out paper and markers to each person. Explain the activity by sharing one that has been done already. If literate, they can write. If not, draw pictures. Each person will do a different season. Planting; Harvesting; Dry season; Rainy season.

Step 1: Each person will draw out their 24 hours and activities. Allow 15 - 20 minutes for this. When complete have each person share their 24 hours with the group.

Step 2: Focus group discussion. Moderator begins discussion by asking questions. Topics to include:

- Does anyone help you with these activities? Which? Why?
- If you cannot perform a task in the day for any reason (ie sick), does anyone else do that task? Who? Why does this person do it?
- Do you ask for help in any of these tasks? If you do, why? Who helps?
- Has participating in Mawa changed who does which tasks and why? How?

- 1) Introduction and Consent
- 2) Explain activity
 - a. Creating a 24 hour chart that shows the activities you do in 1 day
 - b. Each person will create a chart showing a day during a different part of the year
- 3) Assign people days (If you have more people than days, assign them to work in pairs):
 - a. Planting
 - b. Harvesting
 - c. Rainy Season
 - d. Dry Season
 - e. Marketing
- 4) Pass out materials: Paper and markers
- 5) Allow 20 minutes for participants to create their chart
- 6) Ask participants to present
- 7) Focus group discussion. Please include the following questions
 - O Does anyone help you with these activities? Which? Why?
 - o If you cannot perform a task in the day for any reason (ie sick), does anyone else do that task? Who? Why does this person do it?
 - o Do you ask for help in any of these tasks? If you do, why? Who helps?
 - o Has participating in Mawa changed who does which tasks and why? How?



1D - FGD: Household and Agriculture Expenditures

Can be used with Area Associations, SILC, and Nutrition groups

- Small groups of 10 or less
- Single sex groups
- Time: 1 hour

Goal: Identify how expenditures are prioritized by men and women individually, and the household generally.

Materials:

- Flipboard
- Markers
- Stickers

Instructions:

- A list of household and agricultural expenditures will be compiled through a brainstorming activity. Purchasing responsibility will be included.
- Participants will be given the opportunity to indicate, using stickers, which expenditures they
 think are the most important
- Moderator will lead focus group discussion

Getting started: Explain the activity to the participants by asking them to share which expenditures the household makes on items for the home and agriculture

Step 1: Participants share expenditures their household makes. Moderator captures it on the flipboard. Allow 10 minutes. Options:

- Food
- Clothing
- Cleaning supplies
- Agriculture inputs:
 - o Seeds
 - Fertilizer
 - Pesticides
 - o Animal vaccines
 - o Animal feed
 - Storage
 - o Tools
- School fees

- Health care
- Business expenses (ie SILC)
- **Step 2:** Participants share who in the household is responsible for making those purchases. Allow 10 minutes. Moderator captures answers on the flipboard.
- **Step 3:** Pass out 5 stickers to each participant. Ask them to choose the 5 expenditures that they think are the most important. Have them place their stickers next to those expenditures. Only one sticker per expenditure. Allow 10 minutes.
- **Step 4:** Focus group discussion led by moderator. Allow 20 minutes. Topics include:
 - Why do you think these are the most important expenditures
 - Which important expenditures are made by women and which by men: Why are these bought by different people
 - Where does the money for these expenditures come from
 - What do you do if you don't have the money for these expenditures
 - 1. Introduction and Consent
 - 2. Explain activity
 - a. First give us a list of everything your <u>household</u> spends money on
 - b. Second who is responsible for making that decision (husband, wife, children, all?)
 - c. Third who is responsible for purchasing that item
 - d. Fourth what are the purchases you think are most important
 - 3. First give us a list of everything your household spends money on
 - 4. Second who is responsible for making that decision (husband, wife, children, all?)
 - 5. Third who is responsible for purchasing that item
 - 6. Hand out the stickers labeled 1-5 to each person
 - 7. Ask them to go and place the #1 sticker on the item they think is most important (to them)
 - 8. Ask them to go and place sticker #2 on the item they think is second most important (to them)
 - 9. Ask them to place #3 sticker, then #4 sticker, and finally #5 sticker
 - 10. Focus group discussion- please include the following questions + your own + follow up questions

- Why do you think these are the most important expenditures
- Which important expenditures are made by women and which by men: Why are these bought by different people
- O Where does the money for these expenditures come from
- O What do you do if you don't have the money for these expenditures

Appendix D

In-depth Interviews

General Interview

Explanation and Consent

Hi my name is Liz Hohenberger and I am a Masters student at UC Davis. I'm studying how participation in Mawa activities, such as agricultural extension and SILC groups impact your livelihood and how decisions are made in your household. I would like to ask you a few questions about which Mawa activities you participate in, how decisions about agriculture and home care are made, and what impact that has on you, your family and your farming activities. Several times I will ask you to tell me what you think about these activities, decisions, and impacts.

I'd like to cover a few things about the interview.

Our conversation is for a paper that I am writing that I hope to use for my Masters qualifying exam and later to publish.

If you find any of my questions confusing, let me know.

You can also choose not to answer a question and we can end this interview at any time.

Finally, I want to let you know that our conversation will not be shared with anyone and I will conceal your identity. Thank you for helping me with this research.

My contact information is emhohenberger@ucdavis.edu if you have any questions or would like to say anything about this study later on.

Is it o.k. to proceed?

Census Information

| Camp | <u>Household</u> |
|---------------|---|
| Village | Please tell me the name and age of each person who usually lives here, starting with the head of the HH |
| <u>Name</u> | |
| Age | Employment |
| Gender | What are the various sources of income in your household? |
| Mawa Activies | Who participates in these various sources? |

Defining women's empowerment

- 1. How do you understand women's empowerment?
- 2. In some group discussions, people mentioned that if women's empowerment is misinterpreted, it can lead to some women becoming lazy. What do you think that means?
 - a. Can you give an example of a time this has happened, or that you have seen this happen?
 - b. What impacts would this have on the family?
- 3. In some group discussions, people mentioned that women's empowerment could lead to divorce? Why do you think people would be afraid that divorce could happen?
- 4. In some group discussions, people mentioned that respect is very important in a marriage. Why do you think respect is important?
 - a. What does respect in a marriage look like?
- 5. Why do people get married? (men/women)
 - a. Why did you get married?
- 6. What do you think the future of your sons and daughters looks like
 - a. Why

- 7. What do you hope for your daughters' marriages?
 - a. Why

Household division of labor

- 8. How do you divide household tasks?
 - a. Do you have discussions about it?
 - b. Has it changed since being involved in Mawa
 - i. Why were things done differently before
 - c. How do you feel about how household tasks are divided in your family (i.e. do you think it is good? Are you happy?)
 - i. And what happens if you don't like how something has been assigned?
 - ii. How do others in your family feel about how tasks have been divided?
- 9. Who do you think works more in most families?
 - a. Why
 - b. What about yours?
- 10. Some focus groups told us that women need to be given rest. What do you think about that?
 - a. How do you/your wife rest?
 - b. How often do you/your wife rest?
 - c. How do you find the time to rest?

Decisions about labor

- 11. How does your household decide how income will be spent?
 - a. Has this changed since being involved in Mawa
 - i. Why were things done differently before
 - b. How do you feel about how income is spent in your household?
 - i. What happens if someone spends income in a way you do not like?
 - c. How do others in your family feel about how income is spent?
- 12. Who makes most of the decisions in the household?
 - a. Has this changed since Mawa
 - i. Why were things done differently before
 - b. What do you think about how decisions are made in your household?
 - i. What happens if you don't like a decision that is made?

AGRICULTURE

- 1. How was it decided which member or your household who would participate in the farmer group?
 - a. What do you think about this decision?
 - b. What do other household members think about this decision?
- 2. What technologies or techniques have you/your household member adopted from the Mawa farmer group?
 - 1. Has it changed agricultural practices
 - a. How (labor, time, income, production, consumption, etc)
 - b. What is done with extra [time, income, production, consumption, etc)
 - c. How is this decided?
 - 1. What do you think about this decision and how it is made?
 - 2. What do other household members think?
 - 2. How was the decision to adopt [technique/technology] made?
 - a. What do you think about this decision and how it was made?
 - b. What do other household members think?
 - 1. If you don't like something, is there anything you do to change the decision?
 - 3. Has adopting this technology/technique changed how any decisions in your household have been made
 - a. Which
 - b. How so
 - c. What do you think

SILC Member

- 1. How did you get involved in the SILC group?
 - a. What do you think about being involved in your SILC group?
 - i. Any benefits/dislikes?
 - b. What do your household members think about you being in a SILC group?
- 2. How do you use share outs from the SILC Group?
 - a. How is this decision made?
- 3. Did you use the loan or share out from the SILC group to start a business in past one year?
- 4. What is the business that you started with the loan or share out?
- 5. How much time a day/week do you spend working on that business?
 - a. Before you started the business, how did you use that time?
 - b. Who does that activity now that you spend the time on the business
 - i. If you, where do you find that time now?
 - ii. If another person, how was that decision made?
 - 1. What do you think about this decision and how it is made
 - 2. What do other household members think?
- 6. Do any other family members work in your business?
 - a. If yes, who?
 - b. And how many hours a day/week do they spend?
 - i. How was this decision made?
 - 1. What do you think about this decision and how it is made
 - 2. What do other household members think?
- 7. What is the income from the business used for?
 - a. How is this decision made?
 - 1. What do you think about this decision and how it is made
 - 2. What do other household members think?
- 8. Has being in a SILC group changed how decisions are made in your household?
 - a. In what way?
 - b. What do you think about these changes?
 - c. What do other household members think about these changes?

SILC Member in Family; Non-SILC Member

- 9. How did your [household member] get involved in the SILC group?
 - a. What do you think about your [household member] being involved in a SILC group?
 - i. Any benefits/dislikes?

- b. What do your household members think about your [household member] being in a SILC group?
- 10. Did your [household member] start a business with the loan or share out?
- 11. Do you contribute to the business?
 - a. If yes, how so
 - b. If no, why not
- 12. How much time a day/week do you spend working on that business?
 - a. Before you started the business, how did you use that time?
 - b. Who does that activity now that you spend the time on the business
 - i. If you, where do you find that time now?
 - ii. If another person, how was that decision made?
 - 1. What do you think about this decision and how it is made
 - 2. What do other household members think?
- 13. What is the income from the business used for?
 - a. How is this decision made?
 - 1. What do you think about this decision and how it is made
 - 2. What do other household members think?
- 14. Has your [household member] being in a SILC group changed how decisions are made in your household?
 - a. In what way?
 - b. What do you think about these changes?
 - c. What do other household members think about these changes?

NUTRITION

- 1. Has participating in Nutrition and Health, had an impact on how decisions in the household are made regarding
 - a. Cooking
 - b. Cleaning
 - c. Caring for poultry/small animals
 - d. Taking care of children/other household members?
 - e. Building/fixing
- 2. Can you tell me a little about why participating in Nutrition and Health changed [a-e]?
- 3. What do you think about these changes?
 - a. What do other household members think?
 - b. If you don't like something, is there anything you do to change the decision?
- 4. Has participating in Nutrition and Health changed the way you make decisions about [a-e]
 - a. What do you think about these changes?
 - i. What do other household members think?
 - ii. If you don't like something, is there anything you do to change the decision
- 5. Has participating in Nutrition and Health, had an impact on how decisions in the household are made regarding
 - a. Type of food consumed
 - b. Order household eats in (first, second, third)
- 6. Can you tell me a little about why participating in Nutrition and Health changed [a-b]?
- 7. What do you think about these changes?
 - a. What do other household members think?
 - b. If you don't like something, is there anything you do to change the decision?
- 8. Has participating in Nutrition and Health changed the way you make decisions about [a-b]
 - a. What do you think about these changes?
 - i. What do other household members think?
 - ii. If you don't like something, is there anything you do to change the decision