# TARGETING THE ULTRA POOR IN AFGANISTAN:





Presented by Thomas Escande
November 15, 2023

#### This presentation is based on:

- Bedoya, G., Coville, A., Haushofer, J., Isaqzadeh, M., & Shapiro, J. (2019). No household left behind: Afghanistan targeting the ultra poor impact evaluation. *Policy Research Working Paper. No.* 8877 and
- Bedoya, G., Belyakova, Y., Coville, A., Escande, T., Isaqzadeh, M., & Ndiaye, A. (2023). The enduring impacts of a big push during multiple crises: experimental evidence from Afghanistan. *Policy Research Working Paper. No. 10596*, with accompanying brief Building resilient livelihoods: the enduring impacts of Afghanistan's ultra-poor program.





### **Motivation**

- More than 700 million live in extreme poverty around the world. Two thirds of them expected to reside in fragile and conflict-affected (FCV) contexts by 2030 (World Bank 2020 & 2022)
- There is limited evidence of the impact on gender-related outcomes in a setting with extremely restrictive gender norms about women's participation in economic and social activities.
- Gender gaps, which are often greater among the poor, are often exacerbated by the interaction with conflict (Duflo 2012; Jayachandran 2015).
- Other TUP studies find small to no impacts on women empowerment. (Banerjee 2015)
- Question for this session:
  - What is the impact of a big-push Targeting the Ultra Poor (TUP) program on Women Empowerment and Gender Equality in Afghanistan, one of the most fragile contexts with constraining social norms for women, 2 and 5 years after the asset transfer?

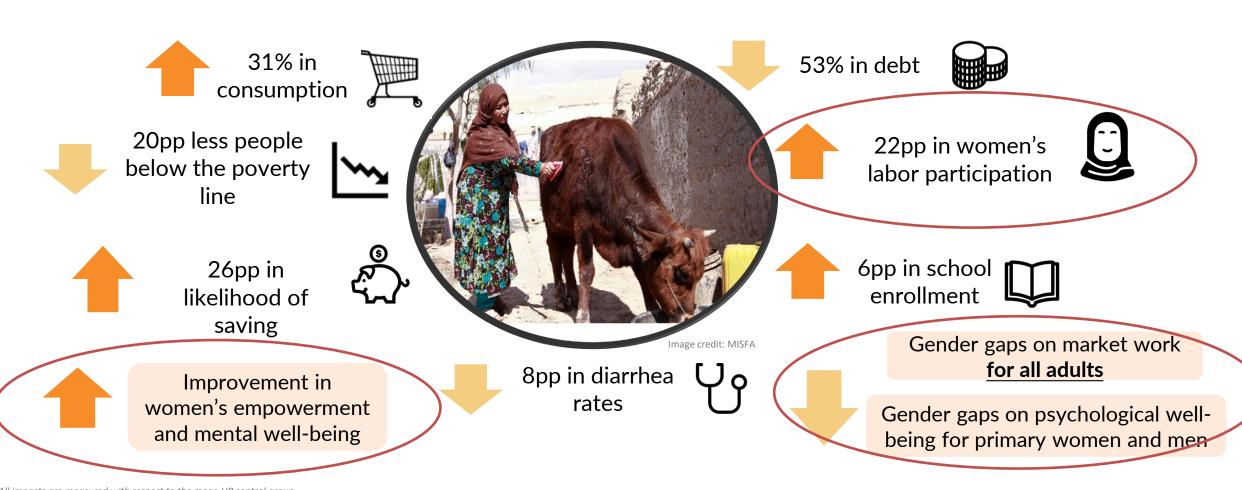
#### Context

Reminder: All points and statistics presented today are from before the regime change.

Low levels of women's labor participation and human capital both in at the national level and in our sample.

ALCS 2018, Afghanistan, national level	Ultra-poor women in rural villages in our sample (control group, 2018):
27% labor participation	35% labor participation (84% for men)
20% literacy rate (vs. 82% worldwide)	7% literacy rate (vs. 14% for men)
33% women ages 15-49 <b>report participating in 3 decisions</b> : own health, major household purchases, and visiting family.	Women report high level of participation in <b>decision-making</b> : managing household finances (75%), decision to have children (62%), and children's health (85%)

# 2 years after the asset transfer the TUP significantly improved women's empowerment and reduced gender gaps



<sup>\*</sup> All impacts are measured with respect to the mean UP control group Source: Bedoya, G., Coville, A., Haushofer, J., Isaqzadeh, M., & Shapiro, J. (2019). No household left behind: Afghanistan targeting the ultra poor impact evaluation. Policy Research Working Paper (8877)

We find that the TUP has large positive impacts on women empowerment 2 years after the program...

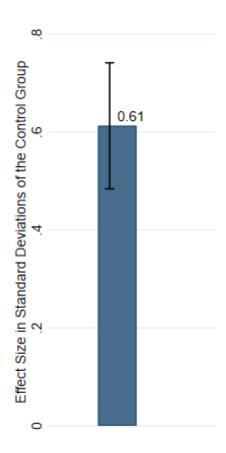
We define empowerment following Naila Kabeer's definition of empowerment as "the process by which those who have been denied the ability to make strategic life choices acquire such an ability."

It is articulated around three dimensions: resources, agency, and achievements.

## Large Impacts on women's empowerment when we define women's empowerment as multi dimensional

#### Afghanistan TUP Impact on Women's Empowerment

**UP Primary Woman** (in SDs of control, Normalized)

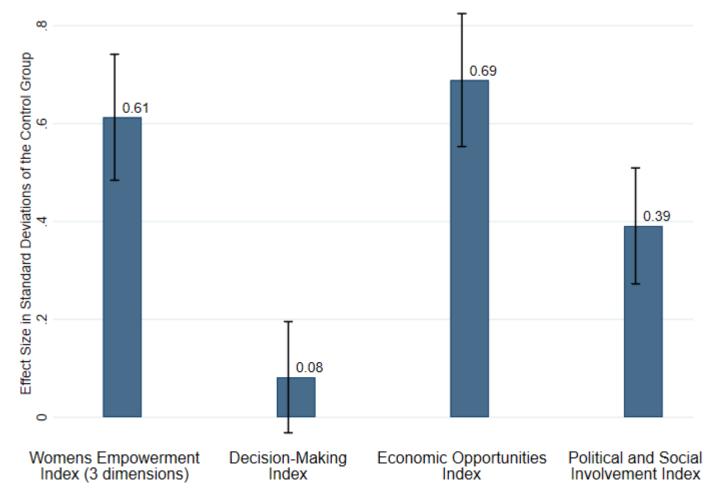


Womens Empowerment Index (3 dimensions)

## Large Impacts on women's empowerment when we define women's empowerment as multi dimensional

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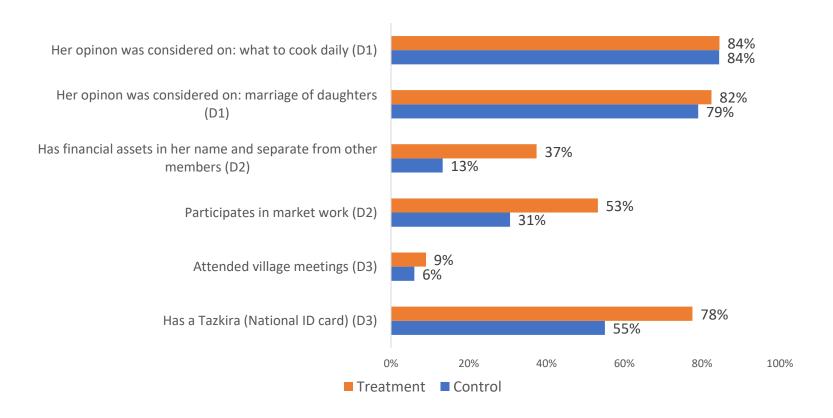


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#### Illustration of questions included in the 3 indexes

Illustration: Questions across the 3 dimensions of empowerment

Households with a primary woman and a primary man



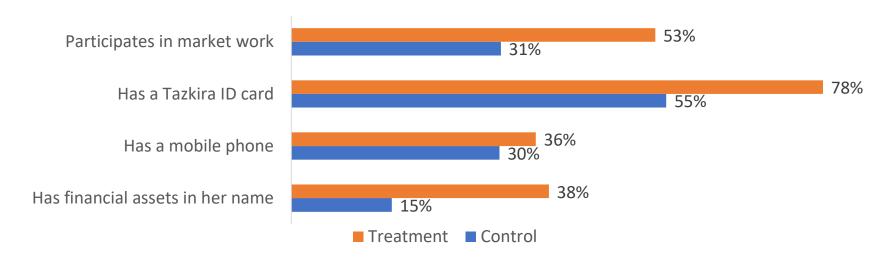
D1: Decision-Making

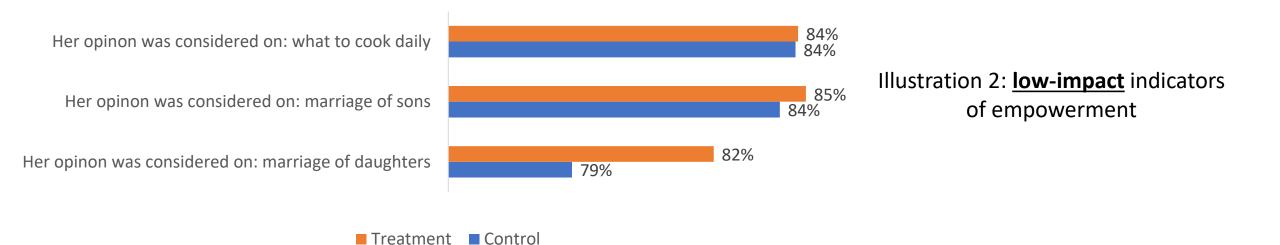
D2: Economic Opportunities

D3: Political and Social Involvement

## Measuring TUP's impacts on women's empowerment Examples of high-impact and low-impact items

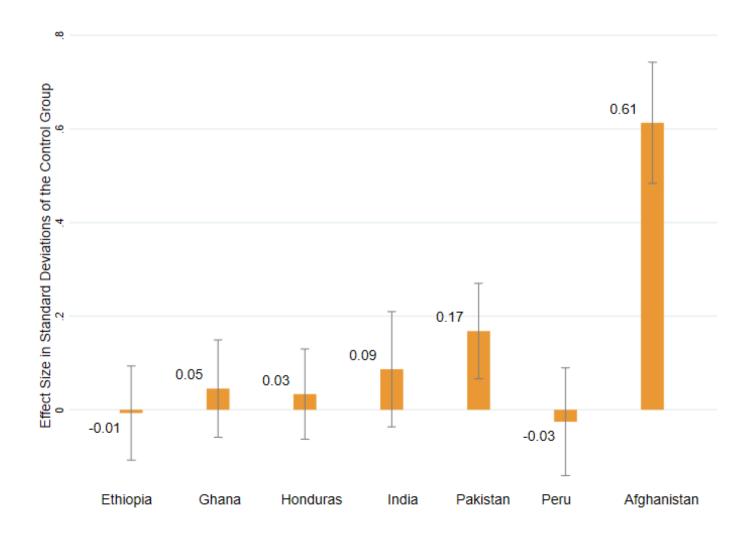
Illustration 1: <u>High-impact</u> indicators of empowerment





Such large impacts might seem at odds with the impacts found in **TUP** studies before...

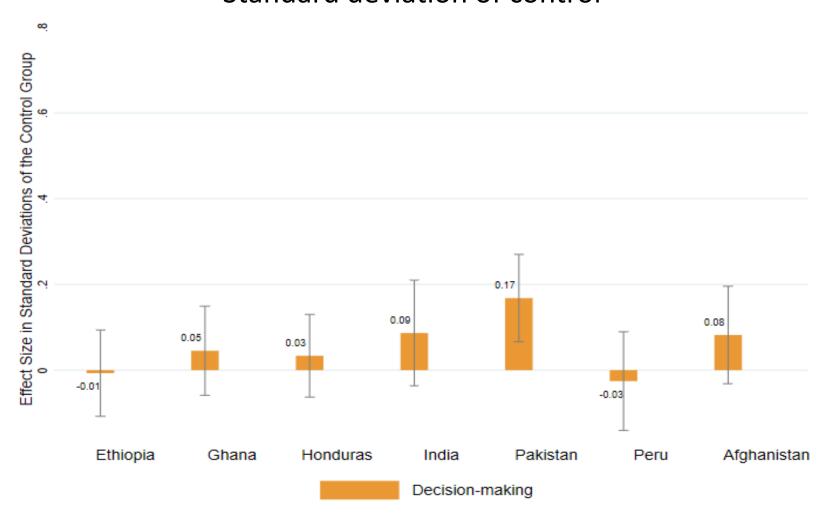
## Impact of TUP on Women's Empowerment Indices in 7 Countries Standard deviation of control



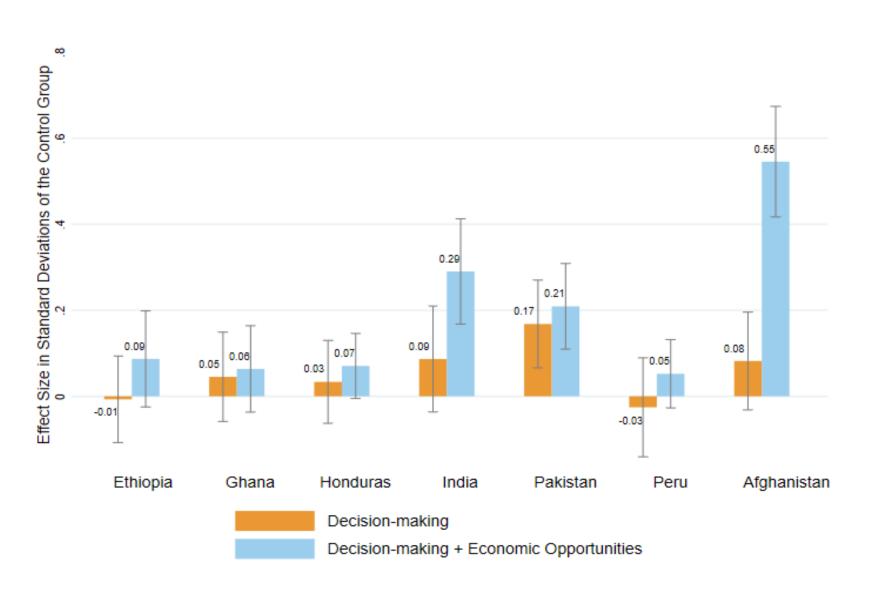
Part of the difference comes from additional dimensions of WE measured.

Let's see what happens if we use similar indicators as in other TUP studies

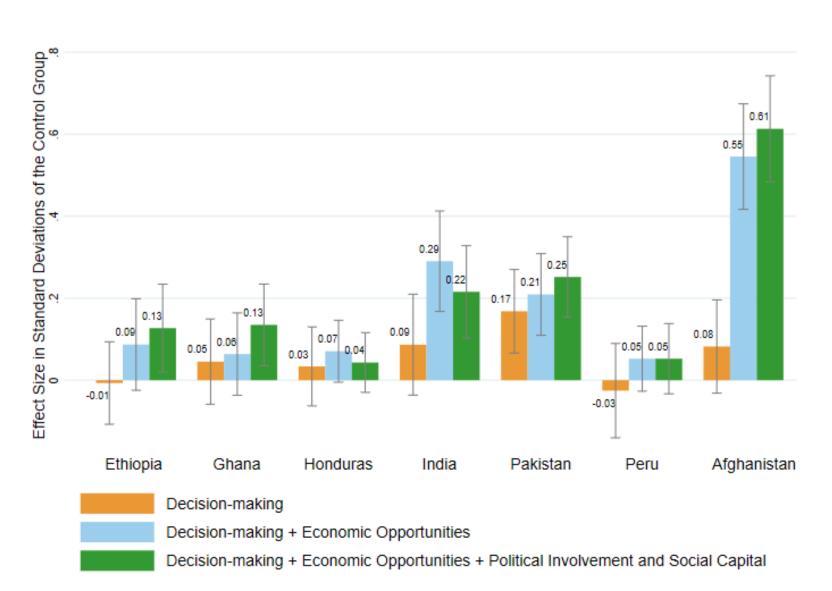
# Impact of TUP on Women's Empowerment Indices in 7 Countries Standard deviation of control



# Impact of TUP on Women's Empowerment Indices in 7 Countries Standard deviation of control



## Impact of TUP on Women's Empowerment Indices in 7 Countries Standard deviation of control



The variables we measure matter!

Let's see another example

The TUP program also decreased gender gaps ...

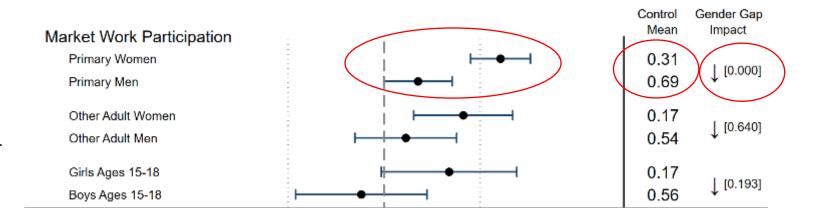
... which has not been measured in other TUP programs before ...

... leading to underestimating the impact of the program!

## Impacts on Market Work, Psychological Well-Being, Phone Ownership, and School Enrollment by Gender

## Main Results On Selected Outcomes by Gender

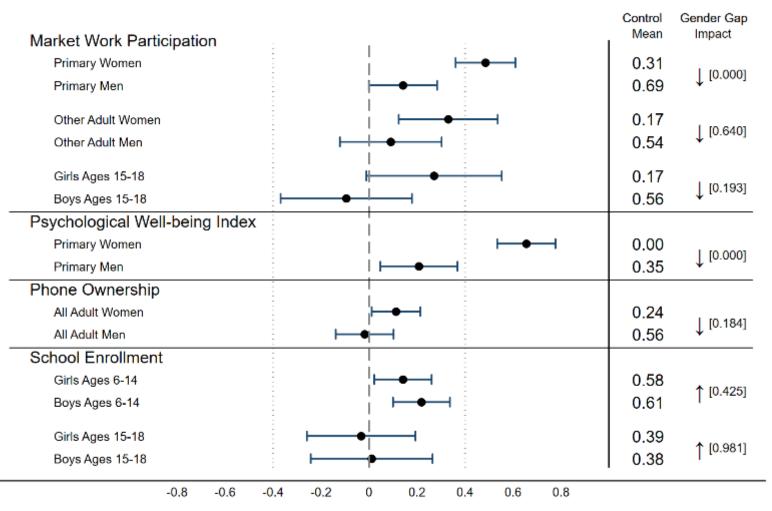
2 years after asset transfer, impacts are larger for women than men, reducing gender gaps, compared to the control group



## Impacts on Market Work, Psychological Well-Being, Phone Ownership, and School Enrollment by Gender

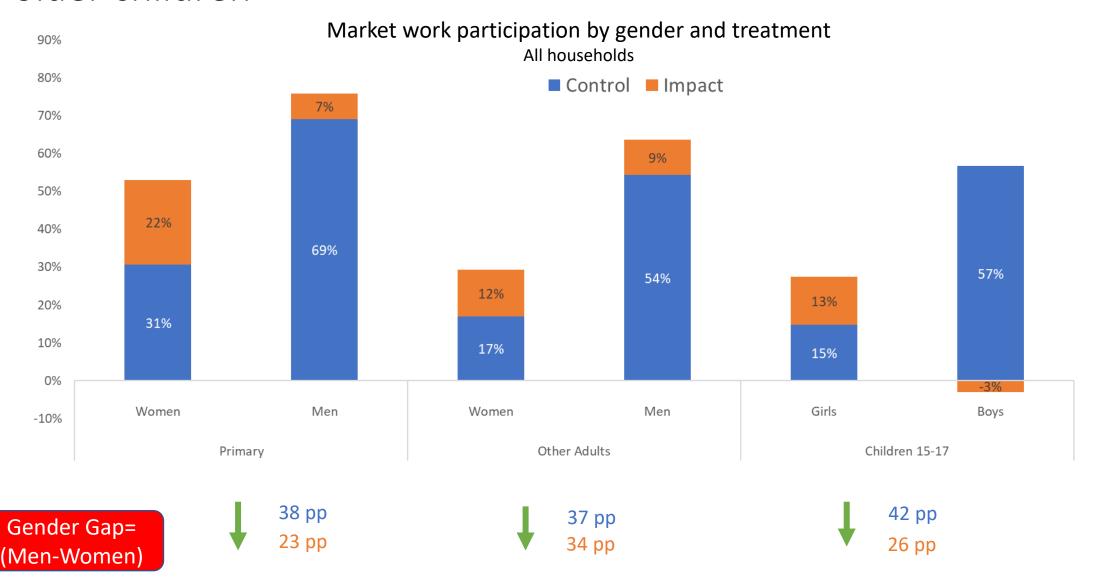
## Main Results On Selected Outcomes by Gender

2 years after asset transfer, impacts are larger for women than men, reducing gender gaps, compared to the control group



Effect size in standard deviations of the control group

## The TUP decreases gender gaps in market work participation for adults and older children



## What does the reduction in gender gaps in psychological well-being mean?

4 pp

% of respondents

Happy/quite

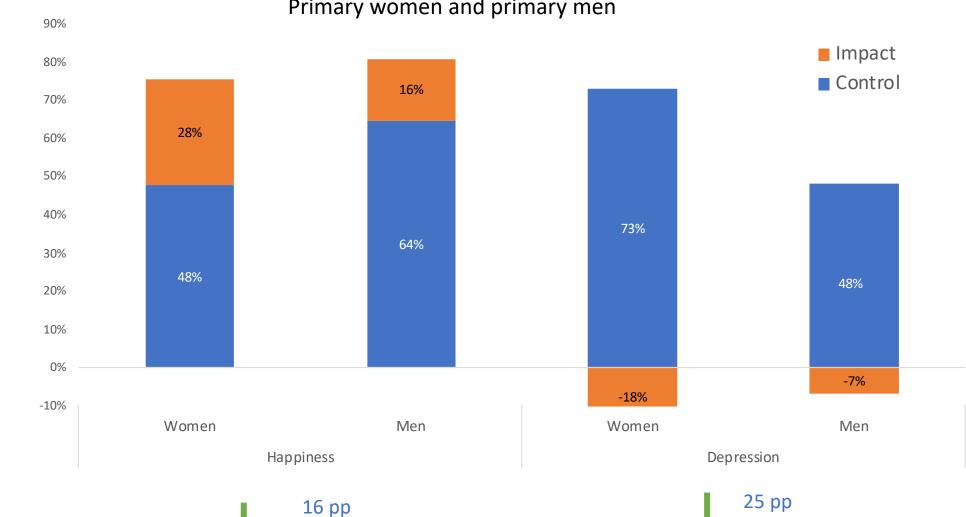
Depressed

happy

(CESD)

Psychological Well-being for select dimensions by gender and treatment

Primary women and primary men



14 pp

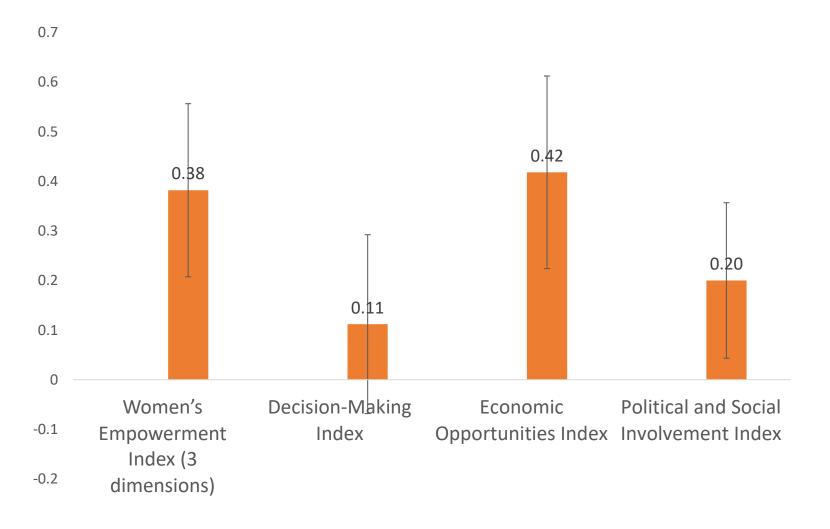
# Decreases in gender gaps can create intergenerational impacts, putting girls on a pathway to higher empowerment

What happens 5 year after the asset transfer, in the midst of big shocks to the households?

### TUP women show higher empowerment...

(compared to control ultra-poor households)

Measured on three dimensions (standardized by the control group)

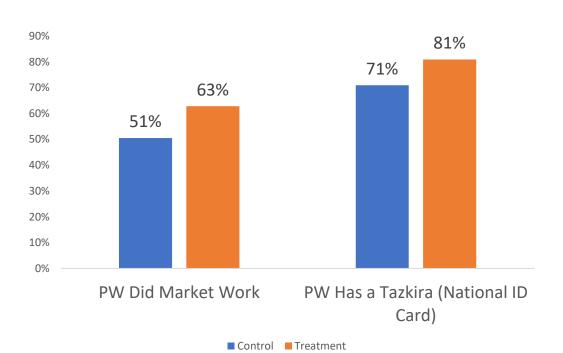


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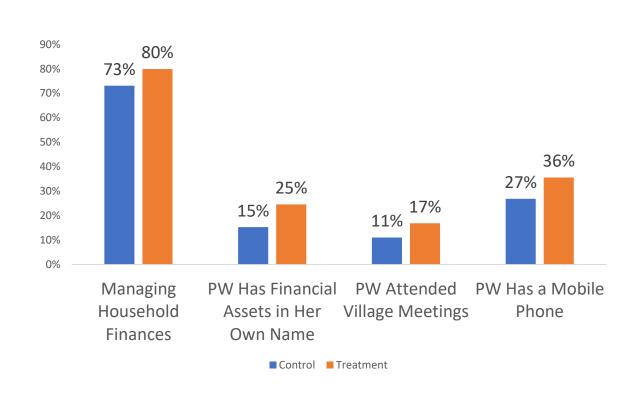
## TUP women show higher empowerment...

(compared to control ultra-poor households)

Driven by variables targeted by the intervention...



...But not only



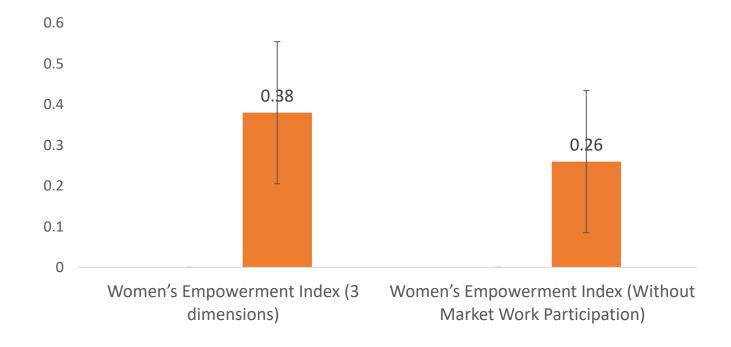
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# A debate in the literature on women's empowerment:

Are all increases in women's market work welfare enhancing?

## TUP women show higher empowerment even without including Market Work Participation

(compared to control ultra-poor households)



Impact is still large and statistically significant

## Is increased market work adding another time burden on women?

At midline, time spent working by the primary woman increases by 2.3 full-time-day equivalents per month.

The women in the control group spend 12 full-time-day equivalents in all productive activities, including household chores.

The increase in women empowerment is consistent with a sustained increase in psychological well being

Thinking about women empowerment in the context:

In a conservative setting, the ability to work from home can be empowering, especially, if it is replacing idle time

## **Recap of Main Results**

- > 2 years after the asset transfer, the TUP reports large impacts on women empowerment.
- ➤ A multi-dimensional more comprehensive definition of women empowerment, adds to the understanding of the impacts of the TUP program
- 2 years after the asset transfer, gender gaps along selected outcomes have declined
- ➤ Impacts on women empowerment are sustained 5 years after the asset transfer despite big shocks to the households.
- What we measure matters!

## Thank You!



The research team at different stages includes Guadalupe Bedoya, Yulia Belyakova, Aidan Coville, Thomas Escande, Johannes Haushofer, Mohammad Isaqzadeh, Aminata Ndiaye and Jeremy Shapiro. The TUP implementation team includes Aminata Ndiaye, Ahmed Rostom, Naila Ahmed, and Guillemette Jaffrin, who led the World Bank–funded Access to Finance project. The MISFA team, including Bahram Barzin and Khalil Baheer and supported by Matin Ezidyar, Shafkat Shahriyar Bin Reza and Hashmat Mohmand, delivered the program.

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