



Time Allocation on Productive and Domestic Work: The Unintended Consequence of Cash Transfers on Women's Workload

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Key Messages

- Regardless of TASAF status, many women are more overstretched than men,
- In addition to women's gender role, TASAF women beneficiaries perform men's gender role, but men do not reciprocate it because of a deep-rooted gender stereotype,
- TASAF women beneficiaries have more responsibilities than non-TASAF women beneficiaries,
- Mainstreaming TASAF CCTs in more national policies will increase their impact on women's empowerment,
- As it will take a long time for men to perform women's gender role, domestic electrical and non-electrical appliances should be affordable to the poor through tax exemption.

Introduction

Gender imbalance denies society a pool of diverse potentials and essential contribution to improving people's lives. There have been various initiatives such as Productive Social Safety Net (PSSN) to transform gender relations to attain poverty reduction and sustainable development goals. Conditional Cash Transfers (CCTs), one of PSSN, is one of the popular programmes like microfinance schemes, which have a dual purpose of reducing poverty and empowering women. But there is a heated debate on whether CCTs empower women because, on time, women already have too much workload, and they perform some men's traditional roles.

Tanzania also runs the CCTs programme through the Tanzania Social Action Fund (TASAF) to reduce abject poverty and empower people economically, and now it is in the third phase (TASAF, 2021). It also manages the Public Work Programme (PWP) like constructing and repairing roads as part of CCTs (TASAF, 2021).

Between 2015 and 2017, REPOA, in collaboration with TASAF and International Development Research

Council (IDRC) conducted the study to examine the impact of CCTs, including PWP on women's empowerment. REPOA has published the book to share the findings that research widely. It is titled 'Empowering Women in Tanzania in the Context of Contemporary Social Policy Reforms'. On the aspect of time, the results showed that CCTs have an unintended consequence on empowering women because they increase their workload rather than reducing it.

The purpose of this policy brief is to simplify the analysis and summarise the key findings on the domain of time and their policy-related implication and recommendation. The summary will help readers, including policymakers, to grasp key policy messages, implication, and recommendation to further gender transformation initiatives.

Mixed method was used to collect data from TASAF beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries between 2015 and 2017. The participants lived in 10 districts - nine in the Mainland and one in Zanzibar.

A total of 1,855 households were involved in the study. Data were also analysed quantitatively and qualitatively with SPSS and NVivo computer applications, while the Women Empowerment in Agriculture Index (WEAI) guided the analysis.

Results

The results cover the time allocation differences between men and women regardless of their TASAF status and TASAF and non-TASAF women beneficiaries.

Workload across gender

Households have two categories of work, which are productive and domestic work. The productive work includes office work, farming, vending, shopkeeping, and any income-related generating work, while the domestic work features looking after children, the sick, cooking, fetching water and firewood. The results indicated that both TASAF and non-TASAF women beneficiaries performed more productive and household work than men (see Table 1).

Table 1. Excessive workload across gender

			Gender	
			Female	Male
Exceeded Workload	Yes	n	575	178
		%	76.4	23.6
	No	n	1200	826
		%	59.2	40.8

Source: Fieldwork data, 2015

In addition to productive work, women washed dishes and clothes and cleaned their houses until late at night, while their husbands played men's games and drank coffee. Moreover, women were used to that gender role to the extent that they consider the time of domestic chores as free time. Also, they had a view that women always have a piece of work to do. This point is contextualised as follows:

"I do domestic works when I am free, I mean during night hours. I spend my time washing dishes, clothes and cleaning my house. I don't have free time as such. My husband always gets time to meet with his friends. He likes traditional games and coffee so you will meet him there sometimes or he rests at home as I told you earlier about his health problem." (Participant AK, TASAF beneficiary; Nyamazi Village, Zanzibar)

"For a woman, there is no time you do not have work; you cannot rest, especially if you are a widow, as you do all

the responsibilities." (Participant AV, non-TASAF beneficiary; Shakani A Village, Unguja)

Further analysis indicated that TASAF women beneficiaries' workload increased compared to their spouses because they started to perform work previously conducted by men only. For instance, in addition to domestic and care work, women started to dig boreholes, while men never began to perform women's gender roles such as cooking and washing dishes. For example, a husband was ready to attend PWP rather than take care of a family's sick member.

"I only ask my husband to attend public work if I have to take care of a member of the family who falls sick." (Participant AQ, TASAF beneficiary; Mwanunui Village, Itilima)

Workload and leisure time across TASAF and non-TASAF women beneficiaries

As indicated in the previous section, TASAF and non-TASAF women beneficiaries performed productive and domestic work. Table 2 shows that CCTs barely had an influence on women's workload. Again, there was no statistically significant difference between TASAF and non-TASAF women beneficiaries based on workload and time. However, qualitative results showed that TASAF women beneficiaries had more workload than non-TASAF women beneficiaries.

The TASAF women beneficiaries faced this situation because they performed TASAF activities as indicated above, and women's gender role-related workload. In other words, they had long, tight, non-flexible schedules because they had to include TASAF activities in their daily programmes.

However, a few were widows, and they perceived that women always have work to do throughout a day. Also, few TASAF women beneficiaries did not notice a change in their time allocation, but some with old age contributed to that.

"The roles have increased compared to the previous time because now we are required to make more decisions and plans for all required duties. For instance, before PWP programmes, I used to plan for my activities, but now we have a required activity." (Participant AG, TASAF beneficiary; Kikwete Village, Kisarawe)

"There is no change of responsibilities, and mostly I can speak on women side concerning my family. My duties and responsibilities are likely to be the same because as you can see, I am too old, and I can't do many issues. Most responsibilities are still the same even before I become TASAF beneficiary." (Participant AG, TASAF beneficiary; Kikwete Village, Kisarawe)

Table 2. Amount of Workload, Sleep and Leisure Time across TASAF and non-TASAF women beneficiaries

		CCTs/ PWP		
			Yes	No
Exceeded Workload	Yes	n	35	540
		%	6	94
	No	n	78	1122
		%	7	93
Amount of Sleep - Previous Night	Less than average	n	19	422
		%	4	96
	Average	n	80	1045
		%	7	93
	More than average	n	16	285
		%	5	95
Perception of Leisure Time	Less Satisfied	n	53	512
		%	9	91
	Not Sure	n	19	167
		%	10	90
	More Satisfied	n	43	1073
		%	4	96

Source: Fieldwork data, 2015

From a different perspective, the duration of sleeping and leisure in a day was used to throw light on TASAF and non-TASAF women beneficiaries' workload. As Table 2 shows, CCTs and PWP had little influence on TASAF women beneficiaries' time.

Further, the analysis indicated no statistically significant relationship with TASAF status for sleeping, but for leisure time it was. Further analysis indicated that TASAF women beneficiaries had less time for sleeping and leisure than non-TASAF beneficiaries.

"I am supposed to wake up very early in the morning to finish TASAF related work and go back to our normal chores." (Participant AG, TASAF beneficiary; Kikwete Village, Kisarawe)

Despite working long hours, the TASAF women beneficiaries improved their living standards; for example, they increased the number of meals a day, purchased clothes, and met other basic needs. They also managed to send their children to school, including stationery and uniforms.

Conclusions and policy recommendation

Gender transformation is critical for poverty reduction and sustainable development because it taps the potential of as many women as possible in the development process. One of the famous initiatives to address the issue of gender imbalance is CCTs, including PWP. The findings of the impact of CCTs on women's time allocation showed that: firstly, regardless of TASAF status, women had more workload than men because of traditional gender roles.

Secondly, TASAF women beneficiaries' workload increased, while their spouses' workload remained constant because those women were doing men's work, while men did not do women's gender role. However, a few women had that experience because they were widows and their spouses had permanent health issues. But those male spouses with health complication could do some light domestic chores because they played traditional games. Also, a few CCTs women beneficiaries reported unchanged time allocation, but logically their accounts showed that they wanted extra time.

Finally, TASAF women beneficiaries had more responsibilities than non-TASAF women beneficiaries because they had a long, tight, non-flexible day programme. As their workload increased, their sleeping and leisure time decreased the thing which poses health risks to women. As it appears that most participants did not use clock time, and a researcher driven diary was not used to collect data, the qualitative analysis provided richer insights than quantitative findings.

The main findings suggest that CCTs improve the lives of the impoverished people in Tanzania, but it increases women's workload and decreases their sleeping and leisure time. Further, they imply that if men are not involved closely to help women reduce their workload, the programme will not contribute to significant gender transformation.

It is recommended that the government transforms the programme and mainstream it into more national policies to impact women's empowerment positively. For example, it can grant tax exemption to the poor for non-electrical and electrical domestic appliances because soon as many Tanzanians as possible will access electricity.

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