



WFP EVALUATION

Impact Evaluation of Cash-Based Transfers on Food Security and Gender Equality in El Salvador



World Food Programme

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Executive summary

1. Gender inequality is pervasive, particularly in developing countries such as El Salvador, and its potential welfare implications are concerning.¹ In El Salvador, only 45.4 percent of women participate in the labour market, in contrast to 74.4 percent of men.²

2. Economic development, gender equality in labour market opportunities, and gender equality in autonomy are all strongly linked, but the directions of causality remain unclear and require further evaluation.

3. This impact evaluation is part of the [Cash-Based Transfers and Gender \(CBT&G\) Impact Evaluation \(IE\) Window](#), which has been created by the WFP Office of Evaluation (OEV), the Cash-Based Transfers (CBT) Division, and the Gender Office (GEN) in partnership with the World Bank's Development Impact Evaluation (DIME) department.

4. The CBT and Gender Window aims to establish portfolios of impact evaluations across a series of countries utilizing the same or very similar designs to increase generalizability of results. It aims to understand the impact of CBT interventions targeting women on gender equality and women's empowerment, as well as food and nutrition outcomes. The first round of impact evaluations selected for this window, as laid out in the first [pre-analysis plan](#), aims to estimate the impacts of increasing women's participation in work outside the household (through Food Assistance for Assets, FFA, projects), as a condition of receiving cash-based transfers, and directly receiving a wage (the cash-based transfers), on their social and economic empowerment.

5. The main impact evaluation questions 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. What is the impact of an unconditional cash transfer to the household on women's social and economic empowerment, as well as on household income and welfare?

6. Additionally, WFP El Salvador added the following secondary questions (which are not part of the window pre-analysis plan):

- EQ3. Does participating in FFA affect the probability of and/or reasons for respondents' migration?
- EQ4. Are there heterogeneous impacts of the transfer based on respondents' exposure to community violence?
- EQ5. Does participation in FFA affect key food security outcomes of interest?

7. Overall, the results from this impact evaluation show WFP has the potential to contribute 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. The impact evaluation was designed as a cluster randomized control trial (RCT) comparing 75 communities (encompassing 1,491 households) in three groups:

- The FFA for women group (25 communities): women invited to participate in an FFA programme and receiving three monthly transfers of United States dollars (USD) 100 each.
- The unconditional cash transfer (UCT) group (25 communities): provided with unconditional cash transfers to the household (USD 300 lump sum).
- The comparison group (25 communities): households that are not participating in the project.³

¹ Jayachandran, S. 2015. The Roots of Gender Inequality in Developing Countries. *Annual Review of Economics*, 7(1):63–88.

² <https://genderdata.worldbank.org/countries/el-salvador/>.

³ This group was provided with an unconditional cash transfer of USD 300 after the endline data for this project was completed.

9. The impact measurement strategy includes a baseline survey before the intervention, a midline survey during the intervention, and an endline survey approximately one to two months after the project ends. It also benefits from qualitative data that are collected after completion of the project. The impact evaluation's [inception report](#) and [baseline report](#) were published in 2021 and 2022 respectively.
10. Baseline findings show that households targeted by the WFP FFA for women programme in El Salvador are highly vulnerable, and 83 percent of households reported relying on emergency or crisis coping strategies. Additionally, around 20 percent of household heads reported that they have moved to another department or municipality within El Salvador, either to look for better economic or educational opportunities or for family reunification. Reliable sources of income and diversified livelihoods from asset creation can therefore meaningfully increase household resilience.
11. Intra-household gender inequality is substantial. Women household heads frequently reported intimate partner violence (IPV) and high rates of depression. In addition, women have less agency over their time use and earn 15 percent of what men household heads earn.⁴
12. Implementation monitoring shows that, while 65 percent of assigned households were participating in the FFA programme at endline, more than 93 percent of these households reported receiving transfers. This means that a significant portion of households in the FFA for women group in reality also received an unconditional cash transfer. In addition, just 42 percent of households assigned to the FFA for women programme had only women participate in the project (which was the original programme objective). Some 23 percent of households sent either only men or a mix of men and women (for a combined 65 percent participation rate). Results must be interpreted in this light, recognizing that observable project impacts on women's economic empowerment outcomes could potentially have been higher if more women participated in the FFA for women programme.
13. The midline results showed that both the FFA for women and unconditional cash transfer interventions improved household food security compared to the comparison group. Women's work and income from WFP increased significantly for households participating in the FFA for women programme. However, despite these improvements, there was no significant difference between the FFA for women, the unconditional cash transfer, or the comparison groups in the number of hours spent by women outside the home or any agency, norms, or economic empowerment indicators.
14. At endline, several months after the project ended, the benefits of receiving cash transfers on food security were no longer visible. However, improvements in subjective well-being remained for households in both the FFA for women and the unconditional cash transfer groups. In addition, households that had participated in the FFA for women programme reported statistically significant changes in some dimensions of women's agency, norms, and economic empowerment, though there were no lasting impacts on women's time use or non-WFP income.
15. Overall, the impact evaluation found that WFP's programme had a significant impact on households' food security during the interventions, and that participating in FFA for Women had an impact on women's economic empowerment that lasted several months after the programme ended. These results support the theory tested by the evaluation and suggest that offering women an opportunity to receive cash-transfers in exchange for participating in activities outside the house is a more effective way of support women's economic empowerment than offering households unconditional cash transfers of the same value.
16. These results can feed into the design of upcoming cash transfer programming in El Salvador and inform the implementation of the current [country strategic plan \(CSP\)](#), which focuses on strengthening institutions and filling gaps in the coverage of government food security and nutrition programmes, including support to drought response.

⁴ Source: Baseline report. By "agency", the analysis refers to the ability to make decisions, i.e. whether women have the agency to decide how they use their time, for instance, on self-employed work, salaried work, household chores or leisure or having agency over household consumption decisions (Lundberg and Pollak, 1993).

1. Introduction

1. This impact evaluation is part of the [Cash-Based Transfers and Gender \(CBT&G\) Impact Evaluation \(IE\) Window](#), which has been created by the WFP Office of Evaluation (OEV), the Cash-based Transfers (CBT) Division, and the Gender Office in partnership with the World Bank's Development Impact Evaluation (DIME) department.
2. The cash-based transfer and gender window aims to establish portfolios of impact evaluations across a series of countries utilizing the same or very similar designs to increase generalizability of results. It aims to understand the impact of cash-based transfer interventions targeting women on gender equality and women's empowerment (GEWE), as well as on food and nutrition outcomes.
3. The first round of impact evaluations selected for this window, as laid out in the first [pre-analysis plan](#), aims to estimate the impacts of a) increasing women's participation in work outside the household (HH) (through food assistance for assets (FFA) projects), and women directly receiving a wage (the cash-based transfers) on their social and economic empowerment (conditional on their participation in FFA).
4. The World Food Programme's (WFP) El Salvador joined the CBT&G impact evaluation window in August 2019 – motivated by a desire to understand the impact of participating in their food assistance for assets programme on gender equality and women's social and economic empowerment.
5. Additionally, a recent [study](#) conducted by the WFP Gender Office on El Salvador's cash-based FFA programming, documented increases in self-esteem and self-worth among both young women and young men beneficiaries, while increasing their food security and nutrition.
6. It also found improvements to gender equality outcomes via a reduction in violence and negative coping mechanisms, and increases in autonomy and equitable resource control.⁵ This impact evaluation aims to experimentally test the mechanism by which these outcomes occurred, and validate (or challenge) the qualitative study findings with large-scale household-level data.
7. The impact evaluation begins by describing the country context and the programme itself. This is followed by a discussion on the evaluation methodology and design, limitations and ethical considerations.
8. It then describes the stakeholders, different data sources and tools used. This is followed by a discussion of project implementation. The evaluation then presents the results, combining findings from the baseline (before intervention), midline (short-term) and endline (after project) data using regression analysis on key outcomes variables and qualitative results that corroborate quantitative results. Lastly, it discusses the main findings and lays out conclusions and considerations that follow from the results.

1.1 Evaluation features

9. The WFP El Salvador country office initiated participation in the "Cash-Based Transfers and Gender" Impact Evaluation Window in August 2019.
10. The inception report and baseline report for this evaluation were published in 2021 and 2022, respectively. This evaluation employs a three-arm cluster randomized control trial (RCT) across 75 communities and 1,491 households, with three waves of panel surveys, capturing a wide range of outcomes such as gender equality, household decision making dynamics, women's social and economic empowerment, and food security. In addition to quantitative data, the evaluation also incorporates qualitative insights.
11. The rationale behind conducting this evaluation is rooted in the pervasive issue of gender inequality, which is especially prevalent in developing nations, such as El Salvador. The gender gap in labour market participation in El Salvador, with only 45.4 percent of women compared to 74.4 percent of men, highlights the need for examination. The evaluation aims to shed light on the complex relationship across

⁵ World Food Programme. 2021. Prioritizing Women, White Paper, WFP – CBT Division

economic development, gender equality in labour markets and gender autonomy, all while addressing gaps in understanding.

12. The central purpose of this evaluation is to assess the impacts of two types of interventions: unconditional cash transfers and participation in an FFA programme for women, and contrast these with a comparison group.⁶ Specifically, the focus is on evaluating their effects on gender equality, household decision making dynamics, and the empowerment of women.

13. The specific objectives are to:

1. quantify the impact of women's engagement in the FFA for women programme (which involves working outside the household and receiving cash) on their social and economic empowerment;
2. gauge the effects of unconditional cash transfers to households on women's social and economic empowerment, as well as on overall household income and welfare;
3. investigate any potential changes in migration patterns and reasons among respondents resulting from their participation in the FFA for women programme; and
4. explore whether the impact of these transfers varies, depending on respondents' exposure to community violence.

14. The primary audience for this evaluation is the WFP El Salvador country office and its collaborating partners.

15. Additionally, it is intended to be useful for policymakers and organizations focused on gender equality, food security and women's empowerment, particularly in the context of El Salvador and similar regions. The results obtained are expected to inform the design of future cash transfer programmes in El Salvador and align with the goals of the 2023 WFP Cash Policy, particularly in enhancing the economic power of food-insecure women.

1.2 Country context

16. El Salvador is Central America's smallest and most densely populated country. Of a population of 6.3 million people,⁷ 75 percent live in urban areas⁸ and there is a large diaspora. Approximately 2.5 million Salvadorians live in the United States of America.⁹ In recent years, El Salvador has made significant progress in reducing food insecurity, chronic malnutrition, poverty and inequality. However, food insecurity and malnutrition, along with recurring natural disasters, persistent gender inequality, slow economic growth, high public debt and a rampant homicide rate are persistent challenges. In 2021, El Salvador's Human Development Index (HDI) ranking is 125th out of 191 (behind Belize (123rd), but slightly ahead of Guatemala (135th), Nicaragua (126th), and Honduras (137th)).¹⁰

17. While women and men in El Salvador are equal before the law regardless of their marital status,¹¹ there remain many barriers that prevent women from accessing the same opportunities as men. Intra-familial, social, sexual and institutional violence against women in the country is among the highest in the world.¹² In El Salvador, only 45.4 percent of women participate in the labour market, in contrast to 74.4 percent of men.¹³

⁶ WFP mainly provides unconditional cash transfers in emergency contexts and employ different targeting criteria. In this context, unconditional cash transfers were mainly provided to serve as a benchmark for the FFA for women programme. In this constellation the transfer value was held constant between the FFA and the UCT group, with the additional asset building component only added to the FFA arm.

⁷ <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL?locations=SV>.

⁸ <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.URB.TOTL.IN.ZS?locations=SV>.

⁹ <https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/fact-sheet/us-hispanics-facts-on-salvadoran-origin-latinos/>.

¹⁰ <https://hdr.undp.org/content/human-development-report-2021-22>.

¹¹ Grameen Foundation. 2019. Women's Economic Empowerment in El Salvador: Barriers, Opportunities, and a Path Forward - Key Findings and Recommendations.

¹² World Bank. 2020. Labor Force Participation Rate, Female (% of Female Population Ages 15+) (modelled ILO estimate).

¹³ <https://genderdata.worldbank.org/countries/el-salvador/>.

18. Economic development, gender equality in labour market opportunities, and gender equality in autonomy are all strongly linked, but the directions of causality remain unclear and require further evaluation. A high percentage of women are considered economically inactive due to housework, showing a 68 percent gap with respect to men.¹⁴ The gender gap in incomes is 16 percent, reaching nearly 20 percent in rural areas. To achieve Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 2, a strategic review explicitly suggests that the country should address the gender inequalities that may impede poverty reduction, food security and nutrition.¹⁵

19. In addition, since 2010, El Salvador has encountered a period of extreme weather conditions characterized by droughts, floods and erratic climatic events, resulting in significant crop losses and endangering food security within the “Dry Corridor”. Of El Salvador’s 262 municipalities, 145 regularly suffer from severe droughts. In 2018, the country endured a particularly harsh and protracted drought period that spanned 40 days in June and July. Furthermore, two moderate droughts, each lasting nine days, occurred between August and September 2018.

20. The Ministry of Agriculture reported that a total of 98,783 farming households were affected, leading to damage across 26.1 percent of the total area cultivated with maize. The economic loss incurred from the maize and bean crops is estimated at USD 41.8 million. Of the affected households, 85 percent primarily depend on agriculture and, of this number, 42,000 households were deemed food insecure as of January 2019.

¹⁴ WFP, 2017b.

¹⁵ WFP, 2017.

2. Programme description

21. Against this backdrop, WFP implemented an FFA intervention as part of Outcome 4 (Activity 9) of its El Salvador [Country Strategic Plan](#) (2017-2022). One of the CSP's expressed goals is "[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".

22. The FFA project was primarily focused on providing food assistance to about 500 small-scale farming households in 13 municipalities adversely impacted by droughts. (The impact evaluation encompasses the entire project population.) This project aimed to complement government transfers to the most vulnerable households affected by disasters, in order to facilitate relief and prompt recovery. The target demographic of the project were families residing in the Dry Corridor, with an emphasis on those living in the eastern part of the country, as this region is most severely affected by droughts. Particularly, families whose primary livelihood stems from the production of basic grains form the core of the project's focus. They are dependent on their crops for sustenance and income, and as such, are the most susceptible to the devastating effects of persistent droughts. The aim of the project was to boost food security for these households, while concurrently working to strengthen their resilience against future climatic challenges. In addition to the 500 farming households receiving FFA, a separate group of 500 households received the same value as an unconditional cash transfer. A third group of 500 households became the comparison group.

23. Within each municipality, five to six communities were selected, using the following criteria:

- they have not yet received WFP assistance (that is, neither cash-based transfers nor livelihood assistance training);
- they rank as "priority" 1 or 2 in the country office's strategy. The priority ranking is devised based on food insecurity, poverty and vulnerability due to COVID-19 and tropical storms, with rank 1 being the most food insecure; and
- there is an even distribution of men and women within the communities.

24. Table 1 shows all the municipalities included in the full project and their distribution by intervention arm (13 municipalities in 7 departments) and which cooperating partners delivered the project.

Table 1: List of project locations

Partner	Department	Municipality	Control	FFA for women	Unconditional cash to the household	Grand total
General Directorate for Civil Protection (DGPC)	Ahuachapán	CONCEPCION DE ATACO	2	2	3	7
		SAN PEDRO PUXTLA	3	1	1	5
	Santa Ana	METAPAN	2	2	2	6
	Sonsonate	SAN ANTONIO DEL MONTE	2	2	2	6
		SONSONATE	2	2	2	6
		SONZACATE	2	2	1	5
Plan International	Chalatenango	CHALATENANGO	3	3	3	9
		LA PALMA	1	2	1	4
		SAN IGNACIO	1	2	1	4
EDUCO	Morazán	SAN FRANCISCO GOTERA	2	2	2	6
	San Miguel	EL TRANSITO	2	2	2	6
		CONCEPCION BATRES	2	2	2	6
	Usulután	SAN DIONISIO	2	1	2	5
		Grand total		26	25	24

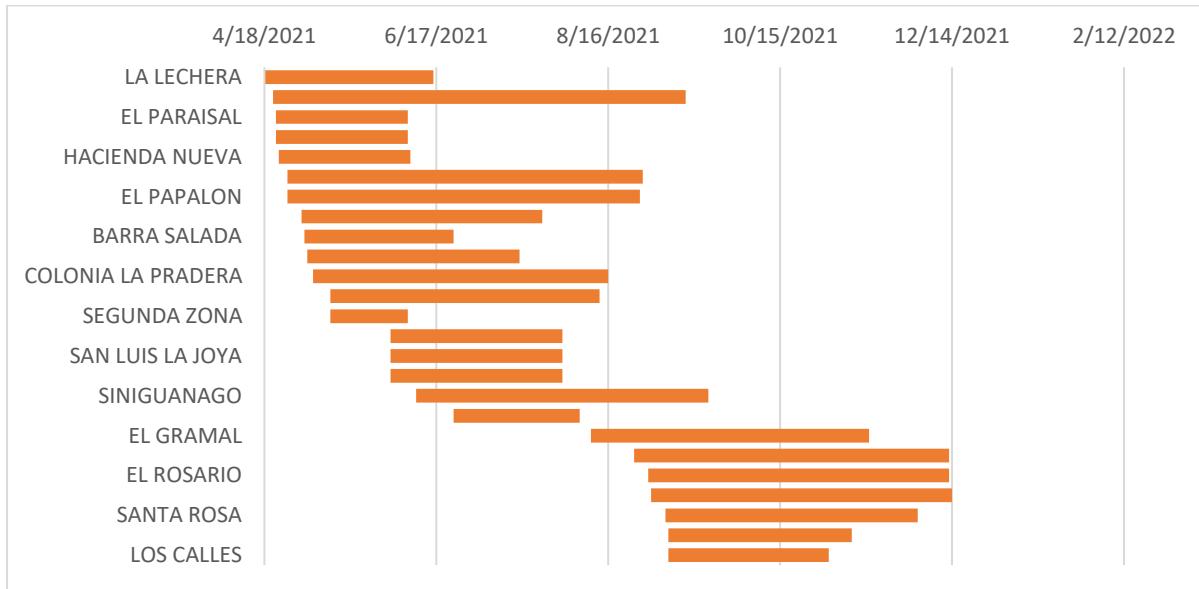
Source: WFP El Salvador country office

25. The sites selected for the project are all rural communities that mostly rely on wages and agriculture for their income and experience low food security. The communities are also characterized by migration to other municipalities and crime in the form of violence in the community. They rank priority 1 or 2 in the country office's strategy.

26. The assets that women developed or contributed to were: poultry rearing; cleaning riverbeds/irrigation ditches; flood prevention activities; attending to vegetable gardens; reforestation; road repair; fumigation/pest-control; and communal infrastructure upgrades. There were, on average, 31 sessions held per community. In addition, up to five educational sessions were offered to women participating in the project. The topics included: household finances; health hygiene; nutrition; and specific asset trainings, for example on vegetable gardens, reforestation, or road repair.

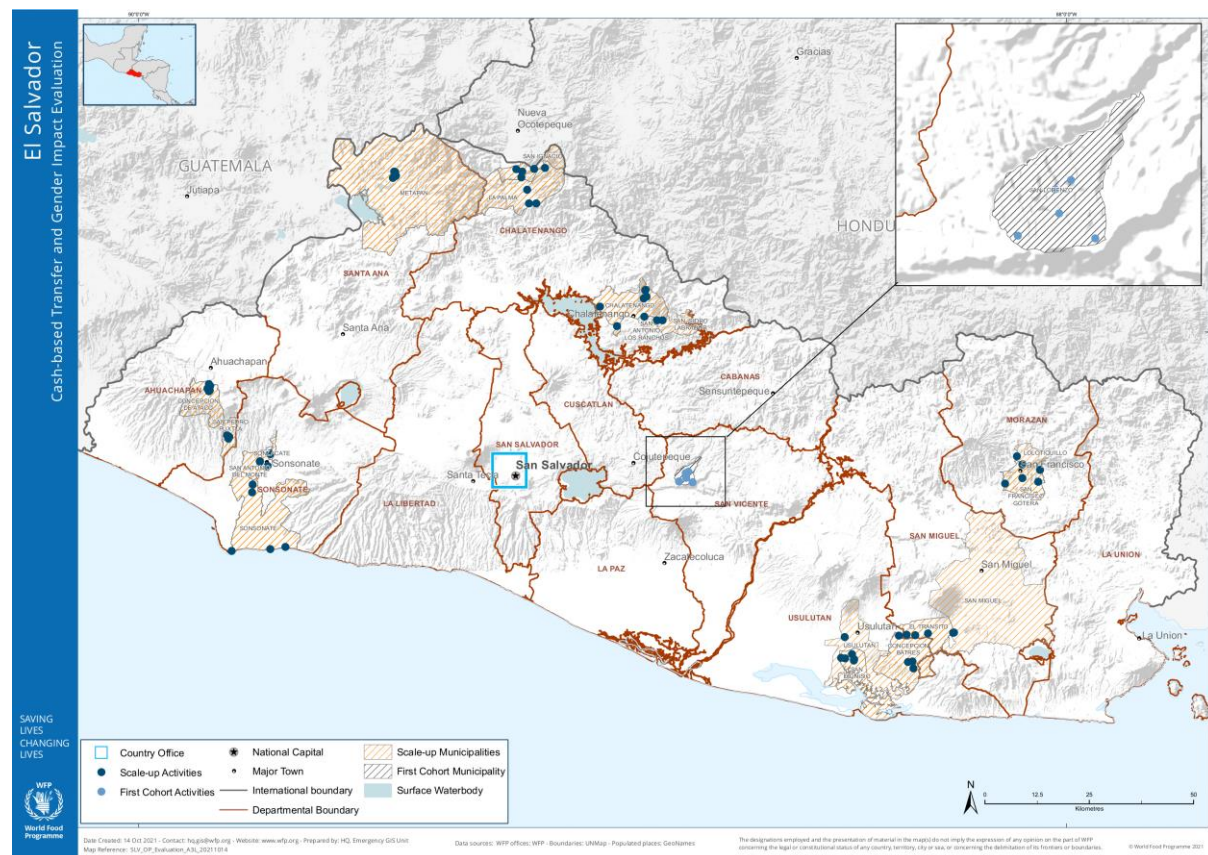
27. The following chart shows the implementation timeline for the 25 FFA for women communities.

Figure 1: Implementation by municipality



28. Figure 2 shows both the pilot activity locations (light blue) and the communities participating in the full project and impact evaluation (dark blue). (The pilot is discussed in the [Data collection](#) section.)

Figure 2: Map of project locations



29. The project's household targeting criteria were designed to address the needs of the most vulnerable populations. These criteria were:

- I. residency in areas that had been identified as suffering the most due to rainfall, particularly those at high risk of flooding or landslides in priority 1 municipalities as established by WFP;
- II. households that were at risk of, or currently experiencing, food insecurity;
- III. households with members directly affected by COVID-19, those displaced due to storms, or classified as victims or sheltered;
- IV. households whose income or livelihood had been affected by COVID-19 or by severe rainfall;
- V. households that had not received financial support from humanitarian institutions such as the Government of El Salvador, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), or United Nations agencies.
- VI. households whose food reserves had been partially or completely affected by the effects of the rainfall;
- VII. households with a high dependency ratio, such as children and adolescents, elderly people, people with disabilities, pregnant women and lactating mothers; and
- VIII. double-headed households.

30. In each community, WFP and its partners worked with local community leaders and government officials to identify approximately 20 of the most vulnerable households within each community for a total sample size of 1,491 households. The targeting process was led by the cooperating partners.

3. Evaluation design and methodology

31. This impact evaluation was designed to support programme learning while also adding to the global evidence base for cash transfers and gender by contributing to the Cash-Based Transfers and Gender (CBT&G) Impact Evaluation Window. The following section outlines how the evaluation questions and literature informed the impact evaluation design.

3.1 Evaluation theory

32. The theory is that by specifically targeting women as recipients of cash transfers and involving them in work activities, programmes could initiate a transformative process. The theory implies two potential impacts. The first impact anticipates 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 foregoing leisure and home chores. A striking observation is that women working for a wage often substitute paid work for leisure, creating a “second shift”,¹⁶ while men do not shift into home chores.¹⁷ In a unitary household model, this is explained by differences in men’s and women’s utility functions, or their home chore functions. However, a large body of empirical work rejects the unitary household model,¹⁸ with a key mechanism being that men and women have agency over “separate spheres” of household decisions.¹⁹

33. The second point the theory leads to is an “empowerment effect” of women’s temporary participation in FFA may result in lasting shifts in labour market attachment through changes in intra-household agency, attitudes and perceptions of norms. Recent experimental work has demonstrated that attitudes²⁰ and norms^{21,22} 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.²³

34. 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 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. 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”.

¹⁶ Hochschild, A. & Machung, A. 2012. *The Second Shift: Working Families and the Revolution at Home*. New York, Penguin

¹⁷ Bertrand, M., Kamenica, E. & Pan, J. 2015. Gender Identity and Relative Income within Households. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 130(2): 571–614.

¹⁸ Browning & Chiappori, 1998; Ashraf, 2009,

¹⁹ Lundberg, S. & Pollak, R. A. 1993. Separate Spheres Bargaining and the Marriage Market. *Journal of Political Economy*, 101(6): 988–1010.

²⁰ 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. McKelway, 2019

²¹ Beaman, L., Chattopadhyay, R., Duflo, E., Pande, R. & Topalova, P. 2009. Powerful Women: Does Exposure Reduce Bias? *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 124(4): 1497–1540.

²² Bursztyn, L., González, A. L. & Yanagizawa-Drott, D. 2018. *Misperceived Social Norms: Female Labor Force Participation in Saudi Arabia*. Technical report, National Bureau of Economic Research

²³ Alesina et al., 2013; Goldin & Olivetti, 2013.

35. The first hypothesis is that involving women in activities (asset creation through participation in the FFA programme), and participating in educational sessions, would directly impact the following:

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

36. The second (following) hypothesis is that – in the medium term – these combined shifts in time use and earnings could impact women’s economic empowerment by altering:

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

3.2 Evaluation questions

37. Connected to the programme objectives and theory, the main impact evaluation questions (EQs) 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. What is the impact of an unconditional cash transfer to the household on women’s social and economic empowerment, as well as on household income and welfare?

38. The impact evaluation poses the following secondary questions:

- EQ3. Does FFA affect the probability of and/or reasons for respondents’ migration?
- EQ4. Are there heterogeneous impacts of the transfer based on respondents’ exposure to community violence?
- EQ5. Does participation in FFA affect key food security outcomes of interest?

39. Related to EQ2, it is important to note that, this evaluation does not focus on measuring the impact of targeting women directly with UCT.

3.3 Evaluation design

40. To identify the causal impacts of the WFP programme, the impact evaluation employs a clustered randomized control trial (RCT) design (presented in detail in the [inception report](#)) and is complemented by a qualitative data collection exercise.

41. The 75 project communities were randomly assigned into one of the two intervention groups or into the comparison group, producing the clustered randomized design.²⁴

42. 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 1,491 households.

43. Details of the two intervention arms and comparison group are as follows:

- **25 communities – FFA for women group:** 497 households in this intervention group received a conditional cash transfer of USD 300 disbursed over three months – where the primary woman decision maker was registered to work on the asset, attend training sessions and receive the transfer.
- **25 communities – unconditional cash transfer (UCT) group:** 494 households in this intervention group received an unconditional cash transfer (USD 300 lump sum) – where the primary man decision maker was registered to receive the transfer.

²⁴ The clustered RCT approach follows from the programme’s implementation modality of intervening at the community level, which would not have allowed for a household-level randomization.

- **25 communities – comparison group:** 500 households in the comparison group were scheduled to receive USD 300 disbursed over three months after the endline surveys were completed.

44. 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 eight months after the quantitative endline survey, triangulating the perspectives of different intervention arm beneficiaries, community leaders and cooperating partners. In total, 60 in-depth interviews and 7 focus group discussions were conducted with 124 beneficiaries from project participating households, as well as 21 key informant interviews with 13 community leaders and 8 cooperating partners.

45. During project implementation, it was anticipated that cash-based 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. Women’s 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.

3.4 Limitations

46. The evaluation has several limitations.

47. Firstly, the findings from El Salvador may not be universally applicable, and efforts are in place to assess external validity across similar interventions in various countries.

48. Secondly, potential spill-over effects across communities and differential attrition were monitored closely but not observed.

49. Thirdly, the limited representation of beneficiaries with disabilities, estimated at around 0.7 percent, makes it challenging to gauge differential impacts on this subgroup.

50. Fourthly, the programme’s short implementation cycles, consisting of two transfers over three months, prevent an assessment of long-term impacts as the endline data collection occurred shortly after the final transfer.

51. Lastly, the intervention’s impact combines women engaging in external work *and* receiving direct cash transfers, making it challenging to isolate the relative significance of each feature. Future evaluations should also measure the impacts of directing UCT towards women or men to see if it changes intrahousehold dynamics. In addition, the evaluation does not evaluate the FFA programme itself, since it does not focus on the impact of the assets or livelihood activities. It rather focuses on the impact on women targeted to participate.

52. Nonetheless, this approach aligns with the practical context where work often involves direct payment. The study’s primary contribution lies in its focus on the work component, complementing existing research on cash transfers to women alone.

3.5 Ethical considerations

53. The study strictly adheres to ethical guidelines, including the 2020 United Nations Evaluation Group (UNEG) standards. Oversight and enforcement of ethical considerations were diligently managed by the WFP Office of Evaluation and the World Bank’s Development Impact Evaluation (DIME) team at all phases of the evaluation.

54. Key ethical principles and practices were rigorously implemented:

- I. Informed consent: Households participating in the study initially consented to WFP programme involvement, followed by separate consent for participation in baseline, midline, and endline surveys. Refusing to partake in the survey had no bearing on eligibility for WFP support.
- II. Privacy during interviews: To ensure respondent privacy and comfort, interviews occurred at central village locations, away from others’ hearing range. Men decision makers eligible for the FFA

for women programme received a reduced set of questions. Women enumerators were deployed when needed, and childcare support was provided through WFP and community leaders.

- III. Training and protocols: Enumerators underwent extensive training and piloting, ensuring uniform and contextually appropriate questioning. Third-party experts trained enumerators on handling sensitive questions related to intimate partner violence.
- IV. Ethical oversight: Ongoing monitoring and management of ethical issues occurred during the study, with additional concerns addressed in line with established guidelines.

55. In summary, the study prioritizes ethical conduct, covering informed consent, privacy, cultural sensitivity and vulnerable participant protection. Ethical integrity was consistently upheld and monitored to safeguard participants throughout the research process.

4. Stakeholder analysis

56. The stakeholder analysis for this evaluation identifies those who may influence or be influenced by the evaluation's outcomes. Stakeholders encompass internal and external parties, including programme beneficiaries. The primary user is the WFP country office in El Salvador, but the evaluation aims for broader utilization of its findings.

57. Stakeholder categories include:

- I. internal El Salvador-based stakeholders: key personnel within the country office;
- II. internal stakeholders outside of El Salvador: involving the WFP Office of Evaluation (OEV), the WFP regional bureau of Latin America and the Caribbean (RBP), and headquarters divisions;
- III. populations in need: both resident communities and migrants of various demographics;
- IV. external stakeholders: comprising international NGOs, donors, United Nations agencies and local forums; and
- V. national stakeholders: encompassing government entities at national and subnational levels, as well as local NGOs.

58. Stakeholder engagement methods differ by category but may involve reviewing and providing input on evaluation documents, actively monitoring the evaluation's design during programme implementation, participating in workshops and offering feedback on evaluation reports.

59. The engagement aims to ensure diverse perspectives are considered and that the evaluation's results are effectively used by stakeholders. A richer stakeholder analysis is presented in the inception report.

5. Data collection

61. Quantitative data for this impact evaluation was collected in three rounds in addition to qualitative data collection.²⁵ (More details are presented in the annexes.) The baseline data collection was completed between February and April 2021 ([baseline report](#)), the midline during July and August 2021, while the project was still ongoing, and the endline data was collected in December 2021 and January 2022 using a household survey covering outcomes of interest for the CBT&G window and other project-specific indicators.

62. The multiple module survey instrument was administered primarily to households with both men and women heads of household.²⁶ Following quantitative data collection and preliminary analysis, qualitative data collection was carried out in August 2022 in the form of in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and key informant interviews and was collected eight months after the quantitative endline survey.

Figure 3: Timeline of data collection

Years	2020												2021												2022											
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				
Pilot																																				
Baseline																																				
Midline																																				
Endline																																				
Qualitative																																				

63. Of the total 1,365 households surveyed in the sample at baseline, 1,305 (or 95.5 percent) of the households were surveyed at midline and 1,286 (or 94.1 percent) at endline. This suggests a high follow-up rate was achieved, counting only households that completed the corresponding survey and had both a man and a woman head of household.²⁷

²⁵ To test measurement and randomization strategies before a full-scale evaluation of the participation in the FFA programme, the impact evaluation team supported the El Salvador country office to pilot the intervention in November 2019. The pilot phase included joint work with local government and community leadership, baseline data collection, and training sessions with beneficiary communities. The pilot field activities have been carried out in five communities (30–40 households within each community) from the municipality of San Lorenzo, in the Department of San Vicente. After the successful pilot in 2019/2020, the FFA intervention scaled up in 2021 to 1,000 households in 50 communities across the country, which formed the basis for the impact evaluation.

²⁶ Please also refer to the inception report for a more detailed discussion of household inclusion criteria.

²⁷ In the baseline report, there are 1,372 households for which results are reported. Seven households were dropped afterwards for this analysis, as there were no households headed by men.

6. Project implementation

64. Prior to discussing the topical results in detail, this section displays the programme’s “participation fidelity”, using the impact evaluation survey data. The brief analysis investigates two key parameters, namely women’s participation in the FFA for women programme and receipts of cash transfers.²⁸

65. Table 2 presents the breakdown of participation by group at the time of the midline and endline survey answering the question: “Did anyone in the household participate in work for the food assistance for assets programme since you were registered?”

Table 2: Participation by intervention groups

Intervention status	Percent of households that participated in asset work					
	Midline Anyone from HH participating	Midline HHs with a woman participating	Midline HHs with ONLY women participating	Endline Anyone from HH participating	Endline HHs with a woman participating	Endline HHs with ONLY women participating
FFA for women	46.3%	42.9%	28.3%	67.8%	65.4%	42.0%
UCT	3.4%	1.9%	1.1%	3.9%	1.7%	1.1%
Comparison	0.4%	0.2%	0.2%	1.7%	1.3%	0.6%

66. At endline, in the FFA for women group, 67.8 percent of households reported they had participated in any of the trainings and asset creation activities. A total of 65.4 percent stated that a woman participated. However, of these, in 23.4 percent of cases, women and men both participated in FFA for women, and for only 42.0 percent of households ONLY women participated (as intended). It is also notable that at midline, only 42.9 percent of households targeted in the FFA for women group had women participate in the programme.

67. This means that the results presented here are relatively muted as they present “intention-to-treat” (ITT) estimates. Intention-to-treat analysis, a methodological approach often used in randomized controlled trials, includes every participant initially enrolled in the study, regardless of their subsequent adherence or withdrawal (to avoid introducing additional bias due to participants’ self-selection during the project). This means that the analysis includes data from all women initially planned to be involved in the FFA for women group, despite a significantly lower than anticipated actual participation rate of households (approximately 67 percent at endline and 42 percent at midline). In addition, around 25 percent of households that did participate sent both a man and a woman to work (measured at endline), which was not the original plan for this group. This under-representation of women, and “over-involvement” of men in the FFA for women group has thus “diluted” the findings, thereby muting the results to some extent. (See also the [Considerations for Future Programming](#) Section for more details.)

68. While participants in the unconditional cash transfer and comparison group were not offered any asset work, we find 1.7 percent and 1.3 percent of the households reported participating in the programme by the endline.

69. The cash transfers were made in two of the intervention arms – the FFA for women and the unconditional cash transfer group. As shown in Table 3, 93.5 percent of households in the FFA for women group and 94.7 percent in the unconditional cash transfer group received transfers by the endline survey. The survey shows that only 0.4 percent of households at endline received transfers in the comparison group.

²⁸ The administrative project monitoring numbers diverge from the survey results. In this section, the analysis only focuses on the survey responses, which are probably more accurate.

Table 3: Percentage of households that received cash transfers by intervention group

Intervention status	Percent of households that received cash transfers by group	
	Midline	Endline
FFA for women	90.3%	93.5%
Unconditional cash transfer	89.2%	94.7%
Comparison	0.6%	0.4%

70. This data show that, for the most part, although the transfers were made as planned, a significant portion of households in the FFA for women group received transfers despite not having attended the work or educational sessions (30 percent) – thereby essentially receiving an unconditional cash transfer as well.

71. The qualitative data collection found that beneficiaries and community leaders across all intervention communities had positive feedback about the educational session components of the project, particularly sessions about how to better manage money and earnings. Both beneficiaries and community leaders felt that project activities and sessions were clearly communicated and managed by cooperating partners. On the programme side, cooperating partners shared being broadly satisfied with the overall support, management and partnership between WFP and the other cooperating partners. Project beneficiaries and community leaders felt strongly supported by cooperating partners and that they received good and clear communication from project partners about field activities, including educational sessions and workshops.

72. As one cooperating partner shared below, the good communication between partners was one of the most ‘successful’ – or effective – components of the project implementation process:

This was one of the best things of the project, the most successful one, there was a great communication in all channels.

73. However, certain planning, communication and monitoring components of the project needed improvement, particularly as some communication chains became weaker as the project progressed over time, with less meetings and communication. This affected communication down to communities. Overall suggestions for improvements from all study participants included that the project:

- I. last longer to transform gender norms and change behaviour long-term;
- II. include more families in each community; and
- III. further strengthen overall planning, monitoring and communication processes between WFP and cooperating partners.

74. There were some delays reported in the delivery of cash transfers in FFA and unconditional cash transfer (and later also comparison) communities. Also, in comparison communities, for cooperating partners there could have been more clarity on which activities had to be implemented (for example, informative talks) and when the cash transfer had to be delivered. Moreover, there were times when cooperating partners noted that WFP could have done more to explain the selection process to communities. Qualitative evidence suggests that in some communities, how beneficiaries were chosen was not always fully grasped by the community members. Lastly, cooperating partners claim they had difficulties monitoring and visiting different assigned communities because they were far away from each other. According to a few cooperating partners, the large distance between communities led to more infrequent visits, further complicating monitoring, support and communication with community leaders and beneficiaries on the ground.

7. Main findings

75. The following sections describe the impacts of the project. The analysis compares the impacts of the FFA for women group to the comparison group, and the unconditional cash transfer group to the comparison group. In addition, in some cases, both groups are combined to measure the impact of benefiting from either modality versus the comparison group. Lastly, the analysis also compared the FFA for women group to the unconditional cash transfer group. Since both groups of households received the same transfer amount, this “isolates” the impacts of the “work for women aspect” of the project.

76. The order of the results section follows the order of expected impacts stemming from the evaluation theory, from more direct to more indirect impacts of participating in the project. The results discuss baseline findings, as well as the midline and endline results for each indicator section:

- time use;
- earnings;
- consumption
- food security;
- decision making (agency);
- attitudes;
- perceptions of norms;
- well-being;
- abuse;
- migration; and
- subjective feelings of safety.

77. As mentioned above, all analyses employ the intention-to-treat methodology to arrive at unbiased estimates of the programme impacts. Consequently, impacts might be muted as this methodology combines the outcomes of women who participated with those who did not. Higher participation rates could potentially yield augmented results. The following tables present the detailed midline and endline results, respectively.²⁹

²⁹ Table notes: *** represents p-value of less than 0.01, ** represents p-value of less than 0.05 and * represents p-value of less than 0.10. Standard errors were clustered at the village level. Randomization-level fixed effects and a control for baseline value of the indicator were included. The indices and food consumption scores were standardized relative to the control mean. The Food Consumption Score (FCS) ranges from 0 to 112. Categories used for FCS: cereals, grains, roots, and tubers; legumes/nuts; milk and other dairy products; meat, fish and eggs; vegetables and leaves; fruits; oil/fat/butter; sugar. Values were “winsorized” at the 5th and 95th percentiles. Predicted consumption was created using a set of five goods and the coefficients produced by a Lasso regression. Purchasing power parity (PPP) values calculated using monthly CPI data from the Central Bank of El Salvador and the World Bank’s PPP conversion factor for private consumption (most recent value for El Salvador is from 2019). Values were winsorized at the 0 and 99th percentiles. Per-USD of cash transfer indicators were calculated using the UCT and FFA programmes’ intended cash transfer amounts. Consumption and income indicators were winsorized at the 99th percentile. Subjective well-being is constituted by measures of locus of control, stress, life satisfaction and depression. Stress data and life satisfaction data were not collected from men heads of household. A higher locus of control score implies a feeling of less control over one’s environment. Stress score was calculated using the “perceived stress scale” from Cohen, Kamarck and Mermelstein (1983). Depression score was calculated using the standard patient health questionnaire (PHQ-9). Life satisfaction score was calculated using Diener et al. (1985). For the migration, the respondents were asked if they had migrated to another department of municipality. Time use is measured as hours per day. They are the weekly average calculated using respondent’s time diary of two most recent workdays and most recent rest day. Women’s agency, men’s attitudes, perception of norms index is created on the basis of 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 man head of household, the woman 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 woman head of household’s health-care expenses. The indices were constructed using inverse covariance weighting. Values are between -1 and 1, with 1 roughly meaning perception of full agency for the woman head of the household and -1 meaning no agency for woman head of the household. IPV questions were asked to women heads of household who reported being in an active relationship at the time of the survey. The IPV index is the weighted sum (using information-carrying word (ICW)) of the psychological abuse, physical abuse, and sexual abuse indices. For crime, the respondents were asked if they felt unsafe outside of their home in the last 30 days at baseline. The results provide the difference in impacts of the programme on women’s agency over consumption between those who reported feeling safe and those who reported feeling unsafe at baseline.

Table 4: Midline results

	Any Treatment vs. Control	UCT vs. Control	FFA for Women vs. Control	FFA for Women vs. UCT	Control Mean	UCT Mean	Num. of Observations
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)			
Any WFP Work	0.238*** (0.041)	0.028 (0.025)	0.449*** (0.041)	0.421*** (0.045)	0.005	0.030	1,305
Any WFP Transfer	0.897*** (0.012)	0.901*** (0.016)	0.893*** (0.017)	-0.008 (0.023)	0.007	0.907	1,305
Female Non-WFP Work	0.007 (0.025)	0.024 (0.027)	-0.009 (0.029)	-0.033 (0.027)	0.138	0.159	1,305
Female WFP Work	0.225*** (0.040)	0.017 (0.016)	0.433*** (0.041)	0.416*** (0.042)	0.002	0.016	1,305
Female WFP Transfer	0.446*** (0.068)	0.000 (0.006)	0.891*** (0.016)	0.891*** (0.017)	0.007	0.007	1,305
Monthly Predicted Household Consumption (Per % of Cash Transfer)	0.378 (0.238)	0.365 (0.275)	0.392 (0.311)	0.027 (0.340)	5.275	5.661	1,294
Women's Non-WFP Wage Income (Per % of Cash Transfer)	0.106* (0.059)	0.135* (0.079)	0.078 (0.060)	-0.057 (0.076)	0.179	0.328	1,305
Women's WFP Wage Income (Per % of Cash Transfer)	0.148*** (0.027)	0.002 (0.008)	0.294*** (0.026)	0.292*** (0.026)	0.000	0.000	1,305
Men's Non-WFP Wage Income (Per % of Cash Transfer)	0.018 (0.192)	-0.147 (0.209)	0.182 (0.225)	0.329 (0.204)	1.696	1.405	1,305
Time Spent							
Outside the Home (Women) (Hours per Day)	-0.049 (0.167)	-0.043 (0.210)	-0.056 (0.184)	-0.013 (0.206)	2.575	2.692	1,305
Outside the Home (Men) (Hours per Day)	0.263 (0.195)	0.226 (0.236)	0.301 (0.243)	0.074 (0.273)	6.975	7.187	1,298
Working (Self Employment, Women) (Hours per Day)	0.011 (0.095)	0.037 (0.107)	-0.015 (0.109)	-0.052 (0.102)	0.478	0.513	1,305
Working (Self Employment, Men) (Hours per Day)	0.015 (0.216)	0.114 (0.265)	-0.085 (0.242)	-0.199 (0.268)	1.601	1.690	1,298
Working (Paid, Women) (Hours per Day)	-0.056 (0.102)	0.005 (0.107)	-0.117 (0.115)	-0.122 (0.089)	0.490	0.459	1,305
Working (Paid, Men) (Hours per Day)	0.205 (0.246)	0.096 (0.290)	0.314 (0.299)	0.218 (0.319)	3.378	3.367	1,298
Working (Chores, Women) (Hours per Day)	0.239 (0.153)	0.278* (0.163)	0.200 (0.201)	-0.078 (0.201)	6.549	6.773	1,305
Working (Chores, Men) (Hours per Day)	0.033 (0.093)	0.141 (0.124)	-0.077 (0.097)	-0.217* (0.121)	1.263	1.467	1,298
Women's Agency Over							
Consumption (Index Standard Deviations)	-0.008 (0.066)	-0.070 (0.071)	0.053 (0.079)	0.123 (0.073)	0.001	-0.115	1,261
Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	0.015 (0.060)	-0.002 (0.068)	0.032 (0.073)	0.034 (0.073)	0.007	-0.002	1,281
Women's Attitudes towards							
Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	0.044 (0.059)	0.007 (0.063)	0.081 (0.073)	0.074 (0.069)	-0.024	-0.023	1,304
Women's Agency over Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	0.058 (0.056)	0.035 (0.064)	0.081 (0.064)	0.046 (0.061)	0.013	0.027	1,277
Women's Agency over Consumption (Index Standard Deviations)	-0.047 (0.061)	-0.078 (0.070)	-0.017 (0.069)	0.061 (0.067)	-0.007	-0.122	1,255
Men's Attitudes towards							
Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	-0.017 (0.072)	-0.065 (0.080)	0.037 (0.082)	0.103 (0.076)	-0.015	-0.107	1,223
Women's Agency over Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	-0.006 (0.063)	0.041 (0.070)	-0.059 (0.072)	-0.100 (0.066)	0.004	0.065	1,213
Women's Agency over Consumption (Index Standard Deviations)	-0.054 (0.068)	-0.054 (0.073)	-0.054 (0.087)	0.000 (0.085)	-0.004	-0.065	1,201
Women's Perception of Norms							
Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	0.042 (0.064)	0.079 (0.074)	0.004 (0.072)	-0.075 (0.073)	-0.046	0.047	1,304
Women's Agency over Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	0.071 (0.057)	0.093 (0.062)	0.049 (0.067)	-0.044 (0.062)	0.011	0.099	1,304
Attitudes towards Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	0.002 (0.075)	-0.002 (0.087)	0.005 (0.081)	0.007 (0.073)	-0.006	-0.013	1,304
Attitudes towards Women's Agency over Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	0.050 (0.060)	0.049 (0.064)	0.051 (0.072)	0.001 (0.064)	0.021	0.061	1,304
Men's Perception of Norms							
Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	0.117* (0.067)	0.084 (0.079)	0.154* (0.084)	0.070 (0.094)	-0.019	0.048	1,223
Women's Agency over Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	-0.005 (0.053)	0.026 (0.055)	-0.040 (0.067)	-0.066 (0.061)	0.019	0.060	1,222
Locus of Control Score	-0.046 (0.087)	0.011 (0.096)	-0.103 (0.112)	-0.115 (0.115)	4.807	4.801	1,303
Subjective Well-Being Index (Index Standard Deviations)	0.062 (0.065)	0.095 (0.071)	0.030 (0.076)	-0.065 (0.071)	0.010	0.121	1,303
Psychological Abuse Index (Index Standard Deviations)	-0.035 (0.049)	0.019 (0.057)	-0.089 (0.065)	-0.107 (0.072)	0.030	0.026	1,114
Physical Abuse Index (Index Standard Deviations)	-0.028 (0.063)	-0.043 (0.072)	-0.013 (0.083)	0.030 (0.089)	0.030	-0.022	1,109
Sexual Abuse Index (Index Standard Deviations)	-3.777 (3.483)	2.296 (3.575)	-9.900 (6.437)	-12.196 (7.740)	0.005	-0.001	1,130
IPV Index (Index Standard Deviations)	-0.051 (0.062)	-0.022 (0.074)	-0.080 (0.076)	-0.058 (0.085)	0.041	-0.004	1,070
Food Security (Standard Deviations)	0.197*** (0.068)	0.182** (0.081)	0.212*** (0.078)	0.031 (0.081)	0.000	0.195	1,303
Proportion of Female HoHs who have Ever Migrated	-0.013 (0.022)	-0.033 (0.023)	0.007 (0.027)	0.040 (0.026)	0.195	0.161	1,303
Proportion of Female HoHs who have felt unsafe leaving Home in Past Month	0.014 (0.025)	0.014 (0.026)	0.013 (0.030)	-0.001 (0.025)	0.139	0.154	1,303

Table 5: Endline results

	Any Treatment vs. Control	UCT vs. Control	FFA for Women vs. Control	FFA for Women vs. UCT	Control Mean	Num. of Observations
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)		
Any WFP Work	0.042*** (0.013)	0.015** (0.007)	0.070*** (0.022)	0.055** (0.022)	0.000	1,286
Any WFP Transfer	0.019*** (0.005)	0.019** (0.008)	0.019*** (0.006)	0.000 (0.010)	0.000	1,286
Female Non-WFP Work	0.002 (0.025)	-0.003 (0.027)	0.007 (0.030)	0.011 (0.028)	0.156	1,286
Female WFP Work	0.037*** (0.013)	0.006 (0.005)	0.070*** (0.022)	0.064*** (0.022)	0.000	1,286
Female WFP Transfer	0.010** (0.004)	0.001 (0.002)	0.019*** (0.006)	0.018*** (0.006)	0.000	1,286
Predicted Household Consumption (Per % of Cash Transfer)	0.329 (0.200)	0.012 (0.238)	0.657*** (0.224)	0.645** (0.245)	4.836	1,284
Women's Non-WFP Wage Income (Per % of Cash Transfer)	0.059 (0.054)	0.007 (0.058)	0.112 (0.074)	0.105 (0.079)	0.229	1,286
Women's WFP Wage Income (Per % of Cash Transfer)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000	1,286
Men's Non-WFP Wage Income (Per % of Cash Transfer)	0.384* (0.203)	0.314 (0.248)	0.456** (0.222)	0.142 (0.236)	1.857	1,286
Time Spent						
Outside the Home (Women) (Hours per Day)	-0.004 (0.221)	-0.177 (0.230)	0.172 (0.265)	0.349 (0.228)	2.748	1,284
Outside the Home (Men) (Hours per Day)	-0.027 (0.225)	-0.146 (0.259)	0.096 (0.250)	0.242 (0.238)	7.484	1,281
Working (Self Employment, Women) (Hours per Day)	-0.090 (0.112)	-0.079 (0.115)	-0.102 (0.124)	-0.023 (0.083)	0.543	1,284
Working (Self Employment, Men) (Hours per Day)	-0.038 (0.207)	0.150 (0.254)	-0.232 (0.222)	-0.382 (0.247)	1.544	1,281
Working (Paid, Women) (Hours per Day)	0.043 (0.111)	0.069 (0.119)	0.017 (0.127)	-0.052 (0.103)	0.545	1,284
Working (Paid, Men) (Hours per Day)	0.123 (0.247)	-0.028 (0.297)	0.278 (0.294)	0.306 (0.325)	4.022	1,281
Working (Chores, Women) (Hours per Day)	0.051 (0.144)	0.101 (0.149)	0.001 (0.179)	-0.100 (0.157)	6.470	1,284
Working (Chores, Men) (Hours per Day)	-0.100 (0.088)	-0.090 (0.106)	-0.110 (0.099)	-0.021 (0.104)	1.276	1,281
Women's Agency Over						
Consumption (Index Standard Deviations)	-0.111** (0.054)	-0.175*** (0.059)	-0.045 (0.062)	0.131** (0.060)		1,234
Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	-0.043 (0.057)	-0.053 (0.063)	-0.033 (0.069)	0.020 (0.068)		1,269
Women's Attitudes towards						
Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	0.073 (0.063)	0.028 (0.068)	0.118* (0.070)	0.090 (0.061)		1,284
Women's Agency over Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	-0.015 (0.053)	-0.023 (0.062)	-0.006 (0.062)	0.016 (0.061)		1,266
Women's Agency over Consumption (Index Standard Deviations)	-0.151** (0.057)	-0.176** (0.067)	-0.125* (0.067)	0.052 (0.070)		1,242
Men's Attitudes towards						
Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	-0.012 (0.060)	-0.005 (0.074)	-0.020 (0.062)	-0.015 (0.065)		1,255
Women's Agency over Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	-0.098 (0.063)	-0.163** (0.063)	-0.024 (0.078)	0.139* (0.070)		1,233
Women's Agency over Consumption (Index Standard Deviations)	0.017 (0.063)	-0.006 (0.072)	0.043 (0.074)	0.049 (0.073)		1,235
Women's Perception of Norms						
Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	0.099* (0.055)	0.037 (0.072)	0.161*** (0.059)	0.124 (0.074)		1,284
Women's Agency over Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	-0.032 (0.062)	-0.038 (0.069)	-0.026 (0.072)	0.012 (0.066)		1,284
Attitudes towards Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	0.007 (0.060)	-0.059 (0.074)	0.073 (0.072)	0.132 (0.086)		1,284
Attitudes towards Women's Agency over Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	-0.010 (0.050)	-0.022 (0.057)	0.003 (0.063)	0.025 (0.065)		1,284
Men's Perception of Norms						
Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	-0.077 (0.066)	-0.118 (0.079)	-0.031 (0.084)	0.087 (0.095)		1,255
Women's Agency over Time Use (Index Standard Deviations)	0.002 (0.066)	-0.079 (0.073)	0.093 (0.077)	0.171** (0.074)		1,255
Locus of Control Score	-0.036 (0.086)	-0.031 (0.096)	-0.041 (0.100)	-0.009 (0.093)	4.835	1,285
Subjective Well-Being Index (Index Standard Deviations)	0.125** (0.056)	0.130** (0.061)	0.120* (0.067)	-0.010 (0.061)		1,285
Psychological Abuse Index (Index Standard Deviations)	0.056 (0.050)	0.071 (0.057)	0.042 (0.060)	-0.029 (0.062)		1,104
Physical Abuse Index (Index Standard Deviations)	0.057 (0.057)	0.038 (0.058)	0.077 (0.059)	0.038 (0.026)		1,096
Sexual Abuse Index (Index Standard Deviations)	0.036 (0.052)	0.021 (0.059)	0.052 (0.058)	0.031 (0.052)		1,101
IPV Index (Index Standard Deviations)	0.060 (0.058)	0.041 (0.060)	0.080 (0.059)	0.039 (0.029)		1,074
Food Security (Standard Deviations)	-0.060 (0.064)	-0.081 (0.080)	-0.039 (0.070)	0.042 (0.079)		1,284
Proportion of Female HoHs who have Ever Migrated	0.002 (0.023)	0.006 (0.027)	-0.002 (0.027)	-0.008 (0.027)	0.188	1,285
Proportion of Female HoHs who have felt unsafe leaving Home in Past Month	-0.034 (0.020)	-0.038 (0.025)	-0.029 (0.023)	0.009 (0.026)	0.162	1,284

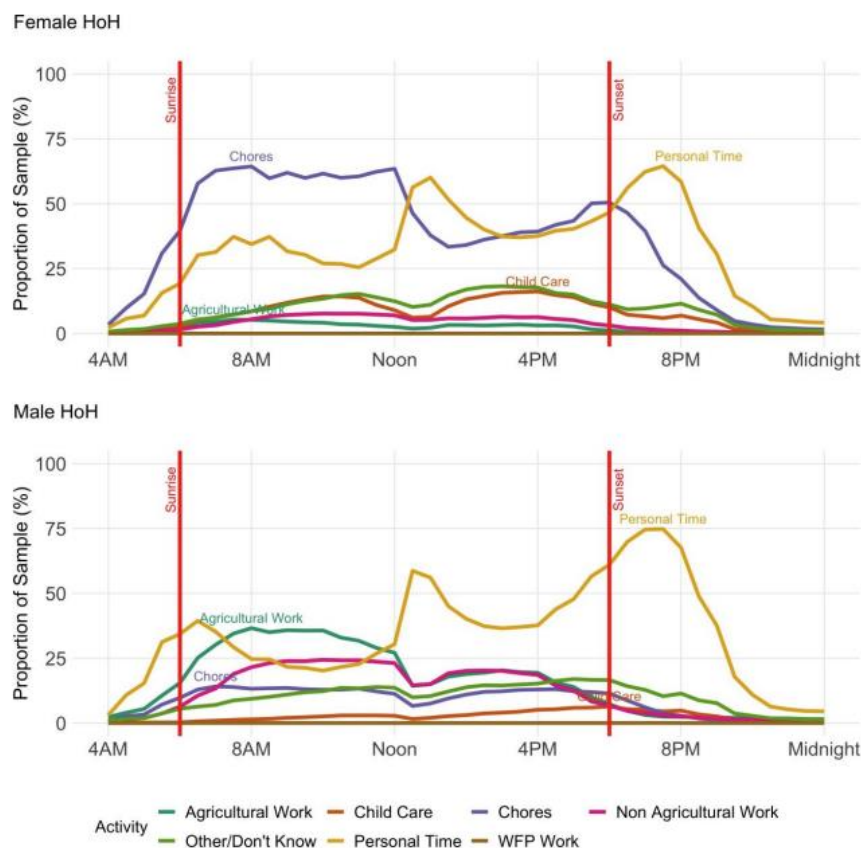
7.1 Time use

Summary of findings: The study's baseline findings confirm traditional gender roles, with women spending more time on chores and less time outside the home than men. However, participation in the FFA for women programme does not lead to women spending more time outside the house, and has no significant impact on their time allocation compared to other groups. Surprisingly, men in the FFA for women group spend less time on chores, which may be a statistical anomaly.

78. An important measure of agency across genders is how much time is spent on productive activities and chores daily. In the literature, a striking stylized 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.^{30, 31}

79. Overall, we find the **baseline results** are in line with this literature. As illustrated in Figure 4 below, women spent 7.0 hours per day on chores, while men only spent 1.8 hours. The mean time spent outside the home is 6.9 hours for men compared with only 2.6 hours for women heads of household – more than a four-hour difference.³² Similarly, men heads of household spent more time on salaried and agricultural work (with a mean of 3.7 hours and 1.1 hours, respectively) than women heads of household (with a mean of 0.6 hours and 0.2 hours, respectively). This is consistent with the reported earnings differential between the genders observed in the previous section. Figure 4 suggests the increase in hours spent on chores by women is accompanied by reduced personal time after sunset in comparison to men.

Figure 4: Time use on a typical day – women and men (baseline data)



80. As per the evaluation theory, women working outside the household should lead to an increase in time spent outside the household by women. However, at **midline**, while the FFA for women programme

³⁰ Hochschild, A. & Machung, A. 2012. *The Second Shift: Working Families and the Revolution at Home*. New York, Penguin.

³¹ Bertrand, M., Kamenica, E. & Pan, J. 2015. Gender Identity and Relative Income within Households. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 130(2): 571-614.

³² For time use, data from the last 2 working days and a rest day is used to calculate a weekly average.

was ongoing, women do not report spending more time outside the house during an average day, when compared to the comparison group or the unconditional cash transfer group (around 2.5 hours for all groups per day). Thus, the FFA for women programme does not have any statistically significant impact on how women use their time at midline compared to the unconditional cash transfer or comparison group – using intention-to-treat analysis. Men in the FFA for women group spend significantly less time on chores when compared to the unconditional cash transfer group (-0.22 hours per day), which may be a statistical anomaly.

81. In the FFA for women intervention group, during the **qualitative interviews**, some women and men beneficiaries shared mixed experiences about changes in labour and time use – some women reported a change in how they spent their time as a result of the project, while others did not. As well, some beneficiaries shared that men partners generally helped with household chores and childcare prior to the start of the project, and that the project did not significantly impact division of childcare in their household. However, other beneficiaries did share that the project helped motivate more equitable division of household tasks, as shared below by a man beneficiary (and community leader) in an FFA for women intervention community:

I used to work more before and sometimes I came back very late at night. However, now, I see that when we started the meetings, talks, interviews... I saw that I could help her to sweep, to clean the dishes, and everything. Now I see that she lets off steam more often. Because now she drops off the children to school and I stay at home doing some chores. Then, when she gets home, she can rest and have breakfast. Before, I helped her a bit, but not much, but after the project, there has been some progress here and now we can make the most of our time.

- Community leader, FFA for women group

82. Consistent with the end of the excerpt above, some beneficiaries - men and women - stated that the project helped them better 'manage their time' related to work inside and outside the household. At the same time, a few women beneficiaries from the FFA for women intervention arm reported having to 'do more' during the project period (household and community project work), and as such, had to manage their time better. As well, some women beneficiaries reported having to bring their children to the community project and work since they were unable to task-share childcare responsibilities with their partner and/or other household members. For example, women beneficiaries in a focus group discussion exchanged how they balanced childcare and community work in an FFA for women intervention community:

Participant 3: "Most of us have a husband and not good ones. In my case, my husband never offered any help to me, he told me 'I will let you go'. Some days I had to go to do community work and then I got home tired.... Also, I had to take my daughter with me most of the time, even though we went to places full of mosquitoes, but I had to take her with me."

Participant 8: "But we showed them that we could do it [laughs] it seemed a nursery, since it was full of strollers [laughs]."

Moderator: "Did you bring the children with you?"

Participant 2: "Yes"

Participant 3: "They did not pick up the trash or anything, but we did not have anybody to leave them with, so we took them with us."

- Beneficiary women, FFA for women group

83. As shown in the excerpt above, the additional community work may have helped some women anecdotally to better manage their time, while at the same time increasing some women's burden of household and non-household work (via the doubling of childcare and community project work, respectively).

84. However, similar to the quantitative midline findings, at **endline** there are no significant detectable changes for time use for either men or women as a result of the unconditional cash transfer arm or of participating in FFA. After having participated in the FFA for women programme, the data shows that

women spent around 10 minutes per day more outside the house when compared to the comparison group and 21 minutes when compared to the unconditional cash transfer group. These changes are statistically insignificant. FFA sessions happened irregularly, and time use recall periods are for the last week, which may have had an impact on these measures.

7.2 Earnings

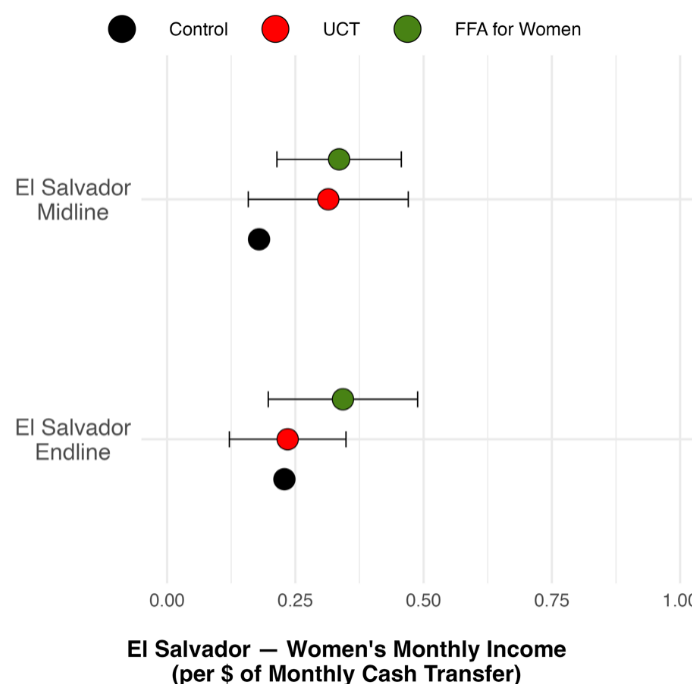
Summary of findings: At midline, as expected women participating in the FFA for women programme earned more through WFP transfers compared to the comparison group and unconditional cash transfer group, with a statistically significant difference. However, only 28.3 percent of households reported women exclusively participating in the FFA programme, resulting in lower-than-expected average earnings for women in the FFA for women group. Non-WFP earnings for women also increased slightly at midline but were not significantly different from the comparison group. At endline, women in the FFA for women group reported significantly higher WFP wage income compared to the comparison group (65 percent increase), reflecting increased programme enrolment.

85. The first step in the theory as outlined in Section 3.1 above suggests that there may be a ‘wage effect’ on women’s agency over household decisions. To test this theory, the evaluation examined whether offering households the opportunity to participate in FFA resulted in any changes in their earned income (WFP and non-WFP earnings). Prior to the project (at baseline), women’s yearly earnings from wages (2019 purchasing power parity (PPP) USD) were USD 409 or USD 34.11 per month, much smaller than for earnings for men (USD 2,531.79).

86. At **midline**, while the programme was ongoing, women became earning members of the household through participation in FFA for women. The FFA for women group “earned” more – through the WFP transfers – when compared to the comparison group or the unconditional cash transfer group, and this difference is statistically significant. The recall period for earnings is the last month. However, at midline, only around 28.3 percent of households reported **only** women participating in the FFA. This means, at midline, the average earnings of all women in the FFA for women group was lower than anticipated because many households had not yet participated.

87. The fact that women earn more could theoretically also lead to an increase in earnings from outside the programme as well (“non-WFP earnings”). Women’s “non-WFP earnings” are also increased slightly at midline, but are not significantly different when compared to the comparison group.

Figure 5: Women’s monthly income (per USD of monthly cash transfer)



88. As expected, similar to the midline, at **endline**, women report a significantly higher WFP wage income (0.647 per USD of cash transfer or 65 percent) when compared to the comparison group (and also the unconditional cash transfer group). This value is higher than the midline measure, since more households were enrolled in the programme by endline. This again shows, however, that not all households participated or that not all participating households had women engaged in the FFA for women work.

89. During **qualitative** interviews, some participants across all three groups reported improvements in their household economic status. However, beneficiaries in the FFA for women group, followed by the unconditional cash transfer intervention group, were more likely than beneficiaries in comparison communities to share that they were able to save or invest their money into small businesses. Below, one woman beneficiary shared how she was able to invest some of the cash transfer into her tortilla-selling business:

With the cash transfer, I could sell tortillas. With what I got from there, I bought the sheet of metal, this is how I invested it. Now, I want to build my kitchen, but I am not sure how I will do that yet.

- Beneficiary woman, FFA for women group

90. In addition to the cash transfer, women beneficiaries in both FFA for women and unconditional cash transfer intervention groups shared that the educational talks helped them better manage and invest their money; a change that, according to some participants, lasted long-term after the project ended. Below, one woman beneficiary from an unconditional cash transfer community shared the importance of the educational talks in better managing and saving her money long-term:

E: "It helped us quite a lot. We learned how to save, how to administer the money.... The money they gave us.... Also, if we wanted to save, they also showed us how to invest it. That is what we learned."

[...]

M: "Do you think the changes in the economic situation of your household only lasted during the implementation of the project or have they persisted even after the project ended, I am referring to the positive change?"

E: "Yes, we are still working on the same direction... we keep saving."

- Beneficiary woman, unconditional cash transfer group

91. Although some beneficiaries in comparison communities also reported increased savings, they were less likely to report being able to invest in other small businesses. Rather, a few men beneficiaries in comparison communities reported being able to pay off 'debt' rather than saving money as a result of the USD 300 cash transfer after the project has concluded (the qualitative interviews were conducted after the comparison group also received a transfer).

7.3 Consumption

Summary of findings: At midline, both the FFA for women and the unconditional cash transfer groups experienced an increase in household consumption, with gains of 39 and 36 cents per United States dollar of transfer. However, these increases were not statistically significant. At the endline assessment, a significant impact on household consumption was observed for the FFA for women group. The comparison group had an estimated monthly consumption of USD 403. Participation in the FFA for women project led to a notable 13 percent increase in predicted consumption, which was statistically significant. In contrast, the unconditional cash transfer group had almost no impact on consumption at endline, possibly due to the timing of lump-sum unconditional cash transfers occurring at the beginning of the programme and not being substantial enough to affect consumption at the endline.

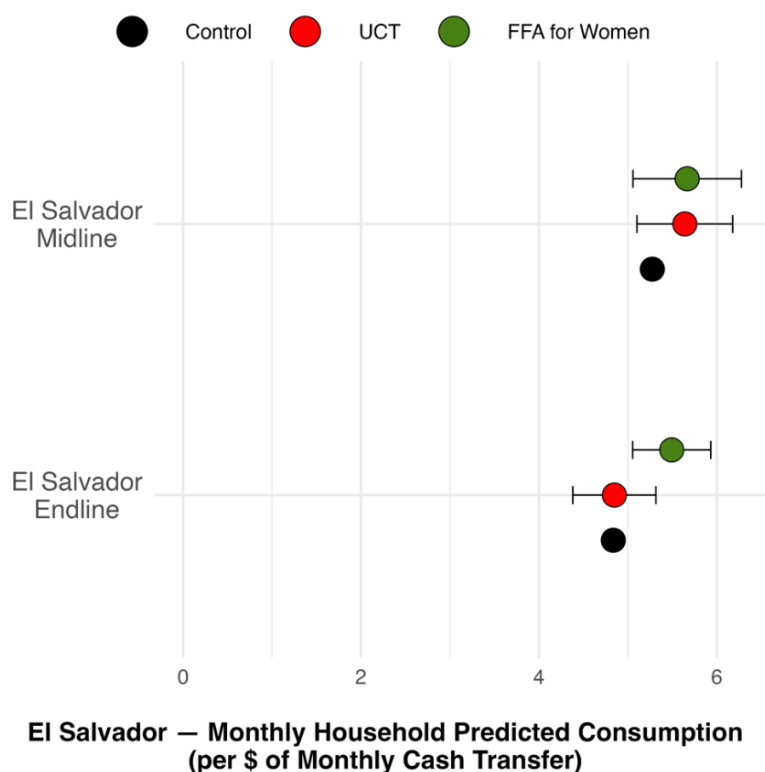
92. As described in the evaluation theory, and the [pre-analysis plan](#), an increase in earnings is expected to result in an increase in consumption.³³

93. The households' estimated consumption at baseline is USD 6,272.23 per year, or USD 1,403 per capita (for an average family size of 4.47). In contrast, the transfer value of the project was approximately USD 300 (approximately 5 percent of estimated annual household consumption).

94. At **midline**, while the programme was ongoing for both the FFA for women and the unconditional cash transfer groups, household consumption increased by 39 and 36 cents per United States dollar of transfer respectively (or USD 39 and USD 36 per month for three months, 8-9 percent per month over the comparison group). However, these increases are not statistically significant.

95. At **endline**, however, a significant impact is observed in the FFA for women group. The estimated monthly household consumption for the comparison group at endline is USD 403 per month. As a result of participating in the project, households in the FFA for women group could boost their (predicted) consumption by 13 percent (statistically significant). In contrast, the unconditional cash transfer group shows almost no impact on consumption at endline, which could be explained by the timing of the lump-sum unconditional cash transfers occurring at the beginning of the programme and not being large enough to impact consumption at the endline.

Figure 6: Monthly household predicted consumption (per USD of monthly cash transfer)



96. During qualitative interviews, across all intervention groups, all women and men beneficiaries pointed to (the small) improved household consumption as the most important benefit from participating in the programme. The consumption change that beneficiaries experienced was that the additional cash transfer improved the quantity, quality and diversity of food their household consumed. Below, a woman beneficiary shared how the cash transfer helped her buy 'healthier' foods and improve the overall health and well-being of her household:

³³ The consumption variable is being estimated using data on five goods and coefficients produced by a "LASSO" regression based on 2006 Encuesta Nacional de Ingresos y Gastos de los Hogares ([ENIGH](#)) data. The goods that predict consumption best in that data set are clothing, soft drinks, airtime, hygiene and beef.

We bought more vegetables than milk products because this is what they told us in the trainings, they said that “we should not buy unnecessary milk products” and even, they taught us how to cook “tortillas” made of carrots, because they are better for our health.

– Beneficiary woman, FFA for women group

97. Commonly, beneficiaries pointed to the importance of the cash transfer in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, a time marked by job insecurity and food price inflation. Given the COVID-19 pandemic, beneficiaries also pointed to diverse ways that they used their cash transfer. Across all intervention communities, some beneficiaries shared that they used the cash transfer to: 1. Buy medicine for sick household members; 2. Pay for household utilities like electricity; 3. Help other family members with household necessities; and in a few cases, 4. Pay for internet for their children to attend remote schooling during COVID-19. For example, one woman beneficiary shares below the importance of the cash transfer in buying medicine in her household:

During the implementation of the project, my children got sick [...]. So, I had to buy medicine... I thought I was very blessed to receive this money at that moment because this need came up and I was able to address it.

- Beneficiary woman, FFA for women group

98. As a result, some beneficiaries across all communities were able to improve their household consumption patterns and food security, while also using the cash transfer to respond to pandemic-related shocks, like purchasing medicine and other unexpected household necessities.

99. Related to this, some beneficiaries in the FFA for women intervention arm also claimed they were better able to ‘manage’ their money, which helped them make better and more informed decisions about different household activities. For example, one woman beneficiary shared how the educational sessions helped her better save, and ultimately ‘manage’ her money:

It helped us quite a lot. We learned how to save, how to administer the money.... The money they gave us.... Also, if we wanted to save, they also showed us how to invest it. That is what we learned.

- Beneficiary woman, unconditional cash transfer group

7.4 Food security

Summary of findings: At midline, both the unconditional cash transfer and FFA for women households showed significant improvements in food security compared to the comparison group, with increases of 0.182 and 0.212 standard deviations in the Food Consumption Score (FCS), respectively. Combining both groups also resulted in a significant increase of 0.197 standard deviations. There were no differences between the FFA for women and the unconditional cash transfer arms. However, by endline, after the programme concluded, the short-term food security gains disappeared, indicating that the programme’s impact on food security was temporary and tied to its duration.

100. It follows from theory that an increase in household earnings – due to receiving a transfer through either the unconditional cash transfer or participation in FFA for women could improve food security. The Food Consumption Score (FCS), which represents households’ caloric availability, dietary diversity and relative nutritional values of food groups consumed, is used to measure food security.

101. The baseline data collection showed that the mean FCS was around 75, which is classified as “acceptable”. Only 3 percent of households at baseline showed borderline or poor food security (equivalent to an FCS score under 35). However, the baseline data also shows that 83 percent of households resorted to at least one livelihood coping strategy (stress, crisis coping or emergency).

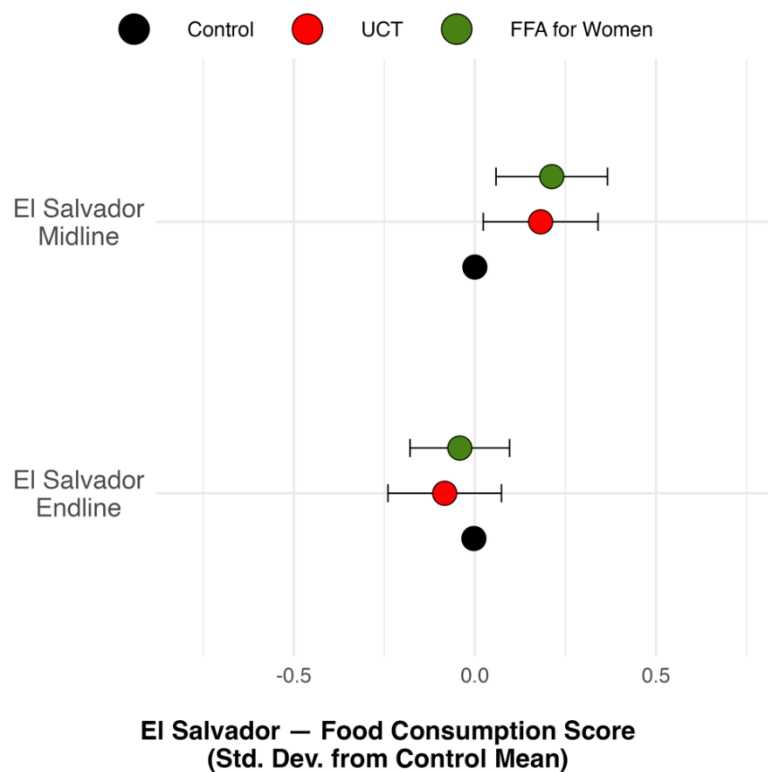
102. At **midline**, while the programme was ongoing, both the unconditional cash transfer and participation in FFA for women households show significant increases in food security relative to the comparison group (0.182 and 0.212 standard deviation increases in FCS, respectively). When combining both groups to compare receiving any assistance versus the comparison group, the increase is 0.197

standard deviation, which is also significant. There are no detectable differences between the FFA for women group and the unconditional cash transfer group, when comparing them to each other.

103. These results show that WFP assistance is effective in boosting FCS, regardless of whether transfers are channelled through participation in FFA for women programming or through unconditional cash transfers. The fact that the FCS score increase is significant further suggests that there are positive consumption impacts, which are not significant due to statistical power constraints.

104. By **endline**, after the programme has ended, the short-term impacts on food security dissipate. This suggests the programme impacts on food security only lasted while it was ongoing.

Figure 7: Food Consumption Score



105. During the **qualitative** data collection, across all intervention groups, women and men beneficiaries pointed to improved household consumption as the most important benefit from participating in the cash transfer programmes. The consumption changes that beneficiaries reported were three-fold – the additional cash transfer improved the: 1. Quantity; 2. Quality; and 3. Diversity of food their household consumed.

7.5 Decision making (agency)

Summary of findings: At midline, during the programme, there were no significant differences in women's agency between the FFA for women group and the comparison group. Both the unconditional cash transfer and FFA for women groups showed slight changes in women's agency, but these were not statistically significant, possibly due to the lower-than-anticipated levels of women's participation in FFA for women. At endline, after the programme ended, women in the unconditional cash transfer group experienced a more significant loss of agency compared to the FFA for women group, indicating that targeting women with the FFA for women programme helped them maintain decision making authority over consumption at similar levels to the comparison group. However, there were no notable impacts on agency over time use at endline.

106. Following theory, if women become earning members of the household, it could lead to an increase in their decision making authority or agency. By "agency", the analysis 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.³⁴

107. The following sections on agency, attitudes and perception of norms (for time use and consumption) use indices that are similar in their construction, using four components each. 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.

108. For agency, women were asked who – in their view – actually decides on their time use for four key activities in their household: the women themselves (the woman head of the household), the man 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.

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

- larger household purchases;
- men heads of household purchases;
- women heads of household purchases; and
- women heads of household health purchases.

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

111. Table 6 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 -0.701 for women's agency over men's time use (Panel B) suggests that men generally decide how much time men spend on the four activities. Similarly, an overall index score of 0.624 (Panel A) for women's agency over women's time use can be interpreted as women generally deciding how to spend their time independently. Lastly, an index score of 0.269 for women's agency over consumption (Panel C) suggests that women have agency on how much money is spent.

³⁴ Lundberg, S. & Pollak, R. A. 1993. Separate Spheres Bargaining and the Marriage Market. *Journal of Political Economy*, 101(6): 988–1010.

Table 6: Women’s agency over time use and consumption

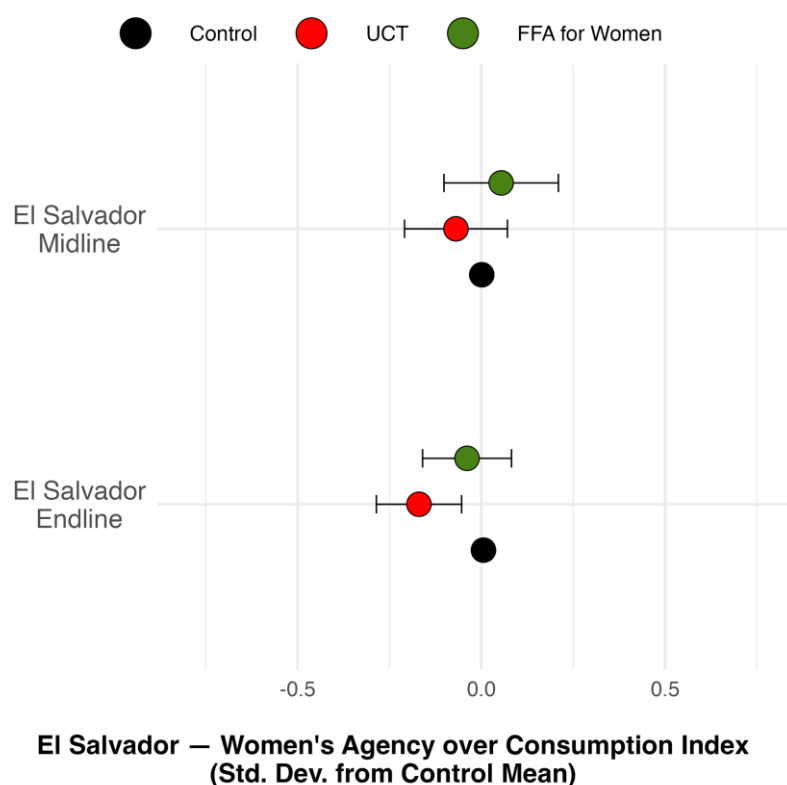
	Mean	Standard Deviation	N
Panel A: Agency over women’s time use – index	0.624	0.347	1,215
Work (Self-employed)	0.383	0.636	1,232
Work (Paid)	0.449	0.606	1,236
Chores	0.814	0.411	1,251
Leisure	0.781	0.446	1,244
Panel B: Agency over men’s time use – index	-0.701	0.364	1,221
Work (Self-Employed)	-0.677	0.537	1,243
Work (Paid)	-0.68	0.499	1,233
Chores	-0.649	0.596	1,249
Leisure	-0.789	0.451	1,247
Panel C: Agency over consumption – Index	0.269	0.357	1,184
HH purchases	0.335	0.599	1,226
Male HoH purchases	0.138	0.645	1,235
Female HoH purchases	0.499	0.522	1,239
Female HoH health purchases	0.149	0.621	1,218
<i>Notes: So that we can compare these values, the table displays results only for double-headed households. Each index is created on the basis of 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 male head of household, the female 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 health-care 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 HoH and -1 meaning no agency and harmful attitudes towards the female HoH.</i>			

112. At **midline**, when the programme was ongoing, there are no statistically significant differences between the FFA for women and the comparison group. Women’s agency in the unconditional cash transfer group got slightly worse as a result of the project, and women’s agency in the FFA for women group slightly improved relative to the comparison group (both statistically insignificantly). In combination, women participating in FFA report slightly higher “agency over consumption” when compared to women in the unconditional cash transfer group (0.123 standard deviations (SDs)), however, this result is also not statistically significant. There are therefore no statistically significant differences in reported agency over time use at the midline.

113. This null result at midline could be partially explained by the fact that women already enjoyed a fair amount of agency prior to the project (according to the baseline findings), which can limit the potential for further impact. Also, because only 42 percent of the households in the FFA for women group sent **only** women to participate in FFA, the results could be muted by the intention-to-treat analysis that includes all households regardless of whether they “complied” or not with the assignment.

114. At **endline**, in both groups, women show reduced agency when compared to the comparison group as a result of receiving WFP assistance. However, the loss of agency is much higher in the unconditional cash transfer group when compared to the FFA for women group (approximately -4.8 percent for the unconditional cash transfer group versus the comparison group). This suggests that targeting women with FFA impacts women’s ability to maintain decision making authority over consumption after receiving cash transfers. At endline, after the programme had ended, the data show that women’s agency over consumption is 0.131 standard deviation higher among women who received cash transfers from the FFA for women programme, relative to women in households that had men and received the unconditional cash transfer (approximately a 3.8 percent increase). The result is statistically significant. However, there are no notable impacts on agency over time use at endline.

Figure 8: Women's agency of consumption index



115. Qualitative interviews show that, overall, beneficiaries in the FFA for women group more frequently expressed greater ability to make different household decisions as a result of participating in the project, compared to women in other groups. For the most part, however, women and men beneficiaries did not directly cite changes in 'agency' and/or 'empowerment' in making decisions independently and/or jointly with their partner or other household members, but rather reported an improved 'ability' to make better decisions about general household activities, and about labour and time spent inside and outside the household. For example, one beneficiary from the FFA for women group shared how the project helped her feel more confident about working outside the household, by 'demonstrating' to men that women can also work outside the household during the community projects:

The project showed us that we could also be useful because we get used to.... We are used to the fact that it is always men who work the land and women stay at home. Then, the community work helped us prove to men that we can also work. They [men] made fun of us, when they saw us working in the streets they yelled "hurry up" and similar stuff. But we showed them we can also work.

– Beneficiary woman, FFA for women group

116. The qualitative analysis found no notable changes in the agency – or ability – to make large **household purchases** among both the FFA for women and the unconditional cash transfer intervention groups. Interestingly, a few beneficiaries in the comparison group shared being better able to buy large household purchases as a result of the project. This finding may be explained by the intervention design in the comparison group, whereas comparison beneficiaries received their USD 300 cash transfer as a lump sum all at once at the end, which may have motivated some participants to buy larger purchases (relative to beneficiaries in other intervention groups who received several payments across several months).

7.6 Attitudes

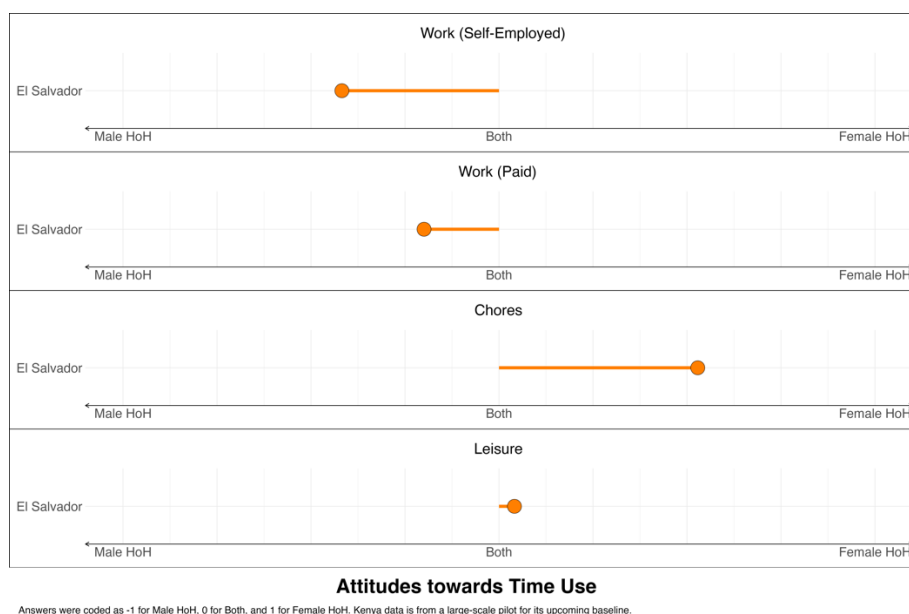
Summary of findings: At midline, there were no significant shifts in men’s or women’s attitudes towards time use. At endline, women in the FFA for women group showed a positive change in attitudes towards time use but a negative shift in attitudes towards women’s agency over consumption compared to the comparison group (-0.125 standard deviation). The unconditional cash transfer group showed an even greater negative shift in attitudes towards women’s agency over consumption compared to the comparison group (-0.176 standard deviation).

117. Having considered actual time use and who makes decisions about time use, this section explores who men and women think: (1) should spend more time; and (2) should make decisions about time spent on each of the four activities. This can be understood as attitudes towards: (1) time use; and (2) agency over time use.³⁵

118. Similar to the 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.

119. At baseline, women’s overall index value for **attitudes towards time use** (“who should do it?” - 0.257), and men’s attitudes towards time use (-0.289) suggest that both women and men believed in an unequal division of labour responsibilities (that is, that men should do more work and have more leisure and do fewer chores than women). However, women’s attitudes towards time use varied by activity. For example, women believed that while men should spend more time on paid work and self-employed work (with mean scores of -0.413 and -0.206), men should spend less time on chores, with a mean score of 0.534. Women believed that both genders should spend balanced time on leisure, with a mean score of 0.039 (close to zero).

Figure 9: How should men spend their time according to women?



120. With an overall index scores of 0.658 and 0.515 at baseline, both men and women believed that most of the **decisions about women’s time use** (“who should decide who does it?”) on average should be made by women. However, there is a difference between men and women on who they think should decide on women’s agency over paid and self-employed work. While women strongly think it should be decided by women, with scores of 0.528 and 0.510 respectively, men think men should have less agency over these

³⁵ 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.

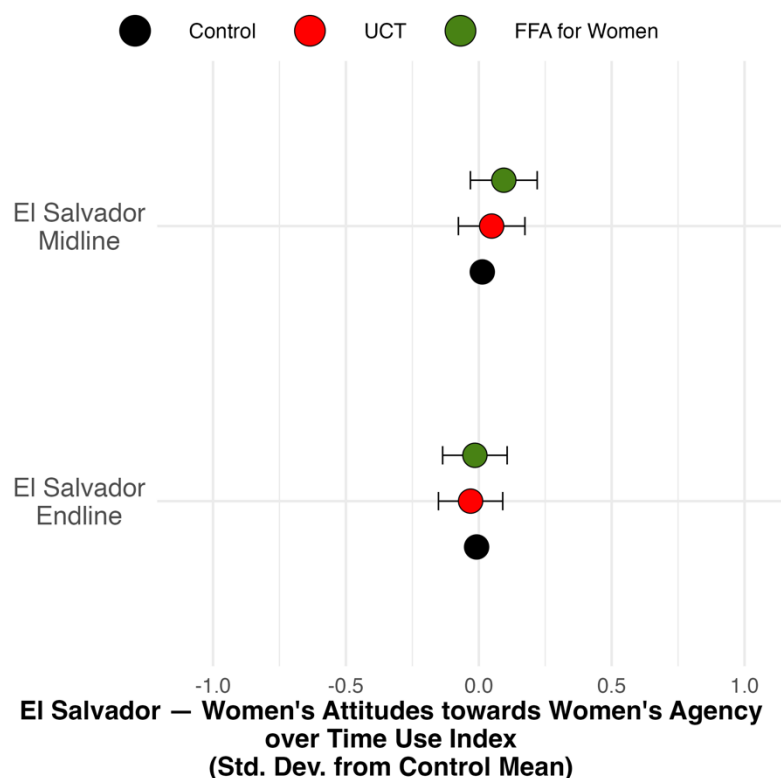
tasks, with a score of 0.295 and 0.391 respectively. Chores and leisure too are activities where men think women should have less agency than compared with women, with scores of 0.647 and 0.681, respectively. Women have higher scores with 0.759 and 0.786, respectively, for chores and leisure.

121. Women gaining decision making authority within the household could lead men to potentially oppose this shift.

122. At **midline**, while the programme was ongoing, there is no significant shift in attitudes recorded for either men or women. Men whose partners were enrolled in the FFA for women programme were -0.1 standard deviations less likely to say that women should have decision making authority over their time use relative to men in the unconditional cash transfer group. However, this estimate is not statistically significant.

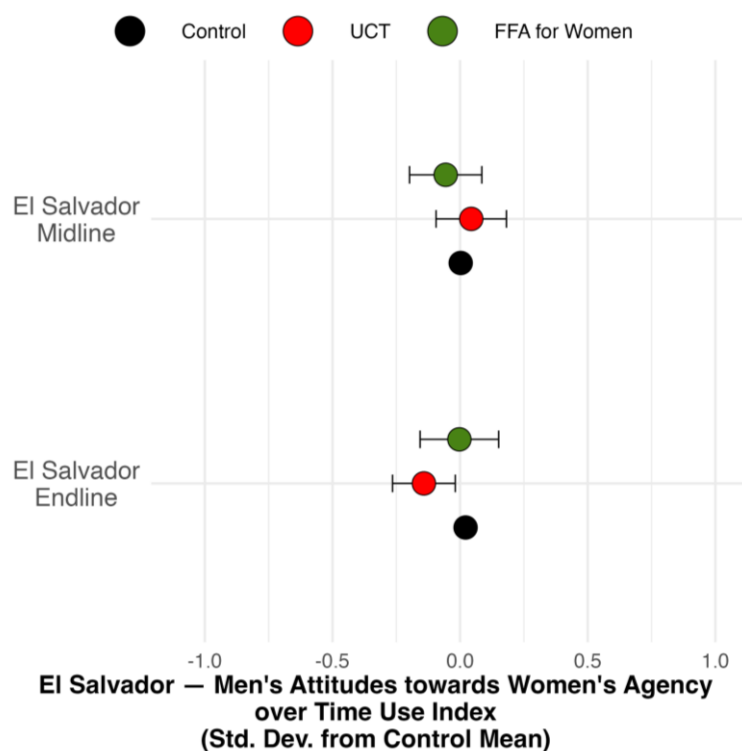
123. At **endline**, after the programme had ended, the data shows a significant positive shift for attitudes over time use for women in the FFA for women group (+0.118 standard deviation) when compared to the comparison group. At the same time, there is a negative significant shift for women’s attitudes for agency over consumption (-0.125 standard deviation). A similar significant shift in attitudes is observed when comparing the unconditional cash transfer with the comparison group (-0.176 standard deviation).

Figure 10: Women’s attitudes towards women’s agency over time use index



124. In theory, shifts in women’s decision-making authority could impact men’s attitudes towards their authority. Also, seeing other women working outside the household in the community could also shift the perception of social norms around women working outside the home. However, men’s attitudes at endline remain largely unchanged. However, there is a negative significant shift for who should make the decisions over time use (“attitudes over agency”), going in the direction of men, (-0.163 standard deviation) for the unconditional cash transfer group when compared to the comparison group (approximately -3.9 percent change). Given that this measure did not change for the FFA for women group, the difference between the FFA for women and the unconditional cash transfer groups is favourable for women (0.139 standard deviation; significant at the 10 percent level). This shows that men in households participating in FFA for women did not see a “drop” in attitudes towards women for agency over time use.

Figure 11: Men's attitudes towards women's agency over time use



125. During **qualitative** interviews, for the most part, beneficiaries across all intervention arms shared having gender equitable attitudes and processes with their partners about different labour and time use decisions prior to participating in the project. Commonly, men and women beneficiaries shared already believing that: 1. different household decisions should be made jointly by men and women partners; and 2. women should decide how they want to spend their time inside or outside the home. As such, most beneficiaries across all intervention groups shared that the project did not significantly change their personal beliefs about if and how women and men should spend their time inside and outside the household. For example, one man beneficiary from the unconditional cash transfer intervention group shared how he did not experience any attitudinal changes as a result of the project since he 'never' restricted his wife's work activities prior to the project:

In my case, the project did not change [my opinion] because I already thought that,

[...] I have never limited my wife's movements and/or decisions, or forbidden her to work or something like this...

- Beneficiary man, unconditional cash transfer group

126. However, some participants did admit to changes in attitudes about work and time use in their communities. More specifically, a few women beneficiaries in the FFA for women intervention group shared that the 'community work' design of the conditional cash transfer helped change some attitudes about labour and time use. Below, one woman beneficiary shared how the community work helped catalyse dialogue among women about how women and men divide up work in their community:

"Men are usually the ones who work, because we [women] sometimes find shelter at home when men do not take well what we say. Then, women who can work, work, and women who cannot work, do not work. Then, from my point of view, men are the ones who work more."

M: "Ok, and has this opinion changed here in the community because of the project?"

E: "Well, yes, we have discussed it. Sometimes we discussed it among all the women participants. Occasionally, men came to do the cleaning because women could not come,

and we understood that we have to help each other, and we both (men and women) need to work.”

- Beneficiary woman, FFA for women group

127. Thus, while the project may not have completely ‘transformed’ attitudes around household labour and time use, the community work component in the FFA for women intervention group may have helped to ‘nudge’ more dialogue about how women and men should, and typically do, divide up non/household labour and care.

7.7 Perception of norms

Summary of findings: During the programme, men in the FFA for women group had a more positive view of women’s time use, but this effect faded by the end. Women in the FFA for women group, however, developed a significantly better perception of community norms compared to the comparison group.

128. Perceptions of community norms play an important role in determining women’s agency.^{36, 37} 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 might thus be a mechanism through which household decision making is affected during the programme.

129. Regarding norms, the impact evaluation questionnaire asked women and men what – in their community – they thought were the norms, by gender, and a similar index to those in [Section 7.5](#) was constructed:

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

130. At **midline**, while the programme was ongoing, women’s perceptions of community norms are unchanged. For the FFA for women group when compared to the comparison group, men’s perception of women’s time use index (in the FFA for women group) is positive and significant (0.154 standard deviation), potentially as the result of them seeing women engaging in WFP work. Men’s perception of norms in regard to women’s agency over time use remains unchanged.

131. At the **endline** however, this is reversed. Now there is a significant increase for women in the FFA for women group (0.161 standard deviation) when compared to the comparison group, but the midline impacts for men dissipated to insignificance when compared to the comparison group. Men’s perception of norms on women’s agency over time use shifts towards men for the unconditional cash transfer group and towards women in the FFA for women group (when compared to the comparison group). Both are not significant. However, when comparing men in the unconditional cash transfer group to men in the FFA for women group, we find a significant shift in men’s perceptions of norms towards women for the latter group. The analysis shows a similar finding in the “attitudes” section.

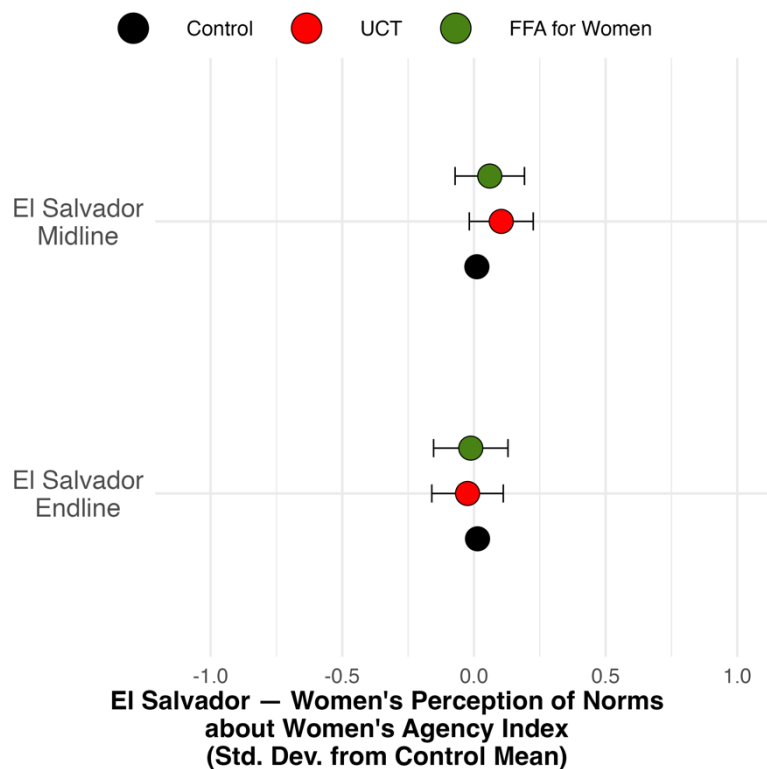
132. During **qualitative** sessions, in general, beneficiaries and community leaders had a more difficult time responding to questions about how community norms around labour and time use might have changed as a result of the project. Study participants either responded to these questions with their own personal attitudes about non/household labour and work (rather than how other people in their

³⁶ Beaman, L., Chattopadhyay, R., Duflo, E., Pande, R. & Topalova, P. 2009. Powerful Women: Does Exposure Reduce Bias? *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 124(4): 1497–1540.

³⁷ Bursztyn, L., González, A. L. & Yanagizawa-Drott, D. 2018. *Misperceived Social Norms: Female Labor Force Participation in Saudi Arabia*. Technical report, National Bureau of Economic Research.

community changed), or did not feel confident enough to speak about other people’s behaviours in their community. This theme was consistent across all intervention communities.

Figure 12: Women’s perceptions of norms about women’s agency index



133. Nevertheless, some community leaders – particularly in FFA for women communities – believed that the project changed some attitudes and behaviours of men and couples in their community. As one woman community leader shared, by providing the cash transfer directly to the woman partner in the household, the project helped both ‘empower’ women and change the perspectives of different couples and men in her community. In other instances, community leaders and a few beneficiaries pointed to the ‘communal’ component of the FFA for women intervention as having helped to catalyse norms around non/household work between genders:

E: “Sometimes the husbands of women, they stayed at home doing some chores while the wife was there, or they helped them with their community work, or they took care of the children.”

M: “Do you think that men and women roles have changed because of the project?”

E: “I think they have, a lot, because this had never happened before, that we join our efforts as a community, go cleaning. This helped us a lot.”

- Beneficiary woman, FFA for women group

134. In some cases, beneficiaries and community leaders reported longer-term generational changes in gender-equitable attitudes and norms in their community before the start of the project. For example, a man beneficiary in an unconditional cash transfer community shared how gender norms have been changing in his community, and that ‘times’ – rather than the ‘project’ – have created a larger shift in norms:

E: “Sometimes getting to know how others think is very difficult, but what I think is that if women want to work this is fine. My opinion is that men and women should do the same and be helped equally. Other men here in the community, the older ones, think that women should only be home, while men should go to work. But things are changing and I think that now women already make their own decisions.”

M: "Do you think that these changes have happened after the implementation of the project?"

E: "I think that times were already changing. Today women do not allow us to rule them as before, before we used words to describe "their submission", and it is good they take their own decisions, in agreement with men, so both take decisions together."

- Beneficiary man, unconditional cash transfer group

135. Consistent with this finding, some beneficiaries across all three groups shared that the project did not necessarily 'change' but 'reinforced' a pre-existing shift toward more gender equitable norms in their communities.

136. Lastly, the evaluation team found that the community-based work component of the project in the FFA for women intervention arm helped women – and to a lesser extent men – have a stronger sense of community cohesion and solidarity. For some women beneficiaries, the community-based work was a welcomed distraction from their day-to-day domestic work. Below, one woman beneficiary recalled fondly how the community work had helped 'open her cage':

We walked, hand in hand, sweeping, doing our work, laughing, we even took sodas together, and we were happy. It was like our cages were opened. Sometimes we spent the entire day at home, without going out, and I felt that going out to do community work was fun.

- Beneficiary woman, FFA for women group

137. This increased sense of 'community cohesion' in FFA for women communities could have been especially important in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, in which families – and particularly women – may have felt an increased sense of isolation leading up to the project start.

7.8 Well-being

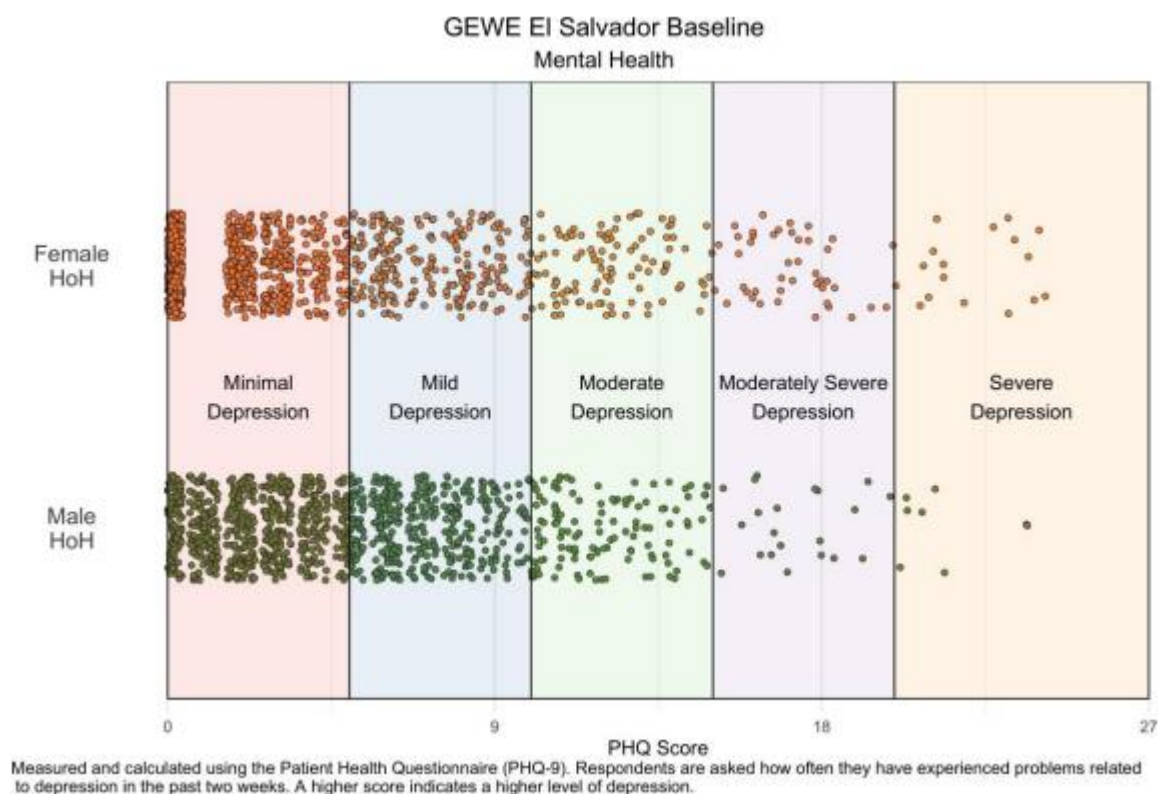
Summary of findings: At the programme's midpoint, there were no significant changes in well-being scores across the three groups. However, by the end of the programme, both the unconditional cash transfer and FFA for women groups showed significant increases in their well-being scores, reflecting positive impacts observed in qualitative findings as well.

138. At the inception of the programme, it was theorized that 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, Kamarck and Mermelstein (1983); and
- mental health was measured using the standard patient health questionnaire (PHQ-9).

139. The baseline data show high frequencies of reported depression, with nearly half of the men (46 percent) and around a third of women (31 percent) reporting at least mild depression symptoms. In addition, 5 percent of women stated they were moderately severe or severely depressed, compared with 3 percent of men. Of the women, 80 percent reported they were either moderately or highly stressed at baseline, whereas 69 percent of men reported being moderately or highly stressed. However, both men and women also report high levels of life satisfaction at baseline (above 65 percent for both genders when combining the categories "high" and "very high" satisfaction).

Figure 13: Patient health questionnaire scores at baseline



140. A significant aspect of (measuring) agency is understanding whether the respondents perceive a sense of control over their life and are able to initiate actions. This is referred to as “locus of control”. The locus of control score was computed using the Rotter’s (1954) method.³⁸ A high locus of control score signifies greater external control over respondents’ decisions and therefore the lower the perceived sense of internal control individuals perceive to have over their life. At baseline, the analysis shows the locus of control to be 4.93 and 4.58 among women and men, respectively (on a scale from 0 to 10). The slightly higher score for women compared with men suggests the slightly lower perceived sense of control women have compared with men.

141. At midline, while the programme was ongoing, the subjective well-being difference between receiving any assistance (through the unconditional cash transfer or FFA for women group) and the comparison group is almost unchanged. There are also no observed differences for the locus of control score. At endline, when the programme had been completed, significant differences emerge. Households receiving any assistance through the unconditional cash transfer (0.130 standard deviation) or FFA for women groups (0.120) both exhibit an increase in their subjective well-being index score. These findings are statistically significant and are also reflected in the qualitative findings.

³⁸ Rotter, J. B. (1954). Social learning and clinical psychology. Prentice-Hall, Inc.

142. During **qualitative** interviews, overall, beneficiaries across all three intervention groups reported feeling 'happier' and less 'stressed' as a result of receiving the cash transfers. As one man beneficiary in the unconditional cash transfer group shared, "of course, one feels happier when someone tells them they're going to help them [financially.]. In the FFA for women's intervention group, women beneficiaries also shared feeling less stressed due to the community work they engaged in as part of the project. One woman beneficiary shared an example of how the community work helped her destress more broadly:

The project helped us to let off steam ... get to know how the other women think... to get along better... or ask for their opinions, even, I felt very good because they asked me to be the leader of the group, in which we were five.

- Beneficiary woman, FFA for women group

143. Men and women beneficiaries across all groups also shared an overall improvement in household well-being and nutrition due to their ability to buy medicine and healthier foods with the additional cash transfer. Some women and men beneficiaries in the FFA for women intervention group – albeit not all - shared improvements in their couple communication about different household decisions, as well as an overall strengthening of their partner relationship. For example, one man beneficiary below shared how the project helped strengthen his relationship with his partner by challenging existing 'machismo' norms:

At the end of the day, the project strengthened our relationship as a couple. [...] The change was strengthening. [...] Mainly, the perception that one has about sexism... When you participate in these type of projects, inevitably, this changes you: you are more aware of the situation.

- Beneficiary man, FFA for women group

144. As shown in the excerpt above, most participants in the FFA for women group – and to a lesser extent in the unconditional cash transfer group – reported having an increased 'awareness' about the importance of improving household relationships and decision making processes, including their relationship with a marital partner.³⁹

7.9 Abuse

Summary of findings: Overall, the evaluation found that abuse levels were high (48 percent) in communities supported by the programme. However, at midline and endline there were small reductions in reported rates of psychological and physical violence observed among women in the FFA for women group, however these are not significant. This suggests that household participation in the programme had no significant impacts on abuse levels (neither positive nor negative).

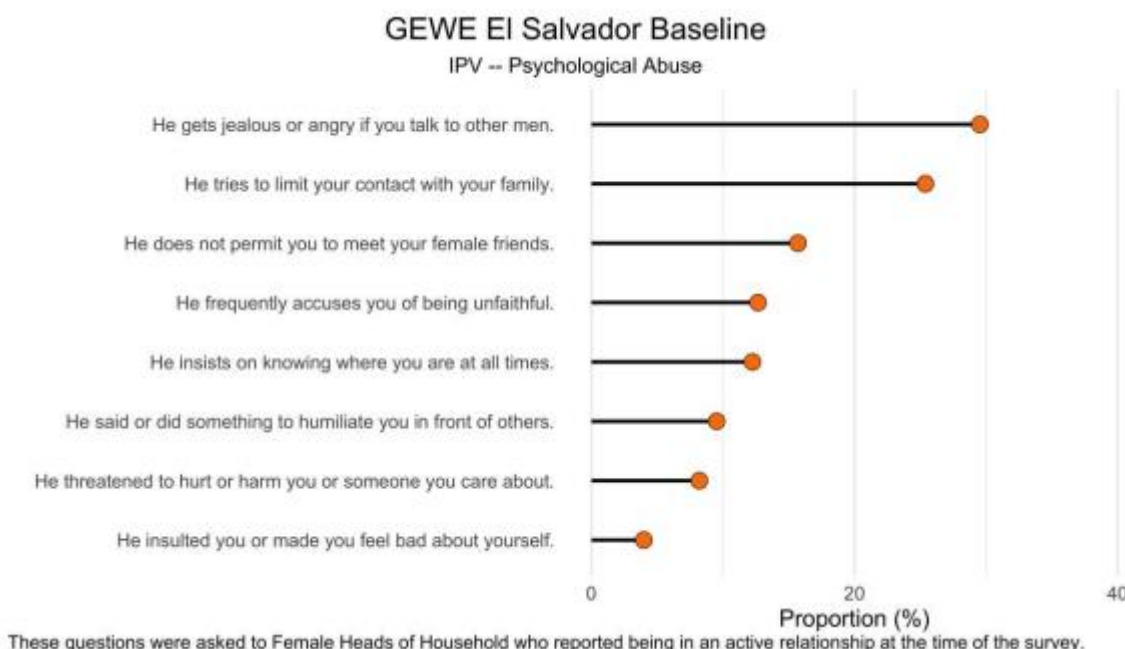
145. Intimate partner violence (IPV) and abuse are serious issues faced by many women around the world. Women with limited agency or living in poor households are found to be disproportionately affected. It has been postulated⁴⁰ that improvements in economic outcomes of the household, such as receiving cash transfers, may reduce intimate partner violence. However, it has also been argued that an increase in women's decision making authority could also lead to a potential backlash from men during the programme.

³⁹ Notably, a few beneficiaries enrolled in the project in the different intervention groups with a non-marital partner. For example, some elderly women enrolled with their sons, and as a result were less likely to report changes in their household relationships, communication and decision making processes. In these cases, elderly women reported already having independent decision making power in different household decisions, or that their children made different household decisions on their behalf.

⁴⁰ Haushofer, J., Ringdal, C., Shapiro, J. P. & Wang, X. Y. 2019. Income Changes and Intimate Partner Violence: Evidence from Unconditional Cash Transfers in Kenya. Working Paper 25627, National Bureau of Economic Research.

146. At baseline, many women (48 percent) reported having suffered some type of abuse. Among the women interviewed, 47 percent of women reported psychological abuse, 7 percent of women reported physical abuse and 4 percent of women reported sexual abuse.⁴¹

Figure 14: Intimate partner violence at baseline



147. At midline, while the programme was ongoing, there were small reductions in reported rates of psychological and physical violence observed among women in the FFA for women group, however these are not significant.⁴² The same holds for the endline.

7.10 Migration

Summary of findings: The evaluation explored how the FFA for women programme relates to household migration decisions. However, at midline and endline, the data did not reveal any significant impact of WFP interventions on migration behaviour.

148. As a secondary evaluation question, the evaluation asked how the programme relates to migration decisions made by the household, as migration is very common in this context. At baseline, 20 percent of men and women heads of households reported having migrated to other departments and municipalities. As migration decisions are often motivated by finding better livelihood sources in other regions, one can hypothesize that participating in an FFA programme could reduce migration rates.

149. At **baseline**, the proportion of women and men heads of household that reported ever having moved to another department or municipality within El Salvador is very similar (20 percent of women and 23 percent of men). However, the main intention varies across genders. For women, the main motivation was family reunification (40 percent), followed by economic reasons or education (29 percent). Conversely, economic reasons or education (39 percent) was the main motive for men, followed by family reunification (29 percent). In addition, 9 percent of the men heads of household reported violence within the community

⁴¹ It must be noted that because data collection on IPV involves raising sensitive questions that require respondents to recollect trauma, all efforts were made to ensure that the interviewers were trained in this regard. A half-day training on how to approach sensitive questions about gender-based violence – intimate partner violence (GBV-IPV) was provided to the enumerators by Glasswing, a specialized international consulting firm. If the respondent reported a case of IPV, enumerators had to follow a strict protocol that included providing a set of referral services.

⁴² Indices for physical, psychological and sexual abuse were created combining individual survey items using inverse covariance weighting.

as the main reason, compared with 5 percent of the women heads. Violence within the family was reported equally by 5 percent of women and men heads of household. To a lesser extent, other reasons mentioned were natural disaster (2 percent for women and 1 percent for men) and health (1 percent for both women and men).

150. However, at **midline**, while receiving any WFP assistance, as well as at **endline**, the data shows no significant effects of WFP interventions on migration behaviour.

7.11 Subjective feeling of safety

Summary of findings: Women's feelings of safety significantly influence the impact of the FFA for women programme, with those who report feeling safe experiencing higher agency over consumption.

151. As crime rates are high in El Salvador especially against women, the report investigates as a secondary question how women's subjective feelings of safety interact with the other results detailed above. If women feel unsafe leaving the house and working, the effect of the programme could be weakened. The baseline survey found 26 percent of the women heads of the household reported feeling unsafe leaving the house.

152. The midline results showed that women in the FFA for women group showed higher agency over consumption when compared to the unconditional cash transfer group (+0.123 standard deviation; however, not statistically significant).

153. This effect is partially driven by women who feel safe: At **midline**, women who feel safe leaving the house (at baseline), show higher agency over consumption (0.207 standard deviation) than women who do not feel safe – when comparing the FFA for women group to the unconditional cash transfer group.

154. Akin to the midline findings, at **endline**, women who reported feeling safe in the FFA for women group, experience statistically significant higher agency over consumption (0.247 standard deviation) when compared to the unconditional cash transfer group.

8. Conclusions

155. The following section answers the evaluation questions (EQ) by summarizing the main findings from the impact evaluation and discussing considerations for future WFP programmes. The following table summarizes the main findings briefly, after which they are discussed in more detail.

Table 7: Evaluation questions against summary of findings

Evaluation question	Summary of findings
EQ1. What is the impact of women’s participation in FFA on their social and economic empowerment?	The impact of the WFP FFA for women interventions on women’s economic empowerment was positive in several important dimensions at midline and endline (agency, attitudes and perception of norms).
EQ2. What is the impact of an unconditional cash transfer to the household on women’s social and economic empowerment, as well as on household income and welfare?	Unconditional cash transfers can help improve food security in the short term and subjective well-being in the longer term. However, in terms of women’s social and economic empowerment, in this project, women in the unconditional cash transfer group had significantly less agency over consumption than women participating in FFA.
EQ3. Does FFA affect the probability of and/or reasons for respondents’ migration?	The WFP programme does not appear to have any statistically significant impact on migration.
EQ4. Are there heterogeneous impacts of the transfer based on respondents’ exposure to community violence?	Women participating in the FFA group who reported feeling unsafe at baseline show statistically significant reduction in impacts of the programme on women’s agency over consumption.
EQ5. Does participation in FFA affect key food security outcomes of interest?	Participating in FFA shows a statistically significant positive impact on food security at midline. By the endline, which was conducted after all transfers were made, there are no longer any significant impacts.

156. At **midline**, during the implementation of the programme, participating in FFA for women led to an increase in women's WFP earnings as expected. There was no significant increase for women who participate in FFA in spending time outside the house compared to the comparison and unconditional cash transfer groups. Their earnings from outside the programme (non-WFP earnings) were only slightly and statistically insignificantly increased. Household consumption increased in both the FFA for women and the unconditional cash transfer groups compared to the comparison group, but this result is not statistically significant. Related to this, food security increased significantly in households involved in both the unconditional cash transfer and the FFA for women programmes compared to the comparison group. Furthermore, women's agency remained largely unchanged for all groups, although women participating in the FFA for women group reported slightly higher agency over consumption than the unconditional cash transfer group, but this difference was not significant. (In addition, there is a significant increase for women’s agency over consumption for those who reported feeling safe versus those feeling unsafe in their community.) Men’s perceptions of (community) norms of time use shifted statistically significantly towards women. Other perceived community attitudes towards women's decision making authority did not notably change during the programme. Despite the programme, the subjective well-being difference between the assisted groups and the comparison group remained almost the same, and there were statistically

insignificant reductions in abuse rates among women in the FFA for women group. Lastly, there was no significant effect on migration due to WFP assistance at midline.

157. At **endline**, in the FFA for women group, women spent around 10 minutes more per day outside when compared to the unconditional cash transfer group and 21 minutes more when compared to the comparison group, although this finding is not statistically significant. Women in the FFA for group saw a significant increase in household consumption, boosting it by 0.645 per USD of transfer. However, the short-term positive impacts on food security observed at midline dissipated by the endline, suggesting these were only maintained while the programme was ongoing.

158. Receiving either form of WFP assistance resulted in slight reductions in women's agency in both groups, but the loss was only statistically significant in the unconditional cash transfer group. Women participating in the FFA for women group retained more decision making authority over consumption in the long term. There was a significant positive shift in women's attitudes towards women's time use, but also a statistically significant shift towards men regarding women's consumption agency.

159. Men's attitudes remained largely the same, though a "downward" shift (towards men) was observed in the unconditional cash transfer group regarding who should decide over time use. Men's attitudes in the FFA for women group regarding agency over women's time use, however, remained unchanged. As a result, the difference between the FFA for women group versus the unconditional cash transfer group is statistically significant in favour of women.

160. At endline, women's perceptions of community norms (for time use) showed a significant positive shift (towards women) in the FFA for women group relative to the comparison group. Subjective well-being index scores increased significantly in households receiving either WFP assistance (through both the unconditional cash transfer and the FFA for women programmes). No significant changes were observed in rates of abuse or migration decisions.

161. The **qualitative** data collection findings underscore that the FFA for women intervention arm - and to a lesser extent the unconditional cash transfer intervention arm - 'strengthened' different household decision making processes, attitudes and behaviours around non/household labour and time use among some, but not all, beneficiaries. In the FFA for women intervention communities, the community work component of the project helped women feel a stronger sense of community cohesion and solidarity with other women, as well as assisting them to save and invest inside businesses. Across all intervention communities, the cash transfer intervention component helped beneficiary households improve the quantity, quality and diversity of different foods consumed, as well as buy additional items like medicine during a period of financial instability due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

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?

162. The impact of participating in the FFA for women intervention on women's economic empowerment was positive along several dimensions. At midline, **participation in FFA for women led to an increase in women's WFP work and earnings** as expected. Food security increased significantly for households in both the unconditional cash transfer group (0.182** (0.081) standard deviations (SD)) and FFA for women group (0.212*** (0.078) standard deviation) groups compared to the comparison group. There was also a small but statistically significant increase in the hours per day men spend on chores (-0.217* (0.121)) in the FFA for women group compared to the unconditional cash transfer group. **Men's perceptions of norms related to time use (in the FFA for women group) also shifted** at midline (0.154* (0.084) compared to the comparison group). Despite these shifts, there were no statistically significant differences at midline in terms of subjective well-being, abuse rates, or migration due to WFP assistance.

163. However, the endline data and qualitative data paint a more compelling picture supporting the theory that participation in FFA for women can impact women's empowerment. While the short-term positive impacts on food security were no longer present, households that participated in FFA for women remained improved along several other key dimensions related to women's economic empowerment. **Households with women that participated in FFA for women were significantly better off because of the WFP programme** in terms of:

- i. women's agency over consumption (0.131** (0.060) standard deviation compared to unconditional cash transfer);

- ii. women's attitudes towards time use (0.118* (0.070) standard deviation compared to the comparison group);
- iii. men's attitudes towards women's agency over time use (0.139* (0.070) standard deviation compared to the unconditional cash transfer group);
- iv. women's perception of norms related to time use (0.161*** (0.059) standard deviation compared to the comparison group);
- v. men's perception of norms related to women's agency over time use (0.171** (0.074) standard deviation compared to the unconditional cash transfer group); and
- vi. subjective well-being (0.120* (0.067) standard deviation compared to the comparison group).

164. It should also be noted that these impacts are statistically significant using an 'intention-to-treat' (ITT) analysis, which means the estimates are averages that include all households. This encompasses those that had women who participated in the FFA for women programme (65.4 percent by endline), and those where women were offered the opportunity but did not participate (34.6 percent by endline). There are many possible observable (for example, transportation difficulties) and unobservable (for example, belief systems) reasons why people do not participate, and this will be the case in any situation where individuals have agency over their time use. In the case of El Salvador, some women may have already worked outside the home and earned income before the FFA for women intervention, so their participation in work outside the home is not due to the programme itself. There are also households where women will never participate in FFA, no matter what WFP offers as an incentive. Then, there are some households that included women whose participation in FFA for women was a new experience and these are the households where the programme could have had a greater impact on their outcomes like gender norms. Therefore, to know if a programme is effective in a real-world situation the evaluation needs to include all household types that are present in a programme area. Otherwise, if the evaluation only include households that participate, the evaluation team may not be estimating the impact of the programme, but instead the percentage of households with women that already worked outside the home and where WFP had no impact on them (compared to their situation). The intention-to-treat estimate is therefore the most reliable estimate of the programme impacts.

165. Given the relatively short timeframe of the project, it is also possible that these shorter-term improvements in women's economic empowerment are temporary, unless women can maintain their access to income from activities outside the house. **Unfortunately, by the endline, women in households that participated in FFA for women were no more likely than households in the unconditional cash transfer or comparison groups to be employed outside the home.**

166. Irrespective of any long-term impacts, the findings from this impact evaluation support the theory that targeting women for cash transfers and offering them opportunities to work outside the house can indeed have a significant impact on food security (during intervention), agency, attitudes and subjective well-being for women. The findings also show that **offering FFA and directing transfer to women appears to be significantly more effective at supporting women's economic empowerment than unconditional cash transfers to the household** (wherein mostly men are the recipients).

EQ2: What is the impact of an unconditional cash transfer to the household on women's social and economic empowerment, as well as on household income and welfare?

167. Findings from households in the unconditional cash transfer group support the theory that **cash can alleviate household stress** (0.182** (0.081) impact on food security at midline) **and help improve subjective well-being** (0.130** (0.061) standard deviation compared to the comparison group at endline). The short-term impacts of the unconditional cash transfer on consumption appear greatest at the midline, soon after the lump sum transfers to households, and these impacts appear to dissipate by the endline. The differences between FFA for women and the unconditional cash transfer group are also not statistically significant for food security and subjective well-being, meaning both groups are better off when compared to the comparison group.

168. However, in terms of women's social and economic empowerment, women in the unconditional cash transfer group showed less agency over consumption than women targeted with FFA. By endline, households in the unconditional cash transfer group experienced a significant shift towards control by men over consumption when measuring women's agency over consumption (-0.175*** (0.059) standard deviation compared to the comparison group). In fact, the positive impact of participating in FFA for women

compared to the unconditional cash transfer group seems to be derived from the ability of the FFA for women intervention to mitigate most of the shift in women's agency over consumption experienced by women in the unconditional cash transfer group, and thereby maintaining women's agency over consumption at a similar level as households in the comparison group. This is not surprising as the baseline data show that women spend much less time than men earning any income, which means men are likely to have more control over cash that comes into households. Transferring unconditional cash alone may not be effective at shifting pre-existing power dynamics within households, at least in the short-term. WFP's [2023 cash policy](#) addresses the need to accompany cash programming with well designed communication campaigns also addressing men and community leaders to ensure that women's role in receiving money on behalf of their families is understood and accepted by their communities.

EQ3: Secondary question: Does participation in FFA affect the probability of or reasons for respondents' migration?

169. **The WFP programme does not appear to have any statistically significant impact on migration.** Neither the households in the FFA for women group, nor those in the unconditional cash transfer group, were found to be significantly different from the comparison group at either the midline or the endline. Given the short-term nature of the interventions, and the relatively small amount of income generated through participation, this finding is not very surprising.

EQ 4: Secondary question: Are there heterogeneous impacts of the transfer based on respondents' exposure to community violence?

170. The evaluation examined the effect of exposure to violence on programme impacts. At baseline, respondents were asked about their sense of safety outside their homes over the past 30 days. Within the FFA for women group, women who reported feeling unsafe at baseline show statistically significant reduction (-0.247* standard deviation at endline) in impacts of the programme on women's agency over consumption. This finding shows that **women were less likely to benefit from participating in the FFA intervention in areas where they reported feeling unsafe**, which could undermine the ability of WFP programmes to support women's economic empowerment.

EQ 5: Secondary question: Does participation in FFA affect key food security outcomes of interest?

171. Participating in FFA shows a statistically **significant positive impact on food security at midline** (0.212*** (0.078) compared to the comparison group). This impact is also greater than the impact of unconditional cash transfers on food security (0.182** (0.081) compared to the comparison group at midline), but the difference between the FFA for women group and the unconditional cash transfer group is not statistically significant. However, **by endline, which was conducted after all transfers were made, there are no longer any significant impacts** of either participating in FFA for women or the unconditional cash transfer intervention on food security. These findings show that the impact on food security observed at midline are likely the result of the transfers on consumption, but that participating in the FFA for women programme did not have any short-term impacts on the ability of households to maintain their food security above the level of households in the comparison group after the programme ended.

9. Considerations for future programming

172. El Salvador is Central America's smallest and most densely populated country. Food insecurity and malnutrition, along with recurring natural disasters, persistent gender inequality, slow economic growth, high public debt, and a high homicide rate, are persistent challenges. Moreover, only half of all Salvadorian women participate in the labour market. Against this backdrop, the impact evaluation found that WFP programme had a significant impact on households' food security during the interventions, and that participating in FFA for women had an impact on women's economic empowerment that lasted several months after the programme ended. These results support the theory tested by the evaluation and suggest that offering women an opportunity to receive cash transfers in exchange for participating in activities outside the house is a more effective way of supporting women's economic empowerment than offering households unconditional cash transfers of the same value.

173. The **midline** results showed that both the participation in FFA for women and the unconditional cash transfer interventions caused improvements in household food security compared to the comparison group. Women's work and income from WFP increased significantly for households participating in the FFA for women programme. However, despite these changes, there was no significant difference between the FFA for women, unconditional cash transfer, or the comparison groups in the number of hours spent by women outside the home, or in any of the other agency, norms, or economic empowerment indicators.

174. At **endline**, several months after the project ended, the differences between groups receiving cash transfers and the comparison group on food security were no longer visible. However, improvements in subjective well-being remained for households participating in both the FFA for women and the unconditional cash transfer groups. In addition, households that had participated in FFA for women reported statistically significant changes in some dimensions of women's agency, norms and economic empowerment. However, there were no lasting impacts on women's time use or non-WFP income.

175. The evidence generated by the impact evaluation in El Salvador supports the hypothesis that targeting women as recipients of cash transfers and offering them opportunities to participate in activities outside the house can impact agency, norms and economic empowerment, at least in the short term. However, it also highlights the need for WFP to reflect more on the way programmes are implemented (ensuring high participation rates), the engagement of men, and timeframes and types of support needed to have a more lasting impact on women's economic empowerment and achieve the potential benefits for food security and well-being associated with that.

176. However, the evaluation also identified several issues that should be considered when delivering similar programmes in the future.

Ensuring effective targeting, communications and programme implementation

177. Households' self-reported participation rates improved over the course of project implementation, from 42.9 percent of households targeted in the FFA for women group reporting that a woman participated in the programme at midline, to 65.4 percent of households reporting that a woman participated at endline. However, 23.4 percent of households reported that both women and men worked on the FFA for women assets by endline. These participation rates raise important questions about the process of implementation.

178. Qualitative evidence suggests that the implementation process encountered early challenges related to communications among WFP and its cooperating partners, and between cooperating partners and the communities. These challenges are not unexpected under any circumstances and could have been exacerbated by the global COVID-19 pandemic. One of the barriers to women's participation in FFA for women could be explained by the communications challenges identified, but there could be many other programme design and implementation explanations. Future WFP programmes should: consider how the opportunities created by programmes can be effectively communicated to men and women in communities targeted for participation; identify more effective measures for ensuring that women are willing and able to

participate in FFA when targeted; and create measures for reducing men's participation in FFA projects that are designed for women only.

Overcoming barriers to women's participation in activities outside the home

179. The evaluation also found evidence that local gender norms, particularly men's attitudes and perceptions regarding gender norms, play a role in women's participation and empowerment. Both the quantitative and qualitative evidence suggests that men were initially less supportive of women's participation in FFA for women activities outside the home, although this is no longer statistically significant at midline. However, by endline, the perceptions of men appear to reverse, and 'men's attitudes towards women's agency over time use' are significantly better in households participating in FFA for women compared to households in the unconditional cash transfer group, which is perhaps not surprising given that the unconditional cash transfer was not targeted to women. This finding suggests that men's attitudes can evolve with experience over time, and that initial reservations can be overcome. From the qualitative survey there is also evidence that the programme encouraged women and men in some households to discuss the distribution of duties. The short timeframe of the FFA for women intervention makes it difficult to observe whether these changes in attitudes translate into new gender norms. However, in alignment with the 2023 WFP [Cash policy](#), future WFP programmes should consider whether additional communications and sensitization measures could be used to reduce the initial resistance of men in households where women are invited to participate in activities outside the home.

180. In addition, safety issues may present a barrier to women benefiting from WFP programmes that aim to support economic empowerment through cash transfers and FFA programming. Global evidence⁴³ suggests that a lack of public safety can influence women's freedom of movement, making it difficult for women to access economic opportunities. In such situations, women might face additional barriers to their programme participation, such as limited mobility and increased vulnerability to violence and exploitation. The evaluation also finds that women who reported feeling unsafe at baseline were unable to achieve the same benefits from participation in FFA for women compared to women who reported feeling safe. For future programmes, WFP may want to consider how public safety influences the feasibility of targeting women and supporting them through cash transfers and/or FFA, and to explore whether any additional measures can be used to make women feel safer and enable their participation in interventions designed for them.

Exploring alternate timeframes and types of livelihood support for women

181. Both the quantitative and qualitative evidence suggests that women benefited from participating in FFA in a variety of different ways, both during and after the programme. However, despite improvements in subjective well-being and agency, the short-term impacts on women's income from WFP did not translate into significant longer-term non-WFP income at the endline. If the FFA for women activities are intended to support women to develop income sources that persist beyond the programme, then this was not achieved.

182. However, both the qualitative and quantitative evidence suggest that participation in FFA for women benefited women's agency and economic empowerment, and they valued this opportunity. The lack of observable increase in non-WFP income could be associated with a context and barriers that are challenging to overcome through a short-term FFA for women intervention. To understand what works to overcome these barriers, WFP could consider exploring different durations (for example, lengthening the duration of support to women) and livelihood strategies, to identify a combination of support that can build on the short-term improvements in agency and empowerment observed.

Mitigating potential negative impacts of unconditional cash-transfers

183. One of the more striking findings is the shift in women's agency over consumption towards the men heads of households that received unconditional cash transfers (unconditional cash transfer group). As discussed, this finding is aligned with some past evidence that cash transfers alone are not enough to support women's economic empowerment. In contexts with existing low levels of women's agency, such as El Salvador, this finding suggests that cash transfers to households (with men heads of household) may accentuate power dynamics in a way that does not support women's agency. Going forward, as outlined in

⁴³ Safe Cities and Safe Public Spaces: Global Results Report 2017-2020, UN Women, 2021.

[WFP's 2023 Cash policy](#), WFP's cash transfer programmes continue to actively focus on mitigating any unintended consequences of targeting women.

184. However, women's agency over consumption in households that received cash transfers and participated in FFA for women was significantly higher than in households in the unconditional cash transfer group at endline. The qualitative evidence also found some, but not all, households in the FFA for women group, reporting that programme participation 'strengthened' different household decision making processes, attitudes and behaviours around non/household labour and time use. Qualitative evidence from FFA for women communities also found that the community work component of the project may have helped women feel a stronger sense of community cohesion and solidarity with other women. The qualitative evidence also suggests that women were using the opportunity of going to work outside the house for participation in the programme to earn income from other sources.

185. Future WFP programmes that provide unconditional cash transfers to households (where men heads of household are the main recipients on behalf of the household) should be cautious and ensure this does not undermine women's agency over consumption. The FFA for women intervention in El Salvador appears to be at least one form of intervention that mitigates this potential negative impact on agency, but there could be many others. Future programmes should consider piloting additional complementary interventions that support women's agency when providing cash transfers.

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Acronyms

CBT&G	Cash-based transfers and gender
CO	Country office
CSP	Country Strategic Plan
CSPE	Country Strategic Plan Evaluation
DGPC	General Directorate for Civil Protection
DHS	Demographic and health survey
DIME	Development Impact Evaluation (World Bank)
EQ	Evaluation question
FCS	Food Consumption Score
FFA	Food assistance for assets
FGD	Focus group discussion
GBV-IPV	Gender-based violence - intimate partner violence
GEN	Gender Office
GEWE	Gender equality and women's empowerment
HH	Household
HoH	Head of household
IDI	In-depth Interview
IE	Impact evaluation
IPV	Intimate partner violence
IRB	Institutional Review Board
ITT	Intention-to-treat
KII	Key informant interview
LCS	livelihood-based coping strategy
NGO	Non-governmental organization
OEV	Office of Evaluation
PHQ	Patient health questionnaire
PPP	Purchasing power parity

RBP	Regional Bureau of Latin America and the Caribbean
RCT	Randomized control trial
SD	Standard deviation
UCT	Unconditional cash transfers
USD	United States dollar
WFP	World Food Programme

Annexes

Annex 1. Theory and hypotheses

186. A shorter version of this section is presented in [Section 3.1 Evaluation theory and Section 3.2, Evaluation questions](#) in the main report.

187. The programme theory evaluated in El Salvador is consistent with a body of literature that examines the impacts of providing women opportunities to work outside the household,⁴⁴ “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”. Recent experimental work has demonstrated that attitudes,^{45, 46} and norms^{47, 48} shape women’s agency and, in turn, women’s labour supply. While the asset building component of the food assistance for asset (FFA) programmes has demonstrated that the programmes are an effective tool for economic development through increased earnings⁴⁹ there is less evidence on the impacts for men and women and there is also a lack of evidence on projects with a short duration. There are two primary channels of potential impact.

188. The first impact anticipated is 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 foregoing leisure and home chores. A striking observation is that women working for a wage often substitute away from leisure, which creates a “second shift”,⁵⁰ while men do not shift into performing home chores.⁵¹ 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,⁵² with a key mechanism being that men and women have agency over “separate spheres” of household decisions.⁵³

189. The second impact anticipated is a persistent “empowerment effect” in that the temporary participation of women in FFA may result in lasting shifts in labour market attachment through changes in intra-household agency, attitudes, and perceptions of norms. Recent experimental work has demonstrated that attitudes⁵⁴ and norms⁵⁵ 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.

⁴⁴ Field et al. 2019.

⁴⁵ 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.

⁴⁶ McKelway, 2019.

⁴⁷ Beaman, L., Chattopadhyay, R., Duflo, E., Pande, R. & Topalova, P. 2009. Powerful Women: Does Exposure Reduce Bias? *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 124(4): 1497–1540.

⁴⁸ Bursztyn, L., González, A. L. & Yanagizawa-Drott, D. 2018. *Misperceived Social Norms: Female Labor Force Participation in Saudi Arabia*. Technical report, National Bureau of Economic Research.

⁴⁹ Imbert & Papp, 2015; Gazeaud et al., 2019; Adjognon et al., 2020,

⁵⁰ Hochschild, A. & Machung, A. 2012. *The Second Shift: Working Families and the Revolution at Home*. New York, Penguin.

⁵¹ Bertrand, M., Kamenica, E. & Pan, J. 2015. Gender Identity and Relative Income within Households. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 130(2): 571–614.

⁵² Browning & Chiappori, 1998; Ashraf, 2009

⁵³ Lundberg, S. & Pollak, R. A. 1993. Separate Spheres Bargaining and the Marriage Market. *Journal of Political Economy*, 101(6): 988–1010.

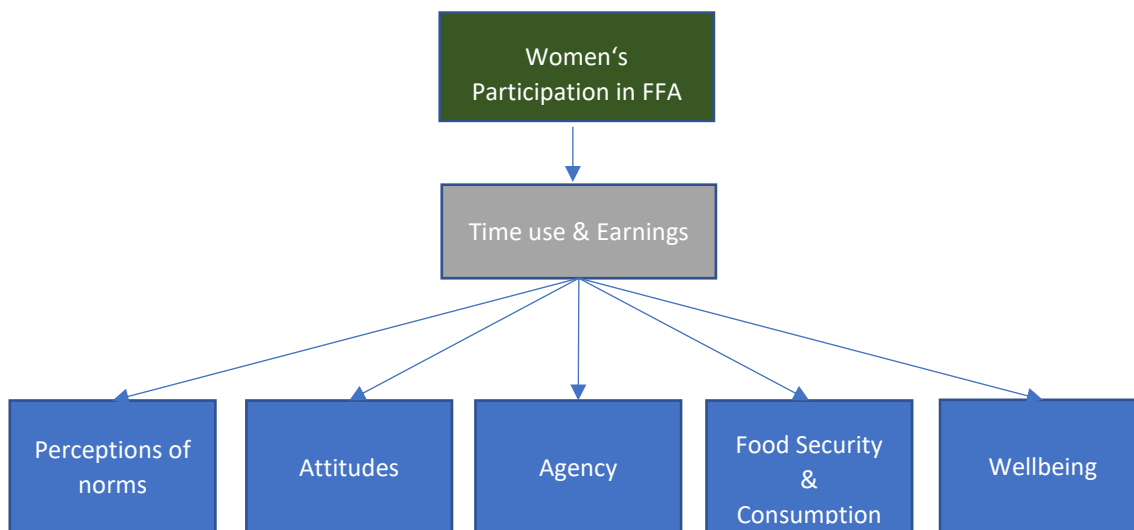
⁵⁴ Dhar, D., Jain, T. & Jayachandran, S. 2018. *Reshaping Adolescents’ Gender Attitudes: Evidence from a School-Based Experiment in India*. Technical report, National Bureau of Economic Research. McKelway, 2019

⁵⁵ Beaman, L., Chattopadhyay, R., Duflo, E., Pande, R. & Topalova, P. 2009. Powerful Women: Does Exposure Reduce Bias? *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 124(4): 1497–1540. Bursztyn, L., González, A. L. & Yanagizawa-Drott, D. 2018. *Misperceived Social Norms: Female Labor Force Participation in Saudi Arabia*. Technical report, National Bureau of Economic Research.

These impacts may cascade, leading to persistent shifts in women’s labour supply in response to temporary women’s labour demand shocks.⁵⁶

190. During programme implementation, as depicted in Figure 15 below we anticipate that cash-transfer 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.

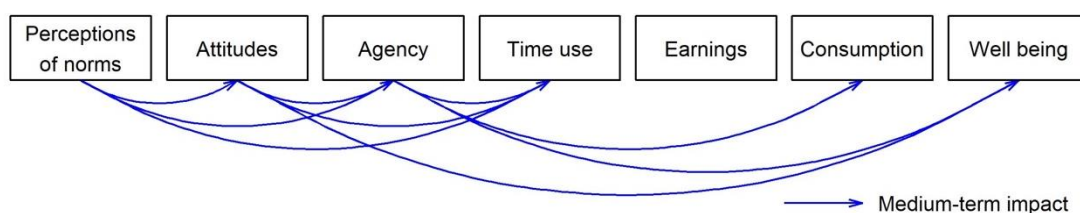
Figure 15: Short-term evaluation theory (changes expected during the programme)



191. 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.

192. After the programme ends, we anticipate that 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 women’s earnings.

Figure 16: Medium-term theory (changes expected after the programme ends)



193. 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.

194. 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

⁵⁶ Alesina et al., 2013; Goldin & Olivetti, 2013.

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.

195. Based on this theory, the evaluation sets out to test two hypotheses:

The first hypothesis is that involving women in activities (asset creation through the FFA for women programme), and participating in educational sessions, would directly impact:

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

196. The second (following) hypothesis is that – in the medium term – these combined shifts in time use and earnings could impact women's economic empowerment by altering:

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

197. 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.

Annex 2. Quantitative surveys

198. Of the total 1,365 households surveyed and kept in the sample at baseline, 1,305 (or 95.5 percent) of the households were surveyed at midline and 1,286 (or 94.1 percent) at endline. This suggests a high follow-up rate was achieved, counting only households that completed the corresponding survey and had both a man and a woman head of household (HoH).⁵⁷

Table 8: Survey sample sizes

Phase	Number of households	Response rate (of sample frame)
Sample frame	1491	100%
Baseline	1365	91.5%
Midline	1305	87.5%
Endline	1286	86.3%

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

200. While specific outcomes are discussed in detail in the results section, the main outcome categories of interest for the impact evaluation are set out in Table 9.

Table 9: Main outcomes of interest

Outcome name	Definition	Measurement level
Consumption	Expenditures over reference period on 10 goods	Household
Earnings	Total earnings from WFP 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

201. **Consumption:** Expenditures over a standard reference period for up to ten goods are asked. Five goods are selected as the goods that most strongly predict household consumption in a household survey from the same context. Five goods are 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 are included.

202. **Earnings:** Earnings for each household member are 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

⁵⁷ In the baseline report, there are 1,372 households for which results are reported. A total of 7 households were dropped afterwards for this analysis, as there were no men HoHs.

six months, or two weeks after the intervention was completed, for the endline survey. Earnings are measured as total earnings from WFP plus total earnings from other paid permanent and temporary work.

203. Time use: The female respondent is asked for a 24-hour recall of her activities over the past two days, following the approach of the American Time Use Survey.⁵⁸ When the primary male decision maker in the household is available, he is asked about his activities over the past two days; when he is not, the female respondent is asked about his activities.

204. Agency: The female respondent is 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 Demographic and Health Survey (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”).

205. Attitudes: The female respondent is asked how much time she should spend, relative to the primary male decision maker in the household, on the three productive activities listed above.

206. Perceptions of norms: The female respondent is asked how much time she believes women, relative to men, in her community spend on three productive activities. Next, the female respondent is 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 is asked about the attitudes of people in her community. These questions mirror the above questions on attitudes towards time use and attitudes towards agency.

207. Well-being: Modules to measure locus of control, psychosocial well-being, life satisfaction, intimate partner violence, and depression (patient health questionnaire 9) are administered. Two modules are used to assess any unintended consequences of the intervention on women. First, the time use module reveals whether the programme has contributed to a “second shift” for women: as women pick up more work outside the home, this may not be accompanied by reduced domestic labour burdens. 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 module on intimate partner violence are included, with the adaptation of approved questions.⁵⁹ This allows 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 intimate partner violence.

⁵⁸ <https://www.bls.gov/tus/>.

⁵⁹ Haushofer, J., Ringdal, C., Shapiro, J. P. & Wang, X. Y. 2019. Income Changes and Intimate Partner Violence: Evidence from Unconditional Cash Transfers in Kenya. Working Paper 25627, National Bureau of Economic Research.

Annex 3. Qualitative Data

208. 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 eight months after the quantitative endline survey, triangulating the perspectives of different intervention arm beneficiaries, community leaders and cooperating partners.

209. The qualitative research was carried out in all the 13 project communities across six departments of El Salvador: Chalatenango, Sonsonante, Usulután, San Miguel, Santa Ana and Ahuachapán (n=5 FFA for women intervention communities; n=5 unconditional cash transfer (UCT) communities; n=3 control communities).

210. Firstly, the sampling frame was generated by randomly selecting 13 communities within each intervention arm. Then, each community was randomly assigned to one methodology, either focus group discussion or in-depth interview. Within each intervention arm, the distribution was as follows:

- Intervention 1, FFA for women: Three communities were assigned to focus group discussions, while two communities were assigned to in-depth interviews;
- Intervention 2, unconditional cash transfer: Three communities were assigned to focus group discussions, while two communities were assigned to in-depth interviews; and
- Comparison group: One community was assigned to focus group discussions, while the other two were assigned to in-depth discussions.

211. Subsequently, the communities assigned to in-depth interviews were randomly assigned to a gender (female/male). This assignment determined the head of the household to be interviewed (man/woman). Afterwards, ten participants were selected from each community. A replacement list was also generated, in case any of the participants were unavailable or refused to participate. The sampling frame of participants was the list of households participating in the project. Eligibility criteria to participate in the study included that the household have a woman and man head of household present.⁶⁰

212. Next, the list of participants was communicated with the cooperating partners and the community leaders, who, in turn, contacted the participants either in person or by telephone. They explained the objectives of the research and asked if they were interested in participating in an interview. If participants agreed to participate, they were informed about the date on, and place in, which the meeting was scheduled.

213. All community leaders were selected based on input from the WFP and cooperating partners teams (DGPC, Plan International and Educo). Community leaders are mostly members of local structures, such as ADESCOS (Community Development Association, in Spanish). They also participated in the dissemination of the impact evaluation and registration of beneficiaries. Cooperating partners' staff were selected based on their participation and involvement in the implementation of the impact evaluation and following the recommendations of the WFP. Staff interviewed included personnel from WFP in El Salvador, Plan International, Educo, and the DGPC.

214. In total, 60 in-depth interviews and 7 focus group discussions were conducted with 124 beneficiaries from project participating households, as well as 21 key informant interviews with 13 community leaders and eight cooperating partners.

215. Data collection: Qualitative data was collected between August and September 2022. Both women and men beneficiaries from different intervention communities participated in individual in-depth interviews, but only women beneficiaries participated in the focus group discussions. Trained research assistants from Glasswing International conducted all in-depth interviews, key informant interviews and focus group discussions in Spanish; focus group discussions lasted about 1 ½ hours, and in-depth interviews and key informant interviews about 1 hour. Each focus group discussion comprised six to eight

⁶⁰ A few households became single headed during the implementation of the impact evaluation (e.g. head of the household migrated and/or died). Those households were not included in the sample frame for the qualitative data collection

participants. All focus group discussions and in-depth interviews were recorded and transcribed in Spanish. All final transcripts were then cleaned and de-identified.

216. Focus group discussions and in-depth interviews with women and men 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 of the following changes – or lack thereof - they might have experienced due to project participation: time use, agency, personal attitudes, community norms about time use, household earnings, consumption patterns, individual well-being, and intra-household relationships.

217. Key informant interviews with community leaders and cooperating partners 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.⁶¹

218. Qualitative data analysis: The evaluation team undertook a thematic analytic approach to identify the salient themes related to: 1. project benefits and changes; and 2. project implementation processes across different in-depth interview, key informant interview and focus group discussion transcripts. The data analysis included three phases: 1. the development and piloting of an initial coding tree and codebook; 2. the coding of in-depth interview, key informant interview and focus group discussion transcripts in [Dedoose](#) qualitative software; and 3. A thematic analysis of salient themes. All transcripts were coded in Spanish in Dedoose qualitative software.

219. 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;
- IV. programme feedback from community leaders and cooperating partners; and
- V. ‘stellar language’ and quotes.

220. Under perceived project benefits, different codes were used for the type of perceived benefit (for example, household earnings; consumption patterns, and so forth), and with sub-codes indicating a ‘change’ or ‘no change’.

221. During the second analysis phase, the coders coded all remaining transcripts, continuing to revise the coding tree reiteratively based on emerging themes and findings. Transcripts were coded sequentially by the type of intervention community (starting with the coding of transcripts from “FFA for women” communities, followed by unconditional cash transfer communities and lastly, control communities). This approach allowed for a more systematic coding and analysis of themes by type of intervention community, allowing for the comparison of project benefit non/changes and implementation by type of intervention community.

222. 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 non/changes; and 2. the different project implementation themes. All themes were compared across the three types of intervention communities, as well as between gender of beneficiaries.

⁶¹ All beneficiaries, community leaders and cooperating partners provided their oral informed consent to participate in the study; beneficiaries and community leaders were compensated for their time, via a USD 10 supermarket gift card. The impact evaluation window design, as well as the specifics of the El Salvador study, received ethical approval on 10/03/2020 by Solutions IRB, which is a private commercial AAHRPP fully accredited Institutional Review Board (IRB).

223. Table 10 shows the background characteristics of study participants, by project beneficiaries and community leader study participants. About three quarters of beneficiaries who participated in the qualitative study were women (76 percent); a slight majority participated in the FFA for women arm (41 percent), followed by unconditional cash transfer (36 percent) and control arms (23 percent). Beneficiaries resided in communities in the departments of Chalatenango (26 percent), followed by Sonsonante (23 percent), Usulután (18 percent), Santa Ana (16 percent), San Miguel (11 percent) and Ahuachapán (6 percent). The characteristics of interviewed community leaders followed a similar regional and community intervention distribution of beneficiary study participants but were more evenly split across gender (54 percent male and 46 percent female).

Table 10: Demographic characteristics of beneficiaries and community leaders

	Participants (IE) (n=124)		Community Leaders (n=13)	
	col %	n	col %	n
Gender				
Female	75.8	94	46.2	6
Male	24.2	30	53.8	7
Type of intervention community				
FFA for women	41.1	51	46.1	6
UCT	36.3	45	30.8	4
Control	22.6	28	23.1	3
Department				
Ahuachapán	6.5	8	7.7	1
Chalatenango	25.8	32	23.1	3
San Miguel	10.5	13	7.7	1
Santa Ana	16.1	20	15.4	2
Sonsonante	22.6	28	23.1	3
Usulután	18.5	23	23.1	3

Annex 4. Baseline characteristics

224. Of the 1,491 households initially identified, only 1,372 were included in the study as the remaining households refused to participate in the study, could not be found, or were single-headed households so did not meet study selection criteria (although they could participate in the programme).

225. As a result of the impact evaluation’s design and inclusion criteria, all 1,372 included households had a woman and a man in the household who were considered "co-heading" the household. As seen in Table 11, 46 per cent of the women household heads were in a civil union, while 40 per cent of them were married. The average age of women and men were comparable at 39.7 and 42.1 years, respectively. Similarly, the average years of education of household heads were approximately four years for both men and women. Additionally, the average household size was 4.5 members, with an average of 1.7 children under the age of 18 years per household.

Table 11: Demographics

Woman head of household	39.7	13.7	1,372
Age	4.2	4.1	1,372
Years of Education			
Man head of household	42.2	15.5	1,348
Age	4.3	4.2	1,348
Years of Education			
Household size	4.5	1.6	1,372
Household number of children (< 18)	1.7	1.2	1,372
Woman head of household – marital status			
Single	0.08	0.28	1,372
Married	0.40	0.49	1,372
Civil union	0.46	0.5	1,372
Separated/divorced	0.01	0.1	1,372
Widowed	0.04	0.19	1,372
Other	0	0.4	1,372
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. e.g. from the table above, we can see that 82% of the sampled Female Heads of Household are married.			

226. The descriptive baseline analysis highlights the potential of participating in FFA to generate impacts on households’ livelihoods and well-being. The data shows that targeted households are highly vulnerable. Real annual household consumption was USD 4,344 (just USD 3 per capita per day). A total of 83 percent of households reported relying on emergency or crisis coping strategies. Additionally, around 20 percent of household heads have reported moving to another department or municipality within El Salvador either to look for better economic or educational opportunities or for family reunification. This shows the potential for reliable sources of income, such as from public works and diversified livelihoods from asset creation, to meaningfully increase household resilience.

227. Intra-household gender inequality is substantial. Women heads of household frequently reported intimate partner violence and high rates of depression. In addition, women have less agency over their time use and earn 15 percent of men heads of household. These correlations may understate the importance of interventions that increase women’s earnings to reduce intra-household gender inequality – more vulnerable households appear to rely more on wage income from women heads of household, suggesting

interventions to reduce household vulnerability and increase women's agency are complementary. For more details, see the full baseline report.⁶²

⁶² <https://www.wfp.org/publications/el-salvador-cash-based-transfers-food-security-and-gender-equality-impact-evaluation>

Annex 5. Baseline balance

228. Baseline data collection was collected in 2021. The full baseline report was published in 2022 and can be accessed here: [Baseline Report](#).

229. 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.

230. The tables below 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. We find no differences significant at the 5 percent level which is consistent with successful implementation of the cross-community randomization, sampling, and the baseline survey.

Table 12: Balance of key variables

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)
Food Consumption Score (0 to 112)	452 [25]	74.779 (31.415)	454 [25]	76.627 (25.498)	463 [25]	74.693 (37.047)	-1.848	0.085	1.933
Used a Livelihood Coping Mechanism	464 [25]	0.828 (0.474)	457 [25]	0.842 (0.354)	470 [25]	0.826 (0.464)	-0.015	0.002	0.017
Yearly Female HoH Earnings (2019 PPP USD)	464 [25]	340.769 (1449.055)	457 [25]	387.038 (1699.224)	470 [25]	499.002 (3586.200)	-46.269	-158.233	-111.964
Yearly Male HoH Earnings (2019 PPP USD)	464 [25]	2742.925 (9117.471)	457 [25]	2115.945 (5124.209)	470 [25]	2727.707 (8709.102)	626.980	15.218	-611.761
Yearly Predicted Consumption (2019 PPP USD)	462 [25]	6201.747 (5077.228)	454 [25]	6425.431 (5761.853)	460 [25]	6191.822 (6183.430)	-223.684	9.925	233.608
Time Spent Outside of Home (Hours / Day)	464 [25]	2.298 (3.310)	457 [25]	2.752 (4.173)	470 [25]	2.617 (4.651)	-0.454*	-0.319	0.135
Time Spent doing Self-Employed Work (Hours / Day)	464 [25]	0.160 (1.442)	457 [25]	0.161 (1.020)	470 [25]	0.208 (1.297)	-0.001	-0.048	-0.047
Time Spent Doing HH Agricultural Work (Hours / Day)	464 [25]	0.220 (0.959)	457 [25]	0.271 (1.098)	470 [25]	0.185 (0.777)	-0.051	0.035	0.086
Time Spent Doing Paid Work (Hours / Day)	464 [25]	0.568 (2.538)	457 [25]	0.470 (1.935)	470 [25]	0.711 (2.559)	0.098	-0.143	-0.241
Time Spent Doing Chores (Hours / Day)	464 [25]	7.118 (4.115)	457 [25]	6.825 (3.451)	470 [25]	7.047 (5.029)	0.294	0.071	-0.223
PHQ-9 Score (0 to 27)	463 [25]	3.743 (6.190)	456 [25]	3.864 (5.780)	470 [25]	3.685 (5.064)	-0.121	0.058	0.179
Life Satisfaction Score (5 to 35)	463 [25]	25.145 (6.915)	456 [25]	25.412 (5.640)	470 [25]	25.140 (6.477)	-0.268	0.004	0.272
Female HoH Suffered IPV Abuse	372 [25]	0.462 (0.556)	394 [25]	0.480 (0.600)	405 [25]	0.499 (0.613)	-0.017	-0.036	-0.019

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.

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)
Agency over Men's Time Use (Index, -1 to 1)	441 [25]	-0.688 (0.518)	436 [25]	-0.699 (0.407)	449 [25]	-0.700 (0.325)	0.011	0.012	0.001
Agency over Women's Time Use (Index, -1 to 1)	439 [25]	0.604 (0.513)	436 [25]	0.604 (0.363)	442 [25]	0.642 (0.410)	-0.000	-0.038	-0.038
Agency over Consumption (Index, -1 to 1)	428 [25]	0.276 (0.343)	424 [25]	0.247 (0.495)	434 [25]	0.269 (0.381)	0.029	0.007	-0.022
Women's Attitudes towards Time Use (Index, -1 to 1)	452 [25]	-0.270 (0.296)	450 [25]	-0.274 (0.346)	461 [25]	-0.251 (0.340)	0.005	-0.019	-0.023
Men's Attitudes toward Time Use (Index, -1 to 1)	412 [25]	-0.311 (0.349)	421 [25]	-0.338 (0.311)	407 [25]	-0.321 (0.279)	0.027	0.010	-0.017
Women's Attitudes towards Agency over Women's Time Use (Index, -1 to 1)	440 [25]	0.647 (0.487)	439 [25]	0.627 (0.400)	446 [25]	0.673 (0.336)	0.020	-0.026	-0.046*
Men's Attitudes towards Agency over Women's Time Use (Index, -1 to 1)	394 [25]	0.499 (0.400)	407 [25]	0.519 (0.368)	397 [25]	0.527 (0.387)	-0.019	-0.027	-0.008
Women's PoN towards Time Use (Index, -1 to 1)	452 [25]	-0.406 (0.316)	450 [25]	-0.384 (0.460)	461 [25]	-0.413 (0.431)	-0.023	0.007	0.030
Men's PoN towards Time Use (Index, -1 to 1)	411 [25]	-0.387 (0.445)	420 [25]	-0.424 (0.409)	407 [25]	-0.438 (0.401)	0.036	0.050*	0.014
Women's PoN towards Agency over Women's Time Use (Index, -1 to 1)	452 [25]	0.419 (0.558)	449 [25]	0.407 (0.400)	461 [25]	0.408 (0.462)	0.011	0.011	-0.001
Men's PoN towards Agency over Women's Time Use (Index, -1 to 1)	410 [25]	0.393 (0.601)	421 [25]	0.410 (0.458)	407 [25]	0.460 (0.474)	-0.017	-0.068*	-0.051
Women's PoN of Attitudes towards Time Use (Index, -1 to 1)	452 [25]	-0.341 (0.290)	450 [25]	-0.351 (0.331)	461 [25]	-0.359 (0.407)	0.010	0.018	0.008
Women's PoN of Attitudes towards Agency over Women's Time Use (Index, -1 to 1)	452 [25]	0.457 (0.618)	450 [25]	0.451 (0.441)	461 [25]	0.460 (0.470)	0.006	-0.003	-0.009

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 6. Estimation

231. This section describes the quantitative and qualitative 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 pre-analysis plan 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.

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

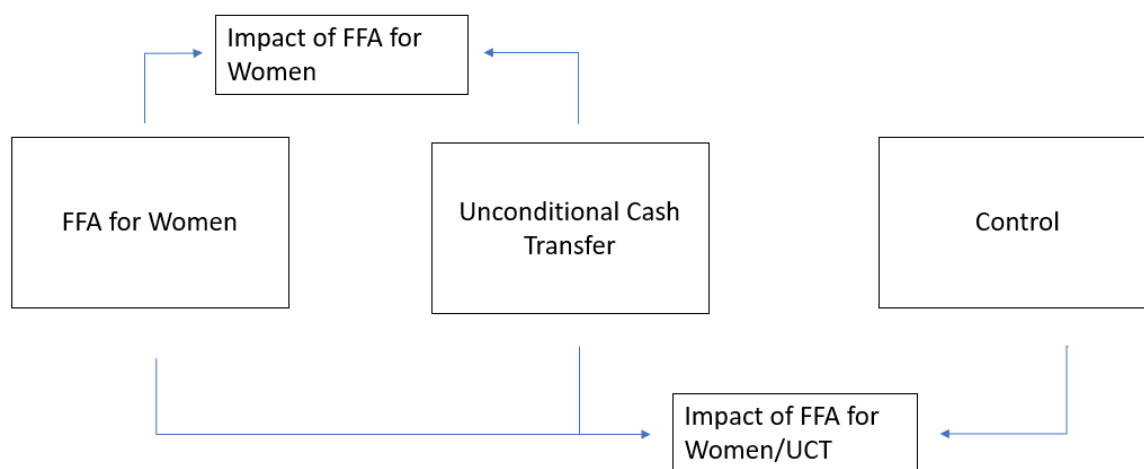
$$233. \quad Y_{hct} = \beta_{1,ct} \text{ FFA for Women}_{hc} + \beta_{2,ct} \text{ UCT}_{hc} + X'_{hc0} \gamma_{ct} + \varepsilon_{ct} \quad (1)$$

234. where X_{hc0} is a vector of controls, which includes the value of the outcome of interest at baseline and any stratifying variables used for randomization. The primary coefficient of interest is $\beta_{1,ct} - \beta_{2,ct}$ - the estimated impact of shifting household participation from men to women through FFA for women. We are also interested in $\frac{\beta_{1,ct} - \beta_{2,ct}}{2}$ - the estimated average impacts of programme participation (receiving either type of assistance). Standard errors are clustered at the community level, in accordance with the clustered randomization design.

Figure 17 below provides an illustration of the two types of primary comparisons that are being made.

- The impacts of offering women participation in the FFA for women versus the unconditional cash transfer group. This comparison holds the transfer amount equal between the two groups, with the difference being that in the FFA for women group, women work outside the home and receive a direct transfer, whereas for the unconditional cash transfer group there is no work and the transfer is made to the household head (who is often a man).
- “Pooled” FFA for women and unconditional cash transfer compared with the comparison group provides the joint impacts of receiving any type of WFP assistance versus not receiving the assistance. Each of the types of assistance are also compared individually to the comparison.

Figure 17: Illustration of comparison of intervention groups for analysis



235.

236. 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 7. Ethical considerations

237. WFP impact evaluations conform to 2020 United Nations Evaluation Group (UNEG) ethical guidelines. Accordingly, the Office of Evaluation and DIME are responsible for safeguarding and ensuring ethics at all stages of the evaluation cycle. This includes, but is not limited to, ensuring informed consent, protecting privacy, confidentiality and anonymity of participants, ensuring cultural sensitivity, respecting the autonomy of participants, ensuring fair recruitment of participants (including women and socially excluded groups) and ensuring that the evaluation results in no harm to participants or their communities. During the inception phase, the following ethical issues, related risks, safeguards and measures have been considered:

Institutional Review Board (IRB)

238. The impact evaluation window design, as well as the specifics of the El Salvador study, received ethical approval on 10/03/2020 by Solutions IRB, which is a private commercial AAHRPP fully accredited Institutional Review Board.

Programme exclusion

239. Every impact evaluation participant was a WFP beneficiary, selected through a rigorous process that consulted the community to identify the most vulnerable households. All three intervention groups were eligible for cash payments – the control group just received this transfer after the impact evaluation had concluded.

Informed consent

240. Every household enrolled in this impact evaluation had to consent first to being part of a WFP programme as per WFP guidelines, and then provided informed consent to be surveyed. Refusal to respond to the survey did not preclude participation in the WFP programming. Informed consent was collected for each survey round separately (baseline, midline and endline).

Privacy during interviews

241. A woman who had been selected as eligible to participate in the FFA programme was the primary respondent for the survey. While most survey questions were addressed to the woman, there were a few questions directed to the “primary male decision maker” – who was also eligible to participate in the FFA programme. Therefore, the man who was also eligible to participate (referred to as the “primary male decision-maker”) was surveyed on a reduced set of questions.

242. Despite the minimal risks, several precautions were taken to ensure that questions addressed to respondents respected their privacy and comfort. First, interviews were conducted at a central point in the village, so respondents felt comfortable answering questions about their agency, time use, etc. Second, interviews were conducted outside of earshot of other participants (including those from the same household) and enumerators. Following a first section of the survey when both female and male respondents might have been present, enumerators requested others to step away as they interviewed the female or male respondent, with the goal of providing a safe and quiet environment for the survey. Third, in contexts where it was particularly necessary, enumerators were women, to ensure the highest degree of comfort for survey respondents. Fourth, coordination was done with WFP and community leaders to help care for the respondents’ children (as necessary) to ensure maximum privacy during the survey. Fifth, all enumerators went through training that lasted for one to two weeks and was followed by extensive piloting in the field. The goal of the training was to ensure enumerators followed survey best practices in terms of protocols and ethics, but also that questions were asked in a uniform and contextually appropriate manner. Sixth, for the most sensitive questions related to intimate partner violence, third-party experts were contracted to train enumerators on how to ask these questions and handle/refer cases of intimate partner violence to the relevant authorities.

243. These issues were monitored and managed during the implementation of the evaluation. If any additional ethical issues arose during the implementation of the evaluation, they were recorded and managed in consultation with the Office of Evaluation and DIME.

Annex 8. Limitations

Evaluation methods

244. It is important to note that the findings from El Salvador may not be externally valid. To address this challenge, we will test the external validity of our results across all countries implementing similar interventions in the cash-based transfer and the gender window (see the [window pre-analysis plan](#) for details).

245. In addition, as with any in-field randomized control trial, spillover across communities and differential attrition are potential risks for the evaluation. The evaluation team worked closely with the cooperating partners on the ground to monitor potential spillover risks and design clear implementation protocols. The evaluation team did not observe any differential attrition.

Disability inclusion

246. As part of the 2020 Disability Inclusion Road Map, WFP is building on continued efforts to mainstream and standardize disability data collection methodologies, aligning with international standards and best practices. In 2022, the [El Salvador Annual Country Report](#) estimated that 483 beneficiaries had disabilities out of a total of 61,839 beneficiaries (0.7 percent). Based on this estimation, approximately 7 out of 1000 beneficiaries in the project evaluated could have had disabilities. Although this represents an important population, the size is too small for this evaluation to estimate any differential impacts for disabled beneficiaries.

Shorter timeframe

247. The implementation cycles in this programme are short, with two transfers spread over three months. Short programmes are not unusual, which is why it is important that WFP measure impacts. However, the fact that the endline data collection happened shortly after the conclusion of the final transfer, as the control group was phased in thereafter, means it was not possible to establish whether any impacts persist over longer timeframes.

Direct income versus work effect

248. The impacts of the intervention arm focusing on FFA for women are a combination of them engaging in work outside the household and receiving a direct cash transfer (as pay for their work). The impact evaluation design estimates the combined impact of both features, which makes it hard to disentangle the relative importance of either one feature. However, work outside the household usually entails direct pay, which makes this combination operationally relevant to investigate. There is also already a large body of literature on the impacts of cash transfers to women alone, and the contribution of this study therefore is more focused on the work component.

Annex 9: Heterogeneity analysis – baseline exposure to crime

Baseline Exposure to Crime Heterogeneity Estimates — El Salvador — Midline

	UCT vs. Control			Cash for Women's Work vs. UCT		
	Feels safe leaving home	Feels unsafe leaving home	Difference	Feels safe leaving home	Feels unsafe leaving home	Difference
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Women's Agency Over Consumption (Index Standard Deviations)	-0.084 (0.076)	-0.031 (0.106)	0.053 (0.102)	0.182** (0.081)	-0.026 (0.121)	-0.207 (0.127)

Female respondents were asked whether they felt safe leaving home, and were split into two groups according to their answer. At midline, 1,104 female respondents said that they felt safe leaving home, while 199 said that they did not.

Baseline Exposure to Crime Heterogeneity Estimates — El Salvador — Endline

	UCT vs. Control			Cash for Women's Work vs. UCT		
	Feels safe leaving home	Feels unsafe leaving home	Difference	Feels safe leaving home	Feels unsafe leaving home	Difference
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Women's Agency Over Consumption (Index Standard Deviations)	-0.205*** (0.064)	-0.104 (0.070)	0.101 (0.073)	0.202*** (0.071)	-0.045 (0.086)	-0.247** (0.107)

Female respondents were asked whether they felt safe leaving home, and were split into two groups according to their answer. At midline, 1,104 female respondents said that they felt safe leaving home, while 199 said that they did not.

Annex 10: Index construction for agency, attitudes and norms

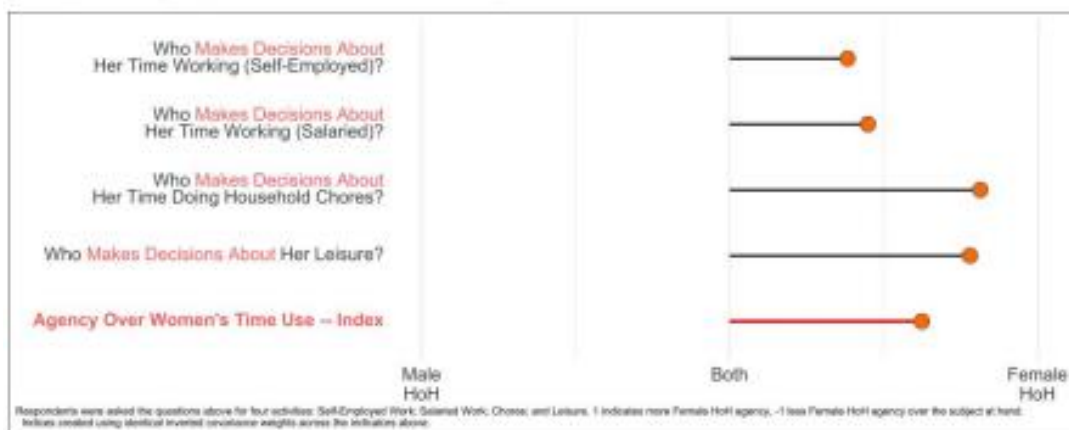
249. For each individual question that is part of an index, the responses were then coded as values +1, 0, or -1, respectively for each respondent.

250. The following table illustrated the 3 concepts (left-hand side) and how the corresponding questions are phrased in the questionnaire.

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...?

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

252. Below is a visual example of how the index is constructed for agency over time use at baseline.



Annex 11. Qualitative data analysis matrices

FFA For women communities project benefits/changes

Summary of FFA for women communities project changes/benefits:

Primary project benefits and changes: 1. increased and more diverse consumption patterns; 2. ability to invest in small business and save money; 3. reduced stress and anxiety due to cash transfer; 4. improvements in partner relationship and communication; and 5. changes in labour and time use (but not as strong a finding).

Other interesting results include: 1. increased sense of community cohesion due to community projects; 2. ability to buy medicine (during COVID-19); and 3. use of cash transfer for paying electricity bills and children's internet during remote schooling.

Long-term project benefits and changes: 1. ability to save and better manage money; 2. improved partner relationship; and 3. stronger sense of community cohesion/relationships.

Table 13: FFA for women communities theory of change themes and exemplary quotes

Theory of change themes	Illustrative quotes
<p>Theme 1: Agency to make decisions (household, time use and big purchases)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Rather than how the project 'changed' their couple processes, some participants shared that the project 'strengthened' how they made their decisions about household and labour/time use activities ➤ The majority of participants reported already having gender (or partner) 	<p>Although women don't technically talk directly about improvements in 'agency' in making decisions about time use/labour, this participant shared feeling more empowered to do non-household work: <i>"Nos demostró que también nosotros podemos ser útiles porque a veces uno se aferra a que, porque pasé la casa y que el hombre se acostumbra, por lo menos en el campo, aquí, verdad, uno siempre acostumbra que el hombre es el que hace todo ese tipo de trabajo y uno en la casa, entonces nos ayudó bastante a demostrarle a los hombres que también nosotros podemos, porque incluso nos hacían burla, cuando no veían en la calle bastante hombres pasaban y mejor nos gritaban la "apúrense y no no sé qué" cosas así, pero les demostramos."</i> - 020922_Hacienda_Bonanza_FGD7_women_T2</p> <p>Most women AND men talked about improved 'ability', rather than 'agency' in better managing their time as a result of the project (and some said this was a long-term change for them after project end). Below is</p>

<p>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>	<p>an excerpt from a man:</p> <p><i>"Cuando estuvimos trabajando en el huerto, todo lo planficaban, que día íbamos a ir, qué horas íbamos a ir, entonces...y nos organizamos para que... eh... para poder hacer nuestro propio trabajo de familia, como también para hacer el trabajo del huerto, entonces, de hecho, eso viene ayudar a lo que es la organización del trabajo, a planificar mejor. [...] Estos se mantienen, porque al final de cuenta, este... entre más bien se planifique el tiempo de trabajo, o de quehaceres, eh... en el... en el hogar, en la... la familia digamos, pues los resultados son mejores, entonces eso se mantiene."</i> - 050922_Ignacio Ellacuría_IDI2_man_T2</p>
<p>Theme 2: Attitudes about household labour and time use</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The majority of participants reported already having gender/partner equitable attitudes about household decisions and labour division prior to the project start ➤ Again, women and men shared mixed experiences – some reported having more equitable attitudes about division of non/household labour, while others did not 	<p>Here is an example about how project (and communal work/dialogue) helped changed one woman participant's attitudes:</p> <p><i>"La mayoría he visto trabajando más a los hombres, ajá, son los más que ellos trabajan, porque nosotras las mujeres a veces nos refugiamos en la casa cuando te toman a mal. Entonces, la que puede trabaja y la que no puede pues no trabaja, entonces desde mi punto de vista son más los hombres más que trabajan.</i></p> <p><i>M: Ok, y ¿En algún momento se ha modificado ese pensamiento acá en la comunidad, este, a causa del proyecto?</i></p> <p><i>E: Este, sí lo hemos, este, lo hemos platicado, a veces nos poníamos a hablar las veinte porque en ocasiones no podía ir la mujer, iba el hombre a hacer la limpieza y así, entonces, ambos los dos tenemos que echarnos la mano y ambos los dos trabajar."</i> -060922_Las Marías_IDI12_woman_T2</p> <p>This is a man participant who shared about always having gender equitable attitudes:</p> <p><i>"E. Para mi punto de vista, es que tiene que ser por igual, el... el... las recreaciones, el tiempo que se tiene que apartar, por supuesto, hay trabajos que... son trabajos pesados y que eso tiene que desarrollarlo el hombre, por supuesto, eh... yo creería de que... si se planifica bien el trabajo como pareja...todo funciona bien. [...]</i></p> <p><i>M: Lo que me comentaba, es algo que siempre ha tenido esa mentalidad, pero, después del proyecto siempre la ha seguido manteniendo"</i> -050922_Ignacio Ellacuría_IDI2_man_T2</p>
<p>Theme 3: Behaviours about household labour and time use</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Similarly, the majority of participants reported already having 	<p>A man community leader shared how his own relationship changed, and how he and his partner now better share household work and tasks as a result of the project:</p> <p><i>"Yo antes salía un poco más a trabajar y a veces ya regresaba noche y todo, sin embargo ahora veo que, después del programa o dentro del programa, cuando empezábamos a las reuniones que hacíamos, las entrevistas, empezar a</i></p>

<p>gender/partner equitable behaviours about labour and time use division prior to project start</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Some participants shared that the project helped 'strengthen' how they divided up work, but did not necessarily 'change' their behaviours ➤ Commonly, participants (men and women) stated that the project helped them better 'manage their time' – in some cases for example, women participants reported having to 'do more' during the project period (household and community labour), and therefore had to manage their time better ➤ Women and men shared mixed experiences – some women reported a change in time and labour use during the project period, while others did not. In some cases, women reported bringing their children to the community work projects, rather than having their husband/partner watch the children 	<p><i>implementar que yo le podía ayudar a barrer y le podía ayudar a lavar los trastes, y todo, y ahora veo que ella se desahoga más, porque en lo que ella va a dejar a los niños, yo me quedo haciendo las cosas y ya ella llega a descansar, se sienta a desayunar, y yo ya he terminado lo demás en lo que ella está haciendo algo, cosa que antes, quizás no, si le ayudaba un poquito pero no lo hacía mucho, sin embargo después de este programa ha habido un beneficio aquí y un cambio y ahora como que el tiempo nos alcanza un poco más.</i></p> <p><i>M: ¿Se han sabido organizar mejor?</i></p> <p><i>E: Si, si, y así este también otras parejas que, que se ha notado la diferencia, incluso en los tratos uno del otro.”-</i> 060922_Las Mariás_IDI8_comm leader_T2</p> <p>Women participants in a focus group discussion exchanged views about enjoying doing more 'manual' work in community project, but this did not stick after the project ended:</p> <p><i>“P4: Nos tocó algo pesadito porque hacíamos cosas como de hombre, le voy a decir que hacíamos con la pala y los modos de limpiar las cunetas.</i></p> <p><i>P: Y anduvimos chapeando, Voy a revivir la cuneta que estaba muerta porque no corría el agua, entonces si era de bastante.</i></p> <p><i>P4: Viera que bonito quedó cuando andábamos trabajando, pero ya hoy ya está igual.</i></p> <p><i>P7: Lastimosamente ya no se siguió.” -020922_Hacienda_Bonanza_FGD7_women_T2</i></p> <p>Women participants shared having to bring children to community work (rather than task-sharing with husbands) – leading to a double burden of house care and community work:</p> <p><i>“P3: Todos en su mayoría tenemos esposo a ninguna bueno, yo les hablo por mi caso, a mi esposo nunca se me ofreció y me dijo, “mira, te voy a ir a hacer” un día a mí me tocaba y el día que llegaba cansada y me incluso me tocaba llevarme a la niña, como le digo, y vamos a lugares a veces donde abundaban los zancudos y, y así tocaba también llevaba el niño.</i></p> <p><i>P8: Pero si les demostramos que si pudimos [risas] parecía guardaría todos los coches así [risas].</i></p> <p><i>M: ¿Llevaban a los niños también?</i></p> <p><i>P2: Si.</i></p> <p><i>P3: No a recoger basura ni a nada no sé, porque como no teníamos con quien dejarla tocaba andar con los niños ahí.” -</i></p>
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	<p>020922_Hacienda_Bonanza_FGD7_women_T2</p>
<p>Theme 4: Norms about time use (both agency + behaviour)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ In general, participants either: 1. had a hard time understanding norms questions (especially about norms about agency), and typically answered with their own personal 'attitudes;' or 2. did not feel confident enough to speak about other people's behaviours in the community ➤ Taking into account the few coded excerpts, some participants did report changes in how women and men think about time and labour division (by displaying both men and women working together in community projects) 	<p>Below, a community leader talks about changes in household decision making processes among couples who participating in the project (note: this is tied into changes in 'norms'):</p> <p><i>"Yo siento que el proyecto en la comunidad si cambio bastantes la perspectiva de bastantes parejas, hombres que yo los veía así bien machos, bien machistas, yo ahora los veo bastantes conscientes, igual cuando el dinerito allí juntos con su mujer a comprar las cositas vaya para que veas que no solo el hombre puede aportar, como majeures también somos. Gracias a Dios el proyecto nos dio nuestro lugar como mujeres, nos dio nuestro lugar como jefas de hogar, el dinero a nosotras, entonces nosotros le decíamos de los comprados y que igual dicen que al él se le puede pedir opiniones, si las decisiones son en conjuntas con el hogar, pero si el programa eso fue bueno, algunos decían "que mejor a nosotros nos salga el dinero" no, el PMA está apoyando los hogares, pero las mujeres nos estamos empoderando." - 120922_Ignacio Ellacuria_IDI11_comm leader_T2</i></p> <p>One woman participant shared how she believes that the project changed the perceptions of men specifically:</p> <p><i>M: ¿Y cree que ha cambiado también la opinión de los hombres con respecto a si los hombres o mujeres deberían de pasar más tiempo trabajando o realizando trabajo doméstico?</i></p> <p><i>E: Si, yo pienso que si.</i></p> <p><i>M: ¿En qué cree que ha cambiado estas opiniones?</i></p> <p><i>E: Porque fijese que había veces que los esposos de las señoras va, ellos se quedaban haciendo el oficio de la casa mientras la esposa estaba ahí, ayudándoles a hacer digamos, hacer lo de las jornadas, cosas así, o a veces ellos andaban cuidando a los niños así chiquitos.</i></p> <p><i>M: ¿Ha cambiado gracias al proyecto de que ahora se puedan intercambiar roles?</i></p> <p><i>E: Si yo pienso que sí, si mucho, porque nunca se había llegado a dar eso verdad, que nos uniéramos como comunidad, ir a limpiar, pero ahí como que si, ayudó mucho." -060922_Las Marías_IDI16_woman_T2</i></p>

<p>Theme 5: Household earnings, savings and investments</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ All families reported improvements in household economic situation, with some families being able to either save money or invest in other small businesses 	<p>Women participants described different ways they were able to invest their money, and how this change was sustained long-term:</p> <p><i>“E: Con la ayuda... con la ayuda yo le sabría decir qué, que hice un poquito de venta, tortear, en las tortillas, de ahí compré lo de la lámina, ver en qué lo invertí, vaya y yo [Inaudible 39:39] ahorita, quiero hacer mi cocina, para ver cómo hacemos para hacer mi cocinita y para hacer el fuego, porque estos ventarrones que vienen ya vienen pegando duro vea, pero solo Dios sabe, solo Dios sabe cómo vamos a seguir, pero si estoy dispuesta a trabajar para seguir adelante primero Dios.</i></p> <p><i>M: Ehh ¿Y la situación cambió durante el proyecto hasta el día de hoy?</i></p> <p><i>E: Sí, ha cambiado bastante, ha cambiado bastante, a como estábamos antes, ha cambiado a lo mejor pues vaya.” - 060922_Las Marías_IDI15_woman_T2</i></p> <p><i>“P2: Igual yo compré unos pollos de engorde y este una parte la utilicé de eso verdad, este lo engordé, lo vendí y no sigo trabajando con los pollos porque muchos se estaban poniendo mocosos, me estaba muriendo y ahí iba a perder, pero sí, igual invertí en otra cosa, ajá y todavía sigo con eso.</i></p> <p><i>M: ¿Siempre está generando ingresos?</i></p> <p><i>P2: Sí, un poquito, pero sí.” - 020922_Hacienda_Bonanza_FGD7_women_T2</i></p> <p>One participant shares how she was unable to ‘save’ money because she used the money to pay for electricity and other bills:</p> <p><i>“P3: :a verdad, yo no pude [ahorrar], yo tenía un par de cositas que pagar y lo demás lo, lo, lo invertí en la casa o sea, tal vez, me ahorre de que ya no salimos tan ajustados en ese tiempo porque pagar luz, cable, agua. Entonces, tal vez en eso, pero, pero de ahí, de, de guardarlo.” - 020922_Hacienda_Bonanza_FGD7_women_T2</i></p>
<p>Theme 6: Household consumption</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ An improvement in household consumption appears to be the most direct and common benefit of the project reported by both women and men 	<p>Ability to buy different and healthier foods improved household nutrition and health, according to these women and men participants:</p> <p><i>“M: ¿Cómo que compraron diferente que no solían comprar?</i></p> <p><i>E: Más verduras, se compran más verduras que... .que.. lácteos porque eso nos dijeron en las capacitaciones “que no tenemos que... que usar... comprar cosas innecesarias de lácteos” que incluso, nos enseñaron como... como practicar tortillas de... de zanahoria, que eran más específicas para la salud de uno.” - 060922_Las Marías_IDI10_woman_T2</i></p>

<p>➤ 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>	<p><i>"creo que, la alimentación sigue en base a, a lo que nosotros compramos verdad,vea, en base a lo que el presupuesto, daba para comprar, entonces la alimentación lógicamente ayudó, ya se compran cosas allá, de las mejoritas entonces... así este... también uno, pienso yo eh, de que, se alimenta mejor [se ríe]. [...] habíamos que alimentarnos con cuestiones naturales con cosas que no fueran tan chatarra como le decimos, entonces, a través de estos proyectos lo que, lo que se viene a fomentar es el, el uso de la, de la comida, el uso del alimentos este, saludables, ricos en vitaminas, verdad." - 120922_Ignacio Ellacuría_IDI36_man_T2</i></p> <p>A woman participant shared issues related to food prices and inflation, which may have affected the lack of long-term changes in consumption patterns after the project:</p> <p><i>"Cuando nos den una ayuda no estaba en este tiempo como ahora, verdad, estaba más cómoda la verdura, el pollo, la carne, mire ahora como está, de que sirven \$5 dólares, \$5 dólares no alcanzan para nada, \$5 dólares no le alcanzan si todo caro, el pollo a \$1.75, la carne, con \$5 dólares uno no hace nada" - 060922_Las Marías_IDI15_woman_T2</i></p>
<p>Theme 7: Individual health and well-being</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some women reported feeling less stressed during the project, and that community projects were a 'distraction' from their everyday household tasks. ➤ Some interviewed participants also reported being able to buy medicine for their household as a result of the cash transfer 	<p>Participants were able to buy medicine for family members due to cash transfer:</p> <p><i>"P10: Yo no, como en ese tiempo pues se me enfermaron los niños, tengo dos niños también ya grandecitos y me tocó comprarle medicina en ese tiempo, bendecido ese dinero cuando me vino, porque pues sigo a la necesidad de, de día a día y me tuvo que suplir esa necesidad, en ese tiempo.</i></p> <p><i>M: ¿Usted pudo ahorrar con el dinero que se le dio?</i></p> <p><i>P9: Yo no pude porque estaba enferma, y tenía que gastar en medicina entonces... Y como mi esposo está enfermo, a la vez está enfermo, está enfermo." - 020922_Hacienda_Bonanza_FGD7_women_T2</i></p> <p>One man participant linked the project to improvements in mental health:</p> <p><i>"Después del proyecto, antes como que estaba un poco encerrado, encerrado más en un trabajo y los niveles de estrés a uno... lo absorbe.¡Ay! el nivel de estrés lo matan a uno y psicológicamente y físicamente vea, entonces a través del, del proyecto como que uno por las diversas actividades que uno hace por la, por la diversas este, decisiones que uno toma se mantiene más ocupada la mente "ay, hay que hacer esto, nombre hay que hacer aquello, nos falta hacer esto, hagamolo" entonces, eh, la salud mental va mejorando." - 120922_Ignacio Ellacuría_IDI36_man_T2</i></p> <p>Another woman participant shared the 'destraining' effects of the community projects:</p> <p><i>"Si [risas] es que [el proyecto] eso nos vino a desestresar... a conocer más... más... comentarios de las muchachas que estuvieron conmigo... .llevarnos bien... o.. pedir opinión, incluso, hasta me sentía bien porque me habían pedido como</i></p>

	<p>li... líder de... de grupito que andábamos, de 5, nos repartíamos así “que usted va a llevar este grupo” - 060922_Las Marías_IDI10_woman_T2</p>
<p>Theme 8: Partner and other household relationships</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Some women and men reported an improvement and ‘strengthening’ in their couple communication and decision making processes with their partner as a result of participating in the project ➤ A few men ‘feared’ some of the relationship topics during the educational talks (could be tied into domestic violence data in quantitative analysis). 	<p>A man participant shares that the project 'strengthened' his partner/couple relationship:</p> <p><i>“A final de cuentas, eso vino a fortalecer la relación que tenemos como pareja. [...] El cambio fue de fortalecimiento. [...] primeramente, que... la percepción que a veces uno tiene, de machismo... eso, cuando se participa en este tipo de proyecto, eso indudablemente, le viene a cambiar, a tener un poco más de conciencia... a ser un poco más conscientes de nuestros actos y de los actos que pueden perjudicar a terceros o, a segundos, personas, entonces... en esa parte viene a sensibilizar a uno, y eso es bien bueno, la mera verdad, es algo fundamental, porque... no hay cosa mejor que... que saberse respetar, saberse comprender y saberse entender.” -050922_Ignacio Ellacuría_IDI2_man_T2</i></p> <p>A few men feared that they would get in trouble due to “charlas”. At least one participant stated that their relationship didn't necessarily change, but that their partner was apprehensive and hesitant about the charlas - this partner was 'fearful' that he might get in trouble for speaking a certain way (or being verbally abusive?) with their partner:</p> <p><i>“P4: Pues sí, cómo a veces este los hombres son machistas o a veces piensan que solo ellos tienen la razón o que como uno le hicieron preguntas, aquí va que si el hombre en su bravura lo empujaba y yo creo que algunas decimos que si va, porque si pasaba, que si no, nos daba un jalón de pelo, entonces y como el hombre estaba consciente, tal vez que si lo hacía entonces él tenía miedo. Entonces, no sé si todos va, pero el, el mío, si tenía miedo, que decía que se lo iban a llevar [risas] por algo que tal vez yo había dicho [risas]. ¿Qué habrá dicho? [risas]</i></p> <p><i>[...]</i></p> <p><i>P5: Pero a pesar, a pesar de todo eso siempre nos acompañaban, verdad a las, charlas, pero si sirvieron de algo las charlas para ellos, si sirvieron de algo.</i></p> <p><i>P6: Por ejemplo, o sea, que se haya ellos miraban que, que nos hacían valer los derechos de la mujer con las preguntas que nos hacían, así, como dice ella que tal vez tenía miedo.” - 020922_Hacienda_Bonanza_FGD7_women_T2</i></p>

Theme 9: Community Cohesion

- Most participants reported having increased community cohesion as a result of participating in the community projects
- The effect could have been stronger because of COVID-19 (families/neighbours were in isolation, etc)

According to one woman participant, participating in the community work was like being able to be taken 'out of the cage' in the household:

*"lo que más me animó fue que íbamos a andar haciendo las jornadas, todo eso, es lo que más me llamaba la atención, que íbamos haciendo las jornadas pues todo eso. [...] Pero todos nosotros hicimos las jornadas, entonces cuando de repente venimos a ver la sorpresa que nos iban a dar ese bono, entonces yo me alegré bastante porque íbamos a andar y conoce uno más hasta los vecinos pues, andabamos de la mano, barriendo, haciendo tal cosa, riendo, hasta le hacíamos para la gaseosa, nosotros feliz de la vida, o sea era como nos habían **abierto la jaula**, como a veces uno pasa solo las veinticuatro horas en la casa y a veces no sale, yo siento que para mí era una diversión andar haciendo esto, la jornada" -060922_Las Marías_ IDI12_woman_T2*

Another man participant shared how the community project helped create "convivio"(a sense of togetherness) during especially hard COVID-19 pandemic times:

"ese proyecto fue bastante importante, es más, se dio en los momentos que era más difícil de la pandemia, ehh, siempre estábamos pendientes a la hora que nos decían que teníamos que estar conectados, ehh, y la convivencia, haber conocido más, más gente, más personas de diferentes comunidades, eso, por supuesto, que viene ayudar, este... le viene ayudar a tener mejores experiencia y una expectativa mejor de las demás personas, vea, entonces, que indudablemente, el proyecto vino a ayudar" -050922_Ignacio Ellacuría_IDI2_man_T2

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