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The impacts of Food Assistance for Assets on food security and gender equality in Kenya

Impact Evaluation Report

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Executive summary

1. Gender inequality in levels of economic autonomy is pervasive, particularly in developing countries. The potential welfare implications of such gender inequality are concerning (Jayachandran, 2015)¹. The World Economic Forum (WEF) Global Gender Report for 2024 ranks Kenya at 75th² on the Global Gender Gap Index, with a score of 0.712. The strong link between gender equality in labour market opportunities and gender equality and autonomy has been shown, and understanding the impact of interventions intended to address the sources of inequality is vital. Yet resistance rooted in sociopolitical and cultural dynamics remains. In Kenya, moral and religious narratives have gained traction in public discourse, often casting gender justice agendas as threats to traditional values. Understanding this interplay between structural economic inequality and ideological pushback is critical for designing effective and contextually grounded gender equality interventions.³
2. The World Food Programme (WFP) made the economic empowerment of women a focus of its recent [Cash Policy](#)⁴ in 2023. This impact evaluation is part of the [Cash-Based Transfers \(CBT\) and Gender Impact Evaluation \(IE\) Window](#) created by the WFP Office of Evaluation (OEV), Cash-based Transfers (CBT) Division, and Gender Office in partnership with the [World Bank Development Impact Group \(DIME\)](#) to generate evidence to support WFP to achieve objectives related to the empowerment of women.
3. The CBT and Gender Window is a portfolio of impact evaluations undertaken across a series of countries with similar designs to increase the generalizability of results. The purpose of windows is to understand the impact of CBT interventions targeting women on gender equality and empowerment of women, and on food and nutrition outcomes. The first round of impact evaluations of this Window, as laid out in the first [pre-analysis plan](#), estimates the impacts of increased women's participation in work outside the household [through Food Assistance for Assets](#) (FFA) projects and the direct reception of cash-based transfers on social and economic empowerment.⁵ (FFA is akin to ["cash for work"](#) concepts as e.g. implemented by FAO.)
4. The Kenya impact evaluation estimates the impacts of FFA programming targeting women on gender equality, household decision making, and the social and economic empowerment of women. The programme is expected to increase a woman's earnings and support her to alter time use. The theory of change conjects that these outcomes impact perceptions of gender norms, attitudes, agency, consumption patterns, and well-being (both social and psychological) (in the medium term).
5. It is important to note that the Kenya Country Office has phased out the Food Assistance for Assets (FFA) programme and its related activities. The programme evaluated in this report was primarily implemented under the first Kenya Country Strategic Plan (2018–2023); its gender-related approaches were guided by the 2015 WFP Gender Policy.
6. The two main impact evaluation questions (EQ) are as follows:
 - EQ1. What is the impact of women's participation in FFA (working outside the household and receiving cash in return) on their social and economic empowerment?
 - EQ2. Does participation in FFA affect key food security outcomes of interest?

¹ Jayachandran, S. (2015). The roots of gender inequality in developing countries. *Annual Review of Economics*, 7(1), 63–88.

² World Economic Forum (2021). Gender Gap: Insight Report. https://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2021.pdf.

³ Otieno, P. E., & Makabira, A. M. (2024). Gender Equality vs 'Morality': The Erosion of Gender Agendas in Kenya. *IDS Bulletin*, 55(1).

⁴ World Food Programme. (2023). WFP Cash Policy: Harnessing the Power of Money to Help People Survive and Thrive, <https://www.wfp.org/publications/wfp-cash-policy-harnessing-power-money-help-people-survive-and-thrive>

⁵ The first completed impact evaluation using this design was in El Salvador. Christian, P., Dinarte, L., Dunsch, F. A., Heirman, J. L., Jeong, D., Kelley, E., Kondylis, F., Lane, G., Loeser, J. A., Uckat, H., Balantrapu, T., Fiorina, M-A., McCollum, K. & Spindler, E. (2023). Impact Evaluation of Cash-Based Transfers on Food Security and Gender Equality in El Salvador. World Food Programme Office of Evaluation. <https://www.wfp.org/publications/el-salvador-cash-based-transfers-food-security-and-gender-equality-impact-evaluation>

7. Overall, the results from this impact evaluation demonstrate the contribution of WFP to outcome 5 (“Food-insecure women have greater economic power”) of the 2023 WFP Cash Policy by targeting and supporting women to engage in economic opportunities outside the home.
8. This impact evaluation was designed as a cluster Randomized Control Trial (RCT) comparing 75 communities in three groups in Isiolo County, Kenya:
 - **FFA for Women Group (25 communities):** This programme involved working on livelihood activities associated with women (poultry raising), but either men or women could participate. Participating households received monthly transfers of USD 44 per household over approximately 6-8 months.
 - **FFA Group (25 communities):** This programme involved working on livelihood activities associated with men (pasture), but either men or women could participate. Participating households received monthly transfers of USD 44 per household over approximately 6-8 months.
 - **Comparison group (25 communities):** Households in these communities were not invited to participate in the FFA programme during the study period.⁶
9. The impact measurement strategy included a pilot, baseline survey before the intervention (December 2021 and January 2022), a midline survey during the intervention (February and March 2023), and an endline survey approximately two months after the intervention ended (October 2024). This strategy also benefited from qualitative data collection after the endline survey and project completion. The Impact Evaluation Inception Report and the Baseline Report were published in [2023](#) and [2024](#) respectively.
10. Implementation monitoring data at midline showed that 42.1 percent of households in the FFA for Women group and 43.5 percent in the FFA group reported participating in public works. Additionally, 57.9 percent of households in the FFA for Women group and 56.7 percent in the FFA group reported receiving transfers at midline. These relatively low participation rates are likely linked to the extreme drought in the [Horn of Africa](#) (coinciding with the Covid crisis), which forced many families to prioritize tending to their animals and searching for water over participating in programme activities.
11. The evaluation did not find any statistically significant effects on food security, which may be partially linked to the above-mentioned drought and subsequently reduced participation rates (although some participants reported positive experiences and perceived benefits from the programme, including improved household food access and economic stability).
12. Despite challenges, the project had positive impacts on the economic empowerment of women. At midline, the FFA for Women intervention increased women’s participation in the WFP programme to a statistically significant level, raising participation from 14.3 percent to 41.5 percent. This participation translated into tangible financial benefits, with women in the FFA for Women group earning USD 82 more per month from WFP activities than their counterparts in the standard FFA group. Men in the FFA group reported substantial gains in non-WFP income at midline, indicating broader economic benefits during programme implementation. Women’s time spent on self-employment significantly increased by endline.
13. While agency-related outcomes such as control over time use and consumption did not show improvements at midline, significant progress emerged by endline, particularly in the FFA for Women group. Women in this group experienced meaningful gains in both dimensions (however improvements in the standard FFA group were smaller and not statistically significant). Attitudinal changes also followed a similar pattern, with significant gains for the women in the FFA group and the FFA for Women group at endline. The FFA for Women group showed earlier and stronger shifts in perceived norms and attitudes, while by endline, both men and women across both treatment groups reported significant positive changes in support for women’s control over time and consumption.
14. Both intervention groups experienced slight negative impacts on women’s locus of control, however, both groups also experienced a protective effect against intimate partner violence (IPV). The standard FFA group saw significant reductions in psychological abuse and overall IPV at midline, while the FFA for Women group achieved significant reductions in physical and sexual IPV by endline.

15. These results can feed into the design of upcoming cash transfer programming in Kenya and inform the implementation of the current Country Strategic Plan, which focuses on strengthening institutions and filling gaps in the coverage of government food security and nutrition programmes, including bridging gender gaps in autonomy.

1. Introduction

16. This impact evaluation is part of the [Cash-Based Transfers \(CBT\) and Gender IE Window](#) created by the WFP Office of Evaluation (OEV) in partnership with WFP Programme Divisions, and the World Bank Development Impact Group (DIME). WFP impact evaluation windows aim to establish portfolios of impact evaluations across a series of countries utilizing the same or very similar designs to increase generalizability of results.
17. This impact evaluation estimates the effects of Food-Assistance-for-Assets (FFA) activities (plus complementary activities to enhance the impacts of this intervention), implemented by the Kenya Country Office. The programme aimed to achieve improved household and community food security and diversified livelihoods, improved community capacities to plan, prepare, and implement actions to reduce their vulnerabilities to shocks and stressors, and increased household income and well-being. This impact evaluation also estimates the effects of participating in FFA activities on gender equality and the social and economic empowerment of women.
18. The [Inception Report and Baseline Report](#) for this evaluation were published in 2023 and 2024, respectively. This evaluation employs a clustered Randomized Control Trial across 75 communities and 1,849 households, with three waves of panel surveys, capturing a wide range of outcomes in terms of consumption, food security, earnings, coping strategies and empowerment outcomes. In addition to quantitative data, the evaluation also incorporates qualitative insights.
19. The Cash-based transfers and Gender Window focuses on the impacts of CBT interventions targeting outcomes related to gender equality and empowerment of women, as well as food security and psychosocial well-being. The first round of impact evaluations selected for this window, as laid out in the first [pre-analysis plan](#), estimated the impacts of increasing women's participation in activities outside the household (through the FFA programmes), as a condition of receiving cash-based transfers, and directly receiving a cash-based transfer on their social and economic empowerment. This is the third final evaluation report from this window, following first that of [El Salvador](#) and then [Rwanda](#).
20. The primary audience for this evaluation includes the World Food Programme Kenya Country Office and its collaborating partners. The report begins by providing an overview of the Kenyan context and project background and then outlines the impact evaluation design and project implementation findings, followed by a description of the stakeholders involved and the ethical considerations of the evaluation. The report then presents the results by using regression analysis on key pre-specified outcome variables. Finally, the report describes the limitations of the study and concludes with a discussion of the main findings, conclusions, and considerations for future programming.

1.1 Country context

21. Kenya is one of the most populous countries in Africa with over 52 million people. Over the past decade, the country has experienced rapid economic growth, making significant strides in addressing food insecurity among its population. However, 38 percent of the population still lives below the USD 1.90 per day poverty line, and social economic and gender disparities persist, leaving food insecurity a major concern. Food-insecure families typically live in rural areas, are poor and depend on daily agricultural labour for income. Malnutrition remains unacceptably high, with 29 percent of children in rural areas and 20 percent of those living in cities suffering from stunting. In 2023, Kenya ranked 143rd out of 189 countries on the Human Development Index (HDI).⁷
22. The World Economic Forum (WEF) Global Gender Report for 2021 ranked Kenya at 84th; the Gender Gap on Economic participation and opportunity index score was 0.672.⁸ Families headed by women

⁷ United Nations Development Programme, Human Development Report 2025: A matter of choice: People and possibilities in the age of AI, 2025 <https://hdr.undp.org/content/human-development-report-2025>.

⁸ World Economic Forum. (2021). Gender Gap: Insight Report https://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2021.pdf.

are more likely to be food insecure than those headed by men. To achieve Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 2, a strategic review explicitly suggests that the country should address gender inequalities, which may impede poverty reduction, food security and good nutrition.⁹

23. The impact evaluation focused on Isiolo County, which lies within Kenyan arid and semi-arid regions, covering approximately 25,350 square kilometres and home to an estimated population of 268,002.¹⁰ The county is divided into three sub-counties: Isiolo, Garbatulla, and Merti and comprises three main livelihood zones: pastoral (67 percent), agropastoral (26 percent), and a smaller proportion of households earning income from casual wage labour (7 percent). In recent years, pasture and poultry farming have begun to emerge as alternative livelihood options, helping communities diversify their income sources and build resilience to climate-related shocks. The prevalence of Global Acute Malnutrition (GAM) among children under five increased from 16.7 percent in 2020 to 17.8 percent in 2022, largely due to rising morbidity – particularly from watery diarrheal diseases – alongside poor household dietary diversity and inadequate food consumption.

⁹ World Food Programme, (2021) Annual Country Report. https://www.wfp.org/operations/annual-country-report?operation_id=KE01&year=2021#/22590/22591

¹⁰ Kenya National Bureau of Statistics. (2019, November).

2. Programme description

24. The Kenya Country Office implemented the Food Assistance for Assets (FFA) intervention as part of the **Sustainable Food Systems Programme** for Outcome 2 (Activity 3) of its [2018–2023 Country Strategic Plan \(CSP\)](#), which states: “[through] food assistance for assets, WFP will promote asset creation activities to stimulate early recovery, rebuild livelihoods and reduce long-term vulnerability to food insecurity and malnutrition.”
25. It is important to note that the FFA programme and its associated components have been discontinued by the Kenya Country Office under the current Country Strategic Plan. The programme reviewed in this evaluation was largely implemented during the first Kenya Country Strategic Plan (2018–2023), with its gender strategies informed by the WFP Gender Policy of 2015.

2.1 Programme components

26. The project supported creation of assets and transfer of knowledge, skills and climate risk management tools that supported adaptation to climate change, diversified livelihoods and better nutrition. The programme further facilitated access to markets and provided technical expertise in the supply chain to promote inclusive commercial food systems and enhance consumption of safe, nutritious and diversified foods. Furthermore, the programme enabled target communities to identify, create, and utilize productive assets and sustainable food production systems. The programme also provided conditional cash-based transfers to help meet immediate food needs and offered a comprehensive package of nutrition support. This included nutrition education and skills transfer, linkages to social protection schemes and essential health and nutrition services, such as micronutrient powders, to improve overall nutrition.
27. The project focused on arid lands of Isiolo county, targeting rural pastoral migrant communities especially vulnerable to food insecurity. Isiolo County was selected for the evaluation based on a combination of practical and methodological considerations. Compared to Samburu, Isiolo was more accessible and involved fewer logistical and operational difficulties, including reduced travel expenses and Daily Subsistence Allowance (DSA) for officials. Importantly, the communities in Isiolo demonstrated a strong willingness to participate in the impact evaluation (IE), which was critical for smooth implementation and reliable data collection. The sub-counties of Merti (Chari and Cherab wards) and Garbatulla (Garbatulla and Sericho wards) were specifically chosen because WFP had not yet implemented Cash-Based Transfer (CBT) programmes there, offering a "clean slate" environment ideal for measuring the unaltered effects of CBT and accompanying livelihood activities. Furthermore, the limited presence of other humanitarian actors and NGOs in these areas minimized the risk of overlapping interventions such as Non-Food Items (NFIs) or additional CBTs. As this community did not engage in agriculture, the programme – in addition to the nutrition support – chose only two kinds of livelihood activities: poultry and pasture paired with monthly cash-based transfers (CBT) of USD 44 to eligible households (for six cycles).
28. The livelihood activities for poultry involved 6-8 months (1 session per month) of training on feeding, egg hatching, poultry care, and extension services such as advice and group monitoring. Similarly, for pasture, the activities planned for 6-8 months (1 session per month) involve training on soil preparation activities, seed provision, seed planting, and extension services including advisory support and group monitoring of their activities.¹¹ Each session of training at the village was organized in a common area where all the participants were asked to gather, and implemented in partnership with the County Department of Livestock.
29. At the time of implementation, the programme directly aligned with the WFP Gender Action Plan (GAP), the Regional Gender Implementation Strategy, and the Country Strategic Plan (2018–2023). Notably,

¹¹ The impact evaluation is focused on the impact of targeting women under the livelihoods programme in alignment with the GEWE objectives. The evaluation does not consider the full impact of the FFA programme – such as the gains from assets created under the programme.

data collection and analysis to support the integration of Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women (GEWE) into operations was identified as a key GAP outcome. The GAP, developed by the WFP Gender Office, was designed to translate the 2015 gender policy into concrete, measurable actions and accountabilities, to be implemented by 2020. It introduced two key pathways for advancing GEWE: (1) integrating gender into programme objectives and indicators, and (2) embedding gender considerations into programme processes and organizational change. Building on this, the 2022 WFP Gender Policy called for the development of regional implementation strategies to guide Regional Bureaux (RB) and Country Office (CO) staff. In response, the Regional Bureau for East Africa (RBN), based in Nairobi, developed a strategy aimed at advancing gender equality and equity across WFP-supported countries in East and Central Africa. This strategy emphasized the integration of gender equality and the empowerment of disadvantaged groups into all aspects of WFP work – at household, community, and national levels – while promoting the agency of women and girls in decision making related to food security and nutrition.

3. Evaluation design and methodology

30. The following section outlines how the evaluation questions and existing literature informed the impact evaluation design.

3.1 Evaluation theory

31. By targeting women as recipients of cash-transfers and involving them in work activities, programmes could initiate a change process. First, theory leads us to anticipate a direct “wage effect” of receiving cash transfers for the duration of the FFA project. Household members make labour supply decisions by trading off household consumption gains with the opportunity costs of work outside the home, including foregone leisure and home production. Women working for a wage often substitute away from leisure which creates a “second shift” (Hochschild & Machung, 2012), while men do not shift into home production (Bertrand et al., 2015). In a unitary household model, this is explained by differences in men’s and women’s home production functions (or utility functions). However, many empirical studies reject the unitary household model (Browning & Chiappori, 1998; Ashraf, 2009), instead arguing that men and women have agency over “separate spheres” of household decisions (Lundberg & Pollak, 1993).
32. Second, an “empowerment effect” of women’s temporary participation in FFA may result in lasting shifts in labour market attachment through changes in intrahousehold agency, attitudes, and perceptions of norms. Recent experimental work has demonstrated attitudes (Dhar et al., 2018; McKelway, 2019) and norms (Beaman et al., 2009; Bursztyrn et al., 2018) shape women’s agency and, in turn, women’s labour supply. In practice, norms, attitudes, and women’s agency are also likely endogenous to women’s labour supply decisions; if so, shifts in women’s participation in an FFA programme may also affect household decision making through these channels. These impacts may cascade, leading to persistent shifts in women’s labour supply in response to temporary women’s labour demand shocks (Alesina et al., 2013; Goldin & Olivetti, 2013).
33. As women become earning members of the household, their increased earnings could lead to changes in women’s decision-making authority and agency over their time use and consumption. In turn, these changes in women’s decision-making authority could then impact men’s attitudes towards women’s authority. Lastly, seeing other women working outside the household in the community could also shift the perception of social norms around women working outside the home. After the programme ends, women may retain greater decision-making authority over their time use and/or consumption. Having observed other women from the community working outside (shift in perception of norms), and demonstrated their earning potential, women could continue pursuing opportunities to earn outside of the household – leading to increased earnings. Thus, in the longer run, the hypothesis is that targeting women as the recipients of cash-transfers and including women in work outside the home could initiate a “virtuous cycle”.
34. The first hypothesis is that women’s involvement in activities, such as asset creation through participation in the FFA programme and in educational sessions, would directly impact:
- women’s time use (shifts towards paid work outside the home); and
 - women’s earnings (as they receive direct payment for their work).
35. The second (following) hypothesis is that – in the medium run – these combined shifts in time use and earnings could impact women’s economic empowerment by altering:
- perceptions of gender norms;
 - attitudes;
 - agency;
 - consumption patterns; and

- v. well-being (including physical, social, and psychological aspects).

3.2 Evaluation questions

36. Aligned with the programme's objectives and theory of change, the main impact evaluation questions (EQs) are as follows:

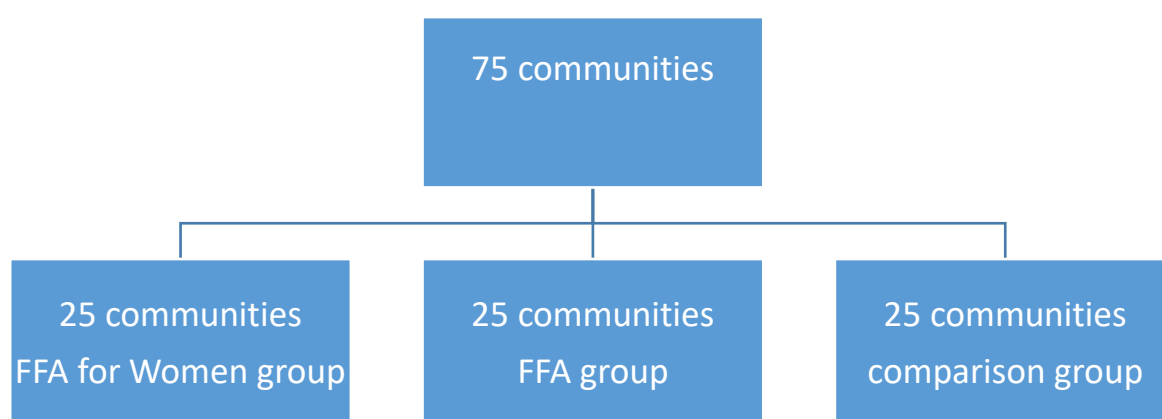
EQ1. What is the impact of women's participation in the FFA programme (engaging in training outside the household) on their social and economic empowerment?

EQ2. Does participation in FFA affect food security outcomes?

3.3 Evaluation design

37. To identify the causal impacts of the WFP programme, the impact evaluation employed a clustered randomized control trial (RCT) design (presented in detail in the Inception report), complemented by a qualitative data-collection exercise.
38. The 75 project communities were randomly assigned into either one of the two intervention groups or the comparison group, producing the clustered randomized design.¹²
39. Then, in each community, WFP worked with local community leaders and government officials to identify approximately 20 of the most vulnerable households within each community for a total initial sample size of 1,849 households.

Figure 1: Impact evaluation groups



40. The details of the two intervention groups and comparison group are:

- **FFA for Women Group (25 communities):** the programme focussed on livelihood activities typically associated with women (training and inputs for poultry farming), but either men or women from dual-headed households could participate. Participants received monthly transfers of USD 44 each over approximately 6-8 months, conditional on their participation.
- **FFA Group (25 communities):** the programme involved working on livelihood activities traditionally associated with men (training and inputs for pasture). As with the women's group above, either men or women from dual-headed households could participate. Participating households received monthly transfers of USD 44 each over approximately 6-8 months, conditional on their participation.
- **Comparison group (25 communities):** Households in these communities were not invited to participate in the FFA programme during the study period.

¹² The clustered RCT approach follows from the programme's implementation modality of intervention at the community level, which would not have allowed for a household-level randomization.

41. During project implementation, the evaluation assessed whether participating in the FFA for Women programme led to changes in women's earnings and time use relative to the benchmark FFA programme. Increases in income derived from programme participation could lead to changes in consumption, food security, and well-being. Women's increased earnings could also lead to changes in women's decision-making authority and agency over their time use and consumption. In turn, these changes in women's decision-making authority could impact men's attitudes towards women's authority. Lastly, seeing other women working outside the household in the community could have also shifted the perception of social norms around women working outside the home.
42. Details on how project communities were selected, household eligibility determined, and data collected across three evaluation rounds (baseline, midline, and endline), as well as the qualitative methods used to triangulate findings, are provided in Annex I. Only dual-headed households were eligible for the evaluation sample, and women's presence during interviews was a prerequisite for participation. High survey response and follow-up rates were achieved across all survey rounds (over 92 percent), strengthening the internal validity of the evaluation. The qualitative research component, conducted eight months after the quantitative endline, further deepened the understanding of pathways to empowerment and norm change by including diverse voices: women and men from treatment groups, community leaders, implementing partners, and programme staff.

4. Data collection

43. Quantitative data for this impact evaluation was collected in three rounds. The baseline data collection was completed between December 2021 and January 2022 (see the [Baseline Report](#)), the midline during February and March 2023, and the endline data was collected in May 2023 and July 2023 after the programme implementation ended. Lastly, a qualitative survey was completed in October 2024 to complement the quantitative analysis.
44. The quantitative survey instrument was administered primarily to households with both male and female heads of household.¹³ Of the 1,849 households in the sample, 1,750 (95 percent) were successfully surveyed at midline and 1,709 (92 percent) were surveyed at endline. Outcomes include gender empowerment, improved women's well-being, time use, decision making, attitudes, perception of norms, well-being and abuse as well as higher household earnings, consumption, and food security. More information on how these indicators and indices were constructed is provided in the [annex](#).
45. Following quantitative data collection and preliminary analysis, qualitative data collection was carried out in October 2024 in the form of in-depth interviews (IDIs), focus group discussions (FGDs), and key informant interviews (KIIs).

¹³ See the inception report for a more detailed discussion of household inclusion criteria.

5. Project implementation

46. This section describes self-reported participation and receipt of cash transfers for the survey sample.

5.1 Participation rates

47. Table 1 presents the breakdown of participation by group at the time of the midline survey summarizing responses to the question: Did anyone in the household participate in work for the Food-for-Assets programme since you were registered?
48. A severe drought – part of the prolonged and [devastating 2020 to 2023 East Africa drought](#), the worst in over four decades – coincided with the programme period and significantly affected implementation. This multi-year drought led to widespread crop failures, livestock deaths, and water scarcity across the region, severely undermining food security and livelihoods, particularly among pastoralist communities. In the study areas, the drought notably impacted participation in programme activities, especially among men from pastoralist households, many of whom migrated with their livestock in search of water and pasture. This resulted in reduced male participation in programme activities – a factor that should be carefully considered when interpreting the evaluation findings, as it may have influenced both programme delivery and the observed outcomes.

Table 1: Participation by intervention groups

Intervention status	Households that participated in asset work (percent)					
	MIDLINE			ENDLINE		
	Anyone from household participating	Households with a woman participating	Households with ONLY women participating	Anyone from household participated	Households with a woman participated	Households with ONLY women participated
FFA for Women	42.1	41.5	41.0	58.6	57.7	20.7
FFA	43.5	14.3	10.9	58.2	23.4	1.2
Comparison	0.8	0.8	0.7	1.8	1.7	0.0

49. As seen in table 1, only 42.1 percent of households participated in asset work in FFA for Women, while 43.5 percent participated in the FFA group. Most households in the FFA for Women group had women participate (41.5 percent), compared to only 14.3 percent in the FFA group. This suggests the targeting worked as designed, boosting women's participation in asset-work. For households with only women participants, the numbers were 41 percent for FFA for Women and 10.9 percent for the FFA group. The Comparison group had near zero participation.
50. At endline, households were asked if any member had participated in the programme since registration. Participation rates were the same across FFA for Women (58.6 percent) and FFA groups (58.2 percent). Nearly all households in the FFA for Women group had at least one woman participate (57.7 percent), while only 23.4 percent of households in the FFA group reported women participating. Many households reported both men and women participating in FFA. Consequently, 20.7 percent of households in FFA for Women had only women participate, compared to 1.2 percent in the FFA group. A negligible 1.8 percent of households in the Comparison group also reported participation.

5.2 Transfers

51. Administrative records show that transfers were made in six cycles between May 2022 and February 2023.
52. Households were asked about receiving cash transfers in the two intervention groups. By midline, 61.4 percent of households in FFA for Women and 57.9 percent in the FFA group received transfers. Only 5.2 percent of households in the Comparison group received transfers. By endline, 67.3 percent of households in FFA for Women and 66.1 percent in the FFA group reported receiving transfers. The Comparison group did not change from midline.

53. Households' reports of receiving transfers were compared to their participation in asset work. Households receiving transfers were consistently higher than those participating in asset work. In FFA for Women, 67.3 percent received transfers, but only 58.6 percent participated. In the FFA group, 66.1 percent received transfers, but only 58.2 percent participated. This suggests some households might have received transfers without participating in asset work.
54. During programme implementation, delays in transfer disbursement by several months led to some frustration among participants who had completed training and asset work but received payments late. Qualitative interviews also highlighted dissatisfaction with unclear communication from implementation teams regarding the timing and duration of support. These issues may have negatively affected programme uptake in subsequent months, particularly in communities that experienced the most disruptions.
55. The timeline of programme implementation and data collection for the impact evaluation is mentioned in annex I.2.

Table 2: Households that received cash transfers by intervention group

Intervention status	Households that received cash transfers by group (percent)	
	Midline	Endline
FFA for Women	61.4	67.3
FFA	57.9	66.1
Comparison	5.2	5.2

6. Main findings

56. The following sections describe the impacts of the FFA for Women group relative to the Comparison group and the FFA group. In some cases, the two FFA groups are combined to measure the impact of benefiting from either modality relative to the Comparison group. The previous section showed that targeting women led to increased participation by women on asset work. This section discusses the impacts of women participating on asset work. As both FFA and FFA for women groups received the same transfer amount, this “isolates” the impacts of the women working on assets because of the targeting.
57. It must be noted that, while it was possible for any adult male or female from an eligible household within the target community to participate in the programme, most of the time it was the male and female heads of the households who participated. Therefore, “male head of household” and “female head of household” are used to refer to the participants.
58. The order of the results section follows the order of expected impacts stemming from the theory of change, from more to less direct impacts from project participation. The results discuss baseline findings, as well as the midline and endline results for each indicator.
 - time use
 - earnings
 - consumption
 - food security
 - decision-making (agency)
 - attitudes
 - perceptions of norms
 - well-being
 - abuse
 - subjective feeling of safety
59. All analyses use an intent-to-treat (ITT) approach to estimate the programme’s impact, drawing on both midline and endline data. This methodology includes all targeted households, regardless of whether they ultimately chose to participate. While this may lead to more conservative (i.e., muted) impact estimates – since outcomes are averaged across participants and non-participants – it ensures that the results reflect the programme’s causal effects under real-world conditions, where households retained agency over participation. Higher participation rates may have yielded larger average treatment effects among intended recipients. The following tables present the detailed midline and endline results, respectively.
60. Lastly, the drought increased the likelihood that households in both FFA and comparison groups received additional humanitarian support beyond the FFA programme. To account for this potential confounder, the survey included questions about external aid received. Analysis showed that there were no statistically significant differences in the level of additional assistance across groups, suggesting that such support was evenly distributed and unlikely to bias the estimated programme impacts. However, the presence of widespread external aid may have diminished the observable differences between groups, potentially attenuating the measured effects of the intervention.

Table 3: Midline results

	FFA vs. Comparison	FFA for Women vs. FFA	FFA for Women vs. Comparison	Comparison Mean	Num. of Observations
	(1)	(2)	(3)		
Any WFP Work	0.427*** (0.032)	-0.022 (0.041)	0.405*** (0.035)	0.008	1,750
Any WFP Transfer	0.528*** (0.032)	-0.002 (0.043)	0.527*** (0.041)	0.051	1,750
Female Non-WFP Work	-0.000 (0.011)	-0.003 (0.010)	-0.003 (0.012)	0.017	1,739
Female WFP Work	0.127*** (0.021)	0.275*** (0.037)	0.402*** (0.034)	0.008	1,750
Female WFP Transfer	0.063** (0.030)	0.466*** (0.043)	0.529*** (0.040)	0.042	1,750
Monthly Predicted Household Consumption	-11.009 (12.738)	15.175 (12.004)	4.166 (13.471)	234.933	1,725
Women's Non-WFP Wage Income	0.044 (0.846)	-0.637 (0.707)	-0.593 (0.829)	1.341	1,741
Women's WFP Wage Income	5.303 (3.605)	81.811*** (8.445)	87.113*** (8.283)	0.425	1,741
Men's Non-WFP Wage Income	2.711* (1.549)	-1.783 (1.734)	0.928 (1.753)	5.343	1,741
Time Spent					
Outside the Home (Women) (Hours per Day)	0.366 (0.369)	-0.365 (0.327)	0.001 (0.332)	4.075	1,738
Outside the Home (Men) (Hours per Day)	0.179 (0.410)	-0.045 (0.381)	0.135 (0.413)	8.834	1,737
Working (Self Employment, Women) (Hours per Day)	-0.029 (0.276)	-0.255 (0.240)	-0.284 (0.226)	1.531	1,738
Working (Self Employment, Men) (Hours per Day)	-0.127 (0.551)	-0.446 (0.508)	-0.572 (0.505)	4.740	1,727
Working (Paid, Women) (Hours per Day)	-0.115 (0.079)	0.182* (0.097)	0.067 (0.109)	0.222	1,738
Working (Paid, Men) (Hours per Day)	0.010 (0.211)	0.492* (0.279)	0.502* (0.298)	0.918	1,727
Working (Chores, Women) (Hours per Day)	-0.008 (0.294)	-0.305 (0.271)	-0.313 (0.238)	7.446	1,738
Working (Chores, Men) (Hours per Day)	0.058 (0.354)	-0.331 (0.327)	-0.273 (0.314)	2.251	1,737
Women's Agency Over					
Consumption (Index Standard Deviations)	0.056 (0.089)	-0.024 (0.085)	0.032 (0.089)	-0.006	1,677
Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	0.013 (0.073)	0.001 (0.074)	0.014 (0.074)	-0.004	1,704
Women's Attitudes towards					
Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	0.082 (0.090)	-0.029 (0.097)	0.054 (0.099)	-0.001	1,735
Women's Agency over Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	0.005 (0.068)	0.031 (0.074)	0.035 (0.076)	-0.003	1,708
Women's Agency over Consumption (Index Standard Deviations)	0.058 (0.087)	-0.065 (0.078)	-0.008 (0.081)	-0.007	1,665
Men's Attitudes towards					
Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	0.042 (0.084)	-0.045 (0.098)	-0.002 (0.098)	0.006	1,716
Women's Agency over Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	-0.081 (0.086)	-0.016 (0.084)	-0.097 (0.099)	0.001	1,689
Women's Agency over Consumption (Index Standard Deviations)	-0.076 (0.091)	-0.028 (0.093)	-0.104 (0.090)	-0.001	1,676
Women's Perception of Norms					
Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	0.130 (0.084)	-0.031 (0.096)	0.100 (0.098)	-0.006	1,734
Women's Agency over Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	-0.010 (0.065)	0.111 (0.069)	0.101* (0.060)	-0.003	1,736
Attitudes towards Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	0.088 (0.077)	0.014 (0.080)	0.101 (0.089)	-0.001	1,734
Attitudes towards Women's Agency over Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	0.002 (0.067)	0.129* (0.069)	0.131** (0.060)	-0.006	1,736
Men's Perception of Norms					
Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	0.098 (0.085)	-0.055 (0.086)	0.043 (0.089)	0.002	1,715
Women's Agency over Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	-0.130** (0.061)	0.114* (0.065)	-0.017 (0.074)	-0.004	1,717
Locus of Control Score	0.190 (0.137)	0.028 (0.135)	0.218* (0.121)	4.621	1,740
Subjective Well-Being Index (Index Standard Deviations)	0.107 (0.075)	-0.097 (0.067)	0.010 (0.070)	0.224	1,740
Psychological Abuse Index (Index Standard Deviations)	-0.236*** (0.081)	0.097 (0.084)	-0.138 (0.089)	0.004	1,458
Physical Abuse Index (Index Standard Deviations)	-0.091 (0.086)	0.049 (0.093)	-0.042 (0.079)	0.005	1,444
Sexual Abuse Index (Index Standard Deviations)	-0.090 (0.076)	0.039 (0.080)	-0.051 (0.074)	0.004	1,459
IPV Index (Index Standard Deviations)	-0.161* (0.085)	0.077 (0.094)	-0.084 (0.086)	0.004	1,415
Food Security (Standard Deviations)	0.047 (0.114)	-0.162 (0.104)	-0.115 (0.116)	0.004	1,734

Note: *** represents p-value of less than 0.01, ** less than 0.05, and * less than 0.10

Table 4: Endline results

	FFA vs. Comparison	FFA for Women vs. FFA	FFA for Women vs. Comparison	Comparison Mean	Num. of Observations
	(1)	(2)	(3)		
Any WFP Work	0.167*** (0.031)	0.010 (0.038)	0.177*** (0.026)	0.007	1,709
Any WFP Transfer	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000	1,709
Female Non-WFP Work	-0.001 (0.004)	0.005 (0.005)	0.004 (0.005)	0.005	1,709
Female WFP Work	0.042** (0.017)	0.133*** (0.028)	0.175*** (0.024)	0.005	1,709
Female WFP Transfer	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000	1,709
Monthly Predicted Household Consumption	-13.206 (11.180)	7.942 (10.086)	-5.264 (11.500)	197.255	1,692
Women's Non-WFP Wage Income	-0.066 (0.349)	0.186 (0.318)	0.120 (0.353)	0.411	1,709
Women's WFP Wage Income	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000	1,709
Men's Non-WFP Wage Income	0.866 (1.495)	-0.685 (1.648)	0.180 (1.587)	4.354	1,709
Time Spent					
Outside the Home (Women) (Hours per Day)	0.528** (0.258)	-0.160 (0.284)	0.367 (0.270)	3.361	1,707
Outside the Home (Men) (Hours per Day)	0.558* (0.334)	-0.386 (0.303)	0.171 (0.321)	8.049	1,698
Working (Self Employment, Women) (Hours per Day)	0.181 (0.176)	0.131 (0.190)	0.312* (0.168)	0.814	1,707
Working (Self Employment, Men) (Hours per Day)	-0.351 (0.518)	0.511 (0.441)	0.160 (0.471)	4.973	1,698
Working (Paid, Women) (Hours per Day)	0.049 (0.064)	0.065 (0.077)	0.114 (0.074)	0.129	1,707
Working (Paid, Men) (Hours per Day)	0.262 (0.212)	-0.151 (0.195)	0.111 (0.200)	0.789	1,698
Working (Chores, Women) (Hours per Day)	-0.022 (0.197)	-0.209 (0.218)	-0.230 (0.217)	7.846	1,707
Working (Chores, Men) (Hours per Day)	0.183 (0.165)	-0.141 (0.169)	0.042 (0.171)	1.612	1,698
Women's Agency Over					
Consumption (Index Standard Deviations)	0.109 (0.093)	0.082 (0.089)	0.191** (0.090)	0.005	1,689
Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	0.109 (0.080)	0.072 (0.075)	0.181** (0.076)	0.001	1,692
Women's Attitudes towards					
Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	0.266*** (0.099)	-0.150 (0.091)	0.116 (0.083)	0.003	1,702
Women's Agency over Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	0.093 (0.082)	0.098 (0.081)	0.192** (0.074)	0.005	1,696
Women's Agency over Consumption (Index Standard Deviations)	0.226** (0.096)	-0.027 (0.092)	0.199** (0.089)	0.004	1,682
Men's Attitudes towards					
Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	0.227** (0.098)	-0.114 (0.096)	0.113 (0.080)	-0.001	1,661
Women's Agency over Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	0.054 (0.082)	0.097 (0.089)	0.151* (0.086)	0.000	1,651
Women's Agency over Consumption (Index Standard Deviations)	0.009 (0.089)	0.004 (0.085)	0.013 (0.083)	0.004	1,658
Women's Perception of Norms					
Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	0.263*** (0.098)	-0.113 (0.098)	0.149 (0.090)	0.008	1,702
Women's Agency over Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	0.089 (0.086)	0.064 (0.085)	0.153* (0.090)	0.006	1,704
Attitudes towards Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	0.233** (0.100)	-0.085 (0.102)	0.148 (0.099)	0.000	1,702
Attitudes towards Women's Agency over Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	0.031 (0.087)	0.116 (0.091)	0.146 (0.093)	0.015	1,705
Men's Perception of Norms					
Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	0.246** (0.098)	-0.149 (0.106)	0.097 (0.093)	-0.001	1,661
Women's Agency over Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	0.066 (0.081)	0.103 (0.079)	0.169** (0.079)	0.001	1,661
Locus of Control Score	0.321*** (0.117)	-0.156 (0.115)	0.166 (0.101)	4.764	1,707
Subjective Well-Being Index (Index Standard Deviations)	0.013 (0.086)	-0.008 (0.090)	0.005 (0.088)	0.171	1,707
Psychological Abuse Index (Index Standard Deviations)	-0.086 (0.089)	-0.018 (0.083)	-0.104 (0.095)	0.002	1,438
Physical Abuse Index (Index Standard Deviations)	-0.086 (0.090)	-0.095 (0.076)	-0.181* (0.092)	0.004	1,438
Sexual Abuse Index (Index Standard Deviations)	-0.114 (0.086)	-0.039 (0.080)	-0.153* (0.084)	0.004	1,449
IPV Index (Index Standard Deviations)	-0.105 (0.089)	-0.042 (0.081)	-0.147 (0.091)	0.003	1,414
Food Security (Standard Deviations)	-0.032 (0.095)	0.135 (0.099)	0.103 (0.085)	-0.008	1,709

Note: *** represents p-value of less than 0.01, ** less than 0.05, and * less than 0.10

6.1 Time use

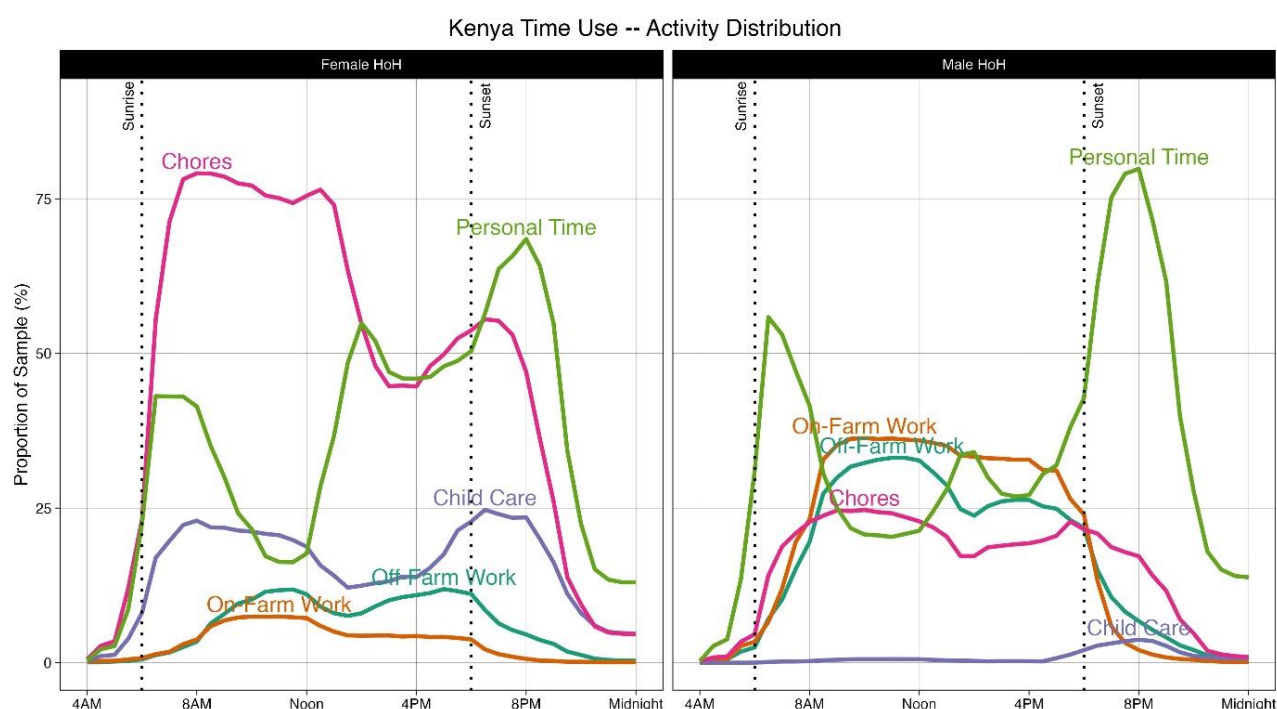
Summary of findings: At baseline, women spend more time on chores and less time on work than men. As a result of the project, both men and women in the regular FFA group spent more time outside the household at both midline and endline, with the increase becoming statistically significant at endline. A similar pattern was observed in the FFA for Women group, though the increases were smaller and not statistically significant at endline. Women in both groups also spent more time on self-employment activities – one of the project’s intended outcomes – with the increase particularly pronounced among women in the FFA for Women group who focused on poultry-related work. Women also reported spending less time on household chores, although this change was not statistically significant.

61. An important measure of agency across genders is how much time is spent on productive activities and chores daily. In the literature, a striking fact about gender differences in time use is that when women work for a wage, they reduce leisure time, whereas men do not shift into home chores (Hochschild and Machung, 2012; Bertrand et al., 2015).
62. The baseline results match existing literature. Table 5 shows that, on a typical day, women spend 8.2 hours per day on chores, while men spend only 2.4 hours. Men spend 9.7 hours outside the home on average, compared to 3.6 hours for women, a difference of over six hours. Men also spend more time on salaried and agricultural work, averaging 1.3 hours (79 minutes) and 3.2 hours (192 minutes), respectively, compared to 0.2 hours (10 minutes) and 0.5 hours (28 minutes) for women. This aligns with the earnings differences between genders noted earlier. Both men and women spend only a few hours on self-employment, with men averaging 0.6 hours (37 minutes) and women 0.4 hours (22 minutes).
63. Figure 2, illustrating baseline data, suggests the increase in hours spent on chores by women is accompanied by reduced personal time after sunset in comparison to men.

Table 5: Baseline Time use on a typical day for women and men

	Mean (hours)	St. Dev.	N
Panel A: Female head of household			
Time spent outside of the home	3.58	3.49	1,848
Time spent working in self-employment	0.37	1.55	1,848
Time spent on household agricultural work	0.47	1.51	1,848
Time spent working on a salary	0.16	1.04	1,848
Time spent working on chores	8.29	3.04	1,848
Panel B: Male head of household			
Time spent outside of the home	9.74	5.23	1,833
Time spent working in self-employment	0.61	2.07	1,833
Time spent on household agricultural work	3.22	4.32	1,833
Time spent working on a salary	1.32	3.15	1,822
Time spent working on chores	2.35	3.16	1,833

Figure 2: Baseline – Time use on a typical day for women and men



64. Women working for a salary or wage – such as by attending FFA trainings and applying the skills learned, particularly in pasture or poultry-related activities – would theoretically spend more time outside the home. However, the time-use data in this study reflects self-reported activity on a typical day, which may not fully capture programme impact. This is especially relevant given that training sessions occurred only once a month, and some activities, particularly poultry management, may have been carried out at or near the home. Despite these limitations, the data remain valuable for identifying broader shifts in how women and men allocated their time in response to the programme. (See paragraphs 47–50 for details on programme participation rates.)

65. At midline, while the FFA for Women programme was ongoing, women did not report spending more time outside the house overall compared to the Comparison or FFA groups. But women in the FFA for Women group did spend significantly more time on paid work outside the home, 18 minutes more (indicating that they shifted away from other activities outside the home for the project).

66. At endline, after the programme ended, there were no significant impacts when comparing the FFA for Women group with the FFA group. However, women in the FFA for Women group spent more time on self-employment compared to the Comparison group, with an increase of 18.6 minutes. This increase was likely due to program training on asset work. Although the comparison with the standard/men FFA group was not significant, the estimate was 7.8 minutes. Additionally, both women and men in the FFA group spent more time outside the home compared to the Comparison group, by 31.8 and 33.6 minutes, respectively. The differences in time spent outside the home for women and men compared to the FFA for Women group were insignificant.

67. The qualitative data provided some nuanced insights into women's participation in the FFA programme on time use and household dynamics. For example, one of the women beneficiaries from the FFA for Women group had the following to share about how she managed her time during the programme:

"I think every activity has its own time. So, I plan according to that exact activity that I want to undertake. I sometimes postponed doing the house chores so that I could go and attend to our chickens by providing feed and cleaning the area." – Beneficiary woman from the FFA for Women group

68. Both men and women respondents in the FFA for Women communities highlighted how women's participation in the programme resulted in women shifting some time toward project activity during the programme. Most of this shift came from reduced rest and leisure time, as women were still expected to do the household chores and caregiving tasks. Some male respondents said they increased their contribution to house chores and caregiving since women got busier with the programme activities.

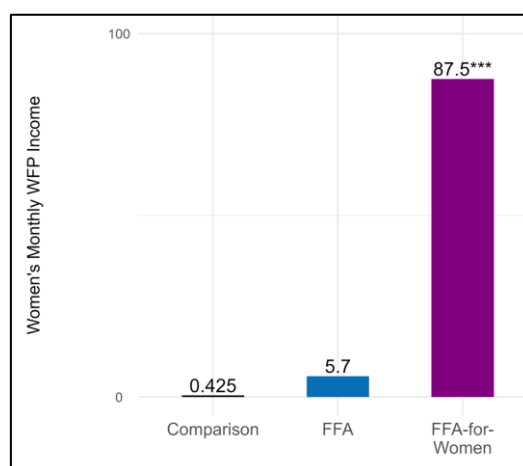
6.2 Earnings

Summary Findings: The evaluation assessed changes in household earned income resulting from participation in the FFA programme. At baseline, women's annual wage earnings were significantly lower than men's (USD 9.70 vs. 72.88 in 2019 PPP USD). By midline, while the programme was still active, women in the FFA for Women group had become earning members of households, reporting USD 87.50 in earnings the previous month – partly due to receiving double rations at that time. Additionally, men in the regular FFA group saw a 51 percent increase in non-WFP income compared to the Comparison group (from USD 5.34 to 8.05), suggesting short-term positive income effects during programme implementation. However, these effects did not persist for women and faded by endline.

69. The evaluation examined whether participating in the FFA programme changed household earned income (both WFP and non-WFP earnings). Before the project (at baseline), women's yearly earnings from wages (2019 PPP USD) were USD 9.70, much lower than men's earnings of USD 72.88.

70. At midline, while the programme was still ongoing, women became earning members of the household through participation in FFA. At midline, women in the FFA for Women group reported receiving USD 87.50 in the prior month (see Figure 3). The midline coincided with a point in time where households received double rations, which explains the higher number despite the monthly ration being USD 44.

Figure 3: Midline – Women's WFP income in US dollars



71. At midline, men in the FFA group reported a large increase in non-WFP-related income compared to the Comparison group by 51 percent (jumping from USD 5.34 to USD 8.05), illustrating the positive effects of the project while it was ongoing. This effect is smaller and not significant for women, and it is reduced to insignificance by endline. The endline survey took place after the programme ended, and households were no longer receiving any WFP income.

72. The qualitative surveys showed that women from the FFA for Women's group report that they benefited from the programme by contributing to household earnings:

"The benefits are significant, it has helped relieve some burden from my husband because we get to buy food for our children and when the kids get sick we can take them to the hospital or buy them the medicine that is needed." – Beneficiary woman from FFA for Women group

6.3 Consumption

Summary of Findings: At both midline and endline, there were no statistically significant impacts on predicted monthly household consumption in either programme group compared to the Comparison group. While small increases and decreases were observed, the estimates were not significant.

73. As described in the evaluation theory, and the pre-analysis plan, an increase in earnings is expected to result in an increase in consumption.¹⁴

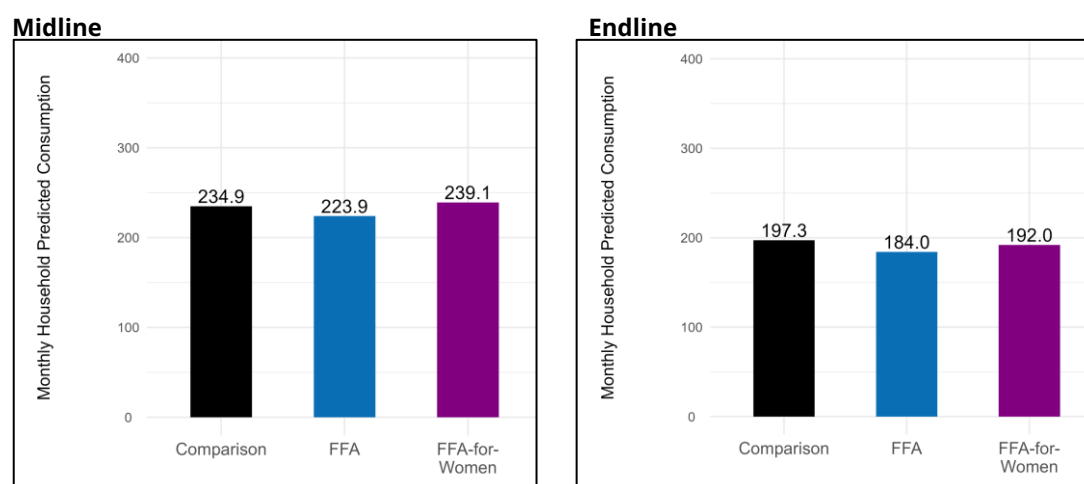
74. At midline, while the programme was ongoing, predicted household consumption for the FFA for Women group increased by USD 4 per month compared to the Comparison group. In contrast, predicted consumption for the FFA group decreased by USD 11 per month relative to the Comparison group. However, these differences were not statistically significant. (The results can be found in the Figure 4.) There were also no statistically significant impacts between the two programme groups.

75. At endline, there was also no significant impact on predicted monthly household consumption for either group. Household consumption decreased by USD 5 per month for the FFA for Women group compared to the Comparison group. The FFA group showed a decrease of USD 13 per month, but this is not statistically significant.

76. Throughout the programme, none of the consumption estimates were statistically different when comparing the three groups surveyed. The results are visualized in Figure 4. These results are consistent with findings from the pooled data for Rwanda, [El Salvador](#), and Kenya. The findings suggest that even though the programme has had a measurable impact on the economic empowerment of women (see section 6.5), it does not have any measurable positive or negative impacts on overall household consumption.

77. In the qualitative surveys, respondents talked about using the cash transfer for education expenses for children and to cope with rising food prices.

Figure 4: Monthly household predicted consumption



¹⁴ Consumption is estimated using data on five goods and coefficients produced by a “LASSO” regression, based on the Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey (KIHBS) 2015–2016 data. The goods that predict consumption best in that data set are educational expenditures, airtime, sugar, white bread, and tomatoes.

6.4 Food security

Summary of Findings: At both midline and endline, neither the FFA nor the FFA for Women groups showed significant impacts on food security compared to the Comparison group. However, during qualitative interviews, some participants noted positive aspects of the programme, suggesting perceived benefits not fully captured by quantitative indicators.

78. The theory predicts that an increase in household earnings – due to receiving a transfer through participation in either FFA or FFA for Women could improve food security. The [Food Consumption Score](#) (FCS), representing household caloric availability, dietary diversity, and relative nutritional values of food groups consumed, is used to measure food security.

79. The baseline data showed households at varying degrees of food security (poor, borderline, or acceptable) based on usual household diet. Most of the sample – 67 percent of households – had an acceptable consumption level, while 27 percent of households were borderline, and 6 percent had poor food security. The food consumption score was slightly imbalanced at [baseline](#) with 48.1 for the Comparison group, 44.4 for the FFA group and 44.5 for the FFA for Women group.¹⁵

80. At both midline and endline, neither the FFA nor the FFA for Women groups showed significant impacts on food security compared to the Comparison group. The absence of effects in the longer term is consistent with findings from similar evaluations in [El Salvador](#) and Rwanda.

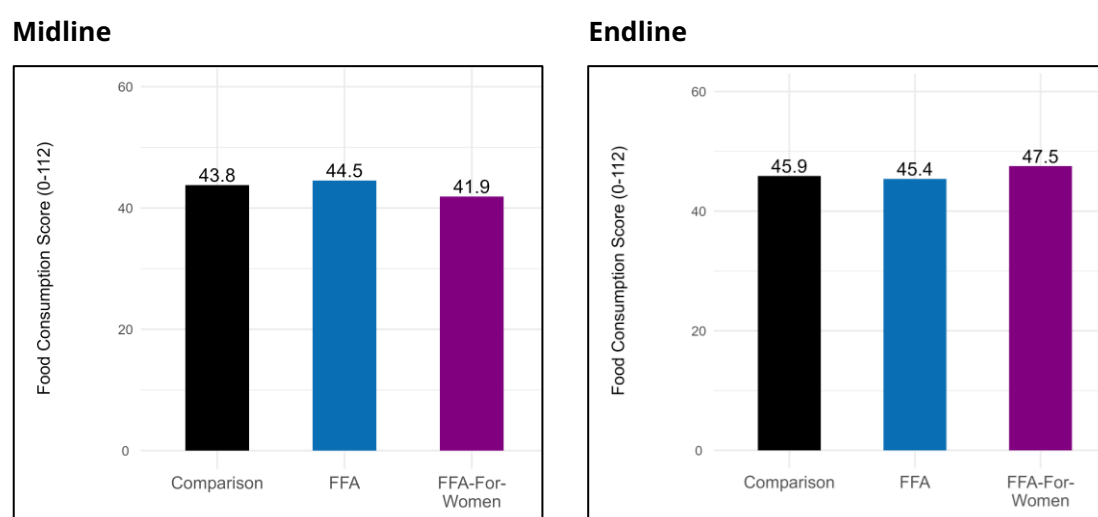
81. In the qualitative surveys, however, some of the respondents do highlight the partially improved food security they experienced during the programme:

“Yes, I can now afford two meals a day, our community can now eat fruits, and we get to receive cash after every month.” – Beneficiary spouse from the FFA for Women group

However, these benefits did not persist after the programme ended:

“Once the programme ended, we couldn’t afford to buy basic foodstuffs. We never had meat in our meals due to high prices of meat and other commodities. We are now facing a lot of challenges in meeting our basic needs.” – Beneficiary woman from the FFA for Women group

Figure 5: Food consumption score



¹⁵ Only the difference between the comparison group and the FFA for Women group is significant at the 0.1 level.

6.5 Decision making (agency)

Summary of findings: At midline, there were no significant impacts on women's agency over consumption or time use in either FFA group. By endline, the FFA for Women group showed significant improvements in both dimensions of women's agency, while the FFA group showed smaller, non-significant gains. Overall, both groups had positive effects, with stronger and statistically significant impacts in the FFA for Women group.

82. If women become earning members of the household, it could lead to an increase in their decision-making authority or agency. By "agency", the evaluation refers to the ability to define and act on goals and make decisions. For example, whether women have the agency to decide how they use their time, on self-employed work, salaried work, household chores or leisure or having agency over household consumption decisions.¹⁶

83. The following sections on agency, attitudes, and perception of norms (for time use and consumption) use indices that are similar in their construction, including four components each. For individual questions that are part of an index, the responses were coded as values +1, 0, or -1, respectively for each respondent.

84. For agency, women were asked who – in their view – decides on their time use for four key activities in their household: the women themselves (the female head of the household), the male head of the household, or both. The activities (four index components) were:

- her time working (self-employed);
- her time working (salaried);
- her time doing household chores; and
- her leisure.

85. In addition, women were asked about who has agency over consumption decisions in the household, which consists of the following four index components:

- larger household purchases;
- male heads of household purchases;
- female heads of household purchases; and
- female heads of household health purchases.

86. To complete the index, a weighted average across responses was calculated given values between -1 and +1, where -1 would suggest the male head of the household has total agency, +1 would suggest the female head of the household has total agency, and 0 would suggest both have equal agency.

87. The following table provides the combined index scores from the baseline data collection, as well as a breakdown of its components (combining all three intervention groups). An overall index score of 0.554 for women's agency over (women's) time use, women have greater agency than men do (Panel A). Women have agency over men's time use with an overall index score of -0.569, which suggests that women reported that men have much greater agency over men's time use on the four activities (Panel B). However, it is mostly driven by agency of paid work and self-employed work (-0.633 and -0.583 respectively). Lastly, an index score of 0.009 for women's agency over consumption (Panel C) suggests that women have equal agency to men on how much money is spent in over household purchases.

¹⁶ Lundberg and Pollak, 1993.

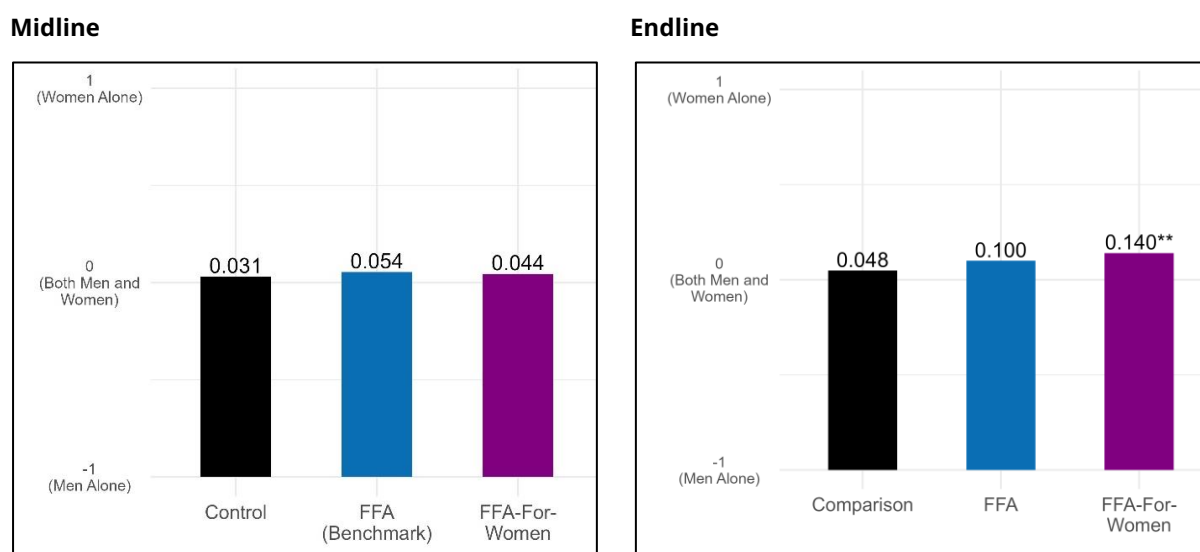
Table 6: Baseline – Women's agency over time use and consumption

	Mean	St. Dev.	N
Panel A: Agency over women's time use – Index	0.554	0.432	1,808
Work (self-employed)	-0.04	0.863	1,816
Work (paid)	-0.025	0.833	1,812
Chores	0.879	0.43	1,829
Leisure	0.5	0.777	1,820
Panel B: Agency over men's time use – Index	-0.569	0.492	1,806
Work (self-employed)	-0.583	0.642	1,812
Work (paid)	-0.633	0.577	1,809
Chores	-0.375	0.88	1,822
Leisure	-0.647	0.651	1,814
Panel C: Agency over consumption – Index	0.009	0.541	1,790
Household purchases	0.084	0.748	1,808
Male head of the household purchases	-0.184	0.731	1,811
Female head of the household purchases	0.205	0.724	1,817
Female head of the household health purchases	-0.084	0.736	1,810
<p>Note: To compare values, the table displays results only for households with male and female heads of household. Each index is created based on questions about the four displayed activities: self-employed work, paid work, chores, and leisure. For time use questions, the respondent was asked who they thought should accomplish each of these activities: the female head of household, the male head of household, or both. The consumption index was based on questions about large household purchases, purchases made using each head of household's income, and the female head of household's healthcare expenses. The indices were constructed using inverse covariance weighting. Values are between -1 and 1, with 1 roughly meaning perception of full agency and beneficial attitudes towards the Female head of household and -1 meaning no agency and harmful attitudes towards the female head of household.</p>			

88. At midline, as illustrated in the [regression table](#) at the beginning of the chapter, there was no significant impact on women's agency over consumption or time use in either the FFA or FFA for Women groups compared to the Comparison group. Effect sizes were small and statistically insignificant, and differences between the two intervention groups were close to zero.

89. By endline, the FFA for Women group showed that the programme had a significant positive impact on women's agency over time use compared to the Comparison group, with an increase of 0.181 standard deviations. Women in the FFA group had a smaller, non-significant increase of 0.109 standard deviations. Women's agency over consumption also significantly increased for the FFA for Women group, with a gain of 0.191 standard deviations compared to the Comparison group (+0.092 points on the index seen in Figure 6). In contrast, the FFA group showed a smaller, non-significant increase of 0.109 standard deviations (+0.52 index points). Overall, both intervention groups had positive impacts on women's agency, with stronger and statistically significant effects observed in the FFA for Women group.

Figure 6: Women's agency of consumption index



In the qualitative survey, many women respondents in the FFA for Women group describe how participating in the programme resulted in increased agency over consumption.:

"There is a difference, before I was given money and was told how to use it, but now when I have my own money, how I spend or try to save it or do with it whatever is fully my judgement to make." – Beneficiary woman from the FFA for Women group

6.6 Attitudes

Summary of findings: At midline, there were no significant changes in attitudes among either women or men across the three measured domains: time use, agency over time use, and agency over consumption. Additionally, no differences were observed between the FFA and FFA for Women groups at that stage. By endline, however, both intervention groups showed significant positive shifts in attitudes, particularly regarding women's agency. Women in both groups reported more supportive attitudes toward women's control over time use and consumption, with statistically significant improvements compared to the Comparison group. Similarly, men in both groups expressed more favourable attitudes toward women's time use and agency, though these effects were more limited in scope. Overall, both the FFA and FFA for Women interventions contributed to meaningful improvements in gender-related attitudes, with no significant differences in impact between the two programme designs.

90. Having considered actual time use and who makes decisions about time use, this section explores what men and women think about (1) who should spend more time and (2) who should make decisions about time spent on each of the four activities. This can be understood as attitudes towards (1) time use itself and (2) agency over time use.¹⁷

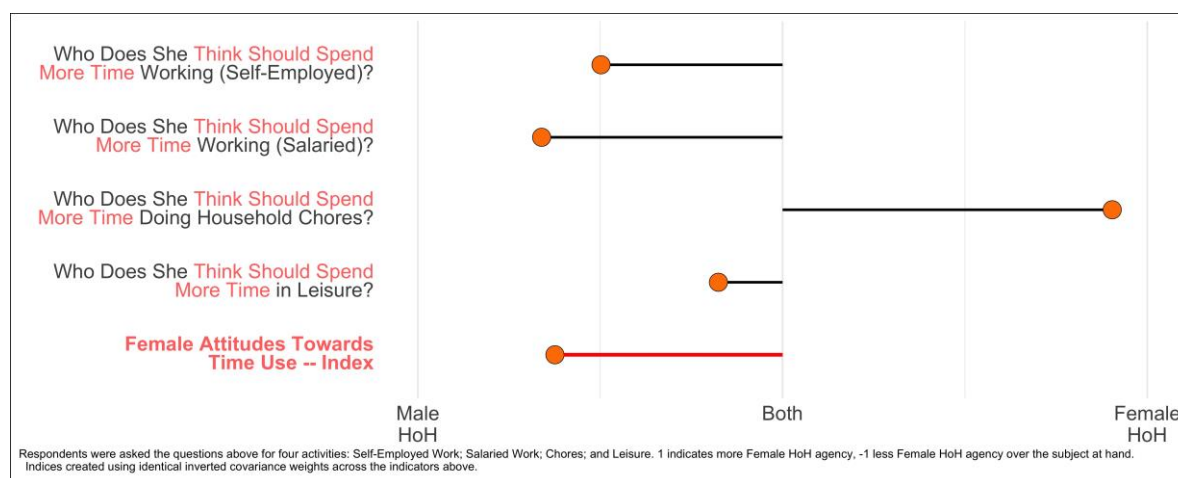
91. As above, in this section, the index considers attitudes on time use for self-employed work, salaried work, chores, and leisure, and takes values -1 to 1. For time use, 1 means that women should spend more time on a particular activity. For agency over time use, 1 means that women should make decisions about time spent on a particular activity.

92. At baseline, women's overall index value for attitudes towards time use ("who should do it?"; -0.624), and men's attitudes towards time use (-0.653) suggest that both women and men believed in an unequal division of labour responsibilities (more work and leisure for men, fewer chores than women). However, attitudes towards time use varied by activity. For example, women believed that while men should spend

¹⁷ Dhar, D., Jain, T. & Jayachandran, S. 2018. Reshaping Adolescents' Gender Attitudes: Evidence from a School-Based Experiment in India. Technical report, National Bureau of Economic Research.

more time on paid work, self-employed work and leisure (with mean scores of -0.498, -0.661 and -0.176 respectively), men should spend less time on chores (with a mean score of 0.904).

Figure 7: Women's attitudes towards time use – Index example



93. When it came to decision-making authority over time use (“who should decide who does what?”), both genders agreed that women should primarily make decisions about their own time. More specifically, women believed women should make decisions regarding chores and leisure (with positive mean values of 0.897 and 0.5), while –close to zero – women believed they should make decisions about women’s paid work and self-employed work together (with a mean value of 0.01 and 0.003). Overall, these findings reflect deep-rooted gender norms that assign different roles and responsibilities to men and women, particularly around household chores and paid work.

94. At midline, attitudes in three areas were measured: time use, agency over time use, and agency over consumption. Both women’s and men’s attitudes were measured. There were no significant changes in attitudes for either gender. No differences between the two programme groups were seen. Men’s attitudes did not change significantly.

95. At endline, women in the FFA for Women group expressed a significant positive change in attitudes towards women’s agency over time use (0.192 standard deviations; 0.738 vs. 0.648 index points in the comparison group) and consumption (0.199 standard deviations) compared to the Comparison group. Positive estimates for attitudes towards time use were observed but were not statistically significant. Women in the FFA group also showed a significant positive change in attitudes towards time use (0.266 standard deviations) and women’s agency over consumption (0.226 standard deviations) compared to the Comparison group. No significant differences were found between the FFA for Women and FFA groups.

96. At endline, men’s attitudes towards women’s agency over time use were significantly more positive in the FFA for Women group (0.151 standard deviations) compared to the Comparison group. The FFA group also showed a significant positive impact on women’s time use (0.227 standard deviations) relative to the Comparison group. No significant impacts were observed on other dimensions of men’s attitudes towards women’s agency over time use or consumption, and differences between the FFA for Women and FFA groups remained statistically insignificant. The empowerment effects observed in the FFA group may have been partially driven by contextual factors, such as the severe drought during the programme period, which led many men to migrate with livestock in search of water – prompting women to take on greater responsibility in programme activities. Overall, by endline, both intervention groups experienced significant improvements in attitudes – among both women and men – towards women’s time use and agency, with no meaningful differences between the two programme groups.

97. In the qualitative survey, both men and women respondents talked about how women’s participation in the programme resulted in a shift in attitudes about women taking on paid work outside of home:

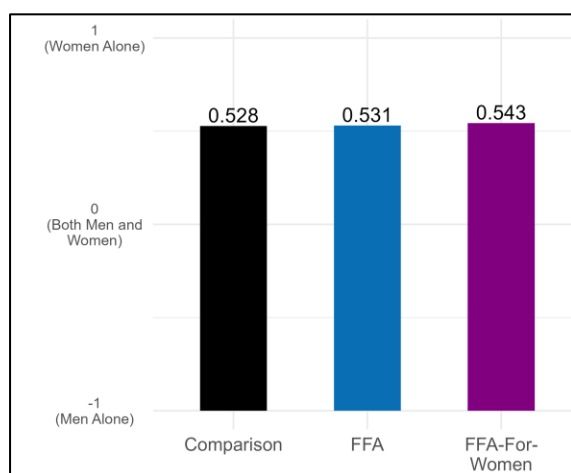
"The programme really changed my opinion because before we never used to work and assumed it was the work of a man but now things have changed, and we can see we both can do it." – Beneficiary woman from the FFA for Women group

Men provided similar responses:

"Yes, my opinion has changed. We can both work and bring the food on the table now unlike before. When I am not at home, she also takes my responsibility as the head of the family and leads. I can also do house chores in case she is sick." – Beneficiary's spouse from the FFA for Women group

Figure 8: Women's attitudes towards women's agency over time use index

Midline



Endline

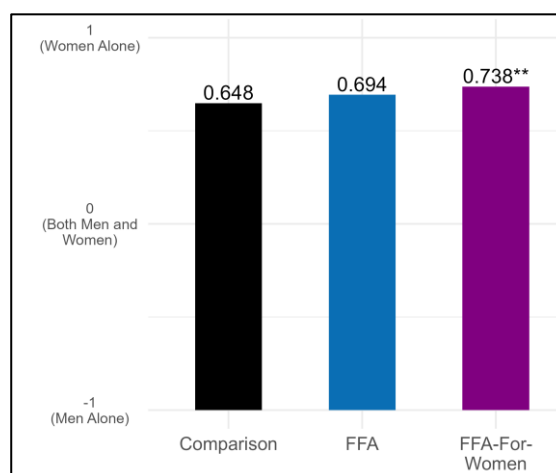
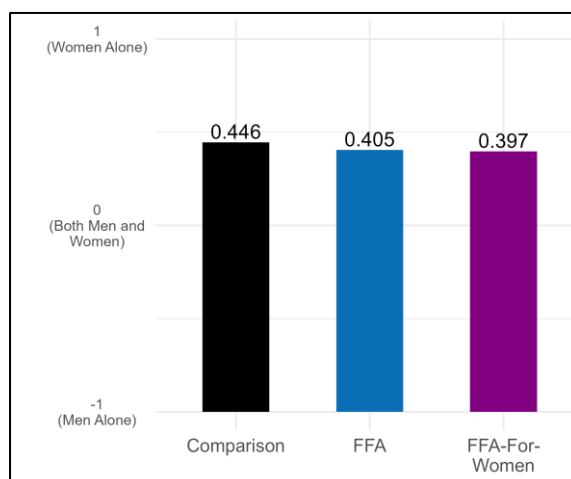
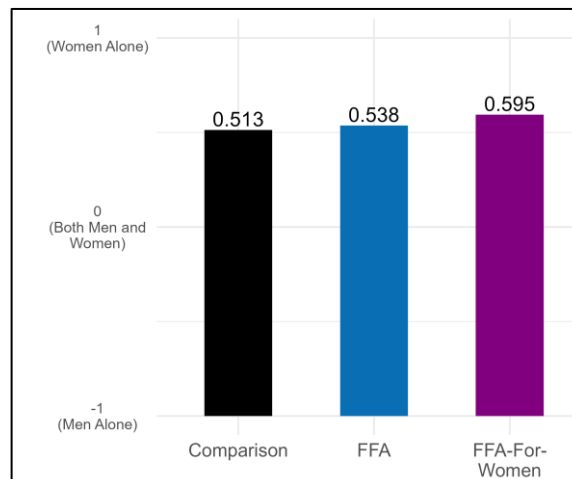


Figure 9: Men's attitudes towards women's agency over time use

Midline



Endline



6.7 Perception of norms

Summary of findings: At midline, women in the FFA for Women group showed significant improvements in perceived norms and attitudes toward women's agency over time use, while women in the standard FFA group did not. During the same period, men's perceptions were either unchanged or slightly negative, particularly in the FFA group. Men in the FFA for Women group held significantly more positive views than men in the FFA group. By endline, the FFA for Women group maintained positive changes across all indicators, with a significant improvement in women's perception of norms. Women in

the FFA group also showed notable gains in both norms and attitudes, indicating progress since midline. Among men, both treatment groups demonstrated significant positive shifts in perceptions of women's time use, suggesting that by the end of the project, attitudes had become more supportive of women's agency, though the pattern of change varied across groups and indicators.

98. Perceptions of community norms play an important role in determining women's agency.¹⁸ How people perceive other community members' time use, and women's decision-making role within a household, may feed into their own decision making. As participation in FFA for Women was expected to increase women's interactions with other members of their community, a shift in perceptions of community norms could be a mechanism through which household decision making is affected during the programme.

99. Regarding norms, the impact evaluation questionnaire asked women and men what they thought the norms, by gender, in their community were and a similar index to that discussed in [Section 6.5](#) was constructed and included answers to the following questions:

- What is the actual distribution of time use?
- Who makes decisions about time use?
- Who should spend time on certain activities?
- Who should make decisions about time use?

100. At midline, women in the FFA for Women group showed a significant positive change in their perception of norms regarding women's agency over time use (0.101 standard deviations) and regarding attitudes towards agency over time use (0.131 standard deviations) compared to the Comparison group. The FFA group did not show the same positive impacts compared to the Comparison group at midline.

101. At midline – while the project was ongoing – men's perceptions of norms were unchanged or slightly negatively impacted, e.g. for men's perceptions of women's agency over time use in the FFA group compared to the Comparison group (-0.130 standard deviations). However, differences in women's perception of norms regarding agency over time use between men in the FFA for Women group and men in the FFA group were positive and statistically significant (0.114 standard deviations).

102. At endline, the FFA for Women group still showed consistently positive impacts across all four indicators, with one significant positive finding – on women's perception of norms regarding agency over time use (0.153 standard deviations) compared to the Comparison group. Women in the FFA group also showed significant impacts on women's perception of norms over time use (0.263 standard deviations) and attitudes towards time use (0.233 standard deviations) compared to the Comparison group, indicating an increase since midline.

103. At endline, men in the FFA for Women group showed a positive impact on men's perception of norms regarding women's agency over time use (0.169 standard deviations) compared to the Comparison group, which was statistically significant. Men in the FFA group also showed a significant positive impact on men's perception of women's time use (0.246 standard deviations) compared to the Comparison group. Overall, men's attitudes have shifted in favour of women in the FFA for Women group on some dimensions and in the FFA group on other dimensions.

104. In the qualitative survey, women participants talk about a change in perception around women working outside the home among men and women in the community:

"Before it was not allowed for women to go outside and work but now we all work and even our husbands have seen the benefits of it." – Beneficiary woman from the FFA for Women group

¹⁸ Beaman et al., 2009; Bursztyn et al., 2018).

Figure 10: Women's perception of norms about time use

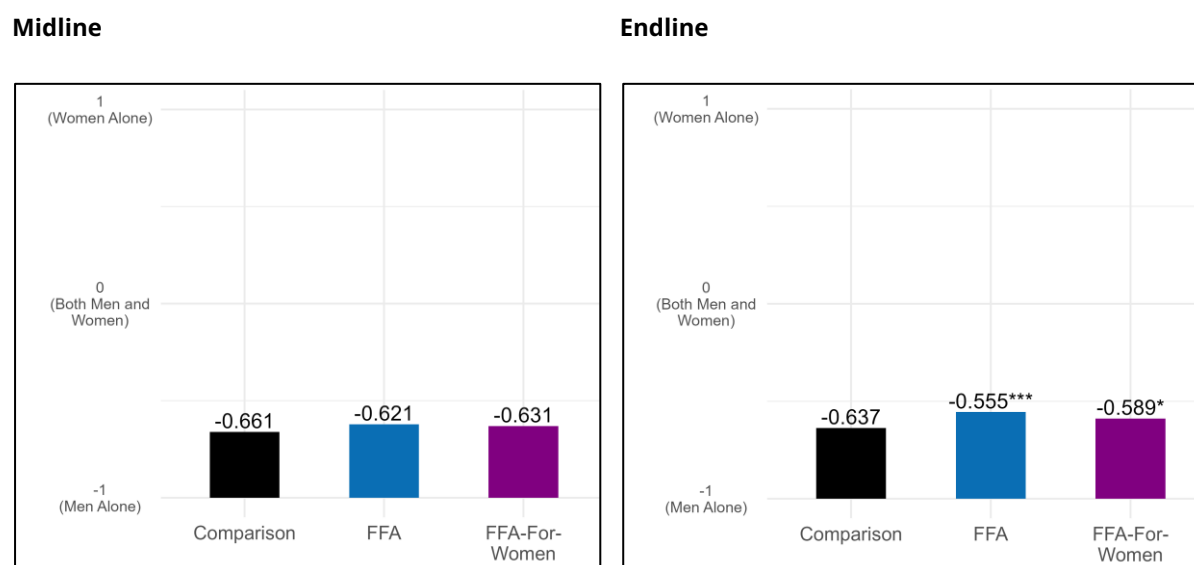
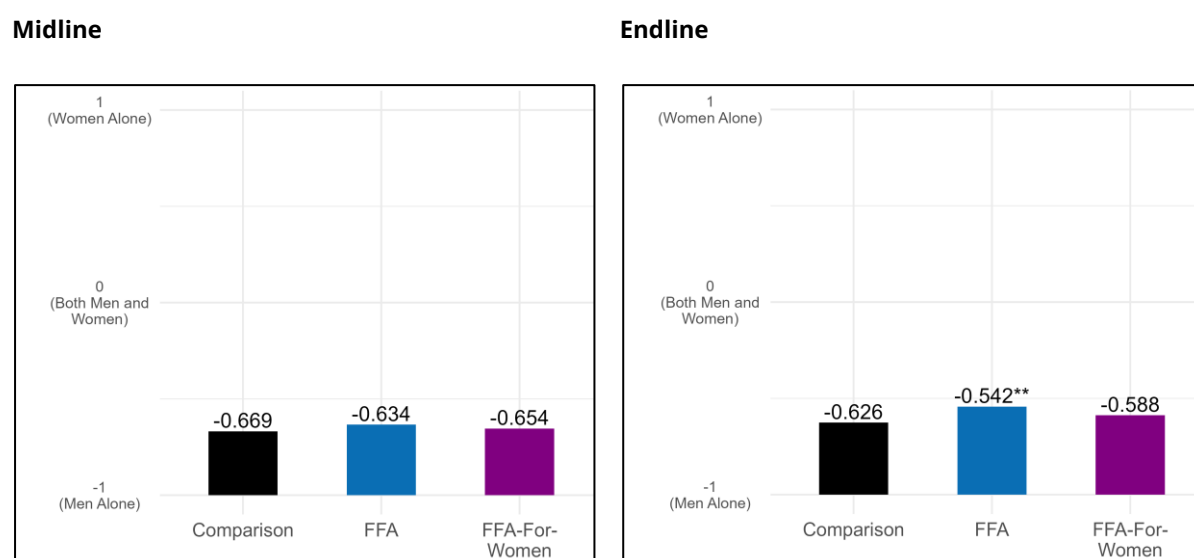


Figure 11: Men's perception of norms about time use



6.8 Well-being

Summary of findings: At both midline and endline, there were no impacts on psychosocial well-being across groups, but women in both FFA groups experienced negative effects on locus of control compared to the Comparison group with these impacts becoming statistically significant for the FFA for Women group at midline and for the general FFA group at endline.

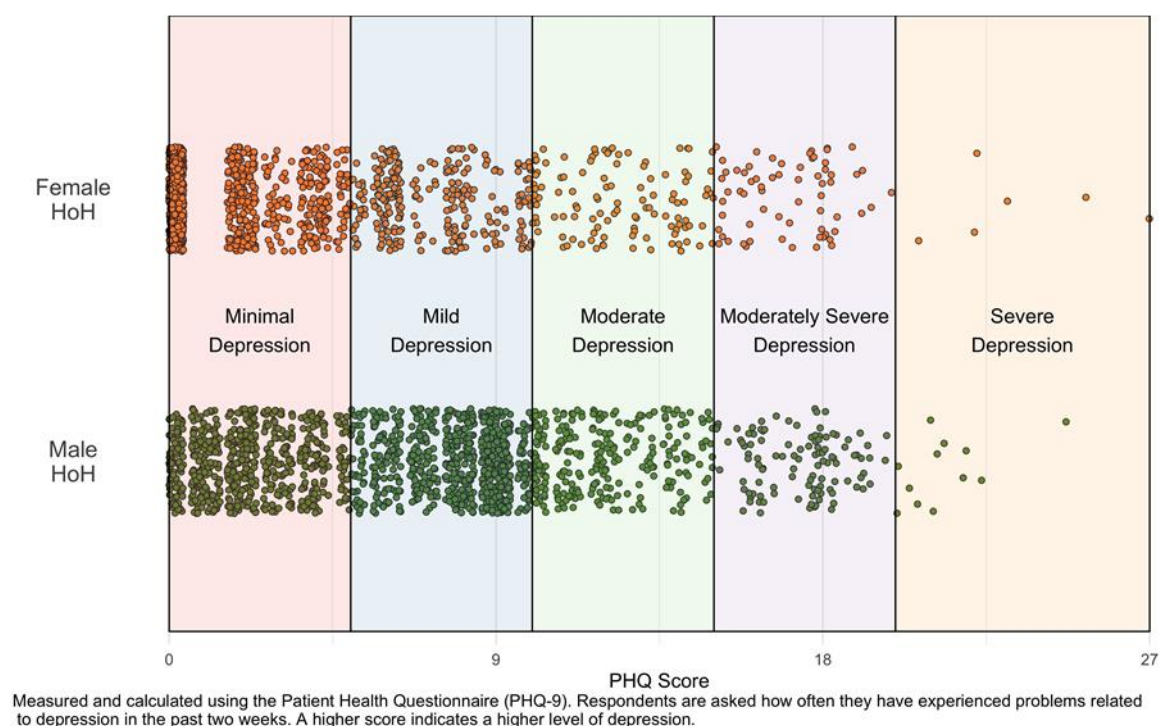
105. As a result of receiving support through the programme, the households receiving assistance may experience higher subjective well-being with decreases in stress or life dissatisfaction. The “subjective well-being index” is constructed by combining three different measures (life satisfaction, stress and mental health).

- “Life satisfaction” was measured as a score using the Diener et al. (1985) method.
- The stress scores were calculated using the “Perceived Stress Scale” from Cohen et al.,(1983).
- Mental health was measured using the standard Patient Health Questionnaire (PHQ-9).

106. The baseline data showed high prevalence of reported depression, with all the men reporting at least mild depression symptoms. In addition, 4 percent of women stated that they were moderately severely or severely depressed, compared with 12 percent of men.

107. Most women and men (98 percent) reported being moderately or highly stressed. The stress levels seemed to be particularly high among the sample population. However, both men and women report the same level of dissatisfaction or extreme dissatisfaction (56 percent for women and 58 percent for men).

Figure 12: PHQ scores at baseline



108. In addition, a significant aspect of measuring agency is understanding whether the respondents perceive a sense of control over their life and can initiate actions. This is referred to as “locus of control”. The locus of control score was computed using Rotter’s (1954) method. If the locus of control score is high, that signifies greater external (outside) control over respondents’ decisions. A lower score shows the sense of internal control individuals perceive to have over their own lives. At baseline, the analysis shows the locus of control to be 5.09 among both women and men (on a scale from 0 to 10).

109. At midline, no impacts were measured on well-being in either the FFA or FFA for Women groups compared to the Comparison group. The differences between the FFA for Women and FFA groups were not statistically significant. However, women in both groups experienced negative impacts on locus of control compared to the Comparison group (0.218 standard deviations and significant for the FFA for Women group). The FFA group did not show impacts on locus of control. The difference between the FFA for Women and FFA groups was not statistically significant.

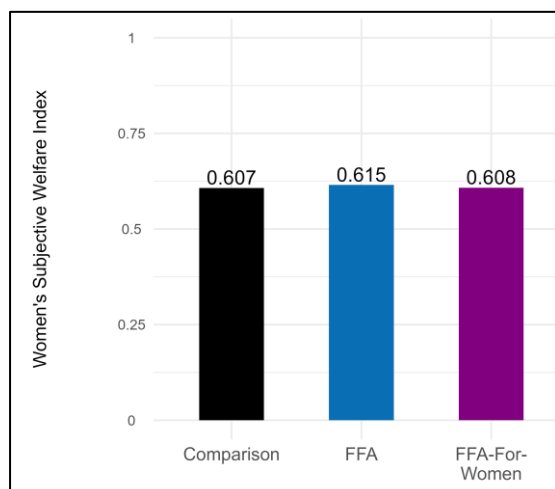
110. At endline, no impacts were measured on psychosocial well-being. Both programme groups still showed negative impacts on the locus of control scores compared to the Comparison group (at this point the FFA group showed a significant result with 0.321 standard deviations). This may reflect some disempowering effects of programme constraints, or unmet expectations, tied to participation in the FFA activities.

111. Conversely, in the qualitative survey, some respondent beneficiaries expressed how the programme helped reduce the stress they experienced:

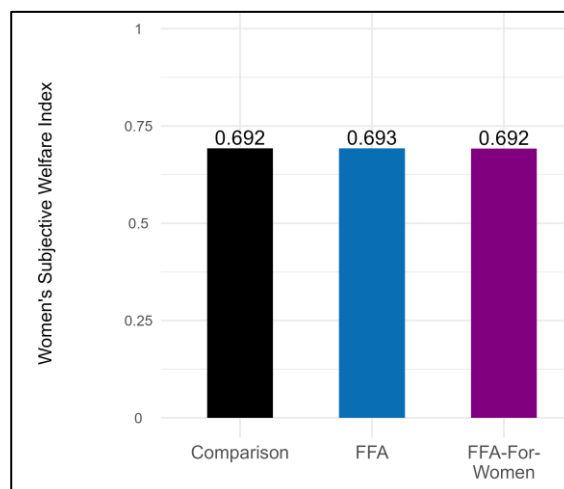
“This programme has reduced my stress and pressure of looking for school fees, tuition fees and meeting other expenses.” – Beneficiary woman from the FFA for Women group

Figure 13: Women's subjective welfare index

Midline



Endline



6.9 Abuse

Summary of findings: At both midline and endline, women in the FFA groups experienced reductions in IPV compared to the Comparison group, with significant decreases in psychological abuse and overall IPV at midline for the FFA group, and significant reductions in physical and sexual abuse at endline for the FFA for Women group; differences between the two FFA groups were not statistically significant.

112. Intimate partner violence (IPV) and abuse are serious issues faced by many women around the world. Women with limited agency or living in poor households are found to be disproportionately affected. As Haushofer et al. (2019) have argued, improvements in economic outcomes of the household, such as receiving cash transfers, may reduce IPV. However, an increase in women's decision making authority, could also lead to a potential backlash from men during the programme. Abuse or intimate partner violence is measured across three dimensions – psychological, physical, and sexual abuse. The three measures are also combined into an IPV index.

113. At midline, women in both programme groups experienced less abuse compared to the Comparison group. Most differences are small and statistically insignificant, except for the FFA group, where women reported significant reductions in the psychological abuse index (0.236 SD, or 0.057 index points) and the overall IPV index (0.161 SD). Figure 15 presents the reduction in psychological abuse in index points rather than standard deviations

114. At endline, both groups reported decreases in IPV across all measures, albeit mostly small in magnitude again. However, for women in the FFA for Women group, the physical abuse index and the sexual abuse index reductions were larger and statistically significant compared to the Comparison group (0.181 SD and 0.153 SD respectively). Any differences between the FFA for Women group and the FFA group were not statistically significant.

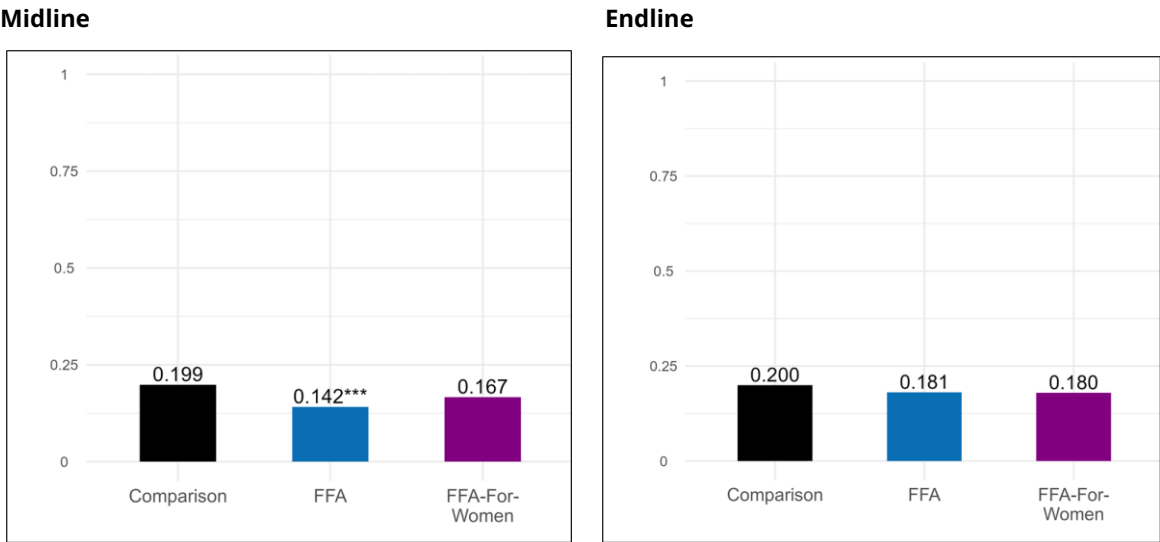
In the qualitative survey, some respondent beneficiaries also speak of improvements to their relationship quality stemming from programme participation:

"My relationship [with my husband] has been good [since I joined this programme] and my husband doesn't get angry unnecessarily as before as we both earn and take care of our children."– Beneficiary woman from the FFA for Women group

However, a community leader described an opposite correlation between programme participation and increased tensions in the home:

“This WFP programme targeted household people causing violence out of this money between the husband and wife. Maybe it's the husband who received the money. They use it to buy miraa (a recreational drug) or alcohol for their own leisure and forget to support their home. This caused some quarrels and there were not many cases where we solved them.” – Community Leader from a community allocated to FFA for Women group

Figure 14: Women's psychological abuse index



7. Conclusions and considerations for future programmes

115. This last section answers the evaluation questions (EQs) posed by the impact evaluation and discusses considerations for future WFP programmes.

116. A severe drought –part of the prolonged and devastating 2020 to 2023 East Africa drought, the worst in over four decades – coincided with the programme period and significantly affected implementation. This multi-year drought led to widespread crop failures, livestock deaths, and water scarcity across the region, severely undermining food security and livelihoods, particularly among pastoralist communities. In the study areas, the drought notably impacted participation in programme activities, especially among men from pastoralist households, many of whom migrated with their livestock in search of water and pasture. This resulted in reduced male participation in programme activities – a factor that should be carefully considered when interpreting the evaluation findings, as it may have influenced both programme delivery and the observed outcomes.

117. Additionally, it is important to note that the Kenya Country Office has phased out the Food Assistance for Assets (FFA) programme and its associated activities across the portfolio. The programme evaluated in this report was primarily implemented under the first Kenya Country Strategic Plan (2018–2023), guided by the 2015 WFP Gender Policy. Under the current Strategic Plan (2023–2027), the focus has shifted towards promoting climate-resilient and sustainable livelihoods in the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs), aiming to strengthen long-term resilience to shocks and food insecurity. The FFA programme is no longer part of this approach.

118. All analyses use an intent-to-treat (ITT) approach to estimate the programme's impact. This methodology included all targeted households, regardless of whether they ultimately chose to participate. While this may lead to more conservative (i.e., muted) impact estimates – since outcomes are averaged across both participants and non-participants – it ensures that the results reflect the programme's causal effects under real-world conditions, where households retained agency over participation. Higher participation rates may have yielded larger effects among intended recipients.

EQ1. What is the impact of women's participation in FFA (working outside the household and receiving cash in return) on their social and economic empowerment?

119. At midline, the FFA for Women intervention significantly increased women's participation in the WFP programme, raising participation from 14.3 percent to 41.5 percent. This participation translated into tangible financial benefits, with women in the FFA for Women group earning USD 82 more per month from WFP activities than their counterparts in the standard FFA group. Men in the FFA group reported substantial gains in non-WFP income at midline, indicating broader economic benefits during programme implementation. Women's time spent on self-employment significantly increased by endline.

120. While agency-related outcomes such as control over time use and consumption did not show improvements at midline, significant progress emerged by endline, particularly in the FFA for Women group. The FFA for Women group experienced meaningful gains in both dimensions (while improvements in the standard FFA group were smaller and not statistically significant). Attitudinal changes also followed a similar pattern, with significant gains for the women in the FFA and the FFA for Women group at endline.

121. The FFA for Women group showed earlier, stronger shifts in perceived norms and attitudes, while by endline, both men and women across both programme groups reported significant positive changes in support for women's control over time and consumption.

Summary of significant key findings at endline for women in the FFA for Women group when contrasted with the comparison group:

- i. Women's time spent on self-employment (hours per day) increased by 0.312 standard deviations.
- ii. Women's agency over consumption increased by 0.191 standard deviations.
- iii. Women agency over time use increased by 0.181 standard deviations.
- iv. Women's attitudes towards women's agency over time use increased by 0.192 standard deviations.
- v. Women's attitudes towards women's agency over consumption increased by 0.199 standard deviations.
- vi. Men's attitudes towards women's agency over time use increased by 0.151 standard deviations.
- vii. Women's perception of norms on women's agency over time use increased by 0.153 standard deviations.
- viii. Men's perception of norms on women's agency over time use increased by 0.169 standard deviations.

122. In terms of psychosocial outcomes, the results were more mixed. No changes were observed in overall psychosocial well-being, and both intervention groups experienced negative impacts on women's locus of control when compared to the comparison group. These declines were statistically significant for the FFA for Women group at midline and for the standard FFA group by endline. However, both programmes demonstrated a protective effect against intimate partner violence (IPV). The standard FFA group saw significant reductions in psychological abuse and overall IPV at midline, while the FFA for Women group achieved significant reductions in physical and sexual IPV by endline. While differences between the two FFA groups were not statistically significant, both contributed to meaningful improvements in women's safety.

123. Overall, the FFA for Women intervention delivered gains in women's economic empowerment, agency, and gender attitudes. Though some psychosocial risks emerged, the programme contributed positively to reducing IPV and enhancing women's roles in household and community economic life.

EQ2: Does participation in FFA affect key food security outcomes of interest?

124. As with the empowerment outcomes, the food security findings should also be interpreted in the context of the severe drought and the fact that this analysis is based on an intention-to-treat (ITT) approach. That is, outcomes are analysed according to participants' original treatment assignment, regardless of whether they received or complied with the intervention – providing a conservative estimate of the programme's overall impact.

125. At both midline and endline, neither the FFA nor the FFA for Women interventions showed statistically significant impacts on food security or predicted monthly household consumption when contrasted with the Comparison group. While minor fluctuations in consumption levels were observed, these changes were not significant in either direction. Similarly, the quantitative indicators used to assess food security did not detect measurable improvements resulting from the interventions.

126. However, qualitative interviews revealed a more nuanced picture. Some participants reported positive experiences and perceived benefits from the programmes, including improved household food access and economic stability. These insights suggest that while the interventions may not have produced large enough changes to register through standard survey measures, they still may have contributed to meaningful, if subtle, improvements in participants' lives that are better captured through qualitative methods.

Consideration #1. Find ways to boost participation rates in general and for women, in particular.

127. At midline, household participation rates in the WFP project were 43.5 percent for the FFA group and 42.1 percent for the FFA for Women group. By endline, these rates rose to 58.2 percent and 58.6 percent, respectively. However, exclusive female participation remained much lower, increasing from just 1.2 percent at midline to 20.7 percent at endline. These participation trends were shaped not only by programme design but also by external shocks – most notably the massive Horn of Africa drought, which placed immense strain on households and constrained participation, particularly among women. During this period, many men and families were forced to move with their herds in search of water, which further limited their ability to attend scheduled training sessions and activities. These mobility challenges disrupted

household routines and contributed to fluctuating participation levels across both programme groups. To enhance the effectiveness and inclusiveness of future FFA programming, WFP should invest in clearer communication strategies to ensure both men and women in targeted communities are fully informed about programme opportunities. Additionally, more targeted strategies are needed to ensure that women – especially when they are the primary intended beneficiaries – are both willing and able to participate. This includes implementing context-specific measures to limit male participation in FFA projects designed for women, helping to protect the intended focus and impacts of gender-targeted programming.

Consideration #2. Strengthen operational efficiency through timely payments.

128. During implementation, significant delays occurred in making payments to participants due to problems in the transfer systems. Many participants reported receiving their payments several months after having completed the asset creation work. These delays led to frustration and dissatisfaction, particularly among those who relied on timely payments to support their households. Such issues may have discouraged further participation in subsequent rounds of the programme within affected communities. Ensuring timely and reliable payments is critical for maintaining trust and engagement, especially in contexts where participants face economic hardship. Avoiding these kinds of implementation challenges could enhance both participation rates and overall programme impact. This concern was voiced by participants in the qualitative interviews, highlighting the importance of efficient payment systems for successful programme delivery.

Consideration #3. Strengthen the link between agency and economic outcomes.

129. While the programme led to improvements in women's agency, these gains did not translate into a significant increase in non-WFP income for women by the end of the programme – although there was a measurable increase in time spent on self-employment. This suggests that while women felt more empowered, structural or contextual barriers continued to limit their ability to convert agency into sustainable income gains outside the programme. To better support women in overcoming these barriers, WFP could consider extending the duration of support and exploring complementary or alternative livelihood approaches. Doing so may help identify a more effective mix of interventions that builds on the observed short-term improvements in agency and empowerment and translates them into longer-term economic resilience.

Consideration #4. Enhance nutritional impact through integrated support.

130. A key programme consideration stemming from the findings on food security is the need to address not only food access but also dietary quality in future interventions. The lack of significant improvement in dietary diversity and quality, as measured by the Food Consumption Score (FCS), despite the relatively substantial size of transfers, suggests that more targeted support may be required to achieve better nutritional outcomes. To strengthen the programme's impact on nutrition, WFP could consider reviewing and enhancing its complementary activities, such as nutrition education, behaviour change communication, or initiatives that promote diversified food sourcing. Additionally, extending the duration or intensity of support may help ensure improvements in both the quantity and quality of food consumed, leading to more holistic and sustainable food security outcomes. It is also important to consider that medium levels of programme participation may have contributed to the muted impacts observed, particularly given the use of an intention-to-treat (ITT) analysis that captures average effects across all eligible households, regardless of actual participation.

Consideration #5. Interpret results in context.

131. The findings of this evaluation should be interpreted within the challenging context in which the programme was implemented. Both the COVID-19 pandemic and the severe Horn of Africa drought created significant operational and socioeconomic constraints that likely affected programme implementation, participation rates, and outcomes. These external shocks increased household vulnerability, disrupted planned activities, and placed added pressure on both implementing partners and participants. Given these contextual limitations, we recommend consulting the parallel evaluations conducted in [Rwanda](#) and [El Salvador](#), which employed similar evaluation designs. In those settings, the interventions achieved stronger impacts on food security, potentially due to more stable and favourable implementation environments. Together, these comparative insights can offer a more complete understanding of what works, where, and under what conditions, and help inform the design of future programming in similarly complex settings.

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9. Acronyms

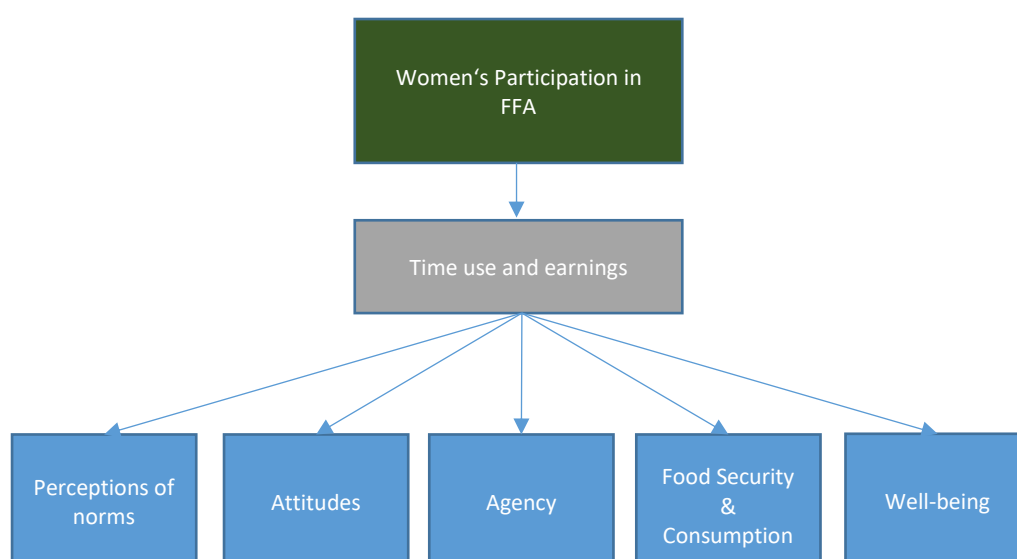
CBT&G	Cash-Based Transfers & Gender
CSP	Country Strategic Plan
CSPE	Country Strategic Plan Evaluation
DIME	Development Impact Evaluation (World Bank)
FCS	Food Consumption Score
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FFA	Food Assistance for Assets
GBV-IPV	Gender-based violence-Intimate partner violence
GEN	Gender Office
GEWE	Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
IDI	In-depth interview
OEV	Office of Evaluation
PHQ	Patient Health Questionnaire
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
RCT	Randomized Control Trial
UCT	Unconditional Cash Transfers
USD	United States Dollar
WFP	World Food Programme

ANNEXES

Annex I. Theory and hypotheses

132. A shorter version of this section is presented in previous sections on evaluation theory (paragraphs 31 to 35) and evaluation questions (paragraph 36).
133. The programme theory evaluated in Kenya is consistent with a body of literature that examines the impacts of providing women opportunities to work outside the household, as summarized by Field et al. (2019): “Female employment has been shown to delay marriage, increase female work aspirations, improve child health, and reduce the male: female sex ratio (...). In the United States, rapid growth in female labour force participation preceded important changes in norms regarding gender roles in both the economy and the household” (p. 1). Recent experimental work has demonstrated that attitudes (Dhar et al., 2018; McKelway, 2019) and norms (Beaman et al., 2009; Bursztyn et al., 2018) shape women’s agency and, in turn, women’s labour supply. While the asset-building component of FFA programmes has been demonstrated to be an effective tool for economic development through increased earnings (Imbert & Papp, 2015; Gazeaud et al., 2023), there is less evidence on the impacts of participant gender and there is also a lack of evidence on projects with a short duration. There are two primary channels of potential impact.
134. First, theory leads us to anticipate a direct “wage effect” of receiving cash transfers for the duration of the FFA project. Household members make labour supply decisions by trading off household consumption gains with the opportunity costs of work outside the home, including foregone leisure and home production. A striking observation is that women working for a wage often substitute away from leisure which creates a “second shift” (Hochschild & Machung, 2012), while men do not shift into home production (Bertrand et al., 2015). In a unitary household model, this is explained by differences in men’s and women’s utility functions, or their home production functions. However, a large body of empirical work rejects the unitary household model (Browning & Chiappori, 1998; Ashraf, 2009), with a key mechanism being that men and women have agency over “separate spheres” of household decisions (Lundberg & Pollak, 1993).
135. Second, it is anticipated that a persistent “empowerment effect” women’s temporary participation in FFA may result in lasting shifts in labour market attachment through changes in intrahousehold agency, attitudes, and perceptions of norms. Recent experimental work has demonstrated attitudes (Dhar et al., 2018; McKelway, 2019) and norms (Beaman et al., 2009; Bursztyn et al., 2018) shape women’s agency and, in turn, women’s labour supply. In practice, norms, attitudes, and women’s agency are also likely endogenous to women’s labour supply decisions; if so, shifts in women’s participation in FFA may also affect household decision making through these channels. These impacts may cascade, leading to persistent shifts in women’s labour supply in response to temporary women’s labour demand shocks (Alesina et al., 2013; Goldin & Olivetti, 2013).
136. During programme implementation, as depicted in Figure 15, it was anticipated that cash transfers to women participating in the WFP programme could change women’s earnings and time use. Increases in income derived from programme participation could also lead to changes in consumption, food security, and potentially well-being.

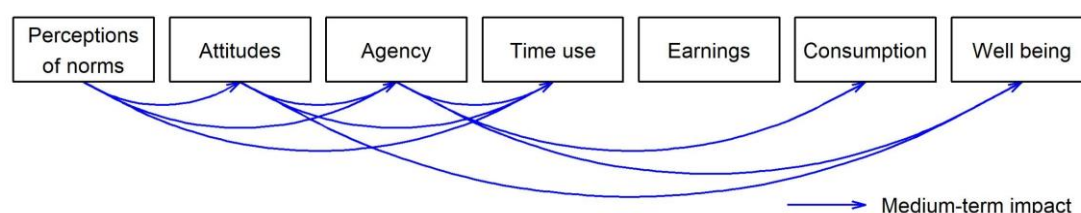
Figure 15: Short-term evaluation theory



137. As women become earning members of the household, the increased earnings could lead to changes in women's decision making authority and agency over their time use and consumption. In turn, these changes in women's decision making authority could then impact men's attitudes towards their authority. Lastly, seeing other women working outside the household in the community could also shift the perception of social norms around women working outside the home.

138. After the programme ended, as depicted in Figure 16, it was anticipated that women may retain greater decision making authority over their time use and/or consumption. Having observed other women from the community working outside of the home (shift in perception of norms), and demonstrated their own earning potential, women could continue pursuing opportunities to earn outside of the household – leading to increased women's earnings.

Figure 16: Medium-term evaluation theory



139. Increases in women's earnings could impact food security and consumption outcomes of the household. The persistence of women's earned income could also impact men's attitudes towards women's decision-making authority. Ultimately, one could expect that the gains from increased earnings and/or women's agency, along with more favourable men's attitudes, could lead to changes in the psychological well-being within the household.

140. Thus, in the longer run, the hypothesis is that targeting women as the recipients of cash transfers and including women in work outside the home could initiate a "virtuous cycle" where a change in women's perceptions of norms, attitudes, and agency further boosts women's participation in paid work outside the home (time use). This then positively impacts their earnings, which could amplify control over consumption and well-being, even after the FFA intervention ends. While the programme is targeted at women, it is possible the programming would also impact men's perceptions of gender norms (and those of the wider community) and attitudes in a way that further contributes to improvements in gender equality.

141. Based on this theory, the evaluation sets out to test two hypotheses. The first hypothesis is that women's involvement in activities, such as asset creation through participation in the FFA programme and in educational sessions, would directly impact:

- i. women's time use (shifts towards paid work outside the home); and
- ii. women's earnings as they are paid directly for their work.

The second hypothesis is that – in the medium run – these combined shifts in time use and earnings could impact women's economic empowerment by altering:

- i. perceptions of gender norms;
- ii. attitudes;
- iii. agency;
- iv. consumption patterns; and
- v. well-being (physical, social, and psychological).

142. In conclusion, by specifically targeting women as recipients of cash transfers and involving them in work activities, the programme could initiate a transformative process that goes beyond the immediate benefits of increased time use and earnings. By testing these hypotheses, this evaluation offers valuable insights into the pathways through which targeted interventions can foster lasting positive change and promote a more equitable society.

Stakeholder analysis

143. The stakeholder analysis for this evaluation identified those who may influence or be influenced by the evaluation's outcomes. Stakeholders encompassed internal and external parties, including programme beneficiaries. The primary user is the WFP country office in Kenya, but the evaluation aims for broader utilization. Stakeholder categories included:

1. Internal Kenya-based stakeholders: Key personnel within the country office.
2. Internal stakeholders outside of Kenya: the WFP Office of Evaluation (OEV), the Regional Bureau Nairobi (RBN), and the CBT and Gender divisions and Protection unit at Headquarters.
3. Populations groups in need: Both resident communities and migrants of various demographics. In the arid and semi-Arid regions of Kenya
4. External stakeholders: Comprising international NGOs, donors, UN agencies, and local forums.
5. National stakeholders: Encompassing government entities at national and sub-national levels, especially the County Government of Isiolo and NGOs.

144. Stakeholder engagement methods differed by category but may have involved reviewing and providing input on evaluation documents, actively monitoring the evaluation during programme implementation, participating in workshops, and offering feedback on evaluation reports.

145. The engagement aims to ensure that diverse perspectives were considered and that evaluation results are to be effectively used by stakeholders. A richer stakeholder analysis is presented in the Inception Report.

Targeting and Data Collection

Site selection and Targeting

146. The 75 project sites were selected from Garbatulla Subcounty (Garbatulla and Sericho wards) and Merti Subcounty (Chari and Cherab wards) in Isiolo County by a joint team of WFP and the County Government of Isiolo (County Technical Team or CTT). Table 7 provides the distribution of sample households in each sub-county. The Joint Team liaised with the County cash technical working group (CTWG) to map out areas already targeted with other cash-based transfers to avoid double dipping. These project sites have been selected because many of the people living there are food insecure but also have potential to improve their resilience through building of community assets. Project implementation committees (PIC) for all the 75 sites were also selected by the targeted households.

Only households with dual-headed households (both male and female) were selected and their mobile banking account¹⁹ was validated for transfers.

147. The household targeting criteria of the impact-evaluation survey were designed to address the key evaluation questions. Households that fit criteria:

- had not yet received WFP assistance (neither Cash transfers nor Livelihood Assistance training),
- were highly vulnerable to food insecurity, poverty and climate-related events (such as the long drought in the Horn of Africa), and
- were dual-headed households, composed of at least one adult man and one adult woman.

Data Collection

148. Quantitative data for this impact evaluation was collected in three rounds. The [baseline data collection](#) was completed between December 2021 and January 2022, the midline during February and March 2023, and the endline data was collected in May 2023 and July 2023 after the programme implementation was completed. Lastly, a qualitative survey was conducted in October 2024.

Table 7: List of Project Locations

Ward	Households
Garbatulla	471
Sericho	418
Chari	320
Cherab	640
Total	1,849

149. The multiple module survey instrument was administered to households with both male and female adults (i.e. dual-headed households). The questionnaire was only administered if the woman was present. When the questionnaire was administered to a given household, men were also asked a reduced set of questions if they were available.

150. Of the 1,849 households surveyed at baseline; a male household member was surveyed in 1,808 (97.8 percent) of these households. Of these households, 1,750 (94.6 percent) were surveyed at midline, including 1,731 male household members. By the endline, 1,709 (92.4 percent) households were surveyed, including 1,661 male household members. A high follow-up rate was therefore achieved.

151. The impact evaluation employed both quantitative and qualitative methods to gather comprehensive data. In addition to the quantitative data collection, qualitative methods were used, including in-depth interviews (IDIs), focus group discussions (FGDs), and key informant interviews (KIIs). The qualitative data was collected eight months after the quantitative endline survey to triangulate the perspectives of different intervention participants, community leaders, and cooperating partners. A total of 48 in-depth interviews were conducted, along with four focus group discussions (2 male and 2 female) each with six beneficiaries from project participating households. Additionally, ten key informant interviews were conducted with six community leaders, two cooperating partners, and two programme staff.

¹⁹ The mobile phone-based money transfer, payment, and micro-financing service in Kenya is called M-PESA.

Table 8: Timeline of data collection and programme implementation

Years	2021												2022												2023												2024												
Months	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	
Pilot																																																	
Baseline																																																	
Livelihood assistance																																																	
Cash transfers																																																	
Midline																																																	
Endline																																																	
Qualitative																																																	

Annex II. Quantitative surveys

152. Of the total 1,849 households surveyed at baseline, 1,750 (or 94.6 percent) of the households were surveyed at midline and 1,709 (or 92.4 percent) at endline. This suggests that a high follow-up rate was achieved, counting only households that completed the corresponding survey and had both a man and a woman willing to participate in the programme.

Table 9: Survey sample sizes

Phase	Number of households	Response rate (of sample frame) (percent)
Sample frame	1,849	100.00
Baseline	1,849	100.00
Midline	1,750	94.6
Endline	1,709	92.4

The team did not find significant differential attrition between intervention groups.

153. Specific outcomes are discussed in detail in the results section, the main outcome categories for the impact evaluation are as follows:

Table 10: Main outcomes of interest

Outcome	Definition	Measurement level
Consumption	Expenditures over reference period on ten goods	Household
Earnings	Total earnings from WFP cash-based transfers plus total earnings from other paid permanent and temporary work	Household
Time Use	List of activities from 24-hour recall over past two days; asked separately of men and women	Individual
Agency	How much the woman's opinion would be considered in a series of decisions	Individual
Attitudes	The woman's belief of how much time she should spend on productive activities, relative to men	Individual
Perceptions of Norms	The woman's perception of the time use, agency, and attitudes of women in her community	Individual
Well-Being	Psychosocial well-being, life satisfaction, mental health, and intimate partner violence	Individual

- 1. Consumption:** Expenditures over a standard reference period for up to ten goods. Five goods were selected as the goods that most strongly predict household consumption in a household survey from the same context. Five goods were selected as the goods that most strongly predict women's income, controlling for total household consumption in a household survey from the same context. Expenditures on education, men's clothing, and women's clothing were included.
- 2. Earnings:** Earnings for each household member were collected for the previous six months for the baseline survey, the time since the baseline survey for the midline survey, and the minimum of the previous six months, or two weeks after the intervention was completed, for the endline survey. Earnings were measured as total earnings from WFP plus total earnings from other paid permanent and temporary work.
- 3. Time use:** The female respondent was asked for a 24-hour recall of her activities over the past two days, following the approach of the American Time Use Survey.²⁰ When the primary male decision maker in the household was available, he was asked about his activities over the past two days; when he was not, the female respondent was asked about his activities.

²⁰ United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. 2024. American Time Use Survey. <https://www.bls.gov/tus/>

4. Agency: The female respondent was asked, relative to the primary male decision maker in the household, how much her opinion would be considered in a series of decisions. These questions follow the DHS on consumption ("major household purchases", "purchases from the primary male decision maker's income", "purchases from the female respondent's income", "the female respondent's health care"), and include additional questions on decision making over both men's and women's time in three productive activities ("work in self-employment", "work for a salary", "work on household chores").
5. Attitudes: The female respondent was asked how much time she should spend, relative to the primary male decision maker in the household, on the three productive activities listed above.
6. Perceptions of norms: The female respondent was asked how much time she believes women, relative to men, in her community spend on three productive activities. Next, the female respondent was asked how much the opinion of women in her community would be considered, relative to primary male decision makers in their households, on the same set of decisions as the Agency questions. Finally, the female respondent was asked about the attitudes of people in her community. These questions mirror the above questions on attitudes towards time use and attitudes towards agency.
7. Well-being: Modules to measure locus of control, psychosocial well-being, life satisfaction, intimate partner violence, and depression²¹ were administered. Two modules were used to assess any unintended consequences of the intervention on women. First, the time use module was used to reveal whether the programme contributed to a "second shift" for women; as they picked up more work outside the home, domestic labour burdens may not have been reduced. The share of time spent on domestic and care work duties between men and women is an important indicator of gender equality in the analysis. Second, questions from the Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) module on intimate partner violence were also included, with adaptation of questions based on Haushofer et al. (2019). This will allow the impact evaluation to identify any unintended consequences of a direct transfer of cash to women on the intra-household dynamics and her experience of IPV.

²¹ Patient Health Questionnaire 9 (PHQ-9) is a nine-question tool from the American Psychological Association that helps assess severity of depression symptoms.

Annex III. Qualitative surveys

154. In addition to the quantitative data collection, the impact evaluation also employed qualitative methods – in the form of in-depth interviews (IDIs), focus group discussions (FGDs) and key informant interviews (KIIs) – collected in October = 2024, 13 months after the quantitative endline survey with the aim of triangulating the perspectives of different intervention group beneficiaries, community leaders and cooperating partners.
- Sampling: The qualitative research was carried out in two sub-counties, Garbatulla and Merti, within Isiolo County. Data collection covered eight villages: Sericho A, Garbatulla F, Wayana, Badana 2, Town A/B, Box 2 Village, Manyatta School, and Jamia (n=4 FFA for Women intervention villages; n=4 FFA villages).
155. The sampling frame was generated, firstly, by randomly selecting four villages within each intervention group. Then, each village was randomly assigned to one methodology, either FGD or IDI. Within each intervention group, the distribution was as follows:
- Intervention 1, FFA for Women: one village was assigned to FGDs, while three villages were assigned to IDIs.
 - Intervention 2, FFA: one village was assigned to FGDs, while three villages were assigned to IDIs.
 - The comparison group was not included in the qualitative surveys, as logistical delays in implementing the surveys may have resulted in this group having already received the intervention.
156. Subsequently, the villages assigned to IDIs were randomly assigned a gender (female/male) for the head of the household to be interviewed (man/woman). Afterwards, ten participants were selected from each village. A replacement list was also generated, in case any of the participants were unavailable or unwilling to participate. The sampling frame of participants was the list of households participating in the project. Eligibility criteria to participate in the qualitative survey included that the household have a female and male head of household present.
157. Next, the list of selected participants was shared via a password-protected file-sharing system with the implementing partner, who communicated it to community leaders. The leaders mobilized participants, either in person or by phone, explaining the objectives of the research and inviting their participation. Those who agreed were informed about the scheduled date and location of their interviews.
158. All community leaders were selected based on input from WFP. Community leaders are village heads, administrative heads such as assistant chiefs and/or chiefs. They also participated in the selection and registration of beneficiaries.
159. In total, 48 IDIs and 4 FGDs were conducted (with 6-7 participants each) for an overall participation of 73 beneficiaries from project-participating households, as well as 10 community leaders, government stakeholders and WFP implementing staff (total n= 83) who participated in KIIs.
160. Data collection: Qualitative data was collected between 7 and 11 October 2024. Both female and male beneficiaries from different intervention villages participated in individual IDIs, male and female FGDs were conducted separately due to cultural constraints and safeguarding. Trained interviewers from Busara Center conducted all IDIs, KIIs and FGDs in Swahili or Borana (local language). FGDs lasted an average of 90 minutes, and IDIs and KIIs about 60 minutes. Each FGD included six to seven participants. All FGDs and IDIs were recorded and transcribed, then translated into English.
161. Survey tools: FGD and IDI guides for use with female and male beneficiaries from the three different intervention communities focused on the following thematic areas: 1. Uptake of and participation in the project; 2. Perceived changes and benefits of the project, and 3. Feedback and recommendations for improving the project. For the thematic module on perceived benefits of the project, beneficiaries were asked about any changes that they might have experienced due to project participation in the following: time use, agency, personal attitudes, community norms about time use, household earnings, consumption patterns, individual well-being, and intra-household relationships.

162. KII guides for use with community leaders, stakeholders, and WFP staff focused primarily on project implementation processes, and to a secondary extent, perceived benefits of the project in participating communities. Implementation questions focused broadly on 1. Uptake of the project; 2. Community selection processes, and; 3. Coordination, communication and monitoring aspects of the project.
163. Qualitative data analysis: The team undertook a thematic analysis approach to identify the salient themes related to 1. project benefits and changes, and; 2. project implementation processes across different IDI, KII and FGD transcripts. The data analysis included three phases: 1. the development and piloting of an initial coding tree and codebook; 2. the coding of IDI, KII and FGD transcripts using qualitative analysis software, and 3. thematic analysis of salient themes. All transcripts were coded in English in Dedoose qualitative software.
164. In the first analysis phase, an initial “coding tree” was developed based on qualitative tools, as well as the project evaluation theory (deductive approach). The two coders then pilot coded one transcript each in Dedoose qualitative software and revised the coding tree based on new or differing themes arising from the data (inductive approach). The final codebook included parent, child and grandchild codes relating to:
- i. project participation;
 - ii. perceived project benefits;
 - iii. other project benefits and challenges; and
 - iv. programme feedback from community leaders and cooperating partner.
165. Under perceived project benefits, different codes were used for the type of perceived benefit (such as household earnings and consumption patterns), and with sub-codes indicating whether a change occurred.
166. During the second analysis phase, all remaining transcripts were coded, continuing to revise the coding tree iteratively based on emerging themes and findings. Transcripts were coded sequentially, first by type of respondent (with the coding of community leaders and cooperating partners transcripts first, then programme beneficiaries) and by the type of intervention community (starting with the coding of transcripts from “FFA for Women” communities, followed by “FFA” communities). This approach allowed for a more systematic coding and analysis of themes by type of respondent/intervention community, allowing for the comparison of project benefit changes and implementation by type of intervention community.
167. In the third analysis phase, coded excerpts and analysis memos were exported into Excel and thematically analysed according to: 1. the different types of project benefits and changes and 2. the different project implementation themes. All themes were compared between the two types of intervention communities, as well as between gender of beneficiaries.
168. Tables 11 and 12 present the demographic characteristics of study participants, including project beneficiaries, govt stakeholders and community leaders. Among the beneficiaries participating in the qualitative study, the gender distribution was nearly equal, with 49.3 percent female and 50.7 percent male. The participants were evenly split between FFA for Women (49.3 percent) and FFA (50.7 percent) intervention communities. Beneficiaries resided in various villages, with the highest representation from Town A/B (17.8 percent), followed by Sericho A (16.4 percent) where both an FGD was conducted, and the remaining villages, including Garbatulla F, Wayana, Badana 2, Box 2 Village, Manyatta School, and Jamia, contributing equally (10.9 percent each).
169. In contrast, the community leaders, government stakeholders, and WFP staff showed a more pronounced gender disparity, with 90 percent being male and only 10 percent female. It was a challenge to categorize the community leaders by related intervention because their administrative areas spanned across the study villages.

Table 11: Demographic characteristics of beneficiaries

	Participants (Qual IE) (n=73)	
Gender	percent	n
Female	49.3	36
Male	50.7	37
Type of intervention community		
FFA for Women	49.3	36
FFA	50.7	37
Village	percent	n
Sericho A	16.4	12
Garbatulla F	10.9	8
Wayana	10.9	8
Badana 2	10.9	8
Town A/B	17.8	13
Box 2 Village	10.9	8
Manyatta School	10.9	8
Jamia	10.9	8

Table 12: Demographic characteristics of community leaders, government stakeholders and WFP staff

	Community Leaders (n=10)	
Gender	percent	n
Female	10.0	1
Male	90.0	9
Type of intervention community		
FFA for Women	46.1	6
FFA	30.8	4

All beneficiaries, community leaders, and government stakeholders provided their oral informed consent to participate in the study. The impact evaluation window design, as well as the specifics of the Kenya study, received ethical approval on 10/03/2020 by Solutions IRB, which is a private commercial AAHRPP fully accredited by the Institutional Review Board (IRB).

Annex IV. Baseline characteristics

170. Due to the design and inclusion criteria of the impact evaluation, all 1,849 included households with a woman and a man considered to be "co-heading" the household. As seen in Table 11, 85 percent of the female household heads were married, while 8 percent of them were widowed, another 4 percent were either divorced or separated. The average ages of female and male household heads were comparable at 40.56 and 42.34 years, respectively. The average years of education of household heads were starkly different with 3 years for males and 1.5 years for females. Additionally, the average household size was six members, with an average of 3.5 children under the age of 18 years per household.

Table 13: Demographics: heads of households and household members

	Mean	Standard Deviation	N
Panel A: Female Head of Household			
Age	40.56	13.69	1,849
Years of education	1.66	3.12	1,849
Panel B: Male Head of Household			
Age	42.34	15.05	1,837
Years of education	3.27	4.47	1,837
Panel C: Household			
Household Size	6.25	2.04	1,849
Number of Children (<18)	3.5	1.86	1,849
<i>Female Head of Household – Marital Status</i>			
Single	0.03	0.16	1,848
Married	0.85	0.35	1,848
Civil Union	0	0	1,848
Divorced / Separated	0.04	0.2	1,848
Widowed	0.08	0.27	1,848
Other			
Note: Categorical variables are displayed as 'yes/no' variables where a respondent answering 'yes' ascribes a value of 1, and 'no' a value of 0. Thus, the mean value displayed here represents the proportion of the sample that belongs in a given category. It can be seen that 85 percent of the sampled Female Heads of Household are married.			

171. The descriptive baseline analysis highlights the potential for the FFA programme to generate sustained impacts on household livelihoods and well-being. Targeted households appear vulnerable and are generally considered poor: earning USD 315.19 per year and spending USD 776.52 annually (USD 0.35 per capita per day). Moreover, 27 percent of households are considered "borderline" food insecure. Reliable sources of income from public works and diversified livelihoods from asset creation could meaningfully increase household resilience.

172. Intrahousehold gender inequality is substantial. Female heads of household earn 21 percent of what male heads of household earn, they spend more time doing household chores and less time working, and they have less agency over certain dimensions of their time use (potentially explained by attitudes within the household and societal norms). For more details, see the baseline report.

Annex V. Baseline balance

173. Baseline data collection was completed in 2022. The full baseline report was published in 2022 and can be accessed here: <https://www.wfp.org/publications/kenya-cash-based-transfers-food-security-and-gender-equality-impact-evaluation>.

174. As the assignment of the sample was randomized across three groups, and sampling for the baseline survey was conducted before the randomization, households across the three groups should be comparable on both observable and unobservable characteristics at the time of the baseline. The randomization ensures that all differences observed at endline are attributable (as causal impacts) to the project.

175. Tables 14 and 15 present the “balance” by comparing the mean values of the three groups for key outcomes of interest. Tests are conducted to identify any statistically significant differences between the groups. No differences significant at the 5 percent level were observed, which is consistent with successful implementation of the cross-community randomization, sampling, and the baseline survey.

Table 14: Balance checks using baseline data: Food consumption, earnings, time use and life satisfaction

Variable	(1) Control		(2) Standard		(3) Female Only		T-test Difference		
	N/[Clusters]	Mean/SD	N/[Clusters]	Mean/SD	N/[Clusters]	Mean/SD	(1)-(2)	(1)-(3)	(2)-(3)
Food Consumption Score (0 to 112)	610 [25]	48.074 (34.415)	618 [25]	44.410 (41.519)	616 [25]	44.520 (41.916)	3.664*	3.553	-0.110
Used a Livelihood Coping Mechanism	614 [25]	0.866 (0.477)	618 [25]	0.890 (0.493)	617 [25]	0.877 (0.735)	-0.024	-0.010	0.013
Yearly Female HoH Earnings (2019 PPP USD)	614 [25]	62.219 (245.272)	618 [25]	47.672 (388.750)	617 [25]	54.741 (340.801)	14.547	7.478	-7.069
Yearly Male HoH Earnings (2019 PPP USD)	614 [25]	288.293 (814.697)	618 [25]	287.399 (1004.359)	617 [25]	269.450 (807.929)	0.893	18.843	17.949
Predicted Consumption (2019 PPP USD)	614 [25]	825.316 (945.834)	615 [25]	774.605 (1227.005)	617 [25]	729.873 (1125.086)	50.711	95.444	44.733
Time Spent Outside of Home (Hours / Day)	614 [25]	3.543 (4.947)	617 [25]	3.718 (6.008)	617 [25]	3.489 (4.992)	-0.174	0.055	0.229
Time Spent doing Self-Employed Work (Hours / Day)	614 [25]	0.370 (2.274)	617 [25]	0.300 (2.069)	617 [25]	0.454 (3.369)	0.071	-0.084	-0.155
Time Spent Doing HH Agricultural Work (Hours / Day)	614 [25]	0.410 (1.723)	617 [25]	0.408 (2.428)	617 [25]	0.601 (2.688)	0.002	-0.191	-0.193
Time Spent Doing Paid Work (Hours / Day)	614 [25]	0.137 (1.161)	617 [25]	0.141 (1.584)	617 [25]	0.199 (1.365)	-0.004	-0.062	-0.058
Time Spent Doing Chores (Hours / Day)	614 [25]	8.213 (5.159)	617 [25]	8.517 (5.799)	617 [25]	8.129 (6.044)	-0.303	0.084	0.388
PHQ-9 Score (0 to 27)	614 [25]	2.775 (5.237)	618 [25]	3.078 (7.553)	617 [25]	3.326 (7.009)	-0.302	-0.551	-0.248
Life Satisfaction Score (5 to 35)	614 [25]	16.265 (17.181)	618 [25]	14.573 (23.586)	617 [25]	14.760 (21.104)	1.693	1.505	-0.187

Notes: The value displayed for t-tests are the differences in the means across the groups. Standard deviations are clustered at variable villageid. ***, **, and * indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level.

Table 15: Balance checks using baseline data: Agency, attitudes, and perception of norms

Variable	(1) Control		(2) Standard		(3) Female Only		(1)-(2)	T-test Difference	
	N/[Clusters]	Mean/SD	N/[Clusters]	Mean/SD	N/[Clusters]	Mean/SD		(1)-(3)	(2)-(3)
Agency over Men's Time Use (Index, -1 to 1)	605 [25]	-0.511 (0.769)	595 [25]	-0.605 (0.858)	606 [25]	-0.590 (0.723)	0.094**	0.079*	-0.015
Agency over Women's Time Use (Index, -1 to 1)	605 [25]	0.551 (0.575)	597 [25]	0.528 (0.959)	606 [25]	0.583 (1.012)	0.024	-0.031	-0.055
Agency over Consumption (Index, -1 to 1)	593 [25]	0.033 (0.798)	591 [25]	-0.024 (0.863)	606 [25]	0.018 (1.111)	0.056	0.015	-0.042
Women's Attitudes towards Time Use (Index, -1 to 1)	612 [25]	-0.609 (0.307)	606 [25]	-0.655 (0.328)	612 [25]	-0.610 (0.500)	0.046**	0.001	-0.045*
Men's Attitudes toward Time Use (Index, -1 to 1)	605 [25]	-0.646 (0.364)	605 [25]	-0.665 (0.353)	608 [25]	-0.650 (0.391)	0.019	0.004	-0.015
Women's Attitudes towards Agency over Women's Time Use (Index, -1 to 1)	602 [25]	0.583 (0.552)	598 [25]	0.541 (0.975)	610 [25]	0.599 (1.043)	0.042	-0.015	-0.057
Men's Attitudes towards Agency over Women's Time Use (Index, -1 to 1)	600 [25]	0.448 (0.760)	598 [25]	0.521 (0.796)	603 [25]	0.499 (0.668)	-0.073	-0.051	0.022
Women's PoN towards Time Use (Index, -1 to 1)	612 [25]	-0.667 (0.247)	606 [25]	-0.701 (0.346)	612 [25]	-0.677 (0.282)	0.034*	0.010	-0.024
Men's PoN towards Time Use (Index, -1 to 1)	604 [25]	-0.658 (0.392)	605 [25]	-0.701 (0.417)	608 [25]	-0.686 (0.406)	0.043*	0.028	-0.016
Women's PoN towards Agency over Women's Time Use (Index, -1 to 1)	612 [25]	0.419 (0.965)	606 [25]	0.519 (0.542)	612 [25]	0.527 (0.670)	-0.100**	-0.107**	-0.008
Men's PoN towards Agency over Women's Time Use (Index, -1 to 1)	605 [25]	0.450 (0.897)	605 [25]	0.521 (0.678)	608 [25]	0.551 (0.776)	-0.071	-0.102**	-0.030
Women's PoN of Attitudes towards Time Use (Index, -1 to 1)	612 [25]	-0.668 (0.248)	606 [25]	-0.682 (0.386)	612 [25]	-0.651 (0.412)	0.014	-0.018	-0.031
Women's PoN of Attitudes towards Agency over Women's Time Use (Index, -1 to 1)	612 [25]	0.425 (0.831)	606 [25]	0.519 (0.511)	612 [25]	0.544 (0.635)	-0.093**	-0.119***	-0.025

Notes: The value displayed for t-tests are the differences in the means across the groups. Standard deviations are clustered at variable villageid. ***, **, and * indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level.

Annex VI. Estimation

176. This section describes the quantitative results measured during the impact evaluation. The impact evaluation analysis is aligned with the pre-analysis plan (PAP) registered with the American Economic Association's registry for randomized controlled trials. The pre-analysis plan includes detailed information on primary outcomes, research design, randomization method, randomization unit, clustering, sample size (total number, number of clusters, and units per intervention arm), and regression specifications. The purpose of the PAP is to outline the set of hypotheses and analyses that will be performed on the data before it is collected, ensuring transparency of the process.

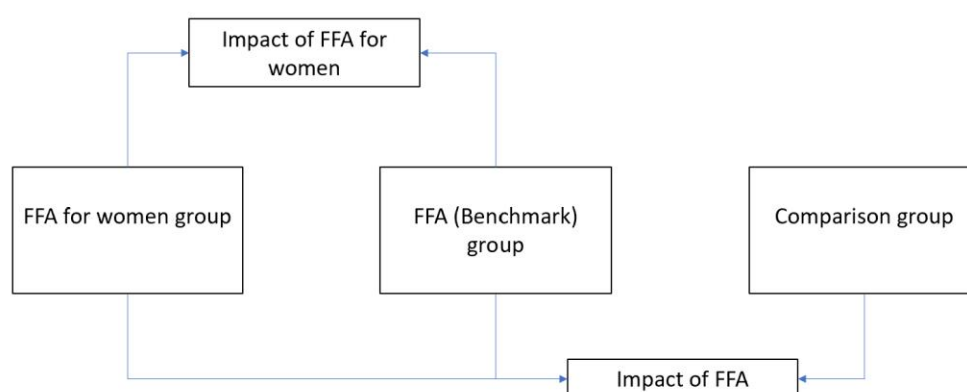
177. The following model in each country (c) and survey wave (t) is estimated. Letting Y_{hct} be the outcome (Y) for household (h) in country (c) in survey wave (t) (0 for baseline, 1 for midline, and 2 for endline), the following equation is estimated:

$$Y_{hct} = \beta_{1,ct} FFA \text{ for Women}_{hc} + \beta_{2,ct} Any \text{ treatment}_{hc} + X'_{hc0} \gamma_{ct} + \varepsilon_{ct} \quad (1)$$

where X_{hc0} is a vector of controls that include the value of the outcome of interest at baseline and any stratifying variables used for randomization. The primary coefficient of interest is $\beta_{1,ct}$ – the estimate impact of shifting household participation from men to women through FFA for women. Standard errors are clustered at the community level, in accordance with the clustered randomization design. Figure 17 provides an illustration of the two types of primary comparisons that are being made.

- The impacts of offering women to participate in FFA for Women vs. the FFA group. This comparison holds the transfer amount equal between the two groups, with the difference being that in the FFA group, women work outside the home and receive a direct transfer, whereas for the FFA group there is work and the transfer is made to the household head (who is often a man).
- Combined FFA for Women and FFA groups compared with the Comparison group provide the joint impacts of receiving any type of WFP assistance vs not receiving the assistance. Each type of assistance is also compared individually to the comparison.

Figure 17: Comparison of intervention groups for analysis



178. A feature of the clustered randomized controlled trial design is that all selected beneficiary households within a community will receive the same intervention to avoid any “spillover” concerns that might arise from a within-community household randomization approach. The household identification process in all 75 communities was the same regardless of “intervention” assignment to avoid any biases.

Annex VII. Ethical considerations

179. This impact evaluation strictly adheres to the 2020 United Nations Evaluation Group (UNEG) ethical guidelines. Oversight and enforcement of ethical standards were jointly managed by the WFP Office of Evaluation (OEV) and the World Bank Development Impact Evaluation Group (DIME) across all phases of the evaluation cycle. The study was reviewed and approved by Solutions IRB – a fully accredited, private, commercial Institutional Review Board (IRB) – on 10/03/2020 (Registration No.: IORG0007116).

Core ethical principles and practices implemented:

180. Informed consent: All households enrolled in the study were first required to consent to participate in WFP programming and then provided informed consent for each survey round (baseline, midline, and endline). Refusal to participate in the survey did not affect eligibility for programme benefits.

181. Participant selection: All impact evaluation (IE) participants were WFP beneficiaries selected through a rigorous, community-informed process identifying the most vulnerable households.

182. Privacy and confidentiality: The primary female participant was the main respondent for the survey, though a limited set of questions was also posed to the primary male decision-maker (who was also eligible to participate). To protect privacy, surveys were conducted in private settings- out of earshot from others, including household members. Female enumerators were deployed where culturally appropriate, and WFP coordinated with community leaders to provide childcare support during interviews to ensure a comfortable environment for respondents.

183. Enumerator training and sensitivity protocols: Enumerators underwent 1–2 weeks of training followed by extensive piloting to ensure contextually appropriate and consistent survey implementation. Specialized training was provided by third-party experts on how to handle sensitive modules, including those related to intimate partner violence (IPV), and on how to respond and refer cases ethically and appropriately.

184. Data protection: Personally identifiable information (PII) was stored in encrypted folders, accessible only to authorized WFP Principal Investigators and coordinators. Strict data protection measures followed the WFP Guide for Personal Data Protection and Privacy. No direct identifiers were shared outside the study. Upon completion of data collection, all identifiers and codes were removed. Anonymized datasets may be made publicly available for transparency, with protocols in place to ensure informed consent, data cleaning, anonymization, and written authorization from the WFP Country Office.

185. Ongoing ethical oversight: Ethical risks, issues, and participant concerns were actively monitored and addressed throughout the study. Any issues arising during implementation were managed in consultation with OEV and DIME to ensure compliance with established ethical standards.

In summary, the study prioritized ethical conduct at every stage – ensuring informed consent, privacy, cultural sensitivity, and the protection of vulnerable populations – while maintaining rigorous oversight to safeguard all participants throughout the research process.

Annex VIII. Limitations

186. Evaluation methods and limitations: The impact evaluation employs a randomized controlled trial (RCT) design to rigorously estimate the causal impacts of the intervention. As with any field-based RCT, several methodological considerations and limitations must be acknowledged.
187. External validity: The findings from one individual country, in this case Kenya, may not be universally applicable to other settings. External validity of the results will be assessed across all countries implementing similar interventions under the CBT and Gender Window, including El Salvador, Rwanda, and Haiti in addition to Kenya. These assessments will help determine the extent to which the results can be generalized to other contexts with varying livelihood strategies and vulnerabilities. Further details on the cross-country validation strategy are outlined in the Window pre-analysis plan.
188. Spillover and attrition: Potential spillover effects across communities and differential attrition were identified as risks during the evaluation design. To mitigate these, the evaluation team collaborated closely with local cooperating partners to establish and implement strict protocols. These measures were effective – no evidence of spillover or differential attrition was observed during implementation.
189. Contextual challenges – COVID-19 and drought: The baseline survey was conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic, which likely had negative effects on food security and household coping strategies. This context should be considered when interpreting the findings. In addition, the evaluation coincided with one of the worst droughts East Africa has experienced in recent decades. The drought may have prompted households – including those in the comparison group—to receive additional humanitarian assistance, which could have diminished the observable differences between groups. However, the analysis found no significant differences in the receipt of external aid across groups. The drought also affected programme participation, particularly among male beneficiaries from pastoralist communities, many of whom migrated with their livestock in search of pasture and water. This reduced male availability for programme activities and likely influenced participation rates, a factor that should be considered in interpreting the findings.
190. Combined effects – Work and transfers: The intervention arm that focused on Food Assistance for Assets (FFA) for women involved both paid work outside the household and the receipt of direct cash transfers. As designed, the evaluation estimates the combined impact of these components, making it difficult to disentangle the individual effects of working versus receiving cash. However, this combination reflects real-world conditions where work typically involves compensation. Moreover, the contribution of this study is particularly valuable in shedding light on the work component, complementing a well-established evidence base on the effects of cash transfers to women.
191. During programme implementation, there were significant delays in making the transfers to participants. This led to frustration among some participants who did the asset work but got paid with a few months of delay. This could have impacted the take-up of the programme for the following months within the communities that experienced these delays. Avoiding such implementation slip-ups could increase the participation and the impacts of the programme within the communities. This was clearly expressed by the respondents during the qualitative surveys.
192. As part of the 2020 Disability Inclusion Road Map, WFP is building on continued work to mainstream and standardize disability data collection methodologies, aligning with international standards and best practices. In 2025, the [Annual Country Report](#) stated that 35,722 beneficiaries had disabilities out of a total of 2,549,021 beneficiaries. Although this represents an important population, the size is too small for this evaluation to estimate any differential impacts for beneficiaries with disabilities.

Annex IX. Index construction

193. Index construction for agency, attitudes, and norms. For each individual question that is part of an index, the responses were then coded as values +1, 0, or -1, respectively for each respondent. Table 16 illustrates the three concepts and the phrasing of corresponding questions on the questionnaire.

Table 16: Agency, attitudes and perception of norms questions in the survey

Indicator	Question
Agency	
Agency over Women's Time Use	Who makes decisions about women's time spent...?
Agency over Men's Time Use	Who makes decisions about men's time spent...?
Agency over Consumption	Who makes decisions about purchases for...?
Attitudes	
Women's Attitudes towards Time Use	Who does she think should spend more time...?
Men's Attitudes towards Time Use	Who does he think should spend more time...?
Women's Attitudes towards Agency over Women's Time Use	Who does she think should make decisions about women's time spent...?
Men's Attitudes towards Agency over Women's Time Use	Who does he think should make decisions about women's time spent...?
Perception of Norms	
Women's Perception of Norms of Time Use	Who does she think spends more time... in her community?
Women's Perception of Norms of Agency over Women's Time Use	Who does she think makes decisions about women's time spent... in her community?
Women's Perception of Norms of Attitudes towards Time Use	Who does she think people in her community think should spend more time...?
Women's Perception of Norms of Attitudes towards Agency over Women's Time Use	Who does she think people in her community think should make decisions about women's time spent...?

194. To complete the index, a weighted average across responses is calculated that takes values between -1 and +1, where -1 would suggest the male head of the household has total agency, +1 would suggest the female head of the household has total agency, and 0 would suggest both have equal agency.

Annex X. Qualitative data analysis matrix

195. **Summary of Treatment 1 communities project changes and benefits:**

Primary project benefits and changes:

1. Increased consumption patterns focused on children's health and education (including food security;
2. Changed women's labour long-term;
3. Changed women's agency around time-use;
4. Changed attitudes and norms around women's work; and
5. Improved partner relationships.

Other interesting results include:

1. Improved health due to greater investment in medicine, medical fees/hospital stays, and better nutrition; and
2. Increased sense of community cohesion due to community projects and spillover effects to non-beneficiaries

Long-term project benefits and changes:

1. Improved women's work for pay and agency;
2. Enhanced ability to save and better manage time and money;
3. Changed community attitudes and norms (and men's attitudes in particular) as they became more accepting of women's work outside the home.

Table 17: Treatment 1 communities' theory of change themes and illustrative quotes

Theory of Change Themes	Illustrative quotes
<p>Theme 1: Time use (behaviours about household labour and time use)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Most women (and some men) spoke about shifting time use toward community work activity during the programme. Increases in women's work came at the expense of rest and leisure time, while they were still expected to do household chores and caregiving. Some women spoke about a return to regular time-use patterns (and gendered roles), but most spoke about long-standing increases in women's time outside the home. Commonly, participants (male and female) stated that the project helped them better 'manage their time', and that this skill has helped them in the long term. Some (mostly men) spoke about men's increased contribution to house chores and caregiving since women got busy with the programme activities. There was some conflation of time use (behavioural), and time use allocation (agency over use of time) in participant responses. 	<p>One woman exemplifies change in time use among women who participated in the programme: <i>I: Did the programme change how you manage your time?</i> <i>R: Yes, it did. In the past, I used to stay at home but nowadays I go out to work and bring food home for my family.</i> – 071024_Merti_Box2_IDI23_woman_T1</p> <p>Multiple women discuss changes to their use of time resulting from participation in the programme, some implying there are long-term changes as they still engage in poultry-raising activities to this day: <i>I: Okay, now let's talk about your time management, compare how you used your time before the programme and after the programme. Has anyone seen a difference and what is the difference?</i> <i>R2: Before [the programme], I used to wake up at 6:00 AM but now I wake up at 5:00 AM because I have to release the chickens from their coop and start doing my home chores early. So, I would say I have really seen a big difference.</i> <i>I: For the people who saw a difference, did your time management change after the programme ended or did your time management changes persist?</i> <i>R5: There is no difference, because we still have the chickens, although small now, we still take care of them, so our time usage has not gone back to how it was before the programme.</i> <i>I: What about you R2?</i> <i>R2: I agree with what she said, because I still wake up at 5:00 AM compared to before it was 6:00 AM so I do agree the programme has changed my time usage.</i> – 071024_Garbatulla_SerichoA_FGD1_woman_T1</p> <p>Two women illustrate how accommodating the new livelihood activity has affected their time for chores and rest: <i>I: [...] Has the programme affected your time use?</i> <i>R: Yes. The chicken affected my time use. I wake up in the morning to feed it; I also feed it in the afternoon and the evening. We had no time to rest, but we worked harder every day.</i> <i>I: Has this programme affected your time to rest?</i> <i>R: Yes. I've been too busy to rest since the project started. One cannot rest or sleep as before.</i> <i>I: Is the change still there even after the project ended?</i> <i>R: Yes. We are working harder than before. The project was an eye-opener.</i> – 071024_Merti_Box2_IDI24_woman_T1</p> <p><i>M: We would like to know the impact of this project on how you use your time, how you have been using your time to complete your activities.</i> <i>R: I think every activity has its own time. So, I plan according to that exact activity that I want to undertake. I sometimes postponed doing the house chores so that I could go and attend to our chickens by providing feed and cleaning the area.</i> – 081024_Garbatulla_GarbatullaF_IDI13_woman_T1</p>

Theory of Change Themes	Illustrative quotes
	<p>Men in Garbatulla (Sericho A) confirm shift from domestic to paid work among women as a result of the programme: <i>R5: Women used to cook, take care of children, now since the project started, we shared responsibilities, gone are the days women were left at home to do house chores, they now do business and save money. [...]</i> <i>R2: Women used to stay at home and do house chores but since these programmes came, we all perform equal tasks.</i> – 091024_Garbatulla_SerichoA_FGD2_man_T1</p> <p>Mixed messages on whether men have shifted some of their time to support household chores. Some participants speak of men 'helping' in specific circumstances (e.g. when wife is sick or working); while others point to a lack of change in women's housework in spite of women's economic activity or a transfer of house chores to girls in the household: <i>M: How about washing utensils, cooking?</i> <i>R2: It's only business we do together but still women perform those house chores.</i> <i>M: You mean women are still doing house chores?</i> <i>R4: Men perform heavy work, but women remain at home and do house chores, but the women are empowered economically since they engage in this programme even men despite other heavy work can help in house chores when a wife is sick one can boil tea, feeding children with milk.</i> – 091024_Garbatulla_SerichoA_FGD2_man_T1</p> <p><i>R: These days the men help women in doing house chores since the women are busy in the projects and they help raise funds which are used at home.</i> – 081024_Garbatulla_Wayama_IDI1_woman_T1</p> <p><i>I: Since you joined this program, who do you think should do a lot of house chores, you or your husband?</i> <i>R: That would still be me since a man should not do any of the house chores. Sometimes I would tell one of my girls to do the house chores since I am going to the project.</i> – 081024_Garbatulla_GarbatullaF_IDI6_woman_T1</p> <p>One woman and a community leader in Garbatulla speak of improvements in time-management skills, with benefits lasting beyond the programme duration: <i>I: We would like to know the impact of this project on how you use your time, how you have been using your time to complete your activities.</i> <i>R: It has helped me plan my time well since I have been occupied since the project. I make sure my children are ready for school, attend to the chickens when it is my turn and still come back to my home and look for other means of livelihood.</i> – 081024_Garbatulla_Wayama_IDI10_woman_T1 (1613-1995)</p>

Theory of Change Themes	Illustrative quotes
	<p><i>I: In your community, do you think the intervention changed the ability of the beneficiaries to make decisions regarding how they allocate their time to working, doing chores or for leisure?</i></p> <p><i>R: [The programme] has helped them. They can plan their time on when to perform a certain activity. For example, a mother wakes up, makes breakfast, then goes to the community errands (the work sessions) at 11 am they go back to their homes, make their families lunch and rest a little. At 3 pm they go for other tasks. In the evening, they go to the market for business. This means they can plan their time well and manage it well. So, when they get the money, they know how to use it well.</i></p> <p>– 091024_Garbatulla_GarbatullaF_CommunityLeader_KII3_Man (12789-13472)</p>
<p>Theme 2: Household earnings, savings and investments</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Almost all participants reported improvements in their household economic situation, some framing it as a new way of women sharing with men in the burden of provision. • Many participants reported being able to pay off debt, save money, invest in other businesses or improve their household facilities. • Some men whose wives participated in the FFA programme, report foregoing regular work to contribute to livelihood activities. 	<p>One female participant spoke about sharing the burden of provision with her husband:</p> <p><i>R3: The benefits are a lot; it has helped relieve some burden from my husband because we get to buy food for our children and when the kids get sick, we can take them to the hospital or buy them the medicine that is needed.</i></p> <p>–071024_Garbatulla_SerichoA_FGD1_woman_T1</p> <p>One woman described her use of the cash transfer to invest in a small business:</p> <p><i>I: Has this project changed your earnings and your capacity to save and borrow?</i></p> <p><i>R: Yes. I used it to pay school fees, buy books, buy uniforms, and open a small business.</i></p> <p><i>I: Are these changes still there even after the project ended?</i></p> <p><i>R: Yes. I still operate my business.</i></p> <p>– 071024_Merti_Box2_IDI24_woman_T1</p> <p>One man speaks of using transfers to make investments that would help improve living standards longer term:</p> <p><i>M: How did you use the money?</i></p> <p><i>R: We invested it in the chicken farm, invested it in a hotel, set up a latrine for my family and used it to feed our family.</i></p> <p><i>M: Who made the decision on how to use the money?</i></p> <p><i>R: We agree with my wife and decide on how to use it.</i></p> <p><i>M: Why did you invest in chicken farming?</i></p> <p><i>R: It is beneficial to us and helps to improve our living standards."</i></p> <p>– 081024_Garbatulla_GarbatullaF_IDI15_man_T1</p> <p>Increased ability to save thanks to cash transfers, that was carried forward to some degree after the programme:</p> <p><i>I: Now we will talk about the cash transfer. Did the cash help you in any way in this household?</i></p> <p><i>R: Yes, when receiving the cash on days that we have enough cash already, I get to save the cash I receive.</i></p> <p><i>I: Since the programme ended, are the changes still there or has it ended with the project?</i></p> <p><i>R: It has slowed down.</i></p> <p>– 081024_garbatulla_Wayama_IDI16_woman_T1</p> <p>Multiple male participants (husbands of female recipients) spoke about foregoing regular work to contribute to the poultry activity instead:</p>

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	<p><i>I: Did it change your normal schedule or the way you managed your time?</i> <i>R: Yes, it did.</i> <i>I: How did it affect your time?</i> <i>R: We couldn't leave the chickens alone; they needed attention. Instead of going to our usual jobs, we had to stay home to care for them.</i> – 091024_Merti_Box2_IDI19_man_T1 (1848-2105)</p> <p><i>R6: We own livestock although only a few. In the morning, we start the day by escorting livestock to grazing. During the day, we do different work at home. In the evening, we go to receive our livestock from grazing. Since this programme came, I was totally engaged in chicken rearing. Tiresome work made me absent from escorting and receiving the livestock. This made me lose my two goats!</i></p> <p><i>M: Any other person who has a story? R2?</i> <i>R2: This chicken we don't know anything about, we were totally engaged in it, it took our time, we could have been handling our livestock, this has made our livestock suffer a lot!</i> – 091024_Garbatulla_SerichoA_FGD2_man_T1</p>
<p>Theme 3: Food Security (both quantity and quality of foods consumed)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Across the board, participants reported improved food security during the programme (in terms of number of meals a day, buying in bulk, and buying more diverse and nutritious foods). Few participants spoke about lasting change in food security after establishing the livelihood activity or investing in a small business that continued to bring earnings; while others speak of not being able to afford food even as they received cash transfers Some attributed the return to food insecurity to a bad economy, climate change, inflation, and high prices of food. Some spoke about miscommunication about programme duration being responsible for poor budgeting and return to food insecurity. 	<p>Many respondents spoke about being able to afford two meals a day instead of just one, and also purchasing more nutritious and diverse foods during the time when cash transfers were being delivered:</p> <p><i>M: Do you think participating in this programme has helped you and improved your livelihood?</i> <i>R: Yes. I can now afford two meals a day, our community can now eat fruits, and we get to receive cash after every month."</i> – 081024_Garbatulla_GarbatullaF_IDI11_man_T1</p> <p>Female participants described changes in food consumption during the programme, and a return to food insecurity after it ended:</p> <p><i>M: Are there any changes in the number of meals you take in a day or quality of food you have during or after the programme?</i> <i>R: Yes, there are changes. For example, before this programme, we used to skip meals like morning tea because we could not afford them but nowadays, we can afford all the meals daily including supper.</i></p> <p><i>M: How about your situation nowadays in terms of how you cook food and having meals?</i> <i>R: Once the programme ended, we couldn't afford to buy basic foodstuffs. We never had meat in our meals due to high prices of meat and other commodities. We are now facing a lot of challenges in meeting our basic needs.</i> – 081024_Garbatulla_GarbatullaF_IDI12_woman_T1</p> <p><i>I: Has the quality of your food improved since the intervention?</i> <i>R: Yes, we can afford food stuff that we couldn't afford.</i> <i>I: I would like to know the difference between before and after programme food intake</i> <i>R: Before the programme, we only ate once a day, but after the programme, we ate three meals a day.</i></p>

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	<p><i>I: Has the type of food you consume changed?</i> <i>R: Yes, I am able to buy food in bulk.</i> <i>I: After the programme ended, has it changed how you consume your food?</i> <i>R: We thank God we are eating well ...if we afford the three meals a day we eat.</i> <i>I: Can you elaborate? Forgive me if I offend you.</i> <i>R: Before I use it to buy in dozens/bulk thus being able to cook till supper, but after the programme ended I buy it at retail if I have cash and if I don't, have any, we stay like that.</i> – 081024_Garbatulla_Wayama_IDI16_woman_T1</p> <p>One woman and one man refer to climate change and the economy as being responsible for a return to food insecurity after the programme: <i>I: After this project, has your food quality and food quantity changed?</i> <i>R: Yes.</i> <i>I: How?</i> <i>R: I was able to buy a variety of foods for my family. I buy more stock, dry food rations and vegetables to keep in my house.</i> <i>I: Is the change still there?</i> <i>R: Yes, but not as much as before now that it is very dry, and climate change caused drought.</i> – 071024_Merti_Box2_IDI24_woman_T1</p> <p><i>I: Has this programme allowed you to prepare more food?</i> <i>R: Yes, it has.</i> <i>I: Did the quality of food improve as well?</i> <i>R: In our area, the variety of food is limited, but we could afford what was available.</i> <i>I: Has that change continued, or did it end with the programme?</i> <i>R: It has changed slightly due to the current economy.</i> – 091024_Meti_Box2_IDI19_man_T1</p> <p>One man in the FGD spoke about the high cost of food even during the time when their household was receiving cash transfers: <i>M: What are the challenges you faced concerning that money?</i> <i>R6: Yes, there were challenges because that money was too little. It didn't even buy foodstuffs. Because of high inflation and high expectations, we were forced to lend money that incurred extra interest to pay later.</i> – 091024_Garbatulla_SerichoA_FGD2_man_T1</p>

Theory of Change Themes	Illustrative quotes
<p>Theme 4: Household consumption</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improved levels of household consumption appeared to be the most direct and common benefit of the project reported by women – particularly centred around spending on children’s education (school fees, uniforms, books, clothes) and health (medical expenses, medicine). Inflation in food prices and goods over time might have affected participants’ ability to buy different goods for their household during and after the project. 	<p>One woman speaks about her use of the cash transfer to consume goods and services for her children (and to invest in a small business): <i>I: Has this project changed your earnings and your capacity to save and borrow?</i> <i>R: Yes. I used it to pay school fees, buy books, buy uniforms, and open a small business.</i> <i>I: Are these changes still there even after the project ended?</i> <i>R: Yes. I still operate my business.”</i> – 071024_Merti_Box2_IDI24_woman_T1</p> <p>Changes in consumption of medical services for children was a common use for the cash transfers: <i>I: How did you use the cash?</i> <i>R: When the kids get sick, I used it to pay for medical expenses and also buy foodstuffs with it.”</i> – 081024_Garbatulla_Wayama_IDI16_woman_T1</p> <p>Participants in focus group discussion spoke about how she used the cash transfers for schooling and clothes for children, food and medicine for chickens: <i>I: For those who have raised your hands, how has that money assisted you and how have you used that money?</i> <i>R4: We bought chickens and through that, we were able to provide for our needs like buying food, clothes for our children and paying for madrasa so it has really helped us.</i> <i>I: What about you R5?</i> <i>R5: Just like they have said, we came together and bought the chicken and made contributions when we had challenges like buying medicine for the chickens and that has really helped us provide food to our families.</i> – 071024_Garbatulla_SerichoA_FGD1_woman_T1</p> <p><i>I: Okay, in this WFP programme what positive thing can you say you have liked about it or have benefited from?</i> <i>R2: What I have loved about it most is how much the money has been able to assist us. It has helped a lot of us to buy food for our families and even things like clothes for our children.</i> – 071024_Garbatulla_SerichoA_FGD1_woman_T1</p>
<p>Theme 5: Agency to make decisions (household, time use and big purchases)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Many participants spoke about significant changes in relation to agency to make decisions, both economic and otherwise. Reports of increased agency over time use among women were made. 	<p>Women spoke about the changes in their decision-making power and autonomy to allocate money and time because of the programme: <i>I: Okay, let's talk about your judgement. Is there anyone who has a difference in their judgement in how they make decisions at home after the training and experience of this programme?</i> <i>R2: There is a difference, before I was given money and was told how to use it, but now when I have my own money, how I spend or try to save it or do with it whatever is fully my judgement to make. [...]</i> <i>R3: Before I used to have my own money, everything I was given was limited and monitored but since I had my own money that was sent, I had to make my own judgement on what's the best use of the money. This also applies on how I use my time; it's not limited anymore.</i> <i>R2: When I am going outside now, I have permission from my husband because he knows the benefits of the work I am doing.</i></p>

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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Other participants reported already having gender-equitable decision-making processes in place prior to project start (so project did not have a very strong effect on 'agency' to make different household decisions). 	<p>– 071024_Garbatulla_SerichoA_FGD1_woman_T1 (12850-13860)</p> <p>Two women described changes in agency in household decision making and purchases: <i>I: Let's discuss how you decide to manage your time and how you come up with decisions. Since this programme began has it brought changes on how you make your own decisions?</i> <i>R: Yes, at first if I wanted things I would go to my husband and ask him or even ask him to sell a goat so I would be able to afford it and sometimes he would get angry and he wouldn't accept it but since I got this money, I am the one who makes my own decisions and I run my small business.</i> – 081024_Garbatulla_Wayama_IDI1_woman_T1</p> <p><i>R3: Before I had my own money, everything I was given was limited and monitored but since I received my own money, I got to make my own judgement on what's the best use of the money. This also applies to how I use my time; it's not limited anymore.</i> – 071024_Garbatulla_SerichoA_FGD1_woman_T1</p> <p>Men in Sericho A spoke about the change in time-use agency, and the sharing of labour and household chores and caregiving because of the intervention: <i>M: [...] Since you were engaged in this programme, have you seen any changes in decision making? If there is a person who has realized changes, can you raise your hands?</i> <i>R6: Decision making has changed. Initially, we were used to giving women some tasks but now [they] can make decisions and decide who will do what.</i></p> <p><i>M: Are you making decisions like before?</i> <i>R1: The decision making has changed. Now we share responsibilities. When my wife takes goats for grazing, I will remain at home taking care of the chickens, or vice versa. That decision we make by ourselves.</i> – 091024_Garbatulla_SerichoA_FGD2_man_T1</p> <p>One man spoke about women's agency to make decisions about cash transfer money as it was targeted at them: <i>M: Did you experience challenges on how to spend the money?</i> <i>R3: We have not because the money was received by women and they were the ones to decide on expenditure, so there was no challenge.</i> – 091024_Garbatulla_SerichoA_FGD2_man_T1</p>
<p>Theme 6: Attitudes about household labour and time use</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Most women and men described changes toward more equitable attitudes about division of labour 	<p>Multiple women spoke about change in their own gender attitudes in relation to women's participation in paid work: <i>"I: Now have any of you had a change of opinion on who should be the one to provide at home or go work and the other to do house chores in terms of husband and wife?</i> <i>R1: Now things have changed, it's not like before, even women can now go to work and contribute to the living costs. That is my opinion.</i></p>

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<p>and women's participation in paid work outside the home.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A few participants showed resistance to changing their attitudes on women's work. • Some participants reported already having gender/partner equitable attitudes about household decisions and labour division prior to the project start. 	<p><i>R6: I agree too, things have changed and are not like before, both a man and woman can work these days</i> <i>I: Did you all along had this opinion or was the change contributed by having this programme into your life?</i> <i>R1: The programme really changed my opinion because before we never used to work and assumed it was the work of a man but now things have changed, and we can see we both can do it.</i> <i>R6: I agree because before I had nothing to do apart from doing my house chores and taking care of the kids, but after the programme things really changed.</i> <i>I: Even after the programme and all the money was finished, did you go back to how you used to think or did your opinion change and do you now believe you can still work?</i> <i>R1: There is no staying at home anymore these days, we go outside and look for anything we can do to make some money.</i> <i>I: Anyone else with a different experience?</i> <i>(All together): No.</i> – 071024_Garbatulla_SerichoA_FGD1_woman_T1</p> <p><i>I: Who do you think should do a lot of outside work, men or women?</i> <i>R: The men should do a lot of outside work compared to females.</i> <i>I: Since the programme began, has it altered your thoughts of females having to do outside work?</i> <i>R: Yes, I would say that even women are capable as I also manage my small business which is outside work.</i> <i>I: Would that stop if the programme comes to an end?</i> <i>R: No, now we are empowered by this project we will continue doing the outside work too.</i> – 081024_Garbatulla_Wayama_IDI1_woman_T1</p> <p><i>I: So, your opinion [on who should work more] has not changed?</i> <i>R: It has changed. How has it changed? Since the intervention, I go sell my eggs and get cash. Before I used to stay at home [and be a housewife] but now, I look for ways to make money. It's a learning curve.</i> <i>I: Are the changes still there or it has ended with the programme?</i> <i>R: Yes, changes have stayed. Even men can cook and take care of the house.</i> – 081024_Garbatulla_Wayama_IDI16_woman_T1</p> <p>Men also demonstrate attitudinal shifts around gendered roles (including women's paid work and men's participation in household chores), attributing these to participation in the programme: <i>M: Has your opinion changed about the role of women after this programme?</i> <i>R: Yes, my opinion has changed. We can both work and bring food to the table now unlike before. When I am not at home, she also takes my responsibility as the head of the family and leads. I can also do house chores in case she is sick.</i> – 081024_Garbatulla_Wayama_IDI8_man_T1</p> <p><i>M: How did your attitude change towards this?</i></p>

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	<p><i>R6: Before it was the men's role to do outside work, search for family livelihood while women performed house chores like cooking and taking care of children, but now both men and women share responsibilities, men used to be custodian of family resources and making all decisions, now the attitude has changed. Couples consult even when women go for outside job. The men will equally do all house chores according to the Islamic law, responsibilities must be shared.</i> – 091024_Garbatulla_SerichoA_FGD2_man_T1</p> <p><i>I: According to you, after the training, who should do more of the household chores?</i> <i>R: Women are mainly responsible, but if they can't, men should step in.</i> <i>I: So, your opinion has changed, and you believe house chores should be shared?</i> <i>R: Yes.</i> <i>I: What changes happened regarding household chores?</i> <i>R: Could you clarify?</i> <i>I: You mentioned a change in your perception about sharing household chores.</i> <i>R: Yes, for instance, if my wife is not at home, I take up her role and do it.</i> <i>I: Has this change in perception and attitude remained since the end of the programme?</i> <i>R: Yes, my opinion has stayed the same. I still believe both men and women are equally capable, without discrimination.</i> – 091024_Merti_Box2_IDI19_man_T1</p> <p><i>I: Has this programme changed your opinion on who should do the house chores?</i> <i>R: No, it hasn't changed my opinion because even before the programme I would help my wife with the house chores when she was sick. The only thing that I didn't do was go and fetch the water.</i> <i>I: Has that changed even after the programme?</i> <i>R: No, that hasn't changed at all. She still goes to do her business, and I haven't set a time limit for her to come back home and we have no quarrels at home.</i> – 081024_Garbatulla_Wayama_IDI4_man_T1</p>
<p>Theme 7: Norms about time use (both agency + behaviour)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Overall, participants tended to (1) struggle with understanding questions about norms, particularly those addressing norms related to agency, often responding based on their personal attitudes instead; or (2) feel uncertain or lack confidence when discussing the behaviours of others in their community. Changes in norms around women's time use among women and men in the community seem 	<p>Women speak about larger and lasting community norm shifts in relation to gendered distribution of labour and women's work outside the home (shift in women's perceptions, men's perceptions, and community at large):</p> <p><i>I: With the introduction of this programme in this community, and other women having seen you work, has their opinion changed about who should work or if women should work or not?</i> <i>R1: I think it has changed, because now we can see more women in groups trying to help their situations. Before such things were never seen.</i> <i>R2: We can see a lot of women in groups now and they are trying new things together including things like farming</i> <i>I: Are the groups still there even after the programme ended?</i> <i>(All Together): Yes.</i> – 071024_Garbatulla_SerichoA_FGD1_woman_T1</p> <p><i>I: Has the opinion of the men of the community changed in terms of who should work or not?</i></p>

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<p>to have arose and were attributed to women being engaged in community work, and men's increased recognition of the value and benefits of women's work for pay.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shifts in norms may have predated the onset of the programme (but enhanced its effects), as some spoke of a break with traditional gender norms that is welcomed and necessary due to economic conditions, and positively regarded. 	<p><i>R5: It has changed because they have seen that it helps them instead of them providing alone for the family.</i> <i>R2: They have changed their opinion for sure because they actually encourage us to go find some work to do.</i> <i>R5: Things have changed even for them. No one can tell you not to go work these days because they see the benefit it brings to the family.</i> – 071024_Garbatulla_SerichoA_FGD1_woman_T1</p> <p><i>I: Has the programme made the community leave behind the tradition of a woman not allowed to work?</i> <i>R1: Yes, it has, women can now work and are allowed to. The tradition is outdated, and it has changed for the better.</i> <i>R2: Before it was not allowed for women to go outside and work but now, we all work and even our husbands have seen the benefits of it</i> <i>I: Does anyone else have a different opinion?</i> <i>(All Together): No</i> <i>I: Okay, is the community deciding to stop following such a tradition whether it is beneficial or not?</i> <i>R2: It is definitely beneficial, because it has helped us for sure.</i> <i>R5: It is beneficial because even when the husband is not successful, the wife can now help.</i> <i>I: Anyone else with a different opinion?</i> <i>(All together): No.</i> – 071024_Garbatulla_SerichoA_FGD1_woman_T1</p> <p>One woman spoke about normative changes in women's agency in her community: <i>I: Has this programme changed the decision on the division of labour in this society?</i> <i>R: Yes, since the women started working and earning the men included them in making decisions.</i> <i>I: Do you think this would stop after the project stops?</i> <i>R: No, this is because the women now have businesses and as long as they are working, they will be included in decision making.</i> – 081024_Garbatulla_Wayama_IDI1_woman_T1</p> <p>Men also perceived changes in the traditional norms around women's roles in the community, set off by the programme, and see this change as integrated with and validated by old cultural wisdom: <i>R4: Now you cannot ask your wife anything even if she comes late, doing other things she may give the excuse that she came from WFP. You too know that traditional gender disparity is no more.</i> <i>M: Is it appropriate to leave old traditional misconceptions?</i> <i>R2: Yes.</i> <i>M: Why?</i> <i>R2: Traditional misconceptions should be discouraged. A wise man said, who is the best son, the one who reassembles the father or the one who resembles lifestyle? The answer is the one who resembles the lifestyle! So, we should adopt our current lifestyle.</i> <i>M: Is it supposed to be that way?</i></p>

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	<p>R2: Yes, it's supposed to be that way, the Borana proverbs says, 'Teeth that stand together can bite together' that's why shared responsibilities are a strength. – 091024_Garbatulla_SerichoA_FGD2_man_T1</p> <p>One man identified lasting changes in women's and men's perceptions around gendered norms in the community: "I: Here's a question about women's perspective: according to them, who should work more between the two genders? R: According to women, it's generally their male counterparts who should work more. I: Did this opinion change after the training? R: There were some slight changes because they learned new things, like going to work outside the home. I: So, they are now helping their male counterparts? R: Yes, they're also participating in work. I: Has this training changed their attitude? R: Yes, it has. – 091024_Merti_Box2_IDI19_man_T1</p> <p>I: During the programme, did men's opinions change on who should work more, do household chores, and rest? R: Now, everyone is expected to work. I: And is that what they believe too? R: Yes. I: What about household chores? R: Everyone should help each other and supplement one another. I: And resting time? R: Everyone should have time to rest if they can afford it. I: Have these changes in opinion remained, or did they end with the programme? R: The changes are still with us; the new opinions have stayed. – 091024_Merti_Box2_IDI19_man_T1</p>
<p>Theme 8: Individual health and well-being</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Many participants (male and female) reported using the cash transfers and new earnings to pay for medical services, bring children to hospital. and buy medicine for their household as a result of the cash transfer. Improvements were seen in food security and nutrition tied to improved health for children, particularly during a measles outbreak. 	<p>Some children in Garbatulla, Sericho A, suffered from measles at the time of the programme, and the cash transfers helped get them the help they needed: R6: [...] When children got sick with measles, we slaughtered chicken for them. There was a traditional belief that chicken meat can cure measles. Children ate eggs too, traditionally we don't like chicken but now we have come to like it! R2: Another benefit is that when we received the money, we bought foodstuffs for our children because they were already malnourished. We slaughtered chicken for them because it was rich in proteins. – 091024_Garbatulla_SerichoA_FGD2_man_T1</p> <p>Multiple female and male participants commented on the changes in consumption benefiting children's health and well-being: I: In this WFP programme, what positive thing can you say you have liked about it or have benefited from?</p>

Theory of Change Themes	Illustrative quotes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Some participants reported a reduction in stress and pressure during the programme duration that returned to higher levels after its end. 	<p><i>R5: It really has helped us get to buy food for our children and when the kids get sick, we can take them to the hospital or buy them medications.</i> – 071024_Garbatulla_SerichoA_FGD1_woman_T1</p> <p><i>R6: We bought chicken with that money, and the remaining amount, we bought foodstuffs for our families, we also used that money to buy clothes for our children and take children to hospital when they got ill.</i> <i>R1: That money came during the severe drought season, the money helped us to buy livestock feeds, foodstuffs for our families, children medicines, it helped us at that time.</i> – 091024_Garbatulla_SerichoA_FGD2_man_T1</p> <p>A woman described changes in stress levels tied to the program: <i>M: Are there any changes in your health situation brought about by this programme?</i> <i>R: This programme has reduced my stress and pressure of looking for school fees, tuition fees and meeting other expenses.</i> <i>M: How do you feel now that the programme has ended?</i> <i>R: I feel bad about it since I will struggle to put food on my table and provide the basic needs for my children.</i> – 081024_Garbatulla_GarbatullaF_IDI12_woman_T1</p>
<p>Theme 9: Partner relationships</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mixed changes in terms of relational health: some women report more respect, autonomy, decision making power whilst earning, while some men speak to a worsening of the relationship, Many spoke of a preexisting measure of relational health and gender equity in decision making within their relationships, usually in the form of men being decision-makers but consulting with wives. A few men were apprehensive to change in gender dynamics, particularly around women's work outside of home. Some described a mechanism of men's appropriation of women's cash (and ensuing quarrels) that might explain some increases in violence at midline. 	<p>Women in the focus group speak about cash granting increased respect from husbands and more generally: <i>I: Okay, so what's the difference in the relationship between you and your husband or your children if you compare them before and after the programme? [...]</i> <i>R3: There is a difference in terms of respect because before the money I had to ask my husband for money but after I had my own money, I felt like he respected me more than usual. [...]</i> <i>I: Anyone else?</i> <i>R4: There is a difference because before when you had money you felt respected because you were the one being borrowed from but now you are the one borrowing money so there is a big difference.</i> – 091024_Garbatulla_SerichoA_FGD1_woman_T1</p> <p>Change in household dynamics from the perspective of one community leader who spoke about empowerment of women and men's reactions to altered dynamics: <i>R: The programme empowered women and gave them knowledge to have a voice even in their homes, when doing their daily activities and in decision making. Men are becoming weak, and women are becoming everything in the community, they feel bossy [laughs].</i> <i>I: How do men feel about it?</i> <i>R: They must cope with it. They don't have an option. Anything that you want to do as a man you must consult your wife even when helping someone.</i> – Community Leader, Garbatulla, KII</p> <p>Men spoke about changes in women's autonomy because of participating in the programme:</p>

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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In some cases, it was hard to assess partner relationships as some participants were either single mothers or widowed women selected on the basis of vulnerability, not partnership status. 	<p>R6: We have left behind the long-time notion that men are the head of the household, like when a woman stays outside in the evening was an offense but now we have left that behind. When a woman comes home late it is known that they have gone to search for food resources. Now there is no gender-based violence like beating women.</p> <p>R4: Now you cannot ask your wife anything even if she comes late, doing other things she may give the excuse that she came from WFP, which you too know, that traditional gender disparity is no more.</p> <p>– 091024_Garbatulla_SerichoA_FGD2_man_T1</p> <p>Three men spoke about worsening relationships and increased expectations on male provision after the cash transfers:</p> <p>R3: It's finished, finished.</p> <p>M: R3, how did it get finished?</p> <p>R3: Yes, WFP left unceremoniously and women have missed what they used to get. Now we don't have jobs to provide anything, this has led to poor relationships.</p> <p>M: The good relationship has stopped at home. Is that unfortunate?</p> <p>R3: Good relationship has ceased, yes.</p> <p>M: Any other person? Are you continuing in the same good relationship or now the relationship is poor, R6?</p> <p>R6: During the time there was money, however small, now there is no money. The 5,000 shillings we used to receive has stopped, and providing for the family and bringing anything to the house is difficult.</p> <p>R5: The good relationship at home has become more difficult but it has not been lost, we still have small things like eggs. The relationship is not as strong as before, because basically what we used to receive stopped. Now there is conflict and quarrelling, nobody will listen to you, there is no happiness.</p> <p>– 091024_Garbatulla_SerichoA_FGD2_man_T1</p> <p>One community leader offered an explanatory mechanism for increased violence in the home due to the programme:</p> <p>I: Any other challenges or issues that emanated as a result of the programme?</p> <p>R: This WFP programme targeted household people causing violence due to this money between the husband and wife. Maybe it's the husband who received the money. They use it to buy miraa (a recreational drug) or alcohol or their own leisure and forget to support their home. This caused some quarrels and there were not many cases where we solved them.</p> <p>– 071024_Merti_Box2_CommunityLeader_Man</p>
<p>Theme 10: Community cohesion and benefits spillover</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Some women reported an increased or strengthened sense of community cohesion and collaboration as result of the intervention. Spillover effects to other community members resulted: new business benefits everyone, and 	<p>Feedback on the trainings and activities that demonstrates effects on community strengthening and cohesion:</p> <p>I: Okay, you all went through training and were taught things when this programme began right? Now what did you like about that whole process?</p> <p>R2: I liked how we came together, and we solved our problems together in unity which made everything easier.</p> <p>– 071024_Garbatulla_SerichoA_FGD1_woman_T1</p> <p>I: Okay, what's your experience with the whole process of chicken keeping?</p>

Theory of Change Themes	Illustrative quotes
<p>knowledge and skills and resources are shared due to the social nature of these communities.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Community leaders and participants alike used the word “empowerment” often to refer to the effects of cash transfers on women, and spoke about how benefits extend to the rest of the community when women are targeted. 	<p><i>R1: The experience was good, because we can't always figure things out on our own, we work as a team, and we learn together. I'd say the experience has been good.</i></p> <p><i>R2: Good experience on my side too. We work together with no conflicts and love that about it.</i></p> <p><i>R5: I also agree, before all this we had nothing to do. Also, I like how when you are not available a member of the group can cover for you.</i></p> <p>– 071024_Garbatulla_SerichoA_FGD1_woman_T1</p> <p>One community leader described a mechanism for spillover effects of the cash transfers:</p> <p><i>I: In your village do you think this programme benefited other households that were not beneficiaries?</i></p> <p><i>R: Yes.</i></p> <p><i>I: How did it benefit them?</i></p> <p><i>R: You will find one of the family members is married in the beneficiaries' home. When the cash transfers come, they trickle down to the non-beneficiaries. They share even the supplies brought by the cash received from the programme. When the cash transfers are done everyone knows. Everyone in the community is related to each other one way or another so they share the money as encouraged by our Islamic religion.</i></p> <p>–091024_Garbatulla_GarbatullaF_CommunityLeader_KII3_man</p> <p>A community leader referred to the empowering and broad effect of targeting women with cash transfers:</p> <p><i>I: In your community, what do you think works best in empowering the women in the community?</i></p> <p><i>R: The cash transfers. Women are then the leaders in the family. They take care of the children, and they are the most affected. When you empower a woman, you empower the whole community. I think the cash transfer assists them more than any other projects. They can multiply the cash through engagements in small businesses.</i></p> <p>– 091024_Garbatulla_GarbatullaF_CommunityLeader_KII3_Man</p>

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