

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESEARCH COUNCIL END OF AWARD REPORT



For awards ending on or after 1 November 2009

This End of Award Report should be completed and submitted using the **grant reference** as the email subject, to **reportsofficer@esrc.ac.uk** on or before the due date.

The final instalment of the grant will not be paid until an End of Award Report is completed in full and accepted by ESRC.

Grant holders whose End of Award Report is overdue or incomplete will not be eligible for further ESRC funding until the Report is accepted. ESRC reserves the right to recover a sum of the expenditure incurred on the grant if the End of Award Report is overdue. (Please see Section 5 of the ESRC Research Funding Guide for details.)

Please refer to the Guidance notes when completing this End of Award Report.

Grant Reference	RES-167-25-0422		
Grant Title	Contested development?: intimate partner violence and women's employment in urban and rural Tanzania		
Grant Start Date	01 April 2008	Total Amount	£ 208,112
Grant End Date	31 March 2010	Expended:	
Grant holding Institution	London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine		
Grant Holder	Professor Charlotte Watts		
Grant Holder's Contact Details	Address	Email	
	Professor Charlotte Watts London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine, Department of Global Health & Development, 15-17 Tavistock Place , London, WC1H 9SH	Charlotte.watts@lshtm.ac.uk	
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Co-Investigators (as per project application):		Institution	
Ms Seema Vyas		London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine	

1. NON-TECHNICAL SUMMARY

Please provide below a project summary written in non-technical language. The summary may be used by ESRC to publicise your work and should explain the aims and findings of the project. *[Max 250 words]*

Women form the majority of the world's poor, and their social and economic empowerment is a central tenant of development programming. Violence by an intimate partner (IPV) is prevalent globally, and there are ongoing debates about whether women's empowerment increases or reduces women's risk of IPV. Our research in Tanzania explored this question in Dar Es Salaam (DES) and Mbeya. Working with the Muhimbili University of Health and Allied Sciences (MUHAS), we conducted a systematic review detailed analysis of household data on violence, complemented by qualitative interviews with poor women and men.

We found that:

- In low and middle income countries (LMIC), secondary education and household wealth are often associated with less violence, but women's employment is not always protective.
- There are varied patterns of IPV in Tanzania, broadly dividing into three groups: infrequent acts of physical violence; moderately frequent acts of sexual violence; and frequent acts of physical and sexual violence.
- In Tanzania the levels of IPV did not vary by education, access to income, or employment.
- However our qualitative research was more nuanced. Poor women described how, if they are not working, the income generated by men is insufficient, and lack of money is a source of household conflict. Also, men and women reported conflict if women work, as men feel they cannot trust their partners.

These findings have important implications for development policy. Our results have been fed back to key stakeholders in Tanzania, presented at conferences, and published in the academic literature.

2. PROJECT OVERVIEW

a) Objectives

Please state the aims and objectives of your project as outlined in your proposal to the ESRC. *[Max 200 words]*

Our research sought to better understand the relationship between women's employment and risk of intimate partner violence in the two contrasting sites of DES and Mbeya, in Tanzania. Specifically, we aimed to:

- 1) Examine the association between household poverty; women's social and economic empowerment and risk of IPV in DES and Mbeya
- 2) Document how poor women engaged in informal employment describe the impact of their work on their household roles and relationships, including their risk of violence; and whether

these have changed over time

3) Document the strategies that poor women engaged in informal employment use to mediate the potential risk of violence within their partnerships; including the extent to which women are able to seek help or try to leave a violent relationship.

4) Document community and local stakeholders perceptions about the relationship between women's economic and social empowerment and IPV risk, and the possible implications of the findings for development and poverty alleviation strategies in Tanzania, and other similar settings regionally, and for interventions aiming to prevent IPV in the region

5) Use the findings to develop a revised conceptual framework for the relationship between women's social and economic empowerment and risk of IPV

b) Project Changes

Please describe any changes made to the original aims and objectives, and confirm that these were agreed with the ESRC. Please also detail any changes to the grant holder's institutional affiliation, project staffing or funding. *[Max 200 words]*

The aims and objectives that were stated in the original research proposal remained the same over the duration of the project. However, an additional research objective was added in response to a referee's concern about the way that IPV was conceptualised.

The referee suggested that we justify why we define IPV as experience of physical and or sexual violence, and questioned why we didn't include issues of emotional and economic abuse and controlling behaviours. The additional objective in our study was:

6) To advance our understanding of the types and context of IPV in DES and Mbeya, Tanzania, and to identify how different forms of physical and sexual violence, emotionally abusive acts and controlling behaviours group into types of violence; and to explore the implications of the findings for developing theoretical models of intimate partner violence in a developing country setting.

The findings from this were then incorporated into the original proposed objectives, to explore whether the findings differed by the forms of violence that women were experiencing.

This addition was detailed in the projects progress report submitted to ESRC.

c) Methodology

Please describe the methodology that you employed in the project. Please also note any ethical issues that arose during the course of the work, the effects of this and any action taken. [Max. 500 words]

The study used quantitative and qualitative data, using 1) an existing Tanzanian household survey dataset collected as part of the WHO Multi-Country study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence, and 2) in-depth interviews and focus group discussion data that was collected as part of this project.

Data sources

Quantitative

To understand the types and context of IPV (objective 6) and to assess the relationship between women's employment and experience of IPV (objective 1), further analysis was conducted of data collected as part of the WHO's Multi-Country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence. The WHO Study in Tanzania was a representative, cross-sectional household survey of women aged between 15-49 in two sites, DES, Tanzania's largest city; and Mbeya, a provincial region. Data were collected between November 2001 and March 2002 and the survey used a multi-stage, cluster design. The sample used for analysis were ever-partnered women who answered questions on their experience of intimate partner violence (1,442 in DES and 1,256 in Mbeya).

The survey also includes detailed information on women's experiences of violence (controlling behaviour, emotional abuse, physical violence; and sexual) by a current or past partner ever or in the past 12 months; data on the impact of violence and coping mechanisms; women's attitudes towards gender roles, and a range of indicators about her financial autonomy, including employment status; access to money; ownership of assets; and control over decision making.

Qualitative

Because the quantitative findings document the patterns of association but is not able to establish causality, complementary qualitative research was conducted. A purposive sampling strategy was employed to identify men and women in low socioeconomic status groups in the same two sites as the WHO study. Women participants were engaged in income generating activities and were selected from the market place (WHO data indicated that the majority of poor women that earned an income were engaged in market trading activities). A list of markets in the same districts that were sampled for the household survey was drawn up and randomly selected (four markets were randomly selected within each site). Women participants were then randomly selected within the market. In total 36 in-depth interviews were conducted among women (20 DES; 16 Mbeya) and 12 focus group discussions (6 DES; 6 Mbeya). Male participants were partnered with women engaged in income generating activities and were selected from areas where poor men work (e.g. construction sites and local transport). In total, 20 in-depth interviews were carried out among men (10 DES; 10 Mbeya) and 8 focus group discussions (4 DES; 4 Mbeya).

The Tanzanian research assistant (Samuel Likindikoki) coded and analysed the data in Kiswahili and Seema Vyas coded the data and analysed the English version of the transcripts.

Ethical issues

The study adhered to WHO recommendations. The time taken to obtain local ethics clearance and local permissions was longer than initially anticipated. This delayed the initiation of the

research at the start of the data collection. As a result a six month no-cost extension was agreed with ESRC.

d) Project Findings

Please summarise the findings of the project, referring where appropriate to outputs recorded on *ESRC Society Today*. Any future research plans should also be identified. [Max 500 words]

In LMIC, secondary education and household wealth are often associated with less violence, but women's employment is not always protective

Our systematic review of existing population based studies suggests the protective effects of secondary education and household wealth. In some studies women's financial autonomy is protective, and in others increases risk, with the pattern being influenced by contextual factors [details on ESRC society today website].

Latent Class Analysis of household data on IPV suggests that there are 3 common patterns of violence:

relatively infrequent acts of physical violence; moderately frequent acts of sexual violence; and frequent acts of both physical and sexual abuse. These patterns did not differ between DES and Mbeya. All violence was associated with poor physical, reproductive and mental health. Women experiencing frequent acts of both physical and sexual abuse had the most severe poor health outcomes, and were more likely to have actively sought help from formal and informal sources.

In Tanzania the levels of IPV did not vary significantly by education, access to income, or employment

Our extensive analysis of the household data did not find associations between household assets, women's education, or women's employment and their vulnerability to IPV.

Our qualitative research findings suggest that the relationship between women's income generating activities and IPV is complex

Women commonly reported that when they are not working, the income generated by men is often not enough, and this lack of money is a source of conflict in the household as men resent women asking them for money. However, when women do work there is also conflict as men feel they cannot trust their partners and place restrictions on their entrepreneurial activities. Women's employment alone did not seem to improve women's influence over household decisions or sexual negotiation.

Implications of study findings

The findings highlight that the relationship between women's empowerment and IPV is complex. Although in our quantitative analysis of women's employment was not associated with increased or reduced risk, our qualitative research suggests that the issues are strongly inter-connected, and that women's employment may change the causal pathways for violence. Despite the ongoing risk of violence following employment, women unanimously view the situation where they have money more favourably than when they do not have money. This suggests that:

- 1) Interventions should not shy away from improving women's economic situation, for fear of increasing IPV
- 2) Women's economic empowerment is necessary for gender empowerment. However, alone it cannot be expected to lead to reductions in IPV. Findings from the Intervention for Micro-Finance and Gender Equity (IMAGE) in rural South Africa showed that combining participatory gender training and economic interventions lead to significant impacts on IPV

and household poverty.

- 3) Gender empowerment interventions should include working with men to improve household communication and ensure that they are not disenfranchised.

Further research

We are exploring options to conduct longitudinal research with women engaged in economic empowerment programmes in Tanzania, to better understand how women's engagement in economic activities influences their relationships and risk of violence.

e) Contributions to wider ESRC initiatives (eg Research Programmes or Networks)

If your project was part of a wider ESRC initiative, please describe your contributions to the initiative's objectives and activities and note any effect on your project resulting from participation. *[Max. 200 words]*

This project was part of the Joint ESRC-DFID Scheme for research on international poverty reduction. The contributions of this project to the scheme's aims and objectives are summarised as follows. This study:

- Researched a key gendered aspect of poverty, the link between women's employment / income generating activities and IPV in one of the poorest countries in the world, Tanzania.
- Addressed research challenges by
 - Creating a rich qualitative dataset capturing household dynamics between poor men and women in two contrasting Tanzanian settings
 - Providing greater understanding of the context within which women's employment affects their vulnerability to IPV and the causal pathways linking these two, and the implications these have for development interventions targeting poor women
 - Advancing methodological approaches to researching IPV and women's employment in LMIC
- Reinforced an existing collaboration between researchers at MUHAS and LSHTM, and strengthened local (Tanzanian) research capacity.
- Encouraged engagement with Tanzanian academic and non-academic stakeholders to ensure the study's relevance.

3. EARLY AND ANTICIPATED IMPACTS

a) Summary of Impacts to date

Please summarise any impacts of the project to date, referring where appropriate to associated outputs recorded on *ESRC Society Today*. This should include both scientific impacts (relevant to the academic community) and economic and societal impacts (relevant to broader society). The impact can be relevant to any organisation, community or individual. *[Max. 400 words]*

This study aimed to develop a greater understanding of the linkages between women's economic empowerment and vulnerability to IPV in Tanzania.

Scientific impact

To date we have produced one published article (recorded on ESRC society Today web site) and have three articles close to submission.

This study has made several methodological and empirical contributions.

- This is the first time that latent class analysis has been used to derive data driven constructs of the patterns of IPV in sub-Saharan Africa. Our findings differ from similar analyses of US data, finding an additional class of women experiencing sexual partner violence alone.
- Our research highlights the limitations of using analyses of cross-sectional data to identify risk factors. Our qualitative research suggests that employment may lead to different pathways of IPV risk, resulting in no significant quantitative association at the aggregate level.
- Our findings suggest that current sociological theories about women's economic empowerment and IPV are over-simplistic, and do not adequately reflect the range of forms of violence which may occur; do not separate out risk and responses to violence; or incorporate the influence of contextual factors.

Our research has been presented in several formal and informal academic fora:

- Seema Vyas gave a presentation on women's economic empowerment and vulnerability to IPV at the UN Girls Education Initiative conference in Dakar, Senegal (May 2010) [A copy of the presentation will be uploaded on the ESRC society Today website].
- The findings from the systematic review and analysis of the WHO study data have been presented to WHO multi-country study partners.
- Seema Vyas has engaged in ongoing 'community of practise' discussions with other researchers analysing WHO multi-country study data, to share the methods used for the latent class analysis

This study has helped strengthen local research capacity at MUHAS. Seema Vyas worked closely with the local research counterpart and three research assistants, who were given extensive training in qualitative research methods, data collection and analysis.

Economic and societal impact

The research has supported and is feeding into initiatives to address women's vulnerability to violence as part of development programmes.

- The preparatory and dissemination workshops brought together representatives from Government Ministries, Advocacy; NGO and Research communities in Tanzania. A briefing note was provided to ministers who were unable to attend.
- Charlotte Watts gave a presentation on violence against women and development at a public event organised by Action Aid.

b) Anticipated/Potential Future Impacts

Please outline any anticipated or potential impacts (scientific or economic and societal) that you believe your project might have in future. *[Max. 200 words]*

We anticipate that this study will help contribute to both policy development and further research on the links between women's empowerment and IPV in low and middle income countries.

Over the next few months we will submit the other papers from the study, with a focus on sharing both the methodological developments and key findings. These papers will present the findings on the patterns of violence identified; the qualitative findings; and discuss the implications of the findings for sociological and economic theories on the relationship between economic empowerment and IPV.

We also hope to combine the insights gained from this research with the findings from the IMAGE intervention research in South Africa, to enable us to draw broader conclusions about promising approaches to women's social and economic empowerment.

You will be asked to complete an ESRC Impact Report 12 months after the end date of your award. The Impact Report will ask for details of any impacts that have arisen since the completion of the End of Award Report.

4. DECLARATIONS

Please ensure that sections A, B and C below are completed and signed by the appropriate individuals. The End of Award Report will not be accepted unless all sections are signed.

Please note hard copies are NOT required; electronic signatures are accepted and should be used.

A: To be completed by Grant Holder

Please read the following statements. Tick ONE statement under ii) and iii), then sign with an electronic signature at the end of the section.

i) The Project

This Report is an accurate overview of the project, its findings and impacts. All co-investigators named in the proposal to ESRC or appointed subsequently have seen and approved the Report.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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ii) Submissions to *ESRC Society Today*

Output and impact information has been submitted to <i>ESRC Society Today</i> . Details of any future outputs and impacts will be submitted as soon as they become available.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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OR

This grant has not yet produced any outputs or impacts. Details of any future outputs and impacts will be submitted to <i>ESRC Society Today</i> as soon as they become available.	<input type="checkbox"/>
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OR

This grant is not listed on <i>ESRC Society Today</i> .	<input type="checkbox"/>
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iii) Submission of Datasets

Datasets arising from this grant have been offered for deposit with the Economic and Social Data Service.	<input type="checkbox"/>
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<i>We have transcripts of the qualitative research, but as part of the ethical clearance process, we were required to guarantee that the transcripts would not be shared with others. We have consulted the ESRC on this matter and are awaiting a response.</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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OR

Datasets that were anticipated in the grant proposal have not been produced and the Economic and Social Data Service has been notified.	<input type="checkbox"/>
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OR

No datasets were proposed or produced from this grant.	<input type="checkbox"/>
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