



Contested Development?: Women's economic empowerment and intimate partner violence in Tanzania Women's perspective

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Focus of talk



- Overview of theories of the association between women's economic empowerment and partner violence
- Summarise existing quantitative evidence from published and unpublished literature
- Present preliminary findings from Tanzania data analysis



Theoretical models of the relationship between economic resources and risk of IPV



- Resource theory (Goode, 1971)
- Marital dependency theory (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Kalmuss & Straus, 1982)
- Economic theory (Tauchen et al. 1991, 1995; Farmer et al. 1996)
- Status inconsistency theories
 - Relative resource theory (Macmillan & Gartner, 1991)
 - Gendered relative resource theory (Atkinson & Greenstein, 2005)

Existing evidence from published studies in low & middle income country settings

- **Studies reviewed:**
 - 30 articles investigated population prevalence in 41 sites (i.e. clinics, schools, not included)
 - Cross-sectional studies in 40 sites; intervention study in one site
 - Respondents were women, most of reproductive age (15-49)
 - Multivariate analysis controlling for age

- **Geographic distribution of studies (22 low & middle income countries):**
 - 17 Asia: Bangladesh; Cambodia; India; Iran; Philippines; Thailand
 - 11 Africa: Egypt; Lesotho; Nigeria; South Africa; Tanzania; Uganda; Zambia
 - 10 South America: Columbia; Dom. Republic; Haiti; Mexico; Nicaragua; Peru
 - 3 Europe: Albania; Turkey; Ukraine

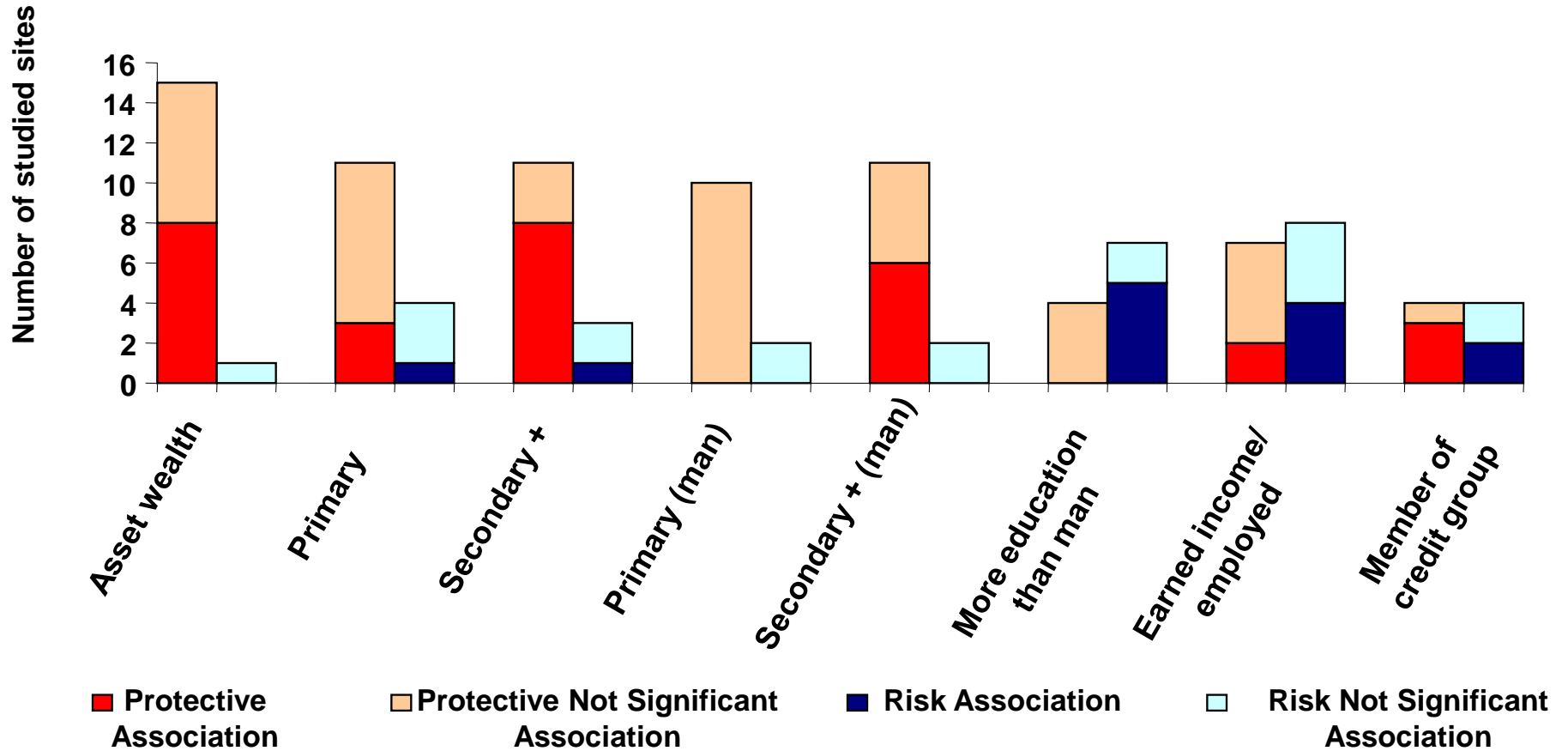
- **Studies reviewed:**
 - Household socio-economic status (asset ownership)
 - Education attainment
 - Woman's access to money: employment / membership of micro-credit scheme

Range of IPV prevalence

Measure of IPV	No. of sites	violence prevalence range
Ever violence		
Physical	21	13% - 67%
Physical & or sexual	8	18% - 54%
Past year violence		
Physical	22	7% - 47%
Physical & or sexual	10	11% - 31%

Source Vyas & Watts 2009
Journal of International Development

Association between past year IPV and indicator of economic empowerment



Discussion

- Methodological issues:
 - X-sectional studies, can't establish causality
 - Hard to compare findings different measures of IPV
 - Bias? Some women less likely to report IPV

- Findings:
 - Most studies found higher SES, secondary education (incl. male) protective.
 - Mixed findings of women's employment / access to income
 - Mixed findings on women's membership of micro credit programmes (intervention studies)



Socio-economic inequalities and intimate partner violence in Tanzania

Sample characteristics

	Dar Es Salaam % (N=987)	Mbeya % (N=978)
Household SES		
Low	63.4	87.3
Middle	24.2	9.2
High	12.4	3.5
Woman's education		
None / incomplete primary	23.3	35.3
Primary / incomplete secondary	71.5	63.8
Secondary / higher	5.2	0.9
Woman's employment		
Doesn't earn money	53.9	35.7
Earns money	46.1	64.3
Man's education		
None / incomplete primary	13.3	22.5
Primary / incomplete secondary	68.5	71.4
Secondary / higher	15.4	5
Attended school	2.8	0.9
Man's employment		
Not employed	12.8	4.2
Employed	87.2	95.8

Source: WHO multi-country study on women's health and domestic violence

Sample characteristics

	Dar Es Salaam % (N=987)	Mbeya % (N=978)
Relative Education		
Both have the same	65.0	64.7
Man has more	25.4	25.1
Woman has more	6.8	9.1
Relative employment status		
Neither working	7.0	1.5
Man only working	46.9	34.2
Woman only working	5.8	2.7
Both working	40.4	61.7
Relative contribution to household		
Neither working	7.1	1.6
Woman contributes all / more	8.8	9.8
Woman contributes none / less	77.8	76.0
Both contribute the same	6.3	12.6

Source: WHO multi-country study on women's health and domestic violence

Findings Dar Es Salaam

	Moderate physical	Sexual dominant	Severe abuse
Higher household SES	NA	NA	NA
Higher woman's education	NA	NA	PROTECTIVE
Woman employed	NA	NA	RISK
Higher Man's education	NA	NA	NA
Man employed	NA	NA	NA
Relative education (Partner has more)	NA	PROTECTIVE	NA
Relative employment status	NA	NA	NA
Contribution to household income	NA	NA	NA

NA implies No association

Findings Mbeya

	Moderate physical	Sexual dominant	Severe abuse
Household SES	NA	PROTECTIVE	PROTECTIVE
Woman's education	NA	PROTECTIVE	PROTECTIVE
Woman employed	NA	NA	NA
Man's education	PROTECTIVE	PROTECTIVE	PROTECTIVE
Man employed	NA	NA	NA
Relative education (<i>Woman has more than partner</i>)	RISK	NA	NA
Relative employment status (<i>Partner only employed</i>)	NA	NA	RISK
Contribution to household income	NA	NA	NA

NA implies No association

What do these findings mean?

- However, these are unadjusted for associations and when adjusting for key confounding factors (e.g. alcohol use) these associations become weaker
- Support for theories relating economic factors and partner violence is limited
- Does this mean that economic factors such as poverty, employment or education attainment do not influence whether a woman is vulnerable to partner violence?
- Might the relationship be more complex?



Women's income, household power relations and intimate partner violence: Women's perspective



Women's income, household power relations and intimate partner violence



In – Depth Interviews

- Between December 2008 and March 2009 conducted in-depth interviews with ever partnered women
- Women were recruited from places where they trade
- A total of 20 IDIs were conducted with women (10 Dar Es Salaam; 10 Mbeya)

Research questions

- What are the factors that drive poor women to seek work?
- To what extent does women's access to money seem to support or threaten the family unit, and reduce or exacerbate their risk of violence?
- How do women manage the money they bring into the household?

Economic hardship and dependency the primary motivation in both Dar Es Salaam and Mbeya

‘ I learnt from my parents. My father and mother are people who keep themselves busy all the time. My father works and my mother owns a business. So I challenged myself to do business and be like them since they were busy and were still together’.‘And also because life is tough now. (Dar Es Salaam)

To help her relationship

I started this business after noticing that life situation.... you must be helping each other even if I am married I must struggle..... you cannot depend on one person alone, depending on a husband....these days life has become tough so I thought that I should also start a business’. (Dar Es Salaam)



Factors that drive poor women to seek work



Conflict in the relationship...

'Once he starts seeing someone else, you will find some things are missing at home, they don't go well as before.... that is when I started to learn how to sell vegetables, I started ... when I saw mmh...! things are not going well.'
(Dar Es Salaam)

'The reason that made me start the business is the issue of depending on a man (husband), it becomes difficulty, sometimes it is possible that a man can get out from the house without leaving anything and you will be left struggling, seeing that you are a house mother! a child is crying wanting to eat and you don't even have money; the father (husband) has left. I thought that, the important thing to think is better I also should have my business the issue of relying on a man is very tough'. (Mbeya)



Factors that drive poor women to seek work



Or others are dependent on her....

'After I started my business at the market I really satisfy my life. Because first I am a widow, I don't have a husband and my kid is attending a school'
(Mbeya)

For example the way I am, my husband passed away since June last year and I am the first born in our family and we are three of us. There are three after me, and all of them depend on me. (Mbeya)

Partner reaction

Some women's partners were supportive realising the benefit and most gave their wives the capital to start business

'He said that we should help each other in life, because it pleased him that he even gave me a capital and I started a business'. (Dar Es Salaam)

He feels good. For he knows that if I do business one day I can get stuck (the husband) and I (wife) if I get we will help each other in life. It is like this, the day I told him about that, he told me do you have..... Do you have money (capital)? I told him I don't have; he said do you need money? It means as a capital I told him yes. How much? I told him any amount that you may have. When he gave me I knew that he has agreed with me. And that is why I said that he took it in a good way'. (Mbeya)



Partner reaction



However, the support was sometimes conditional

He said that a woman must struggle, for if I (husband) am not around you will earn for food; that is why I started doing business. Ah ah he said if I would have money I wouldn't say you do business, but because of my economic hardship I allow you to do business (Mbeya)

Partner reaction

And in some cases the partner was totally against the idea

'First I was doing small business of making chapatti only, you know he urged me to stop doing it, you see?. Seeing that I was selling there, suddenly he came and broke the box (container), you see? Yes so I just cooled down and I stopped doing business.' (Dar Es Salaam)

'It would... it wouldn't have been possible..... Jealous, the problem is jealous, when we were together he did not like the idea of woman doing business'.
(Dar Es Salaam)

Conflict

Lack of money came through as a real source of conflict

'That is the beginning of quarrelling...saying I have told you to give me this and that and you don't give me... (Dar Es Salaam)

And working helps to alleviate the conflict

'When I look there were a lot of my fellow who used to stay just without a job activity and depend on their man, if it happens on a day when the man doesn't Have money they quarrel, fight until they end up separating but on my side if my Husband doesn't have money I use mine in order not to disturb him or bringing up a fight once he tells me he doesn't have money'. (Dar Es Salaam)



Conflict



On the flip side there is also tension when the woman is working

'He was spending his money on alcohol and that lady (the one he has an affair with) was also taking alcohol. Their money got spent on alcohol. I didn't like that behaviour; it was an embarrassment to me and I had to fight with him'. (Dar Es Salaam)

'I mean for most men, when he finds out that his wife is doing business then you will find that he doesn't provide money, I mean you will find that he does not provide the needs in the house, the reason is that my wife is also struggling, you see?' (Mbeya)



Decision making



Women acknowledge that their employment does not increase their decision making power in the household

'If I will make myself that I have a voice, it normally brings problems to a man... that's why some men forbid their wives to do business seeing that she is getting money that is why we are competing in the house. So it is better if I humble myself so that he feels that he is the father of the house, there is respect but when I have a voice it can bring in some problems, he may stop me from doing business. Men always like to feel that they are the heads of the house and you are under him that is when you will agree'. (Dar Es Salaam)

'People say that we women when we work and earn money we become rude and do not respect our husbands... Usually men feel weak and lose their confidence when his wife provides for the family and they worry that maybe she will leave me or argue with me!!!'.(Dar Es Salaam)

Decision making



With regards to sexual matters they still don't have a say

'I cannot... in this matter it becomes very difficult, he always has a voice.... That's It, you have to accept it because if I refuse he may say probably I have gone Somewhere, so you just have to agree to do it'. (Dar Es Salaam)

'Aha aha, how can I not be feeling while I live with him? I am in him, so I am supposed to help him, for I have agreed to live with him. For if I leave (refuse) him he will go outside and if he also leaves me I will also go outside. If I reject him I will be the cause of conflict in the house'. (Mbeya)

Women's income

In most cases women reported their income was used for basic household needs particularly on their children

'I thank God for this business, the big profit that I see in this business is the issue of sending kids to school because I know if I would not be doing this business it would be so difficult to send them to school'. (Dar Es Salaam)

'My children were in primary school and now they are in secondary school. Aah, to support my motherI send her money every month'. (Dar Es Salaam)

But generally, women perceived their contribution as small

'For me doing business is just to help a bit'. (Dar Es Salaam)

Summary of findings

- Economic hardship the primary reason for women to start employment.
- Women's access to income is necessary to meet household basic needs
- The association between women's employment and their vulnerability to intimate partner violence is complex
- Suggestion that not working leads to tension in the household i.e. some support for dependency theory
- Working alleviates some of the stress of poverty but women need to be very cautious about how they present themselves once they have money
- Also many women currently partnered may not be doing business because their partner does not allow it. The decision to enter into employment taken outside of a union