

**A GENDER ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXTS OF
IRINGA, MOROGORO AND RUKWA REGIONS
AND THE USAID/LISHE ENDELEVU ACTIVITY**

**FINAL REPORT
OCTOBER 23, 2019**



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

USAID/Lishe Endelevu is a four-year cooperative agreement that aims to intensify and integrate nutrition support and improve the nutritional status of women, children and adolescents in four regions of Tanzania: Rukwa, Iringa, Morogoro, and Dodoma. Lishe Endelevu seeks to achieve these outcomes through three intermediate results (IR) areas: IR1. Strengthened multi-sectoral coordination for improved nutrition at the local government level; IR2. Improved health, nutrition, WASH and caregiving behaviors; and IR 3 Increasing access to and availability of diverse, safe and nutritious food.

Overview of the Gender Analysis Study

This report supports the development of a Social and Behavior Change (SBC) strategy through an analysis of gender-related issues within each of the three intermediate result areas of LISHE ENDELEVU. It describes gender-related issues that are relevant to the LISHE ENDELEVU Activity's implementation and providers' recommendations to help strengthen the project's ability to implement gender-sensitive and gender transformative interventions that:

- (a) support the achievement of LISHE ENDELEVU's broad program goals which are to reduce childhood stunting and improve maternal nutrition, child nutrition and adolescent nutrition in the zones of intervention; and
- (b) represent a strategic, integrated approach with activities that enhance or improve on existing activities within draft LISHE ENDELEVU's Y1 work plan and maximize LISHE ENDELEVU's impact on increasing gender equity and empowering women.

The objectives of the gender analysis are to:

- (a) Conduct a rapid situation analysis of significant gender issues that are relevant and important for the LISHE ENDELEVU project to be aware of and to address in areas of LISHE ENDELEVU's zone of intervention selected by the project team;
- (b) Assess the extent to which gender has been incorporated into the existing design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, staffing, policy, capacity building, networking and communications areas of the LISHE ENDELEVU activity;
- (c) Identify key opportunities and constraints for LISHE ENDELEVU to integrate gender-sensitive and/or gender-transformative interventions into its strategic approach to social and behavior change for improved nutrition outcomes among the priority beneficiaries;
- (d) Generate findings and recommendations to: inform the development of LISHE ENDELEVU's social and behavior change strategy; enhance the existing first 1000 days SBCC strategy that is deployed through the "Parents Kit"; and improve or potentially add to LISHE ENDELEVU's existing performance indicators.

The greatest emphasis of the gender analysis was placed on considerations of current or potential work under IR2 and IR3, where LISHE ENDELEVU's implementation is focused most directly on improving nutrition, health, WASH and agriculture practices of the beneficiary populations: families with children under two, and particularly smallholder farming families and communities engaging in agriculture activities. The analysis considered opportunities and constraints for men, women and adolescents to increase their access to and consumption of diverse, nutritious foods, to access services, and to adopt both improved nutrition-specific and improved nutrition-sensitive practices.

The gender analysis also considered the following:

- men's and women's status in community, including a discussion of how status and social perceptions of men and women may change over a lifespan (e.g. older women tend to have higher status and command more social authority than younger women) and how status may influence nutrition and health outcomes;
- socially-prescribed gender roles and responsibilities;
- access to and control over assets and resources;
- gender differences in decision-making: how decisions are made, when and by whom;
- power differentials in roles and relationships in work settings or other formal settings (e.g. during meetings, workshops, or trainings) and in typical households and families may influence men's and women's abilities to adopt improved nutrition-specific or nutrition-sensitive practices and influence nutrition outcomes;
- differences and similarities in men's and women's (and boys' and girls') access to nutrition, agriculture, health and WASH information, inputs, resources, opportunities and services offered through LISHE ENDELEVU and the government of Tanzania;
- how men, women and adolescents generally spend their time, and how available time, workloads, and other factors may influence anticipated levels of participation of women and men (including age, ethnicity, disability, location, etc.) in Lishe Endelvu activities

Methodology

The gender analysis included a review of Tanzania's Demographic Health Survey data related to women's empowerment and gender equity, an assessment of the degree to which gender is addressed in two major policy documents—Tanzania's National Nutrition Strategy (2011/2012 – 2015/16) and the Tanzania Agriculture Policy (2013)— and a rapid qualitative study conducted in communities in Rukwa, Iringa, and Morogoro. Focus group discussions and in-depth interviews were the main methods of data collection in the qualitative study.

Sample

Overall, 126 individuals were interviewed in the rapid qualitative study conducted in the three regions: one hundred nineteen (119) individuals participated in fifteen focus group discussions (FGDs) and seven key informants participated in individual interviews. The study population was pregnant or breastfeeding women, husbands of pregnant or breastfeeding women and adolescent girls aged between 15 and 19 years old. Key informants included agriculture extension officers, community health workers, and nutritionists.

Summary of findings from the review of the Tanzania Demographic Health Survey

Gender and decision-making

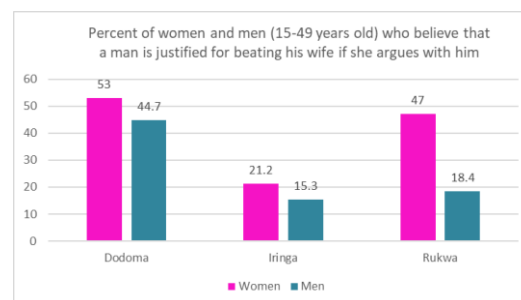
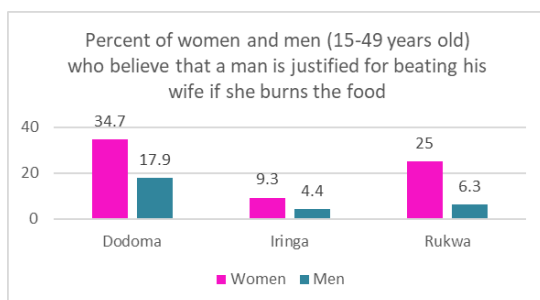
According to Tanzania Demographic Health Survey (TDHS) 2015-2016:

- 35% of married women report making decisions, either alone or jointly with their husbands, about all of the following: their own health care, major household purchases, and visits to their families and relatives.
- 36% of married women who receive cash earnings say they decide for themselves how their earnings are used, while 55% make these decisions jointly with their husbands.

- Women's autonomy in decision making is positively associated with their residence, level of education, employment and wealth. Women in rural areas have less autonomy in decision making in all types of outcome measures.

Violence against women

- Physical violence against women is high. Nation-wide, 42% of ever-married women have experienced intimate partner violence, whether physical or sexual. One third of ever-married women report having experienced intimate partner violence within the past year.
- Intimate partner violence is higher among women whose husband or partner has no education (53%) or gets drunk very often (74%), and whose father had beaten her mother (54%).
- There are notable variations in the prevalence of physical violence across the regions. The highest percent of women who reported experiencing spousal physical violence in the past year is in Dodoma (43 percent), then, Rukwa (42 percent) Iringa (30 percent) and the lowest Morogoro (28 percent). The most common perpetrator of physical violence among ever-married women is a current husband or partner (63%). Among never-married women, the perpetrator is most likely a teacher (23%).
- Nation-wide, women are significantly more likely than men to believe husbands are justified in beating their wives for various reasons. An average of fifty-eight percent (58%) of women compared to 40% of men between the ages of 15 and 49 years agree that a husband is justified in beating his wife for at least one of the following reasons: if she burns the food, argues with him, goes out without telling him, neglects the children, or refuses to have sex with him.
- Among the three regions reviewed in the gender analysis, Dodoma holds the highest acceptance of husbands beating their wives. Fifty-three percent of women and 44.7% of men between the ages of 15 and 49 years believe that husbands are justified in beating their wives if their wives argue with them, and women are nearly twice as likely as (34.7% compared to 17.9%) to believe men are justified in beating their wives if their wives burn the food while cooking.



Relationships between physical violence against women on maternal and child health and nutrition outcomes

- Violence against women and societal attitudes towards this violence are significantly correlated with women and children's health outcomes. Women who do not agree with wife beating are more likely to receive assisted delivery from a trained health care provider (61%) than women who agree with multiple reasons for wife beating (47%).

- Women who do not agree with wife beating are also more likely to receive postnatal care from a health professional within two days of delivery, the period when the majority of maternal and neonatal deaths occur (2019 TDHS; gender analysis).
- Children born to mothers who disagree with wife beating are more likely to survive childhood.

The TDHS findings are consistent with more recent findings from a global study of correlations between intimate partner violence (IPV) in fifty-one low and middle-income countries and exclusive breastfeeding practices. This global study, which includes Tanzania's own DHS data, found that women's exposure to physical violence is independently associated with a decreased likelihood of their exclusively breastfeeding in the first 6 months (Rishi Caleyachetty, R, Uthman, O, Bekele, H, et. Al., 2019¹).

Summary of findings from the review of the Tanzania National Nutrition Strategy and the Tanzania National Agricultural Policy

A review of the two national policy documents revealed that neither mainstreams gender or frames nutrition and agriculture within considerations of gender. That said, the National Nutrition Strategy does highlight the triple roles of women (reproductive, domestic and productive) and acknowledges that societal expectations of women in these roles deprive women of the time, authority and agency in decision-making, and has negative outcomes on their own health and the health of their children. Meanwhile, the National Agricultural Policy, although primarily gender neutral, does discuss two other important policies that relate to agriculture. These are (1) the land policy of 1995 which "promotes equitable distribution and access to land for all citizens such as the removal of gender imbalance in land ownership and sound management of land resources" and (2) the 2000 National Gender Policy which notes that- even though more than ninety percent of women in Tanzania are engaged in agriculture-related activities and produce over 70 percent of the country's food requirements, they are excluded from the ownership of land and other resources, and have limited control over the products of their own labour.

Beyond these brief acknowledgements that gender is an important issue in the nutrition and agriculture sectors, neither national policy document provides framing discussions to support the development of guidelines or strategies to actually address gender.

Additional analysis on each policy is included in Appendixes A and B of this document.

¹ *Maternal exposure to intimate partner violence and breastfeeding practices in 51 low-income and middle-income countries: A population-based cross-sectional study.* October 1, 2019; <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pmed.1002921>

Summary of findings from the rapid qualitative research in communities

Gender roles

Both men and women have agricultural roles and engage in raising crops and livestock. Men exert control over most of the decision-making on how household income will be used and are expected to provide food, shelter and other resources for the family. Women and adolescent girls are expected to tend the home, to ensure the care and feeding of the children and the family, and to be responsible for water, hygiene and sanitation in the household, although most participants reported that families do not routinely practice recommended WASH behaviors, particularly hand washing at critical times, and that open defecation in the bush or digging holes to defecate in are common practices for people who must walk long distances to their farms. While society's perceptions of women cover a wide range of attributes (e.g. resourceful, supportive, caring, loving, tender, gentle, submissive, good), society has a narrower range of perceptions of men: men are essentially perceived to be aggressive and powerful. Society holds firm expectations around these gender roles and the research indicated that men and women alike are reluctant to challenge societal expectations and behave in ways that would contradict their prescribed gender roles.

Family relationship dynamics

Men are perceived to hold a superior ranking in the family. Women, meanwhile, are perceived to be weak, and are expected to be submissive, to obey what they are told by their husbands. Gender roles and identities were observed to create tensions in family dynamics and couple relationships, particularly in terms of gender inequities in workloads and in access to and control of income. Men have more leisure time available to them and tend to spend a significant amount of time outside of the home socializing with other men and sometimes engaging in extramarital affairs. Men allocate some of the household income to these leisure activities which often include the consumption of alcohol. When men eventually return home, they may be drunk and tired. Research participants frequently identified these practices as contributing factors for poor couple communication, strained family relationships, and physical violence and other abuse by men. Social expectations of how men and women "should" behave confine women to being dependent on their husbands for money, burdened with heavy workloads in the home and in the field, and submissive to their husbands' infidelities and abuse.

Communication between adolescent girls and their parents

Across the regions, we found out that adolescent girls are largely influenced by their mothers. Girls spend most of their time with their mothers and siblings, and consequently build stronger bonds with mothers. Girls confide in their mothers. Adolescent girls reported having limited communication with their fathers and said that when they needed their fathers' support, they would typically use their mothers as the mediators between them and their fathers. Few adolescent girls reported that they could give advice or express their opinions to their parents or older family members.

Decision-making on use of household agricultural income and resources

- Men make most of the decisions on livestock, poultry, agricultural produce with high cash value, and other income-generating assets for the household.
- The majority of women reported being able to make decisions only on what food they would cook. This decision-making power is constrained by the budgets allocated by their husbands for their household expenditures and by the availability of the food based on the season and access to the markets.
- A few of the women focus group participants did report having kitchen gardens and small farms and having control over the income that they were able to generate through these smallholder farming activities.
- Limited time emerged as an important constraint on women's decision-making even around cooking for themselves and their families. In some cases, women reported skipping meals while they were pregnant or breastfeeding simply because they did not have time to prepare and eat them.
- Animal source foods (e.g. eggs, chicken, milk and meat) are mainly sold rather than consumed at home.

Household member food allocations and eating practices

- Eating practices are gendered and are impacted by inequitable distribution of food in the household. There is a well-defined hierarchy (*mazoea*) dictating to whom the food is served: the man/husband is the first to be served and he receives the larger portion of the food as well as the most nutritious foods, the children are served next, and the woman/wife is served last.
- Women participants reported that although they prepare food and could allocate the food differently, their fear of intimate partner violence or abandonment by their husbands leads them to ensure that their husbands receive the largest and best servings of food.

Transactional sex and adolescent girls' nutrition

- Transactional sex is a strategy that some girls employ to increase their access to and consumption of a more diverse diet. Girls' lovers provide the girls with snacks, such as chips *mayai* and *nyamachoma*, sanitary pads and sometimes pocket money.
- Adolescent girls' friends were reported as being influencers in this practice: a girl with a boyfriend (sometimes an older man and sometimes an adolescent boy who is out of school and earning his own income) who provides her with money and food might encourage her girl friend to seek a similar arrangement.
- Rukwa participants reported that some mothers may also encourage their adolescent daughters to engage in transactional sex as a way to bring more resources (particularly money and food) into the household.

Gender and workloads

- Women typically wake up earlier and go to sleep later than their male counterparts. Women spend their days working and take on multiple tasks in the home, including

preparing food for the family, fetching water, cleaning the home and the compound, feeding, tending and washing the children. Women also engage in agricultural work in the family's fields.

- Women's daily routines and heavy workloads generally do not change while they are pregnant or breastfeeding, although in Rukwa and Iringa, women reported receiving some help for a short period after their deliveries. Only in Morogoro among the Kaguru tribe did postpartum support extend to a longer duration (three months).
- Alcohol abuse, time spent on *michepuko*, and fear of being mocked by their peers were the main reasons why the men do not help their wives with their workloads.
- Adolescent girls have workloads that are similar to those of their mothers, although it was observed that girls in lower-income households had heavier workloads than their wealthier counterparts, waking up earlier and taking on the duties of preparing breakfast for the household before walking to school.

Maternal and child nutrition information

- Women tend to have much more maternal and child nutrition knowledge and information than their husbands/partners.
- Men are generally disinclined to be receptive to any maternal child and nutrition information their wives might have to share with them.
- Due to poor communication among couples, the majority of men in the focus group discussions reported being unaware of their wives' pregnancies until they were in the second or third trimester.

Conclusions

Gender roles and family relationships exert an important influence on nutrition outcomes for pregnant and lactating women, children under 5 and adolescent girls across all the regions. Men retain the majority of the control over household finances and assets. Alcohol abuse and men's extra-marital affairs quickly surfaced in the qualitative research as practices associated intimate partner violence, poor couple communication, and insufficient allocation of household resources to meet the nutritional needs of the most nutritionally vulnerable household members (pregnant and breastfeeding women, adolescent girls, infants and young children). The associations between intimate partner violence (physical, verbal or emotional) and negative maternal and child nutrition outcomes found in this gender analysis are confirmed in recent global studies.

Overwhelming workloads also negatively impact women's time to practice exclusive breastfeeding, and to rest and eat during pregnancy/breastfeeding. Men's reluctance to support their pregnant or breastfeeding wives by helping them with their chores is due in large part to men's fear of being mocked by their peers.

Adolescent girls' agency is constantly compromised—their opinions are rarely brought into consideration, and girls from rural areas, especially, find it generally difficult to communicate with their fathers, and even more so when it comes to communicating their nutritional needs. Adolescent girls' eating habits are largely influenced by what's available at home. They are

vulnerable to being lured into sexual relationships with older men or adolescent boys who have money to buy them foods that are not available to girls at home.

Recommendations

A fundamental component of LISHE ENDELEVU's SBC strategy must focus on creating an enabling environment at the household level that will make it possible for men, women and adolescent girls to adopt improved nutrition practices. Better family relationships, better couple communication and greater support from men for their wives and daughters are among the critical objectives for a gender-specific SBC strategy.

Changing societal expectations around the attitudes and behaviours that constitute those of the ideal father, husband, wife, mother, and daughter will be key to the success of the SBC strategy. A truly gender *transformative* approach will be as much about 'liberating' men from the heavy social expectations and peer pressure that obliges them to demonstrate their power and dominance over women as it will be about 'empowering' women. A fundamental component of LISHE ENDELEVU's SBC strategy must focus on creating an enabling environment at the household level that will make it possible for men, women and adolescent girls to adopt improved nutrition practices. More supportive family relationships with more equitable allocations of food and workload, better couple communication, and improved father-daughter communication are among the critical objectives for a gender-specific SBC strategy.

Based on the observations drawn from a gender analysis of the socio-cultural contexts of Iringa, Morogoro and Rukwa Regions, the following recommendations are put forward as gender priorities to address under each of the three intermediate result areas of the USAID/Lishe Endelevu Activity.

IR1: Gender recommendations to strengthen multi-sectoral coordination for improved nutrition at the local government level:

1. LISHE ENDELEVU would benefit from a new mapping exercise to identify all stakeholders and resources with the potential to contribute to combatting alcohol abuse and intimate partner violence through strategic partnerships.
 - a. Religious leaders are likely to be powerful allies, given the respect they command in the community.
 - b. Social workers, mental health workers, and counselors with expertise in these areas may also be important stakeholders and potential collaborators.
 - c. Mapping should also consider institutions and individuals who provide specialized services to children, adolescents and women (e.g., reproductive health, family planning, PMCT, MNCH clinics, HIV prevention, education, vocation skills, psychosocial well-being, social protection and credit schemes). These potential collaborators may have the potential to establish cross-referrals for services and programs to support children, adolescent girls and women of reproductive age benefiting from LISHE ENDELEVU's nutrition, WASH and agriculture programs and who may also be negatively impacted by alcohol abuse and intimate partner violence.

- d. Schools, religious congregations and youth peer education programs can be used as platforms for delivering adolescents' life skills, sexual and reproductive health education and nutrition-specific interventions.
2. Explore possible policy interventions at the level of municipalities and local governments, such as earlier closing hours for pubs and bars and limits on the number of alcoholic beverages served per patron (as exists in some other countries). These and other interventions to address alcohol abuse should focus on using a combination of structural disincentives (such as laws, alcohol taxes, and early closing hours), public awareness-raising through a large-scale campaign to combat the social acceptance of alcohol abuse and related intimate partner violence and to promote responsible drinking.

IR 2: Gender recommendations to improve health, nutrition, WASH and caregiving behaviors:

1. The First 1000 Days Parents' Kit already includes a heavy emphasis on promoting healthy couple communication, better family dynamics and supportive roles for husbands and fathers to improve maternal and child nutrition outcomes. To support these household-level changes in nutrition behaviors and gender roles, Lishe Endelevu should develop a broader social change strategy that will help shift society's expectations for men, especially, in their roles as husbands, fathers, and providers for their families. Identify and promote supportive nutrition-related roles for men (e.g. helping their wives with their workloads including childcare and feeding, accompanying women to ANC, using more of their income to purchase nutritious foods for their wives and children, spending more time with their families, etc.) as beneficial and admirable. The 'male champion' programs implemented by EngenderHealth in Tanzania offer examples of identifying and raising the profile of real-life husbands and fathers as positive role models for other men to adopt new practices that support and empower their wives and improve the health and well-being of their families. The 'male champions' are also trained to serve as peer educators for other men in their communities.
2. Given how wide-spread and strongly-held certain gender roles are, the authors recommend Lishe Endelevu consider a large-scale SBCC campaign across the regions to transform current priority gender-inequitable attitudes and practices that this study suggests may be the greatest barriers to improved maternal, child and adolescent nutrition outcomes: alcohol abuse and intimate partner violence. Such a campaign would require wide stakeholder support and the use of a blend of communication media, including mass media (television, radio, and mobile phone) and opinion leaders. Religious leaders and other voices of authority in society are important allies in this effort.
3. Consider developing and pretesting family nutrition social and behaviour change communication materials that integrate positive and gender transformative roles for men in improving their families' nutrition and disseminate these materials in pubs, bars

and other places where men and spend money on alcohol and food with their friends or lovers.

4. Lishe Endelevu should explore the possibility of collaborating with faith-based organizations to mobilize religious leaders to combat intimate partner violence, extra-marital affairs and alcohol abuse as part of a gender-transformative approach to improving maternal, child and adolescent nutrition in their communities.

IR3: Gender recommendations to increase access to and availability of diverse, safe and nutritious food:

1. Ensure that interventions that assist women in generating agricultural income, gaining access to credit and loans, or saving money are accompanied by complementary interventions designed to improve the enabling environment at home and to reduce the potential for conflict, arguments or intimate partner violence as unintended outcomes of activities that increase women's access to and control of money. Complementary interventions should foster safe couple communication around household finances and prepare men to adjust to the shift in the balance of power in the household as their wives gain access to more information, skills and resources.
2. Identify and build strategic collaborations with programs that work specifically with adolescents (e.g. in the areas of reproductive health, family planning and HIV prevention, vocational training, and after-school programs) to offer girls other options for earning revenue that enables them to purchase food for themselves. Without other means to earn money, adolescent girls may use transactional sex as a strategy to increase their access to a greater diversity of foods, and particularly animal source foods.
3. Design SBCC materials and programming that help to improve father-daughter relationships and interpersonal communication around adolescent and family nutrition. Recognizing that a major barrier to father-daughter communication is that fathers are often physically absent from their homes, an important part of the SBCC strategy will be to encourage fathers to spend more time at home or- where possible and appropriate- to encourage daughters to accompany their fathers on errands, such as going to the market.
4. Lishe Endelevu should ensure that labor-saving and time-saving technologies, support for childcare and other interventions that help women to reduce their day-to-day workloads are integrated alongside activities to empower women with training, access to agricultural inputs, and savings and loan programs.

MAIN REPORT

1.0 Introduction

Background

USAID's LISHE ENDELEVU Activity is a four-year cooperative agreement that will intensify and integrate nutrition support and improve the nutritional status of women, children and adolescents in 4 regions of Tanzania. Working in Dodoma, Iringa, Morogoro, and Rukwa, the Activity will reach 1.5 million women of reproductive age, 1.1 million children under five, and 330,000 adolescent girls 15-19 years of age with improved nutrition services; social and behavior change (SBC) for optimal Infant and Young Child Feeding (IYCF) and water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) behaviors; promotion of nutrition-sensitive livelihoods; and positive shifts in gender norms and equitable household decision making.

Lishe Endelevu supports the government ambitious goal of improving nutrition outcomes for women of reproductive age, children under-five and adolescent girls. The project will be implemented under the leadership of Save the Children. Project area includes Morogoro, Iringa, Dodoma, and Rukwa regions. The goal of the project is to reduce prevalence of stunting by 15%, and increase the prevalence of women who receives minimum acceptable diet by 15%, by the end of the 2022.

Save the Children (SC), The Manoff Group and the other consortium partners have developed a strategy to leverage existing platforms and investment while contributing substantive regional and global experience to implement a package of interventions built around capacity development, SBC, and a strong enabling environment to ensure sustainable change at all levels from national government to the individual household. LISHE ENDELEVU's comprehensive integrated strategy uses evidence-based approaches and tools to improve multi-sectoral coordination, quality of nutrition services, access to and consumption of nutritious foods, and knowledge and practices for nutrition-specific, nutrition-sensitive, and nutrition-supportive behaviors, including gender transformative behaviors.

LISHE ENDELEVU works closely with actors at all levels including the Tanzania Food and Nutrition Center (TFNC) and line ministries, the President's Office for Regional Administration and Local Government (PO-RALG), district and ward councils, frontline workers in health and agriculture, community and religious leaders, influencers and family members to improve the capacity and know how needed to champion optimal nutrition and substantially improve nutrition outcomes in Tanzania. By 2022, stunting in children under five will decline by 15 percent and the minimal acceptable diet in women of reproductive age and children 6-23 months will increase by 15 percent.

Intermediate Result Areas

LISHE ENDELEVU seeks results in three intermediate result (IR) areas:

- IR1: Strengthened multi-sectoral coordination for improved nutrition at the local government level;
- IR2: Improved health, nutrition, WASH and caregiving behaviors; and
- IR3 Increasing access to and availability of diverse, safe and nutritious food.

Under IR1, core interventions focus on building the capacity of Local Government Authorities (LGA) to coordinate, monitor and implement National Multi-Sectoral Nutrition Action Plan (NMNAP) interventions while strengthening linkages and collaborative efforts across Civil Society Organizations (CSO) and private sector partners to improve effective community-based nutrition service delivery.

Under IR2, core interventions focus on identifying and promoting factors that facilitate the adoption of improved health, nutrition, WASH and agriculture behaviors and reducing or mitigating the factors that inhibit the adoption of improved behaviors. Interventions will help enhance frontline providers' delivery of health, nutrition, WASH and agriculture services, promote improved knowledge, skills and self-efficacy needed to adopt improved behaviors, shift societal expectations for specific behaviors, and foster improved enabling environments in the home and in communities that in ways that increase social support for people to adopt and maintain these improved behaviors.

Under IR3, core interventions include improved nutrition-sensitive agriculture practices in the production, preservation, storage, and purchase of nutritious, diverse and safe foods. Core interventions in this intermediate results area also include a focus on helping farming families retain and consume more nutritious, diverse and safe foods, and to ensure that the most nutritionally vulnerable members of the household—notably pregnant and breastfeeding women, children under two, and adolescents, have improved nutrition outcomes.

Overview of the Scope of the Gender Analysis

This gender analysis supports the development of the SBC strategy by assessing gender-specific issues within each of the three intermediate result areas of LISHE ENDELEVU. In all three intermediate result areas, the gender analysis was designed to detail key gender inequalities and to suggest ways that LISHE ENDELEVU could narrow or close gender gaps by maximizing opportunities, addressing inequalities, and/or fostering approaches that empower women and adolescent girls in the specific result areas that will be addressed by LISHE ENDELEVU.

Purpose of the gender analysis

The purpose of the gender analysis is to describe gender-related issues that are relevant to the LISHE ENDELEVU Activity's implementation and to generate recommendations to help strengthen the project's ability to implement gender-sensitive and gender transformative interventions that:

- (a) support the achievement of LISHE ENDELEVU's broad program goals which are to reduce childhood stunting and improve maternal nutrition, child nutrition and adolescent nutrition in the zones of intervention; and
- (b) represent a strategic, integrated approach with activities that enhance or improve on existing activities within draft LISHE ENDELEVU's Y1 work plan and maximize LISHE ENDELEVU's impact on increasing gender equity and empowering women.
- (c) Based on the findings of the gender analysis, develop recommendations: to inform the development of LISHE ENDELEVU's social and behavior change strategy; enhance the existing first 1000 days SBCC strategy that is deployed through the "Parents Kit"; and improve or potentially add to LISHE ENDELEVU's existing performance indicators.

The analysis considers the opportunities and constraints for men, women and adolescents to increase their access to and consumption of diverse, nutritious foods, to access services, and to adopt both improved nutrition-specific and improved nutrition-sensitive practices. The greatest emphasis of the

gender analysis is placed on IR2 and IR3, where LISHE ENDELEVU's implementation is focused most directly on improving nutrition, health, WASH and agriculture practices of the beneficiary populations: families with children under two, and particularly smallholder farming families and communities engaging in agriculture activities supported by the LISHE ENDELEVU.

Broad topics of focus of the gender analysis include:

- men's and women's status in community, including a discussion of how status and social perceptions of men and women may change over a lifespan (e.g. older women tend to have higher status and command more social authority than younger women) and how status may influence nutrition and health outcomes;
- socially-prescribed gender roles and responsibilities;
- access to and control over assets and resources;
- gender differences in decision-making: how decisions are made, when and by whom;
- power differentials in roles and relationships in work settings or other formal settings (e.g. during meetings, workshops, or trainings) and in typical households and families may influence men's and women's abilities to adopt improved nutrition-specific or nutrition-sensitive practices and influence nutrition outcomes;
- differences and similarities in men's and women's (and boys' and girls') access to nutrition, agriculture, health and WASH information, inputs, resources, opportunities and services offered through LISHE ENDELEVU and the government of Tanzania;
- how men, women and adolescents generally spend their time, and how available time, workloads, and other factors may influence anticipated levels of participation of women and men (including age, ethnicity, disability, location, etc.) in Lishe Endelvu activities.

Overview of the rapid qualitative research component of the gender analysis

Community consultations were conducted in three regions: Rukwa, Iringa, and Morogoro using qualitative methods to elicit information, perspectives and experiences from pregnant or breastfeeding women, husbands of pregnant or breastfeeding women, adolescent girls, agriculture extension officers, community health workers, and nutritionists. Focus group discussions and in-depth interviews focused on capturing information on gender issues surrounding gender roles and identities, relationships, power relations (agency), workloads and eating practices. Table 1 provides additional information on the number and distribution of focus groups and in-depth interviews.

Sampling methodology: Purposive sampling was used to recruit participants through a team effort by Save The Children program staff and ward executive officers and nutritionists. The study selection criteria included women who are pregnant or breastfeeding, husbands of pregnant or breastfeeding women, and adolescent girls 15-19 years old (in and out of school).

Data collection and analysis: Research tools included semi-structured guides for focus group discussions and in-depth interviews. Fifteen focus group discussions were held with a total of 112 participants and seven in-depth interviews were conducted in Rukwa, Iringa, and Morogoro (see table 1). Each focus group discussion (FGD) involved between 6 and 10

participants and lasted between 90 and 120 minutes. Separate focus group discussions for men, women and adolescent girls were conducted in each of the sites.

Each FGD was facilitated by a moderator (a local Tanzanian consultant hired by The Manoff Group), with a note taker and one observer. All FGDs and in-depth interviews (IDIs) were audio-recorded. Notetakers/observers were matched to the participants' gender (e.g., a male note-taker/observer was assigned to focus groups with men and a female note-taker/observer was assigned to focus groups with women). Guidance regarding informed consent for focus group participants was read aloud by the moderator and participants provided their verbal consent before the discussions and audio-recordings began. The moderator used the semi-structured guides as well as probes to obtain and clarify participants' responses to questions. Focus group discussions took place in 4 different villages (Katazi, Muze, Mazombe, and Mamboya) and 2 peri-urban areas (Kihesa and Ifakara). The villages were chosen based on geographic barriers and socio-economic status within LISHE ENDELEVU Zone of intervention.

The audio recordings of FGDs and IDIs were transcribed verbatim in Kiswahili and the transcripts subsequently translated into English. Primary documents (transcripts and observation notes) were uploaded into ATLAS.ti (version 8) for coding.

Table 1: Distribution and number of Focus Group Discussions, In-depth interviews and participants

Regions	Districts	No. focus group discussion			No. In-depth interviews (IDIs) Extension officer/community health worker/nutritionist	Total # of FGDs	Total # of IDIs
		Women	Men	Adolescents girls (15-19 years)			
Rukwa	Kalambo (Katazi)*	1(6 participants)	1 (6)		1 IDI with extension officer	5FGDs	2 IDIs
	Sumbawanga Rural (Muze)*	1(8)	1 (8)	1 (8)	1 IDI with community health worker 1 IDI with a nutritionist		
Iringa	Kilolo (Mazombe)*	1(6)	1(6)		1 IDI with extension officer	5FGDs	3 IDIs
	Kihesa	1(8)	1(8)	1(8)	1 IDI with community health worker		
Morogoro	Kilosa (Mamboya)*	1(8)	1 (8)	1(8)	1IDI with community health worker	5FGDs	2 IDIs
	Kilombero (Ifakara)*	1 (8)	1(8)		1 IDI with extension officer		
		N=44	N= 44	N=24		15 FGDs	7 IDIs

Limitations of the study

The study largely focused on pregnant or breastfeeding women, the husbands of pregnant or breastfeeding women, and adolescent girls in order to gain insights into how the intersectionalities of gender and other socio-economic status affect nutrition outcomes for women of reproductive age, adolescents, infants and young children. “Gender” in its full scope is much broader than this- a true gender analysis would also consider men and women throughout the life cycle—older men and women may have different socially prescribed gender roles than younger men and women, for example. Homosexual, bisexual and transgender identities would also be part of the spectrum of a more comprehensive gender analysis.

In this rapid qualitative study, the sample was small, purposive, and limited to three regions in Tanzania. Findings from this study are not statistically significant and are not generalizable beyond the study areas. Nevertheless, although the sample was limited, the general findings are in line with findings from others studies on gender roles and gender dynamics in Africa, such as Kenya, Uganda, Mali, Zimbabwe and Bukina Faso and from studies in other countries in the Global South.

The research generated a large amount of quality data, leading to only a partial analysis of the findings within a limited timeline for local consultant to conduct the FGDs and IDIs in the three regions and produce a zero draft report. Additional time will be allocated to allow time for further analysis to support the final report.

2.0 Findings from the review of the Tanzania Demographic Health Survey

Gender and decision-making

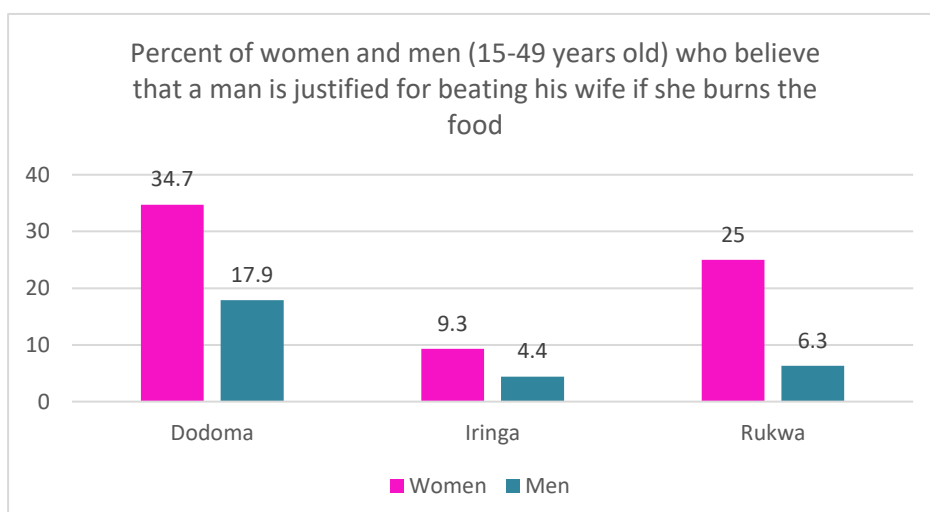
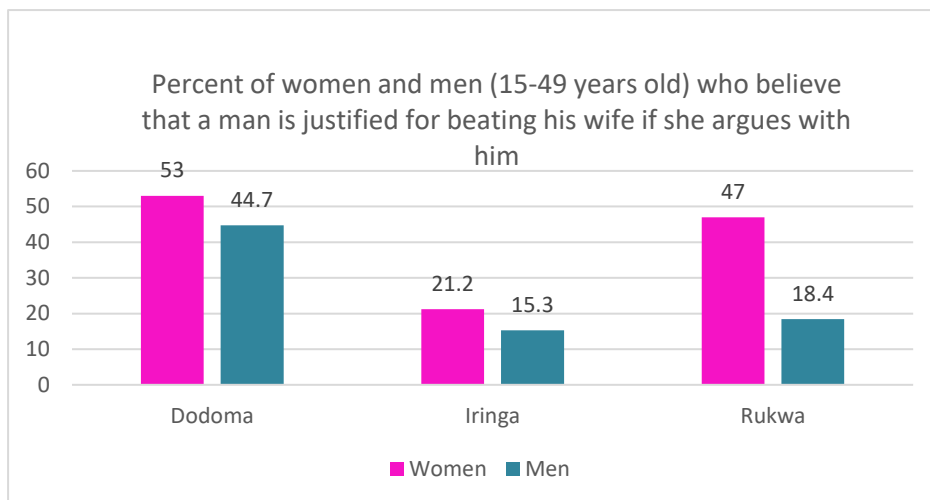
According to Tanzania Demographic Health Survey (TDHS) 2015-2016, 35% of married women report making decisions, either alone or jointly with their husbands, about all of the following: their own health care, major household purchases, and visits to their families and relatives. The analysis further indicated that 36% of married women who receive cash earnings say they decide for themselves how their earnings are used, while 55% make these decisions jointly with their husbands. Analysis of TDHS 2015-2016 data has shown that women's autonomy in decision making is positively associated with their residence, level of education, employment and wealth. Women in rural areas have less autonomy in decision making in all types of outcome measures.

Violence against women

The Tanzania Demographic and Health Survey (2015–2016) reveals that physical violence against women is high. Nation-wide, 42% of ever-married women have experienced intimate partner violence, whether physical or sexual. One third of ever-married women report having experienced intimate partner violence within the past year. Intimate partner violence is higher

among women whose husband or partner has no education (53%) or gets drunk very often (74%), and whose father had beaten her mother (54%). There are notable variations in the prevalence of physical violence across the regions. The highest percent of women who reported experiencing spousal physical violence in the past year is in Dodoma (43 percent), then, Rukwa (42 percent) Iringa (30 percent) and the lowest Morogoro (28 percent). The most common perpetrator of physical violence among ever-married women is a current husband or partner (63%). Among never-married women, the perpetrator is most likely a teacher (23%).

Nation-wide, women are significantly more likely than men to believe husbands are justified in beating their wives for various reasons. An average of fifty-eight percent (58%) of women compared to 40% of men between the ages of 15 and 49 years agree that a husband is justified in beating his wife for at least one of the following reasons: if she burns the food, argues with him, goes out without telling him, neglects the children, or refuses to have sex with him. (TDHS 2015-2016). Among the three regions reviewed in the gender analysis, Dodoma holds the highest acceptance of husbands beating their wives. Fifty-three percent of women and 44.7% of men between the ages of 15 and 49 years believe that husbands are justified in beating their wives if their wives argue with them, and women are nearly twice as likely as (34.7% compared to 17.9%) to believe men are justified in beating their wives if their wives burn the food while cooking.



Relationships between physical violence against women on maternal and child health and nutrition outcomes

Violence against women and societal attitudes towards this violence are significantly correlated with women and children's health outcomes. A gender analysis of the 2010 Tanzania Demographic Health Survey conducted by the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) and the Office of the Chief Government Statistician, Zanzibar (OCGS) in collaboration with the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare (MoHSW) found that women who do not agree with wife beating are more likely to receive assisted delivery from a trained health care provider (61%) than women who agree with multiple reasons for wife beating (47%). Women who do not agree with wife beating are also more likely to receive postnatal care from a health professional within two days of delivery, the period when the majority of maternal and neonatal deaths occur. Children born to mothers who disagree with wife beating are more likely to survive childhood.

The Tanzania 2010 and 2015-16 DHS findings reveal correlations between physical violence against women and maternal and child health outcomes. These are consistent with more recent findings from a global study of correlations between intimate partner violence (IPV) in fifty-one low and middle-income countries and exclusive breastfeeding practices. Analyzing data from each country's Demographic Health Survey, including data from 3,954 women included in the 2016 Tanzania Demographic Health Survey, the global study found that women's exposure to physical violence is independently associated with a decreased likelihood of their exclusively breastfeeding in the first 6 months (Rishi Caleyachetty, R, Uthman, O, Bekele, H, et. al., 2019²).

- The strategy does not consider the influence of gender and the dynamics of power, authority and decision-making on family and household nutrition and food security

3.0 Findings from the rapid qualitative research

The findings are divided into five themes (1) perceptions of gender identities and roles; (2) gender relationships; (3) agency; (4) Gender and eating practices and (5) gender and workload.

Perceptions of gender

Focus group participants were presented with a series of images and asked to quickly sort them into four piles: (1) MEN; (2) WOMEN; (3) BOTH; (4) DON'T KNOW (DK). Across all regions, and in all focus groups, participants unanimously placed the image of a lion in the "MEN" pile and unanimously placed the images of a sheep and a flower in the "WOMEN" pile. Common explanations for these associations are that men are harsh, powerful, strong and

² Maternal exposure to intimate partner violence and breastfeeding practices in 51 low-income and middle-income countries: A population-based cross-sectional study. October 1, 2019; <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pmed.1002921>

aggressive like a lion, while women are cowardly and submissive like sheep. Meanwhile, the majority of participants assigned the image of the radio to the “MEN” pile.

Participants were nearly unanimous in attributing the image of a butterfly to the “WOMEN” pile, and typically explained that this is because women are fragile, soft, and beautiful like flowers and butterflies.

As indicated in Figures 1 and 2, men’s and women’s perceptions of women’s characteristics are wide-ranging, with the majority of the FGD participants attributing 16 of 29 images to the “WOMEN” pile. In contrast, men’s and women’s perceptions of men’s characteristics were strikingly narrow: only 6 of the 29 images were attributed by the majority of participants to the “MEN” pile. The lion, the dog, maize, money, the cell phone, and the radio were the only images that were categorized as belonging to the “MEN” pile. In all three regions, the majority of participants explained that maize is a major source of household income and that men control the money earned from the sale of this cash crop. Maize was therefore primarily perceived to belong to the “MEN” pile.

As shown in Figures 1, 2 and 3, the image of the eye was interpreted differently by the men, women and adolescent girl participants in the focus groups. Most of the men participants considered the eye to be representative of the man’s role as the overseer of the family; he is the family leader especially on family’s financial matters. Men participants also explained that men are visionary and more knowledgeable than women, and thus they attributed the image of the eye to the “MEN” pile.

Although the large majority of adolescent girls also assigned the image of the eye to male characteristics (in this case, the “BOY” pile), it was for very different reasons. Girls explained that boys and men are unfaithful and promiscuous: they are never satisfied with seeing just one woman and so their eyes are always roving.

Meanwhile, the majority of the woMen’s FGD participants assigned the eye to the “WOMEN” pile, explaining that a woman is observant: she observes everything and everyone in the family. She is the first to notice when children are sick, hungry or misbehave.

Figure 1: Findings from pile sorts by Men’s FGD participants

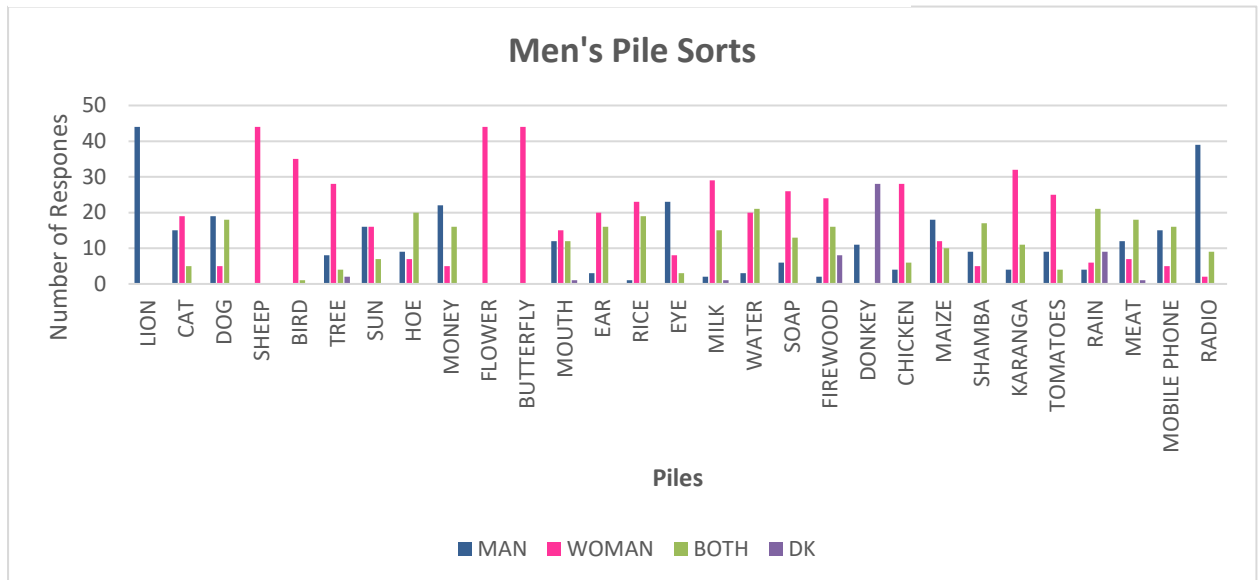


Figure 2: Findings from pile sorts by Women’s FGD participants

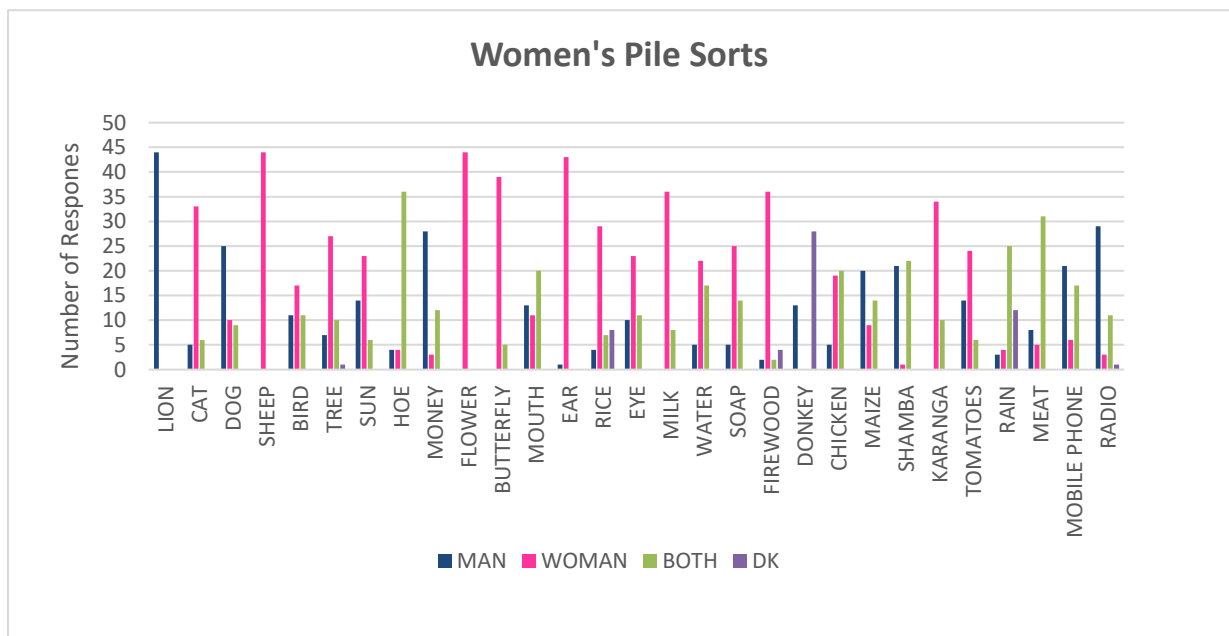
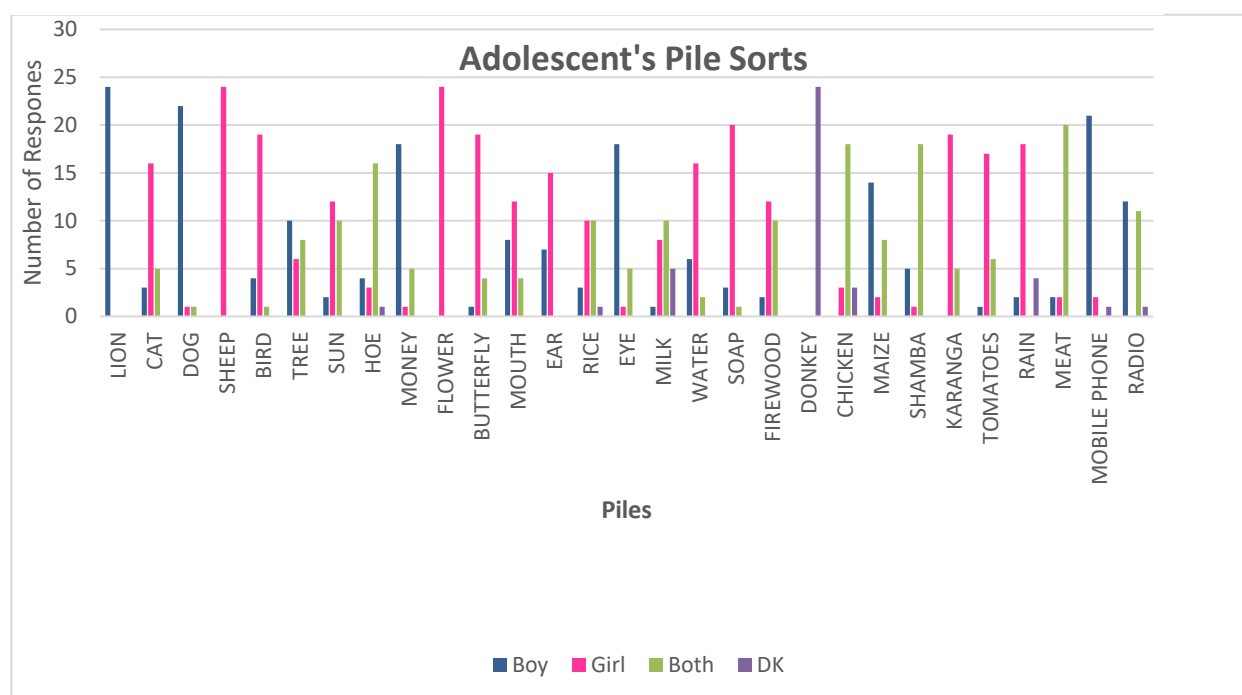


Figure 3: Findings from pile sorts by adolescent girl FGD participants



Additional analysis of the pile sort exercises is included in Appendix A of this report.

Perceptions of Gender Roles and Identities

In describing an ideal or a good man, participants in all sites (i.e. women, men, and adolescents) mainly described the roles, tasks, and responsibilities of a man (father and husband). For instance, participants mentioned that a good man is one that provides for the family (a breadwinner), is a great decision-maker and one who protects and enforces discipline in his family (see Table 1).

...A man is the pillar of the family.... therefore he is expected to demonstrate that, indeed, he is ... he should earn money and provide for their families, protect his wife and children... ... requires a well-mannered man to achieve this. (Men's FGD)

When describing an ideal woman or woman, participants mainly described the roles, tasks, and responsibilities of a woman (mother and wife). For instance an ideal woman/wife/mother is perceived as humble, obedient, submissive, and respectful to her husband, She is also hardworking, taking on such domestic chores as fetching water, collecting firewood, feeding the family, washing her husband's and children's clothes and cleaning the house and compound (see Table 1).

...a good wife should be hard-working, humble and respectful to her husband... When I say she should respect her husband, I mean if she finds me sitting with fellow men, she should call me respectfully... she should take a seat and then greet us...thereafter, she will beg to talk with me ... Such a woman is respectful and prudent. (Men's FGD)

...a responsible woman should love and obey her man, love her children...and when the man comes home, he should find water ready for him to take a bath...making sure his food is kept warm in the hotpot... (Women's FGD)

In FGDs with adolescent girls, participants described an ideal girl as one who respects elders, is obedient especially to parents (this is with respect to meaningful decisions such as avoiding bad groups but not in cases of such decisions as engaging in teenage marriage), works hard, and assists the mother with household chores. In the three sites visited, the gender roles of men and women are more or less similar but differ by geographical location, resources available and economic activities (*for a summary of specific differences among regions See attached appendices*). In addition, in all three sites visited, some of the gender roles of men and women intersect and some roles that are regarded as women's or men's roles are vague. For instance, childcare is generally regarded as a woman's domain but in response to what childcare entails, I found that men are also involved in childcare. For instance, the role of women in childcare (in all three sites) involved cooking and feeding children, washing their clothes and taking them to the clinic when ill. The roles of men/fathers in childcare such as providing money for transport to hospital, buying clothes, or food for the children are overlooked.

Similarly, across all regions, participants mentioned that food preparation activities are done by women but when probed further on the intricacies of food preparation, such activities as collecting firewood, fetching water, buying food, preparing food, cooking, serving, and dishwashing came up. Again showing that the role of men in food preparation activities was overlooked. All groups reported that the roles of buying food and fetching firewood in other societies are shared by women and men. The findings show that the gender roles of women and men are affected by context (*See attached appendices*).

Table 2: FGD participants' perceptions of the qualities of an 'ideal' man and an 'ideal' woman

An ideal man/the good father/husband	An ideal woman/the good mother /wife
➤ A good husband/father is the head of the family “mkuu wa kaya” and is a great decision-maker in his family	➤ A good wife/woman is humble and obedient to her husband and other elders
➤ He should be their protector—protect his family and family property	➤ A good wife should show her husband respect—e.g. help with his luggage as he enters the home and when he comes home, he should find water ready for him to take a bath
➤ He should be self-sufficient so that he may support his family—he is the main breadwinner	➤ She should keep and serve her husband's food when he comes home late

➤ Should be hard-working and provide for his family's needs, such as food, and other necessities— he is to see to it that the financial needs of his family are met.	➤ She should love, care and feed her husband and children ➤ She should keep her family secrets, including her fights with her husband
➤ He controls household finances	➤ She should be hardworking— perform domestic chores such as fetching water collecting firewood, washing her husband's and children's clothes and keeping the household and compound clean.
➤ Has the responsibility to enforce discipline in his family	
➤ Exhibits a good image and is accepted in the community	➤ She must keep good relationships with her neighbors and her husband's relatives
➤ He should be concerned with the wellbeing of his and his wife's family	➤ She should be aware of the health condition of her children and other family members

Table 3: FGD participants perceptions of an “ideal girl”

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ An ideal girl is one who respects her elders and obeys her parents ➤ She works hard, assists her mother with household chores such as fetching water, childcare, cooking, keeping the house and compound clean

Gender relationships

Gender relationship was the second theme that emerged in the study. Three sub-themes were identified within this theme (1) Men and women's use of time (2) Men and women's participation in domestic chores (3) Gender barriers in communication

Men and women's use of time

Women's responses to the question *who do you spend most of your time with when you are at home?* varied considerably depending on their location, age, household composition, and socioeconomic status. The majority mentioned their mothers, sisters-in-law, children, and mothers-in-law, aunts, and maids as whom they spend most of their time with. None mentioned husbands. Participants pointed out that when at home, women spend more time doing household activities, particularly taking care of their children and other family members (see table 5).

Responding to the question *‘who do you spend most of your time with when you are at home?’* Majority of the men said that they spend most time chatting with visitors, telephone calls/messaging, personal care, listening to the radio, sleeping, and eating. They also engage in specific activities such as splitting firewood. Men also complained that *“When a woman has a child she concentrates more on the child....”* The majority said that whenever possible they

avoid staying at home with their pregnant wives and instead elect to meet with their friends in other places in the village.

Men and women's participation in domestic chores and care roles

Across all the three regions, women and men generally agreed that men's involvement in household chores is limited and the budget men provide to buy nutritious food is insufficient. The insufficient budget that men allocate for household expenditure was highlighted as the main source of conflicts within households. The majority of men mentioned a lack of income as the reason for their not having enough money for necessities (e.g. buying nutritious food for their families). Men also claimed that their wives spend money meant for food to buy dresses and other luxury items.

Many women, meanwhile, reported the following as the main reasons why men fail to provide for their families sufficiently: alcoholism among men, men's tendency to sell the majority of the family farm produce and leaving only small quantities for consumption in the homes, and men's engagement in extramarital affairs.

... there are indeed men who play their roles well....but committed men who take up their responsibilities well are few here.... some men abandon their financial obligations to their wives... they will always say 'I don't have money'... alcoholism is wide-spread here so when they earn money from selling crops, they will only give meagre amounts for family expenditure and spend the rest of the money on alcohol and michepuko... (WoMen's FGD)

While some male FGD participants mentioned that some men help women with household chores, women's FGD participants tended to complain that the majority of men help out only when the women are sick or when the women have problematic pregnancies and there is no other person to assist them. Generally, the examples of men stepping up to shoulder some of the domestic roles are few. For instance, when viewing a photo of a man holding a child and talking to a woman joyfully, the majority of men and women participants across the research sites said it is rare for a man to carry a child when a woman is nearby.

The majority of men said they don't assist because they are busy— as breadwinners, daily schedules and their extra-curricular activities do not allow them to stay with their children— this takes a toll on relationships and intimacy:

... Men come home late around 10:00 pm to 2:00 am and are already drunk. The children have already gone to sleep. (Men's FGDs in Mazombe).

Men also mentioned that resistance from family members discouraged them to assist their wives. Women also acknowledged this and seemed to be disappointed by the situation as one participant reported.

... Most of us are not happy in our relationships...men do not support us ...you find when a child poops the man will leave the child in that situation... Perhaps if you are

sick or have labor pain he is willing to ask for assistance from neighbours or relatives to help you but he himself would not help.” (FGDs women Muze).

Moreover, although the focus was not on violence the questions were open to allow participants to reveal the kind of relationships that are typical in their households. Across all three regions, participants reported violence within households as a common experience. The interpretation of violence varied among men and women within regions.

In all three regions, women were described as the main victims of physical violence —varied in severity across regions. *For instance, our findings show that in Rukwa and Iringa abuse among women was more severe than in Morogoro. In Rukwa*, cases of intimate partner violence were reported to be high during harvest seasons (after selling crops) while in Iringa, the cases of violence were common during pre-harvest seasons (when men don't have money), in Morogoro, no trend was reported. In all three regions, alcoholism was mentioned as the main cause of violence against women.

Gender barriers in communication

Participants in all featured FGDs acknowledged that there was poor or no communication between spouses. Women widely reported that they could not easily/openly communicate with their spouse about issues related to nutrition and *their well-being* such as health, sex and childcare. It was however revealed that communication is discouraged by gender norms that discourage women from openly disagreeing with their husbands and violence from men stressing on the norm that an ideal woman, listens; never speaks.

Communication breakdown among couples was a critical concern among participants. Due to lack of communication among couples, the majority of men reported being unaware of their wives' pregnancies until the later stages and also unaware of their nutritional needs and care. From the study, we found that men lack knowledge about their wives' nutritional needs during pregnancy/breastfeeding and are limited in their material and social resources allocated to food, nutrition, security and health care (including income, time and opportunities to escort their wives to health facilities for antenatal exams).

Women also reported majority of the men are not equipped with sufficient knowledge on nutrition, notably though, when wives share nutrition education received from clinics with their husbands, the majority of the men just listen, barely doing anything about it. Women recommended that nutrition experts avail education to men directly using relevant platforms such as radio programs, television clips just before and between the main sports programs and in clubs before they start to drink.

Community health workers, along with the majority of women focus group discussion participants, reported that men's response to attending the antenatal clinic is not good. Most men will attend only the first antenatal visit-- because it is mandatory and men fear law enforcement. As a community health worker from Rukwa explains:

“When a pregnant woman attends the clinic for the first time, the health provider must ask where is your husband ... to start antenatal clinic, a woman needs to come with her husband if not, the possibility of being attended to at the clinic is very small ... even the village local government and the ministry of health have insisted that it is a must for men to come with their wives to the antenatal clinic. Men mostly come during the first visit because they fear the law but they do not return after that” (IDI, community health worker Katazi).

Men in their FGDs agreed that the majority of them attend only the first ANC. They mentioned that men’s roles as breadwinners and their involvement in income-generating activities are barriers to their involvement in antenatal care. *“Men would typically be farming or fishing while the woman is attending the clinic”*. They also mentioned that the operating hours of antenatal clinics are usually in conflict with their daily schedules. They also said that the health system (e.g. long queues and waiting hours) is another barrier to their involvement—the Majority said they feel out of place. As an FGD participant explains:

It is an undeniable fact that most of us attend the first clinic because it is mandatory ... we waste much time queuing and waiting for services ...and you have no money to feed the family ...When you come back home you swear that you will never go there again because you have already met the mandatory requirement. Hence, when the next clinic date is due you tell your wife ‘you just go by yourself I have other pressing issues to attend to...’ (Men’s FGD, Muze).

Men who escort their wives to every visit are considered weak and dominated by their wives. In most of the discussions, the women cited their husbands’ friends as being influential in their decision to escort them to the clinics and supporting their wives in domestic chores. These same factors were responsible for the limited gender interaction and communication between husband and wife regarding nutrition and pregnancy care.

Furthermore, women in their focus group discussions reported that men tend to push them aside when they are pregnant or breastfeeding. Men acknowledged this in their focus group discussions and said they avoid staying near moody/emotional pregnant women. In support of this, one man from Mazombe FGDs commented: *the majority of pregnant women are very moody, rude and stubborn to the extent of refusing sex, as such, men try their best to avoid them and stay far from them....*

Alcohol consumption was pointed out by women and men in all sites as one of the reasons that hinder effective communication and quality time and bonding among couples and other family members—disintegrates good relationships among couples; —hinders bonding between children and their fathers. Alcoholism was also associated with gender violence and inadequate budget allocations on nutritious food and health care. As one participant from a rural focus group commented: *“...because most of us (men) in this community are alcoholic we cannot get time to discuss with our wives about their welfare or children welfare” (Men, FGD)*. Men also believe that a real man must take alcohol.

The majority of men said that they do not allow wives to dictate when they can return home; rather, a man should make the decision on when to return home as per his schedule. Participants felt that a man's peers tend to have more influence on him than his wife as one man said: *I don't want my wife to question my income and the time I return home, it is up to me to decide when I have finished what I want to accomplish that day and go home; I have freedom to stay outside the home up to 1:00 am.*

Women, especially in rural FGDs, commented that *"men normally come home late around 11:00 pm to 2:00 am and are already drunk... you don't dare to ask... where were you?"* Men return home very late at night denying women time to discuss nutrition issues that they learn in clinics. Responding to the question of when is the best time for women to talk with their husbands about important matters? They said that the appropriate time to talk to their husbands is early in the morning when they are sober and need sex. One of the participants vividly explained this situation in the following manner:

Mmmmm..... The convenient time to talk to my husband and expect him to listen is early in the morning at 04:00 am to 06:00 am ... because that is the time when men need sex...it is very hard for him to refuse to listen to your concern when he needs sex, so we use that time to talk to our men. (Women's FGD, Katazi)

Another common sub-theme that emerged among women and men groups was the use of sex among women as a weapon to communicate, control or manipulates their husbands. Participants reported that sex, though not sustainable, is used as a weapon to enhance communication. *"Overusing this strategy however, could lead one to lose the husband to another woman or lead to violence"*. A group participant commented.

Generally, most of the woman felt that submission was the only way a woman could gain any influence on her husband. Any other approach could easily result to violence. The norms of masculinity/femininity that establish men as decision-makers and women as submissive discourage men from taking advice from their wives or holding a submissive position in relationships. As one participant from men rural group discussion commented: *"... whatever these factors add up to, if she doesn't provide enough sex, you will cheat...there are so many michepukos (extra-marital affairs) around...a man should not have to beg for sex twice....hahaha."*

It is clear that men are always absent and spend a few hours with their families. The quality time majority of the men spend with their wives when sober or relaxed is roughly 2hours. * (the long hours spent in local bars are cited as why many men don't assume their responsibilities and retain close relations with family. This in turn hinders quality communication among couples/children).

Men reluctance to support their wives due to societal pressure and the fear of being mocked by their peers as weak was another sub-theme that was discussed by participants across all the regions. Both men and women participants mentioned that men who take advice from their

wives and help with household chores are subjected to mockery. Social stigma against men who take advice from their wives and who engage in childcare and household chores is a prominent social barrier that inhibits male participation in family nutrition and general home welfare “*kulishwa limbwata*” (i.e. being be-witched or controlled by woman are stigmas that reflect or are assumed to reflect gender- deviant behavior).

Some men mentioned that they are willing to assist their wives with domestic chores as long as their involvement in domestic work is kept secret. This comment raised discussion within the men focus groups. Majority said that it's better to not engage in domestic works because women are not secretive. In the end, men who assist are judged or deemed as bewitched. One man commented “...let's say your wife is in the later stage of pregnancy... then you decide to do the washing...or cooking, she will tell her friends that you washed her clothes... Cooked for her...people would say she has given him *Limbwata*... ‘Limbwata’ emasculates a man and makes him a laughing stock.”

Women said they are mostly willing and happy to have their husbands help them with domestic chores. However, some women fear being ridiculed or scolded by their mothers and in-laws for allowing their husbands to do domestic works. Women reported that the majority of men in their community are likely to be influenced by their mothers and peers. However, men reported that the majority of men are influenced by peers and older men in the community. Such conflicting reports may reflect the fact that prevailing gender norms seem to reward various forms of influences and discourage others.

Adolescents' barriers to nutrition-related household communication

The majority of adolescent girls across the regions reported that they find it hard to talk to their fathers or request something from them (such as money to buy nutritious food and sanitary pads). They have to tell their mothers talk to the fathers on their behalf. As participants commonly said “when a girl needs money to buy something she has to tell her mother, who will then tell the father and the father give the mother money and the mother will give the money to her daughter”.

“...if I need money to buy sanitary pads or something else I start with my mother ...you can tell her all your problems and she brings them to the father... it is easier for a girl to talk with a mother than a father”.

“Father and daughter rarely talk. Whenever the father calls you (a girl), you should note that there is something very crucial ...”

Adolescent girls reported that the majority of young girls are engaging in sexual relations (transactional sex) in exchange for *chips mayai* and *nyama choma*, as a participant from adolescents focus group in Muze puts it: “...Mother does not have money...but the father can hardly give you money even to just purchase chips/eggs and roast meat ...therefore, when you long for roast meat with chips/eggs you ask your lover (boyfriend) ...”

Unlike adolescents from rural areas, peri-urban adolescents from well-off family indicated that they can communicate and give advice to parents and receive attention. However, they also pointed out the fact that it becomes hard for parents and relatives to accept, consistently, the advice given on proper sanitation and hygiene as she said:

"I once advised my family on the importance of having a tippy tap for washing hands after visiting the toilet; the advice was implemented for hardly a week then after, the members abandoned the practice".

For more detailed information about adolescent girls refer to the summary of adolescent girls attached (Appendix B).

Agency (Ability to exert some power, control or influence over aspects of their lives or others)

Gender and agricultural production decisions

In general, across all regions, FGD participants revealed that decisions on what agricultural products to grow and sell at the market are jointly made between wife and husband. Participants revealed that decisions on household income are mainly made by men particularly when there are disagreements. In general, across all regions, FGD participants revealed that most of the time men's and women's priorities differ, hence a man's decision prevails. The wife is expected to accept. Majority of the women said that the only decisions they can make in the households are on what food to cook.

Men have the upper hand on decision-making around household income. According to participants women are usually allowed to make decisions on how to spend when the income source is very small. In some families in Iringa and Morogoro, women and men have separate farms; however, after harvest men are mostly involved in marketing women's crops. This was supported by extension workers as they said, while men cultivate fruits such as watermelon as cash crops on big farms, women cultivate vegetables on small farms for food and money.

According to extension officers, this practice leads to low food production at the household level. Women also said that men are not willing to disclose their finances to their wives and it is the rare man who will choose to disclose his finances and give money to his wife to manage on her own. This is because apart from household expenses, men want to have extra money to cater for alcohol, *michepuko*, and other leisure activities.

For life to remain smooth, men should remain sole and private owners of family funds. (Men's FGD, Morogoro).

Some women are squanderers, you give them money to buy food and other household necessities, a great percentage of the money meant for food and other necessities ends up being used to buy dresses and other unnecessary items.... (Men's FGD)

...many occasions, women do not approve of our plans. To accomplish your plans you have to hide the truth regarding the actual money collected ...it is also because majority of the men are involved in extramarital affairs that need financing. You cannot request such funds from your wife. She will want to know what the money is needed for.... Therefore, the wife should not know your actual income. (Men's FGD, Iringa).

Nevertheless, in a few FGDs, men reported trusting their wives to make good financial decisions and providing them with money to do so.

...it is true that 99% of all men control the money earned from the sale...my experiences are different from other men here, in my family, when we sell our crops I usually give my wife a fraction of what we earned from the sale so she can keep the amount to be used for the agreed purpose.... believe me, women are very good in keeping and saving money ...if you engage her in setting plan and strategies she will stick to the plan.... (Men's FGD).

In Rukwa, women have some freedom in making decisions on crops such as groundnuts because groundnuts usually are sold locally to the neighbours and the price is very low. In men's FGDs, participants explained that selling crops is men's role because they tend to be more exposed, have negotiation skills and know the market price. Concerning gender access to agriculture information and inputs; the interviewed agriculture extension officers in all sites reported that men have more access to agriculture information than women. This is because while men have sufficient time to listen to media, women are constrained by multiple roles.

There were extremes reported by women in Iringa that men are not providing for their families, but worse yet, when women contribute a larger portion of income, men withdraw from contributing into household expenditure and some do steal/take by force money from their wives. Similar observation was made by a nutritionist, he said:

... women here have big responsibilities for ensuring that they are doing a variety of activities for the well-being of the family... they are the ones that, make sure that the family eats, paying school fees, uniforms... but in the end, even though this woman has produced a lot of crops and even more available, the decision is still on the side of a man... so the woman waits for a man to decide whether to sell all the crops or leave some amount for family's consumption...a woman has no-decision... she receives orders from a man... almost all decisions are made by men... worse enough the nutrition of a mother and children is not his priority... (KI, nutritionist Iringa)

Women also revealed that the increasing role of women as breadwinners do not come with decision-making power (see attached report-Iringa region).

Gender and livestock and poultry decisions

Across all three regions, large livestock such as cattle and goats are owned by men. The findings also revealed that Livestock and poultry are not primarily meant for household consumption instead animal source foods such eggs, chickens, milk and meat are mainly sold—

livestock are kept mainly for selling and farming. Participants said that “*whatever livestock is kept, even a chicken, is hardly kept for eating as a side dish for the family except when a chicken/cow becomes sick, dies or whenever there is a special festival. This is when the man (father) allows the chicken to be slaughtered*”.

A participant from a male focus group discussion clarifies further “*...here cows are everything to us (as we said, cows are capital)...cows are ploughing tools and are collateral during an untoward problem ...we rarely slaughter cows here ...here cows are not slaughtered just for eating meat ...it may be slaughtered if in the household there is a sick person needing treatment urgently...or when a cow gets sick and dies... or when there is bereavement or a special festival/celebration.. We primarily slaughter for selling purposes then the leftovers are what is eaten ... even those leftovers it is the man who decides that they can be eaten.*” (Men, Muze Rukwa).

Women own small livestock such as chicken and in some places ducks. Women participants from Rukwa and Iringa revealed that women can hardly make decisions regarding small livestock without first seeking permission from the husband. They have to inform their husbands whenever they want to sell or buy small livestock. In Morogoro, the majority of women revealed that women can make decisions regarding small livestock such as chicken. Across all three sites, participants mentioned that men own big livestock and big farming tools such as ploughs. In some sites e.g. Rukwa, women cannot use tools such as ploughs in the absence of the man.

Gender and Water, Hygiene and Sanitation (WASH) decisions

Across all regions participants reported that women and adolescent girls use water more—they are the ones who fetch water. The daily 24-hour, calendar for women and adolescent girls shows the ‘*heavy burden of water among women and adolescent girls*’—burdens differ depending on location. For instance, women in rural settings e.g. in Katazi Rukwa mentioned that in many villages safe water is scarce, so women and adolescent girls have to spend a large amount of time fetching water far away from home, in the well. In urban areas, water sources are available so women do not walk long distances to fetch water, the sources are however not always reliable—women and girls spend most of their time queuing.

The majority of the women reported that they can only make such simple decisions on matters relating to home hygiene and sanitation as having tippy taps outside the toilets. In Rukwa, (Katazi) participants revealed that several households do not have clean water. In Morogoro, Iringa and Rukwa participants mentioned that the culture of washing hands with soap was non-existence.

Across all research sites, adolescent girls mentioned that very few households have modern latrines. Adolescents in rural sites e.g. Katazi and Mamboya reported that girls face great challenges during their periods due to the scarcity of water—girls from poor family use worn-out lady’s print cotton wrap (kanga za Zamani) because they cannot afford sanitary pads—needs a lot of water to wash them and shower—they have to make more trips—some of the girls experienced problems during their menses such as stomach ache, body ache, and

fatigue, but had to continue with their daily schedules —carrying heavy buckets of water. For more detailed information about adolescent girls please refer to the summary of adolescent girls attached in Appendix E.

Adolescent girls in Mamboya mentioned that even though the majority use latrines in their homes, they defecate in bushes or other open spaces when out of their homes like when they go to fetch water or when they go to the farm—because there are no latrines in farms. According to adolescent girls, the practice of digging holes to defecate is common in rural areas —the practice is largely used during bush clearing, weeding and harvesting seasons when farmers spend more time in farms—far from homes.

Gender and food

Gender hierarchy in eating/serving/food portioning was evident in all three sites. In all three sites, a man is the first to be served (even when he is not around), followed by children and lastly the woman. *“It is common for the woman to be the last person to eat regardless of her health status. In instances when the food isn’t enough, the woman ends up eating very little food.”* For example, the findings show that women often have to eat the chicken wings or small portions of fish. Most women in their groups said that their husbands are given priority since they are the breadwinners.

The findings also reveal that food is the domain where women identities continue to be constructed either negatively or positively. A group participant commented that *“a good woman is expected to serve her husband food with respect”*—when serving chicken, a man/father gets chicken thighs; children get chicken feet and a woman/ mother gets wings. When serving fish, a man gets the head—*“it is disrespectful to serve a man a tail—questioning male’s authority”*; gizzard is for the head of the family; the man. When we asked women participants why they serve men large positions of meat and fish they gave various reasons such as love and care; men are heads of the family; violence; motivation—if you give him a small portion, tomorrow he won’t give you money to buy meat/fish and insecurity— if you don’t serve him with respect he will go to another woman.

Besides, the existence of food taboos that restricts pregnant women from eating certain food and species of foods limit them from accessing nutrient-dense foods especially fish by creating a small range of choices to the available sources. However, it is advised that pregnant and breastfeeding women should take more nutrient-dense foods and minimize empty energy foods that may provide the extra energy needed but do not provide micronutrients that are needed in much higher quantities as compared to increased energy needs.

We should, therefore, frame the discussions on agency within the opportunities and the resources of each family. In some of the families, agency is limited because the women have limited freedom to choose, and or they simply eat what they can buy. However, the agency of the mothers and fathers plays an important role in food choices.

Lastly, the findings confirm that all these regions are rich in energy-giving foods especially maize and rice also protein foods particularly meat and fish are abundant due to their proximity to Lake Rukwa , River Kilombero (Morogoro) and Mtera dam (Iringa) which has varieties of cold water fishes. However, access, stability and proper utilization of the available foods are constrained by several issues as identified by participants:

- Women's lack of power to decide what to sell, lack of women participation in the budgeting for the proceeds from sale of crops.
- The majority of the main decision-makers, the men, prioritize alcohol and personal leisure above other household necessities. Men also lack nutrition education hence focus on spending on empty energy foods (polished flour, rice, and tea) than nutrient-dense foods.
- The culture of eating rice or cassava accompanied by black tea which is the combination of empty energy foods is also identified as the main factor behind the prevalence of malnutrition in the area. Consequently, the response of extension workers and that of women on eating practices differed from that of men; while men said fish and meat is affordable and is eaten on daily basis, extension workers and women said families mainly eat rice with black tea. Meaning that the meals of men differ from that of women. This is also supported by the following quote from one man which was also supported by men participants of FGD:

I eat two meals outside the home- breakfast (always soup and chapatti) and Nyama choma (roasted meat) in the evening. (Men's FGD, Morogoro)

Is it not common for the men to carry home nyama choma and chips for his wife and children ...it is not easy...your fellow men will say you are controlled by your wife. (Men, FGDs Rukwa)

...A man should make sure he eats the food at home even if he had already eaten somewhere else and is full...he should at least eat a small portion ... otherwise, she may think you have eaten in another woman's houseshe becomes very furious. (Men's FGDs, Iringa)

The findings showed that women are the main producers of food on small farms meaning that food production is constrained by the small size of the farm and low labor supply. It was also noted that childcare is a sole role of women thus implying that breastfeeding women lack time to rest. *Pregnant women are rarely assisted with household chores meaning that they are constrained of time to take snacks.*

Gender and food allocation decision-making

The findings revealed that women across all three regions are tasked with preparing food and caring for children. All participants discussed consistent decision-making processes regarding food, revealing clear gender roles in food preparation, portioning and sequence of eating. Responding to the question what are the decisions that you, as a woman, can make about your household and your life? The majority said they can decide what food they want to cook. There was a consensus across the study sites that women prepare food for the family. While participants across the regions indicate that decision around food is a woman's domain, care is needed in interpreting this. For instance, while a woman can decide what to cook, how to cook and when to cook, her decisions are largely influenced by her husband's preferences, the budget allocated for food, the available time in her busy schedule, food's seasonality and availability.

There was agreement among women in Rukwa, that Pre-harvest seasons are the most challenging months to access food. Participants talked about dependence on purchased food during pre-harvest seasons due to the seasonality of food. Majority of households are poor—cannot afford to buy food every day. Women mentioned that during this season, children and pregnant women are vulnerable—in some families they eat only two meals a day. Across the three regions, there was concern that women's heavy workloads influence what she cooks when she cooks and how she cooks. For example, due to lack of enough time to prepare food, it is common (in all three regions) for women and other family members to consume *kiporo cha wali cha usiku* (rice leftovers/rice that was cooked/consumed during dinner) for breakfast and or lunch.

Common breakfast dishes consumed are cassava/rice (kiporo) and black tea.

Common meals consumed for lunch include ugali and mlenda or matembele or nyanya chungu because (these food are preferred—due to availability, are cheap and require little preparation).

Gender and eating practices

All three regions under study have favorable geographic and climatic conditions for a range of food crops including maize grain, rice, beans, potatoes and varieties of vegetables (see specific region profile). The FGDs revealed that the food habits of the three regions studied are not very different. Across all three regions, rice and ugali (maize) were identified as the most important staple foods. The food habits are largely influenced by the availability and seasonality of the food and family socioeconomic status. For example;

The Rukwa diet is based on rice or ugali which is the region's staple food and dominates their meal patterns. The side dishes/food includes beans, seasonal vegetables such as Mlenda and animal products such as eggs, fish, and meat (though available, animal products are rarely consumed in majority of the households).

The Iringa diet is based on Ugali (maize), Irish potatoes and rice which is the region's food and dominates their meal patterns. The side dishes includes beans, seasonal vegetables such as Chinese, figiri, eggplants and animal sources such as eggs, fish, and meat (though available, animal products are rarely consumed in majority of the households).

In Morogoro, maize is the most important food crop. Ugali (from maize) and rice dominate their meal patterns. The side dishes/food include beans, vegetables such as mchicha, cabbages and animal sources such as eggs, fish and meat (though available, animal products are rarely consumed in majority of the households).

In rural settings and among poor urban households, the staple meal is consumed for breakfast, lunch, and dinner due to availability, affordability, and traditions. It is common practice in all three regions, especially in rural areas and among poor families in urban areas, to consume the same food— due to limited budget allocated to food, time constraints (women), scarcity of food and the use of traditional methods of cooking food — which requires time-consuming procedures —main fuels (e.g. firewood in rural settings and charcoal in urban areas).

The extracts below provide an example of specific types of meals commonly consumed by participants;

At breakfast time I eat rice and black tea.

I eat ugali and matembele for lunch.

At lunch, we normally eat ugali and mlenda because it is easy to cook.

For dinner, I eat rice and beans.

For breakfast, I eat cassava and black tea.

I eat ugali and mlenda for lunch and dinner.

I eat Irish potatoes for dinner during its season.

I eat eggplant and rice for dinner during its season.

It depends on what season it is and which vegetables are available.

I snack mangoes during mango seasons and guava during its season.

Participants across all three regions reported that, animal source foods (meat, dairy, eggs, and chicken) and fish are available in all regions but rarely consumed—are not consumed every day in poor rural households—and the frequency with which these foods are eaten varied between participants. According to women participants, these foods are expensive and dependent on men's priority, household economic status, seasonal income (harvest season) and geographical location (for example, in Rukwa, fish are more consumed in Muze districts than in Katazi, because Muze is near lake Rukwa; and in Muze fish are consumed more during the harvest season than during pre-harvest season).

During harvest season in my house we eat fish one day per week for two meals (Man, Katazi).

We only eat meat one day after three weeks...every day we eat mlenda. (Adolescent girl, Mamboya)

We only eat meat once in a while when the father is happy. (Adolescent girl Kihesa)
Vegetables are side dishes for poor people (mboga ya kimaskini) that is what we eat every day. (Woman, Katazi)

I eat fish three times a week but for two meals. (Man, Kihesa)

We only eat fish some days if my husband gives me enough money. (Women, Mazombe)

I eat meat once every three months. (Woman, Muze)

We eat fish/meat during harvest season after selling crops. (Woman, Mazombe)

The lake is nearby so I can collect fish to eat from there. (Man, Muze)

I eat meat whenever I want, and eggs when I feel the urge. My boyfriend gives me money. (Adolescent girl Muze)

Women's eating practices during pregnancy (quantity and diversity)

Responding to the question on whether there is change in diet when a woman is pregnant or breastfeeding, responses varied depending on socio-economic status of the participant. Across all regions, participants mentioned that the majority of women increased the amount of food they ate (they eat more/big portion of food) “*eat for two*” but few increased the variety of food during pregnancy. Some women said they increased the amount of food they consume because they felt hungry all the time.

Participants mentioned that women are only able to consume food that is available (seasonal food) or that fit their budgets. The most common statement men give to their wives is “*eat what is available*”. Women repeatedly complained that “*our husbands do not provide an additional budget to purchase nutritious foods when we are pregnant or breastfeeding besides the meagre budget they usually provide.*” other reasons mentioned as affecting women's ability to consume nutritious food included; habitual food intake, craving, poverty, husband's priorities, taboos, time constraints among women, food seasonality and availability.

Most women eat breakfast between 7 and 10 am, lunch 1 and 3 pm and dinner between 8 and 10 pm each day. Skipping breakfast and late lunch is common among women in rural areas, especially during farming seasons (weeding). Only a few women (from urban areas) and lesser in rural areas snack. Reason for not snacking are various (as mentioned above) but also includes being too busy to eat. Some women admitted that they only consume two meals a day due to seasonal poverty, lack of income and being too busy during the farming season.

My pregnancy has made me be so selective I don't want to eat fish not even smell it. (Woman, FGD Muze)

Most of the time I do not have time to have breakfast...sometimes I skip lunch. (Woman, FGD Mamboya)

Sometimes I have my breakfast late so I don't take lunch. (Woman FGD, Katazi).

Sometimes I eat breakfast at lunch time. (Woman, FGD Muze)

When I am craving cassava that is what I eat from morning to dinner. (Woman, FGD Mazombe)

I am craving meat but I cannot afford to buy it. (Woman FGD, Katazi).

My pregnancy made me eat every time, I am so lucky it is during the harvest season, food is plenty...I could eat mangoes, guavas, pumpkins and cassava whenever I felt like it. (Woman, FGD Mamboya)

I was unlucky when I was pregnant. There were not enough food. (Woman, FGD Mazombe)

Women's nutrition (quality and quantity) during the postpartum period

Across all regions, participants mentioned that the majority of women increase the amount of food and a variety of food during postpartum period—especially the period between the first week pregnancy and three months postpartum. (i.e. the duration of postpartum support varies among ethnic groups —depends on socioeconomic status—husband's support—and availability of relatives/neighbors to support. Below is a summary of responses to the question “does a woman continue with her responsibilities soon after the delivery”

... If she doesn't have any closest relative, it is her neighbor who helps ... but if she has the closest relative they just come to nurse her ... (Women, FGDs Iringa).

It depends when relatives are far away... close neighbors are responsible during the first days ...close neighbors also help, cook porridge, fetch waterclean up the house and its surroundings ... here the neighbor is everything... hence, if the person lives badly with his neighbors he may face great troubles...he may even die due to lack of support (Men's FGD Rukwa).

The food consumed during this period is believed to increase milk supply. For example, among the Fipa in Rukwa, a mother consumes *rice mixed with meat soup and green bananas*, among the Hehe in Iringa, *a mother consumes green bananas mixed with meat and maize porridge mixed with blue band* and among the kaguru in Morogoro, *a mother consumes chicken or meat soup and maize porridge*. According to participants, unlike in the past, in the modern days, the postpartum support is very short—ranging from one to three weeks—except among Wakaguru from Morogoro, where for the majority postpartum support can last up to three months. A participant explains:

...you know soon after delivering , women see darkness... the first thing we give her is (chemicola)... she drinks it soon after delivery, chemicola reduces pain, calms her nerves and overcome dizziness ... helps to bring a mother back to normal ...then we give her porridge, they slaughter a chicken and make soup, she will eat the soup with soft ugali ... a kaguru man when he sees his wife is pregnant, he makes all the preparations early, he keeps goats, or chicken prepared specifically for the wife...he prepares enough sugar for porridge, he puts everything in its place...For the first three

months, she is fed with chicken soup...we give her good food so she can recover quickly, and continue with farming activities... her body needs to be stable... ” we have a lot of work here, if she is weak she won't cultivate....(Men, FGDs).

Gender and workload

The 24 hours gender daily calendar of women and men differ substantially. In general, women were found to work longer hours and have more diverse tasks and responsibilities compared to men. In Katazi and Muze villages in Rukwa region, women wake up at 5 a.m. and go to fetch water, whereas husbands wake up at 6-7am. The general theme that emerged across all focus group discussions was *“heavy work burdens among women especially women from rural areas”*. Participants acknowledged that women in rural areas are more involved in agricultural activities and domestic works (during agriculture season) than their male counterparts. The majority said that even when food is available (during harvest) they lack time to prepare food—they lack enough time to breastfeed and to properly care for their children, despite the practice of bringing young children to the fields. *“...lack of enough milk supply is caused by a mother's poor nutrition due to lack of enough time to cook, eat well, and rest ...this makes the mother to stop breastfeeding early and instead feed the babies with porridge.*

The findings on the 24 hours gender daily calendar (script attached) for breastfeeding and pregnant women in rural areas revealed that on average, women wake up at 0500hrs and sleep at 2300hrs. They mainly clean the home, farm, cook, feed and, bathe the children, fetch water and wash clothes. In addition, they reported that they are always responsible for all household chores save for when they may be feeling unwell. Breastfeeding women are seemingly more overwhelmed as they have to care for the infants; this means that they have to be awake even earlier. *“She is overwhelmed... She has a very heavy burden of many tasks...”* The majority said that it is very challenging for women to manage time properly especially during farming seasons as they have to allocate time to feed their children and themselves well, carry out farming activities and other income-generating activities as well as attend to other domestic chores. The 24 hours analysis show that women work for an average of 18 hours. This leads to fatigue and lack of time to feed well and sometimes, it could result to the women neglecting their children. As argued by community health worker *“women's workloads have consequences on their eating habits and their children...”*

The results of the 24 hours gender daily calendar to breastfeeding and pregnant women in peri-urban areas revealed that the time of waking up differs depending on the nature of employment for respective women and chores that are to be performed. Women with maids or receiving support from relatives and husbands on gender roles wake up between 7:00 am and 8:00 am. Those not getting any assistance on household chores, wake up at 6:00 am. Women commented that household chores are exclusively their responsibility though some men assist their wives.

Additionally, the findings on 24 hours gender daily calendar (attached) indicated that adolescent girls' time to wake up vary ranging between 5:00 – 6:00 am and their roles differ with the economic status of the parents. A girl participant from a low-income family said she wakes up at 5:00 am, cleans the home, lights charcoal, prepares and takes breakfast, prepares to go to school and walk to school by 6:30am. She walks back home between 3:00 and 3:30

pm, goes to the market, washes dishes, rests for 30 minutes, cooks, eats and sleeps by 11:00 pm. A girl from a well-off family reported that she normally wakes up at 6:00 am, prepares for school, and takes breakfast, she then takes public transport to school. After school, she returns home on public transport and rests because home chores are taken care of by the maid.

Further, the results of 24 hours gender daily calendar (script attached) for men showed that the majority of men wake up at 6:00am, bathe and leave home for work/farms by 7:00am (depending on the nature of activities, job and season). Following a role play on a pregnant wife seeking assistance on household chores from her husband, a male participant responded as follows,

I cannot assist you because I have too many responsibilities. By the way; will you help me to look for money? The words you are telling me are from health experts, not you. Anyway, I will assist you when I come back.

However, when responding to whether the role play was a true presentation of what happens, the men unanimously had the following to say:

The majority of men in our community will not outrightly agree to assist their wives with household chores, rather a man will say, 'give me time to think about it'.

Men participants underscored the notion that they are too busy to engage in household chores. Contrary to this, women reported that the majority of men in the community are lazy. The argument by men that a man will not agree easily to assist his pregnant or breastfeeding wife with household chores, points on the issue that pregnant and breastfeeding women lack enough time to rest.

4. Conclusions

Gender roles and family relationships exert an important influence on nutrition outcomes for pregnant and lactating women, children under 5 and adolescent girls across all the regions. Men retain the majority of the control over household finances and assets. Alcohol abuse and men's extra-marital affairs quickly surfaced in the qualitative research as practices associated intimate partner violence, poor couple communication, and insufficient allocation of household resources to meet the nutritional needs of the most nutritionally vulnerable household members (pregnant and breastfeeding women, adolescent girls, infants and young children). The associations between intimate partner violence (physical, verbal or emotional) and negative maternal and child nutrition outcomes found in this gender analysis are confirmed in recent global studies.

Overwhelming workloads also negatively impact women's time to practice exclusive breastfeeding, and to rest and eat during pregnancy/breastfeeding. Men's reluctance to support their pregnant or breastfeeding wives by helping them with their chores is due in large part to men's fear of being mocked by their peers.

Adolescent girls' agency is constantly compromised—their opinions are rarely brought into consideration, and girls from rural areas, especially, find it generally difficult to communicate with their fathers, and even more so when it comes to communicating their nutritional needs. Adolescent girls' eating habits are largely influenced by what's available at home. They are vulnerable to being lured into sexual relationships with older men or adolescent boys who have money to buy them foods that are not available to girls at home.

As noted in interviews with health extension workers, community health structures struggle to provide adequate gender-related skills/nutrition information and services to women. There is a lack of information, training and other resources needed to strengthen the health sector's capacity for gender mainstreaming in health and nutrition interventions at all levels of the health sector.

5. Recommendations

The overall purpose of this gender analysis is to formulate recommendations to inform the design of LISHE ENDELEVU's Social and Behavior Change (SBC) strategy. The strategy must focus on creating an enabling environment at the household level that will make it possible for men, women and adolescent girls to adopt improved nutrition practices. More supportive family relationships with more equitable allocations of food and workload, better couple communication, and improved father-daughter communication are among the critical objectives for a gender-specific SBC strategy.

Men's alcohol abuse is associated with extramarital affairs, intimate partner violence, lack of emotional support and communication barriers among couples. Alcohol abuse is consequently one of the main barriers to improving nutrition outcomes for pregnant and lactating women, children under two and adolescents in Lishe Endelevu's zone of intervention.

Changing societal expectations around the attitudes and behaviours that constitute those of the ideal father, husband, wife, mother, and daughter will be key to the success of the SBC strategy. A truly gender *transformative* approach will be as much about 'liberating' men from the heavy social expectations and peer pressure that obliges them to demonstrate their power and dominance over women as it will be about 'empowering' women.

Based on the observations drawn from a gender analysis of the socio-cultural contexts of Iringa, Morogoro and Rukwa Regions, the following recommendations are put forward in this section under each of the three intermediate result areas of the USAID/Lishe Endelevu Activity.

IR1: Strengthened multi-sectoral coordination for improved nutrition at the local government level

1. LISHE ENDELEVU would benefit from a new mapping exercise to identify all stakeholders and resources with the potential to contribute to combatting alcohol abuse and intimate partner violence.
 - a. Religious leaders are potentially powerful allies, given the respect they command in the community. Social workers, mental health workers, and counselors with expertise in these areas may also be important stakeholders and potential collaborators.
 - b. Mapping should also consider institutions and individuals who provide specialized services to children, adolescents and women (e.g., reproductive health, family planning, PMCT, MNCH clinics, HIV prevention, education, vocation skills, psychosocial well-being, social protection and credit schemes) to ensure some cross-referrals for services and programs to support children, adolescent girls and women of reproductive age benefiting from LISHE ENDELEVU's nutrition, WASH and agriculture programs and who may be negatively impacted by alcohol abuse and intimate partner violence.
 - c. Schools, religious congregations and youth peer education programs can be used as platforms for delivering adolescents' life skills, sexual and reproductive health education and nutrition-specific interventions.
2. Integrate gender transformative information and messaging into nutrition counselling and communication materials for use by health extension workers and agriculture extension workers to help address the need for both sectors to strengthen their gender-sensitive interventions.
3. Identify and build strategic collaborations with programs that work specifically with adolescents (e.g. in the areas of reproductive health, family planning and HIV prevention, vocational training, and after-school programs) to ensure some cross-referrals for services to support adolescent girls benefiting from LISHE ENDELEVU's nutrition and agriculture programs (see also the same recommendation under IR3 below).
3. Explore possible policy interventions at the level of municipalities and local governments, such as earlier closing hours for pubs and bars and limits on the number of alcoholic beverages served per patron (as exists in some other countries). These and other interventions to address alcohol abuse should focus on using a combination of structural disincentives (such as laws, alcohol taxes, and early closing hours), public awareness-raising through a large-scale campaign to combat the social acceptance of alcohol abuse and related intimate partner violence and to promote responsible drinking.

4. Lobby for further research by other stakeholders to explore the root causes of alcohol abuse in the communities.

IR 2: Gender recommendations to improve health, nutrition, WASH and caregiving behaviors:

1. LISHE ENDELEVU project should, therefore, plan and implement social and behaviour change communication campaigns that focus on transforming gender roles and gendered relationships, particularly in households and communities.
2. Gender transformative campaigns should seek collaboration with dominant voices of authority and opinion leaders such as a “*wajumbe wa serikali za mitaa*”, church leaders/ and Sheiks. Positive role models who are celebrities (e.g. popular musicians, sports stars, businessmen and politicians) should be identified and engaged to help endorse social changes in perceptions of what constitutes acceptable and model practices among men and women. A focus on positively transforming men’s roles, in particular, is urgent and important to help create a more enabling home environment for improved maternal, child and adolescent nutrition practices.
3. The LISHE ENDELEVU SBCC strategy that is deployed through the use of positive role models (Mzee Jumbe and Mama Rotuba) in the First 1000 Days Parents’ Kit is a good example of promoting transformative gender roles for men, in particular, and for couples. Amplifying this intervention through “public dialogues” and broader community campaigns is an important component to change societal expectations for men’s and women’s roles and to change societal perceptions of an ‘ideal man’ and an ‘ideal woman’.
4. LISHE ENDELEVU’s social and behavior change (SBC) strategy should be tailored to address specific regional contexts and cultures that emerged through this gender analysis and that are documented in the regional reports included in the Appendixes of this report.
5. Additional content recommended for the Siku 1000 Kit for parents is information addressing food taboos, alcohol abuse, equitable food distribution, encouraging men to come home for dinner with the family, and reducing intimate partner violence. All of this content will need support at the higher social change level through advocacy by community opinion leaders and higher-level social authorities (i.e. government, the religious sector, and the cultural sector of society).
6. Findings from this research suggest that women have extremely limited space to negotiate their family’s needs concerning what is sold by the men across all regions. Most women across the three regions demonstrated a fair understanding of nutrition at the household level (acquire their knowledge from ANC clinic—for women clinic is the most trusted source of information), yet many women are unable to put this knowledge into practice due to the limited budget their spouses provide, limited food availability/access options, and lack of time to find and cook the food needed for diet. On the other hand, the majority of men who are the main decision-makers do not have sufficient nutrition education, men are

less likely than women to attend ANC facilities. Thus, nutrition programs that are delivered through such facilities unintentionally exclude men from the process. Men decide how income is used and it is, therefore, essential to engage men in nutrition sessions. It is also important to engage men in interventions on nutrition and health-related issues (i.e. nutrition counselling). LISHE ENDELEVU should consistently provide men targeted education information and direct the same to the platforms that attract men's attention easily such as radio and televisions just between the sports programs (from 6:00 pm—10:00 pm). To reach men in urban areas with nutrition education, LISHE ENDELEVU should target them by directing messages and sessions to the places in which men normally stay at such as; bodaboda and bus stands, markets, mills and around small industries, especially at the block, making space.

5. LISHE ENDELEVU project should, therefore, plan and implement social and behaviour change communication campaigns that focus on transforming gender roles and gendered relationships, particularly in households and communities.
6. Gender transformative campaigns should seek collaboration with dominant voices of authority and opinion leaders such as a “*wajumbe wa serikali za mitaa*”, church leaders/ and Sheiks. Positive role models who are celebrities (e.g. popular musicians, sports stars, businessmen and politicians) should be identified and engaged to help endorse social changes in perceptions of what constitutes acceptable and model practices among men and women. A focus on positively transforming men's roles, in particular, is urgent and important to help create a more enabling home environment for improved maternal, child and adolescent nutrition practices.
7. The LISHE ENDELEVU SBCC strategy that is deployed through the use of positive role models (Mzee Jumbe and Mama Rotuba) in the First 1000 Days Parents' Kit is a good example of promoting transformative gender roles for men, in particular, and for couples. Amplifying this intervention through “public dialogues” and broader community campaigns is an important component to change societal expectations for men's and women's roles and to change societal perceptions of an ‘ideal man’ and an ‘ideal woman’.
8. LISHE ENDELEVU's social and behavior change (SBC) strategy should be tailored to address specific regional contexts and cultures that emerged through this gender analysis and that are documented in the regional reports included in the Appendixes of this report.
9. Additional content recommended for the Siku 1000 Kit for parents is information addressing food taboos, alcohol abuse, equitable food distribution, encouraging men to come home for dinner with the family, and reducing intimate partner violence. All of this content will need support at the higher social change level through advocacy by community opinion leaders and higher-level social authorities (i.e. government, the religious sector, and the cultural sector of society).

10. Findings from this research suggest that women have extremely limited space to negotiate their family's needs concerning what is sold by the men across all regions. Most women across the three regions demonstrated a fair understanding of nutrition at the household level (acquire their knowledge from ANC clinic—for women clinic is the most trusted source of information), yet many women are unable to put this knowledge into practice due to the limited budget their spouses provide, limited food availability/access options, and lack of time to find and cook the food needed for diet. On the other hand, the majority of men who are the main decision-makers do not have sufficient nutrition education, men are less likely than women to attend ANC facilities. Thus, nutrition programs that are delivered through such facilities unintentionally exclude men from the process. Men decide how income is used and it is, therefore, essential to engage men in nutrition sessions. It is also important to engage men in interventions on nutrition and health-related issues (i.e. nutrition counseling). LISHE ENDELEVU should consistently provide men targeted education information and direct the same to the platforms that attract men's attention easily such as radio and televisions just between the sports programs (from 6:00 pm—10:00 pm). To reach men in urban areas with nutrition education, LISHE ENDELEVU should target them by directing messages and sessions to the places in which men normally stay at such as; bodaboda and bus stands, markets, mills and around small industries, especially at the block, making space.
11. The First 1000 Days Parents' Kit already includes a heavy emphasis on promoting healthy couple communication, better family dynamics and supportive roles for husbands and fathers to improve maternal and child nutrition outcomes. To support these household-level changes in nutrition behaviors and gender roles, Lishe Endelevu should develop a broader social change strategy that will help shift society's expectations for men, especially, in their roles as husbands, fathers, and providers for their families. Identify and promote supportive nutrition-related roles for men (e.g. helping their wives with their workloads including childcare and feeding, accompanying women to ANC, using more of their income to purchase nutritious foods for their wives and children, spending more time with their families, etc.) as beneficial and admirable. The 'male champion' programs implemented by EngenderHealth in Tanzania offer examples of identifying and raising the profile of real-life husbands and fathers as positive role models for other men to adopt new practices that support and empower their wives and improve the health and well-being of their families. The 'male champions' are also trained to serve as peer educators for other men in their communities. Given how wide-spread and strongly-held certain gender roles are, the authors recommend Lishe Endelevu consider a large-scale SBCC campaign across the regions to transform current priority gender-inequitable attitudes and practices that this study suggests may be the greatest barriers to improved maternal, child and adolescent nutrition outcomes: alcohol abuse and intimate partner violence. Such a campaign would require wide stakeholder support and the use of a blend of communication media, including mass media (television, radio, and mobile phone) and opinion leaders. Religious leaders and other voices of authority in society are important allies in this effort.

12. Consider developing and pretesting family nutrition social and behaviour change communication materials and strategies to disseminate in pubs, bars and other places where men and spend money on alcohol and food with their friends or lovers.
13. Lishe Endelevu should explore the possibility of collaborating with faith-based organizations to support religious leaders to combat intimate partner violence, extra-marital affairs and alcohol abuse as part of a gender-transformative approach to improving maternal, child and adolescent nutrition in their communities.

IR3: Gender recommendations to increase access to and availability of diverse, safe and nutritious food:

1. Ensure that interventions that assist women in generating agricultural income, gaining access to credit and loans, or saving money are accompanied by complementary interventions designed to improve the enabling environment at home and to reduce the potential for conflict, arguments or intimate partner violence as unintended outcomes of activities that increase women's access to and control of money. Complementary interventions should foster safe couple communication around household finances and prepare men to adjust to the shift in the balance of power in the household as their wives gain access to more information, skills and resources.
2. Identify and build strategic collaborations with programs that work specifically with adolescents (e.g. in the areas of reproductive health, family planning and HIV prevention, vocational training, and after-school programs) to offer girls other options for earning revenue that enables them to purchase food for themselves. Without other means to earn money, adolescent girls may use transactional sex as a strategy to increase their access to a greater diversity of foods, and particularly animal source foods.
3. Design SBCC materials and programming that help to improve father-daughter relationships and interpersonal communication around adolescent and family nutrition. Recognizing that a major barrier to father-daughter communication is that fathers are often physically absent from their homes, an important part of the SBCC strategy will be to encourage fathers to spend more time at home or- where possible and appropriate- to encourage daughters to accompany their fathers on errands, such as going to the market.
4. Lishe Endelevu should ensure that labor-saving and time-saving technologies, support for childcare and other interventions that help women to reduce their day-to-day workloads are integrated alongside activities to empower women with training, access to agricultural inputs, and savings and loan programs.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A: GENDER ANALYSIS OF NATIONAL NUTRITION STRATEGY

The analysis is based on ten gender mainstreaming checklist for project or policy documents proposed by himachal.nic.in (website). The results of the analysis is presented below in Table 1.

Table 1: Results for the analysis of Gender Inclusiveness in Tanzania Nutrition Strategy July 2011/2012 – 2015/16.

s/n	Aspect	Strength of document	Gaps in the document	Recommendations
1.	Background and justification: Is the gender dimension highlighted in background information to the intervention? Does the justification include convincing arguments for gender mainstreaming and gender equality?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Provides the statistics of the prevalence of malnutrition among women at reproductive age based on TDHS (2010); stressing on the implication for intergenerational poverty as a result of consistent high low birth rate. - Highlights the fact that triple roles of women (reproductive, domestic and productive cores) resulting from social norms deprive women from time, decision making participation both necessary for own and child health care as well as availability and access to food at individual and household level 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The statistics are outdated by now - Data on living condition is not disaggregated by sex - Perpetuate triple gender roles by excluding men in opportunities to address behaviour change for nutritional improvement especially in infant feeding behaviour - Is silent on need to address social norms that limit women's and children's good nutrition - The main focus is biological interventions to the affected social groups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The document should be updated to accommodate current issues - Disaggregate all related data - Involve both men and women in the interventions - Integrate social and scientific interventions to curb the immediate and underlying causes of malnutrition
2.	Goal: Does the goal of the proposed intervention reflect the needs of both men and women? Does the goal seek to correct gender imbalances through addressing practical needs of men and women? Does	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The goal seek universal nutritional improvement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Is silent on the special attention to perpetrators of gender inequality 	Include strategies to transform social norms that perpetuate gender inequality

	the goal seek to transform the institutions (social and other) that perpetuate gender inequality?			
3.	Target beneficiaries: is there gender balance within the target beneficiary group?	It put special focus to children under 5 years of age and women at reproductive age as the main vulnerable group	- Is silent on men's roles on improving the main affected social groups	- Consider involvement of men at reproductive age- in feeding and care of children and nursing mothers
4.	Objectives: Do the intervention objectives address needs of both women and men?	Interventions seek to correct direct causes of malnutrition such as supplementation, etc	Does not address underlying causes e.g. Gender inequality in decision making and roles	- Include strategies to address existing unequal power relations and gender roles
5.	Activities: Do planned activities involve both men and women? Are any additional activities needed to ensure that a gender perspective made explicit (e.g. training in gender issues, additional research, etc.)?	- The activities are mostly focused to the most affected groups especially infants, children and women at reproductive age, also the elderly	No activities aimed at engaging men in reducing triple roles to women (the factor to malnutrition)	Consider advocacy and campaigns to create gender awareness
5.	Indicators: Have indicators been developed to measure progress towards the fulfilment of each objective? Do these indicators measure the gender aspects of each objective? Are indicators gender disaggregated? Are targets set to guarantee a sufficient level of gender balance in activities (e.g. quotas for male and female participation)?	Mostly measure the nutritional status	Social norms related to malnutrition are not assessed	Include indicators of gender relations that affect health care, feeding practice, availability and access to food at Individual and HH level,
6.	Implementation: Who will implement the planned intervention? Have these partners received gender mainstreaming training, so that a gender perspective can be sustained throughout implementation? Will both women and men participate in implementation?	The activities will be implanted by experts of the interventions to the direct causes of malnutrition such as supplementation, proper feeding and other	Leave out the underlying social aspects associated with malnutrition	Include interventions to the exisiting negative gender perceptions that limit the access, availability and utilization of food And the practice of WASH

7.	Monitoring and evaluation: Does the monitoring and evaluation strategy include a gender perspective? Will it examine both substantive (content) and administrative (process) aspects of the intervention?	The M&E plan will be developed	It does not explain how progress and assessment will be conducted	Emphasis should be made on disaggregation by sex and age of the M&E data and information
8.	Risks: Has the greater context of gender roles and relations within society been considered as a potential risk (i.e. stereotypes or structural barriers that may prevent full participation of one or the other gender)? Has the potential negative impact of the intervention been considered (e.g. potential increased burden on women or social isolation of men?)	Focuses at reducing maternal malnutrition through supplementation, appropriate treatment of infection, prevention of teenage pregnancy, promotion of proper birth spacing, reduction of women's workload to give additional rest during pregnancy and lactation and offer nutrition education to improve dietary intake	Is silent on how men will be engaged	Device strategies to engage men in: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reduction of women's workload - Nutrition education to improve dietary intake
9.	Budgets: Have financial inputs been "gender-proofed" to ensure that both men and women will benefit from the planned intervention? Has the need to provide gender sensitivity training or to engage short-term gender experts been factored in to the budget?	Aim to develop the capacity of health workers and other stakeholder to plan and set aside sufficient human, financial and material resources to provide appropriate nutrition care to children and women	Does not address the power relations and social cultural aspects that impede food and nutrition security	Build the capacity of nutrition stakeholders in gender planning and budgeting
10.	Annexes: Are any relevant research papers (or excerpts) included as annexes (particularly those that provide sound justification of your attention to gender)?	Comprise information linking nutrition with: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - global goals - national structures and institutions 	Is silent on the role of social relations	Include publications on the link between social cultural relations and
11.	Communication Strategy: Has a communication strategy been developed for informing various publics about the existence, progress and results of the project from a gender perspective?	Behaviour change communication to prevent malnutrition focuses on women and those who influence them at family, work place and health service	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Does not address the underlying determinants of malnutrition - No messages to publicize 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Behaviour change communication should also create awareness to men, women beneficiaries

		centres covering nutrition and malnutrition issues	the project to men and women	and the stakeholders on the effects of gender relations on nutrition - Disseminate information on the existence of the project to men and women beneficiaries
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APPENDIX B: GENDER ANALYSIS OF NATIONAL AGRICULTURE POLICY

GENDER ANALYSIS OF NATIONAL AGRICULTURE POLICY ANALYSIS OF 2013

Issues to note

Vision

An agricultural sector that is modernized, commercial, highly productive and profitable; that utilizes natural resources in an overall sustainable manner and acts as an effective basis for inter-sectoral linkages by the year 2025.

3.2 Mission

To facilitate the transformation of the agricultural sector into the modern, commercial and competitive sector to ensure food security and poverty alleviation through increased volumes of competitive crop products.

3.3 General Objective

To develop an efficient, competitive and profitable agricultural industry that contributes to the improvement of the livelihoods of Tanzanians and the attainment of broad-based economic growth and poverty alleviation.

3.4 Specific objectives

The specific objectives are to:

- i) Increase production, productivity, and profitability from the utilization of the factors of production (land, labor, and capital);
- ii) Enhance national food security through the production of sufficient quantity and quality of food;
- iii) Improve agricultural processing to add value to agricultural products and create jobs;
- iv) Enhance the production of quality products to improve the competitiveness of agricultural products in the markets;
- v) Increase foreign exchange earnings from exportation of agricultural products;
- vi) Provide enabling environment to attract private sector investment to take advantage of existing comparative and competitive advantages;
- vii) Strengthen agricultural support services (research, extension, and training);
- viii) Strengthen inter-sectoral coordination and linkages to increase efficiency and effectiveness;
- ix) Protect and promote integrated and sustainable utilization of agricultural lands; and
- x) Promote the implementation of cross-cutting issues in agricultural undertakings.

Methodology

Used gender-sensitive analysis, which is the third step of the gender impact assessment, looking at how agriculture policy is expected to change the existing situation of equality.

Questions that guided the analysis:

- Does it collect data that is sex-disaggregated?
- Does it identify the inequalities between women and men?
- Are the inequalities analyzed from a gender perspective?
- Is there an assessment of the foreseen impact in terms of gender equality?
- Does it contain proposals to ensure that there will be a positive impact on gender equality as a result of the policy being implemented?
- Does it address the potential differences between men and women?
- Does the policy acknowledge and respect female and male needs?

Overview of the draft policy:

The preamble mentions the adoption of a participatory process between the government and other stakeholders in the policy formulation process and says that the policy is a product of inputs received from different stakeholder consultation workshops. However, it is not clear who the stakeholders were, whether there were men and women and whether the views of both men and women were considered and their diverse experiences gave consideration. It is not clear who came up with the issues that made it a priority and whether men and women were equally involved in coming up with the issues.

Challenges highlighted do not indicate the differences faced by men and women in agricultural production. Assumes that the two face the same challenges, which may not be the case. SWOT analysis is gender-neutral. It does not look at the possible constraints that may affect men and not women and vice versa.

Policies with Bearing in the Development of the Agricultural Sector

The section refers to two policies that are linked to the agricultural sector that acknowledge the likely impact of gender issues.

1. The land policy of 1995 and its related law “promotes equitable distribution and access to land for all citizens such as the removal of gender imbalance in land ownership and sound management of land resources”.
2. The 2000 National Gender Policy which lays “emphasis on incorporation of gender issues in all national development activities. The policy observes that over 90.4 percent of the active women in Tanzania are engaged in agriculture-related activities. Women produce over 70 percent of the country’s food requirements. Yet, despite their unequivocal role, female producers are excluded from ownership of land and other resources, the means of production and even the products of their labor”. It is not indicated though how the two will be linked.

In general, different experiences of women and men are considered in some of the sections, while others are gender-neutral. Only the sections that have gender issues highlighted are analyzed, and the ones that do not mention gender issues are disregarded.

Policy Issues

Page 13 under the Human Resources Development section, one of the policy statements related to the objective of strengthening human resources in order to respond to agricultural development needs specifies empowering small farmers, men and women through training in new techniques and approaches focusing small to enable them to reach levels of adequate productivity and self-sustainability; but otherwise, throughout the policy, when farmers are mentioned, it is as though it is a given that it includes both men and women, yet men or women can be disregarded as farmers depending on the context.

Page 14 under the agricultural extension services, one of the policy statements mentions the use of participatory approaches and the promotion of gender aspects in the provision of extension services using an integrated single delivery system approach. It is not clear what promotion of gender aspects means and how they plan to go about promoting them.

Pg. 16 under the mechanization, there is a policy statement on the desire to efficiently use agricultural machinery implements, as well as the promotion of equipment and tools among small scale farmers, women, and men; mechanization has been cited in literature as one of the policy strategies that has been responsible for disadvantaging women in the past and some areas. It is not clear how this will be mitigated although the policy option mentions the

promotion of their use to both men and women who are small scale farmers. However, it is not clear how the cost of mechanization is going to be controlled to ensure that poor women and men will be able to afford the tools and equipment.

Pg. 17, the section on land for agriculture is silent on men and women and their access and control of these arable lands. It focusses on the issues to do with land tenure and the law and creating awareness. One of the policy objectives highlights government's intention to promote gender-equitable land tenure governance and seek to eliminate those that are discriminatory or exclusionary;

Page 19, the section on the development of agricultural commodities has a policy statement on gender issues. It articulates the intention of government to "promote commodity supply chains and regulate contract farming while ensuring that the rights of farmers, particularly small scale farmers women and men, are duly respected"; while this is commendable, it is not clear how these policy statements are related to the issues that were raised with regard to the issue at hand. The issues had no mention of gender issues. It is as if the phrase men and women are attached every time the policy statements mention farmers. It is not clear that those gendered issues are acknowledged in the issues arising

It highlights the issue of "inappropriate food management and inequitable intra-household food distribution and social discrimination among family members; as well as inadequate mechanisms for targeting food assistance for vulnerable groups. However, the fact that household food distribution and social discrimination affect one sex more than the other is not mentioned. The solutions to the issues are silent on who the main stakeholder in issues of food security is and who is affected more by incidences of food insecurity. No mention is made of the fact that reproductive roles are mostly the preserve of women. There is no clear indication of how the policies intended to reduce gender gaps in livelihoods and incomes, and improved food security for poor women and men.

The section on agricultural marketing is also silent on gender issues related to the marketing of agricultural produce. The section on the financing of agriculture acknowledges the need to facilitate the accessibility of finance to farmers and other actors in the agricultural sector focusing on the financial needs of women and youths to foster social equity; it acknowledges the disadvantages faced by women and youth in relation to access to financial resources for improving their agricultural productivity.

The section on youth involvement in agriculture does not disaggregate the issues faced by male and female youth. It treats youth as homogeneous facing similar issues, yet this may not be the case. Female and male youth face different sets of circumstances and these needs to be acknowledged.

The section on farmer's organizations has a policy statement on supporting "group cooperation and rural entrepreneurial skills development particularly to women and youths". It does not say much about gender issues related to these organizations such as the involvement of men and women and whether both actively participate and are in decision making positions.

Organic farming has nothing related to gender issues.

Policy formulation and management do not indicate the importance of gender issues being taken into consideration at all levels of the policy process. No gender issues are highlighted.

Cross-cutting issues

The chapter has a section on gender as seen in the extract below. It acknowledges that most Tanzanian farmers are women and that over 90% of active women are engaged in agriculture. However, it does not address issues of gender equality.

4.21 Gender

The majority of Tanzanian farmers are women who constitute the majority of the agricultural labor force. Over 90.4 percent of active women in Tanzania are engaged in agricultural activities, producing about 70 percent of the country's food requirements. They are also actively involved in the production of cash and household activities. Most of these jobs involve strenuous, manual and highly time-consuming.

4.21.1 Issues

- i) Inadequate skills and knowledge;
- ii) Inequitable access to productive resources;
- iii) Inappropriate technologies; and
- iv) Inappropriate social-cultural practices and beliefs

4.21.2 Objectives

Participation of both men and women in the production of goods and services in the agriculture promoted while ensuring that benefits are equitably shared.

4.21.3 Policy Statements

- i) The Government shall facilitate equal access to land to both men and women;
- ii) Development and utilization of appropriate labor-saving technologies to relieve men and women from laborious and time-consuming tasks shall be promoted;
- iii) Participation of men and women in decision making to improve their access to productive resources shall be enhanced; and
- iv) Awareness creation and sensitization of communities on negative cultural attitudes and practices shall be promoted in collaboration with the Ministry of Community Development Gender and Children.

The section on employment and decent work in Agriculture has identified the issue of "Low labor productivity, particularly of women and youth, due to low skills base, limited access to or ownership of financial and natural resources such as land, and limited access to information, markets and adequate infrastructure, as well as lack of training opportunities, vocational education, etc."; It incorporates policy statements that seek to address these issues including the following:

1. Promotion of up-to-date age and sex-disaggregated information on employment and labor productivity-related issues in rural areas;
2. Promotion of on-farm and non-farm rural activities as engines of growth, innovation and attractive in terms of jobs for both women and men, in line with decent work concepts.
3. Promotion of business models that provide opportunities for small-scale producers towards the aggregation of products and developing backward and forward linkages, targeting in particular rural women and youth;

INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

The Ministry responsible for Community Development, Gender and Children shall cover aspects of community empowerment and gender mainstreaming. These are two cross-cutting issues which shall have great significance in the implementation of the National Agricultural

Policy. The ministry is also responsible for coordinating NGOs' activities some of which are active in the development of the agricultural sector.

The policy was designed to support both women and men as producers and entrepreneurs. There are several sections and policy statements that specifically focus on men and women as farmers and there is an attempt to incorporate gender in the cross-cutting issues.

There is no mention of how the monitoring will assess the impact on both women and men; it is not clear whether the framers of the issues involved men and women in coming up with the issues raised. It is not clear what was the level of participation of the affected and disadvantaged groups of women and men in the issue identification process. There is no mention of equity or equity, nothing about whether men or women would receive different benefits and whether the policy would seek to overcome the existing gender inequities. However, it does address some of the barriers that are faced by women in land access. The outcomes of the policy are still generally framed; it is not clear whether the policy will ensure a gender perspective in defining the desired/anticipated outcomes. It does not indicate how the planned interventions are expected to change the gender inequalities.

The policy options that are suggested are generally presented without recommendations concerning the policy that supports gender equity credibly and practically and demonstrating how gender equity considerations are balanced and congruent with other government priorities and considerations.

Recommendations:

1. There is a need to bear in mind that it may be necessary to come up with different measures for men and women to get agricultural-related outcomes that are equitable. The policy treats men and women identically, which means that gender equity may not be assured.
2. The outcomes that are envisaged do not seem to have the idea of removing social barriers that constrain men and women in terms of access and control to land, yet agriculture depends largely on land. The mention of the land tenure and the land act is good but not sufficient. It is important to state exactly what will be done to remove the barriers for ownership to land
3. There is a need for a clear indication of the gender aspects that were looked at during the design of the policy and how they are likely to affect the implementation and outcomes of the policy.
4. The specific monitoring and accountability for outcomes for both women and men should be clearly stated in the policy outline.
5. It is not clear which gender-specific factors that could act as barriers to achieving the policy outcomes were considered and how they will be overcome.
6. Explicitly state the context of specific gender implications and priorities that were considered.

Conclusion

Agricultural policies and programs are relevant to gender because most farmers are women who constitute most agricultural labour. The policy is therefore likely to affect the living conditions and access to resources for women and men. An assessment was done of the gender sensitiveness of the policy to determine whether the intervention would have on the effective equality of women and men. The conclusion drawn is that the policy is more gender-neutral than specific (far from being transformative). Gender-specific policies should use their knowledge of the differences between men and women, boys and girls to meet practical gender needs of men and women, boys and girls. Although the policy indicated knowledge of gender differences, it does not seek to address gender equality issues. It has acknowledged the gender

differences and but has not specified ways of addressing the inequalities that exist between men and women in society.

APPENDIX C: MEN'S AND WOMEN'S EXPLANATIONS FOR PILE SORTS

Table: Men's common responses on the pile sort images and comments during the focus group discussions

Image	Classification	Participant's comments
Lion	Man	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Like lions, men are fierce and strong The man is the ruler in his house when a lion roars everything becomes quiet-- when a man talks at home everyone keeps quiet
Cat	Woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Like a cat, a woman is clean and dislikes dirtiness Like a cat a woman takes care for her children She spends most of the time at home
Dog	Both	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A man is the protector of his family A woman is also a guardian and an informer in the absence of the father
Sheep	Woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gentle, humble and peaceful
A bird	Woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A bird cuddles her chicks under her wings and feed them ... as a mother cuddles her children and feeds them
Tree	Woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> "...Once a woman has given birth she submerges her roots deeply there even she endures all suffering and pain for the sake of her children... she has already deepened deep her roots. Another reason ...like trees a women produces food and feed the family.... she fetches firewood from trees
Sun	Man	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The sun represents a man...because even looking at the appearance of the sun it is very strong...
Hoe	Both	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Both cultivates in the farm. A man is a hard worker, sole worker; women just assist a little bit.
Money	Both	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> They look for money
Flower	woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She is attractive and likes decorations
Butterfly	Woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Likes decorations and colored dresses so she can attract men
	Both	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ... the man is the family's eye especially on family's economy matters....and the man is more visionary concerning his family... the woman also represents the family's eye concerning family's nutritional status and family upbringing...a good woman pays attention to welfare of her children and husband...
Mouth	Woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ... women talk a lot , this drive men away from home and cause alcoholism among men

Ear	Both	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Both a man and a woman... because when the husband comes back home she informs him whatever happened in his household during his absence...likewise the man is the family's ear because he is the one who goes out and informs his wife whichever happened in the village or in the mtaa
Rice	Woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A woman is responsible with food issues, is the only work for women.
An eye	Man	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -A man is the overseer of the family, he is the family leader
Money	Man	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Responsible to look for money
Milk	Man	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Buys milk for the family.

Table: Women's common responses on the pile sort images and comments during the focus group discussions

Image	Classification	Participant's comments
Lion	Man	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> men are cruel/harsh , very heartless , violent
Cat	Woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women are calm and innocent
Butterfly		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Butterfly loves nice places, places with attraction, the attractive places.... hardly finding the butterfly in dirty places like in feces but you will find her in clean places – that they are the same as women—are clean, they love clean and attractive
Mouth	Both	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In our families both women and men talk too much—but when a woman's argument makes sense than his, he is easily offended and become violent quickly.
Tree	Women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women tolerate violence mainly to retain custody of their children...we remain as trees which have roots underground ...trees that cannot move.
Rain	Both	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A man rains everywhere... he can get married to a woman here and desire other women there... When it rains crops grows the same as a girl she rains every month (menstruation cycle) Remind them farming seasons
Dog	Man	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A man is the protector of his family
Sheep	Woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gentle , meek ,humble and peaceful
Water	Woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A woman fetches water,
Tree	Woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> "...Once a woman has given birth she submerges her roots deeply there even she endures all suffering and pain for the sake of her children... she has already deepened deep her roots. Another reason ...like trees a women produces food and feed the family.... she fetches firewood from trees
Hoe	Both	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Both cultivates in the farm.
Money	Both	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> They look for money
Flower	woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She is attractive and likes decorations
Butterfly	Woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Likes decorations and colored dresses so she can attract men

Water	women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Girls and women are main users of water for cooking, washing, family hygiene, and sanitation. Women and girls in Katazi suffer a lot due to water scarcity
Mouth/lips	Woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ... women talk a lot , this drive men away from home and cause alcoholism among men
Rice	Woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A woman is responsible with cooking and feeding the family
Hoe	Woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She tills land more than other family members
An eye	Woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A woman is observant and responsive to every aspect of family member's welfare
Sun	Woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A woman wakes up earlier than others (before sun rises)

APPENDIX D: TABOOS AND MISCONCEPTIONS

Table: Taboos and misconceptions

Taboos, misconceptions and practices	Reason behind
RUKWA	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> When a mother has given birth, she is told not to eat green leaf vegetable 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She will experience diarrhoea and stomach aches
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pregnant women are prohibited from eating sugarcane 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A child will be born with skin disorder; the skin will be engulfed with spots
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A pregnant woman is supposed to keep the secret of being pregnant in the early stages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Believing that bad people can bewitch her and her pregnancy will be stolen (undergo miscarriage??) “kuibiwa mimba”
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A Pregnant woman is prohibited from drinking milk ...likewise she is forbidden to eat eggs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A Pregnant woman is prohibited from drinking milk ... likewise she is forbidden to eat eggs They claim that if she drinks milk often, it could make the unborn child fat and could lead to complications during delivery Eggs= hairless head
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pregnant women are prohibited to eat gizzard When the woman is pregnant, she should not eat meat known as kimkulya 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> If she does the child will be born with hernia problems “ngiri
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> When the woman is pregnant she is forbidden to eat chicken feet 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Because if she does she will give birth to a child who will be a Wanderer
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> After the woman gives birth she is not supposed to lactate the child. The first breast milk has to first be pressed out on the ground 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To remove filth/dirt from o her breasts
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adolescent girls: when a girl is on her period, she is forbidden to pluck green vegetables 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To avoid the vegetables to dry up
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> when a girl is on her period, she is forbidden to blow up the fire ... 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To avoid spreading chest infection or TB
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> When a girl is on her period she is forbidden to touch an infant (a baby) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To avoid infecting it with flu (influenza)
MOROGORO	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pregnant women are prohibited to eat sugarcane 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To avoid discharging too much water during delivery
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pregnant women are prohibited to eat some species of fish such as kitonga, kambare and mbogoto 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To avoid delivering abnormal children such as those with mental and speech

Taboos, misconceptions and practices	Reason behind
	disorders are displayed by the respective fish species
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Grandmothers advise pregnant women to have sex with husbands often 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As they believe that the practice will enhance speedy and smooth delivery.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Grandmothers advise pregnant woman not to stand on the door when pregnant 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Because you will be the last person to be taken to the labor room
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do not be the last person to wake up from where you are seated 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • You will be the last person to give birth in the labor room
IRINGA	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A nursing mother who has just given birth is prohibited from eating green vegetables known as “figili” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can damage her intestine
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A Pregnant women is prohibited from eating beans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cause abdominal pains and complications

APPENDIX E: DAILY ACTIVITIES OF ADOLESCENT GIRLS, WOMEN AND MEN

Table: Adolescent girls' typical daily schedule

Time	Activity/Who		
	Out of school Adolescent girls Rukwa-Rural	In -school Adolescent girls Iringa (urban)	In-school Adolescent girls Morogoro
04:00			Wake up, prepare breakfast and take breakfast , cleaning the surrounding
05:00		Wake up; clean house, light charcoal and prepare breakfast and take breakfast, shower	Go to school
06:00	Wake up and sweep the ground and latrine; clean inside the house	Go to school	Go to school classes
07:00	Light the firewood and start cooking (porridge for sibling and tea for the family)	Cleaning school compounds	Cleaning school compounds
08:00	Drink tea, wash utensils and go to fetch water	Attend classes	Attend classes
09:00	Go to farm		
10:00			
11:00			
12:00	Fetch water and cook		
13:00		Lunch	Lunch
14: 00	Lunch/wash dishes	Attend classes	
15:00	Shower		
16:00	Rest/ Wash clothes/fetch water	Walk back home and shower	Walk back home
17:00	Visit friends	Go to market and wash dishes and rest for half an hour and etch water	Eat /cook evening food for herself and Fetch water
18:00			
19:00	Cook	Cook	Shower and cook
20:00	Dinner	Dinner	Dinner
21:00	Washing dishes	➤ Shower and sleep	➤ Study
22:00	➤ Sleep		➤ sleep
23:00			
24:00			

*depending on the day of the week

Table: Rural women's and men's typical daily activities

Time	Activity/Who	
	Women	Men
04:45	Wake up	Wake up
05:00	Cleaning	Still in a bed *
06:00	Fetching water and prepare breakfast /prepare school children	Still in a bed *
07:00	Take breakfast and Go to farm	Eat Breakfast and Go to farm
08:00	Farming	Farming
09:00		
10:00		
11:00		
12:00		
13:00	Prepare water for husband and wash baby	Bath
14:00	Cook / rearing small livestock like chicken	Resting
15:00	Take lunch and wash dishes	Take lunch
16:00	Rest/ Wash clothes	Meet friends
17:00	Go to farm* and Collect firewood	Farm/ Meet friends *
18:00	Shower & wash the baby	Drinking with his friends
19:00	Cook	
20:00	Dinner	
21:00	Washing dishes	
22:00	Cleaning/bed spread	
23:00	Sleep/wait for her husband	Dinner
24:00		Sleep

*depending on seasonality

Table: Urban women's and men's typical daily activities

Time	Women’s activities	Men’s activities
05:00	Wake up and prepare breakfast	
06:00	Prepare water for husband and prepare children for school	Wake up and bath
07:00	Clean home and environment	Go to work
08:00		
09:00	Take breakfast	Take breakfast
10:00	Fetch water and Wash clothes	
11:00	Income generating activities	At work
12:00	Cook lunch	
13:00	Lunch time	Lunch time
14:00	Clean and wash dishes	At work
15:00		
16:00	Cook dinner	
17:00		
18:00	Attend school children	Back home and shower
19:00		Meet his
20:00	Dinner	friend/drinking
21:00	Sleeping/waiting for her husband	
22:00		At home eating dinner
23:00		Sleeping
24:00		

APPENDIX F: OVERVIEW OF SPECIFIC EMERGING GENDER ISSUES IN RUKWA, MOROGORO AND IRINGA

Table: ADOLESCENT GIRLS IN RUKWA, MOROGORO AND IRINGA (SPECIFIC ISSUES)			
Theme	RUKWA	MOROGORO	IRINGA
Perceptions of gender roles and identities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A good girl is one who respects elders and obeys them - The main household chores performed by girls are cooking, washing utensils, washing clothes, collecting firewood, fetching water, cleaning compounds and taking care of siblings (i.e. carrying, bathing and feeding them). - Outside chores performed by girls are farming and gardening. - Occasionally, mothers send girls to buy food - The roles performed by boys in Rukwa are splitting firewood, farming, fishing, and herding livestock. - Mothers and friends are the most influential persons to girls 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - An ideal girl is clean, tidy, hardworking and virginal - The main household chores performed by girls are cooking, help take care of their younger siblings, washing utensils, washing clothes, collecting firewood, fetching water and cleaning compounds, taking care of siblings and studying - Outside chores performed by girls are farming. - Adolescent girls in Mamboya do not work in the home gardens - She runs errands on behalf of her mother—sometimes the mother could send younger brothers to buy food salt, sugar, and flour, etc. - The main role taken up by boys in Mamboya is farming. Some however are engaging in Bodaboda business - Friends are the most influential persons on a girl's relationship with other girls and boys - Mothers (few of them grandmothers) are the most influential on a girl's relationship with her parents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - An ideal girl is a hard worker, does not prostitute, is obedient to elders and respects everyone, she dresses decently (dresses that cover the body well; should be above the knees and not so tight). Accepts appropriate advice given by sisters and brothers as by parents. - An ideal boy is one who dresses well not so tight clothes or trousers below waist (between buttocks—"mlegezo"); respects the young and elders, is not addicted to drugs, listens to all but abides by appropriate decisions - The most influential person to a girl is the mother because she is the one who understands her concerns. She is always there for and close to other girls. Besides, a Women's counseling organization called BLACK also has a great influence on girls in Iringa town. The organization is educating girls on self-awareness and ways to escape from teenage marriages and pregnancy.
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - One girl who was brought up by her father said the father is the most influential person in her life. - The majority of girls who lost parents or were abandoned by parents or the parents were divorced

Table: ADOLESCENT GIRLS IN RUKWA, MOROGORO AND IRINGA (SPECIFIC ISSUES)			
Theme	RUKWA	MOROGORO	IRINGA
			<p>said they are close and more influenced by grandmothers.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Friends also influence girls mostly in a negative way, for instance, friends would easily influence one to engage in prostitution especially when a parent cannot sufficiently meet a girl's needs. - The majority of adolescent boys prefer to approach fathers when they need money, and when they feel hungry they approach their mothers. <p>They also receive advice and guidance from their elder brothers on issues of physical and physiological changes occurring in their bodies as a result of puberty. In cases of boys whose fathers are alcoholic, boys are more influenced by their mothers,</p>
Gender relationships and Day-to-day life activities	<p>Gender relationships and Day-to-day life activities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Out of school girls (OOSGs) wake up at 6:00, sweep the compound, light fire, prepare and eat breakfast. After breakfast, they work in the fields or do other work assigned by their mothers (see table 6 in the main document) Adolescent girls in Muze, have closer relationships with their mothers than fathers. - Girls find it difficult to ask for money from their fathers. Majority get money from their mothers. 	<p>Gender relationships and Day-to-day life activities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Schoolgirls wake up at 4:00-6:00 am, make their beds, clean the house and toilets, wash dishes and prepare breakfast (depending on their mothers' instructions on which tasks to perform next). - After the morning chores, she goes to school. - A girl can go to school with or without breakfast depending on the time she finishes her duties and or if she has money for breakfast at school. 	<p>Gender relationships and Day-to-day life activities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Adolescent girls are not engaging in gardening—gardens are the responsibility of the brothers - The main household chores performed by girls are cooking, sweeping, washing and clothes - Girls also go to the market on behalf of their mothers - Girls favorite time of the day are after dinner when they go to sleep - Most adolescent girls in Kihesa get pocket money from their parents. Majority use the pocket to buy simple personal items especially drinks and snacks such as soda, juice, fried potatoes - Girls spend most of their time with mothers, sisters, and siblings. When they are together they cook, wash clothes and sweep.

Table: ADOLESCENT GIRLS IN RUKWA, MOROGORO AND IRINGA (SPECIFIC ISSUES)

Theme	RUKWA	MOROGORO	IRINGA
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The money girls get from their parents is for buying necessities such as school requirements, pads (occasionally), clothes (occasionally), soaps and body oil. - When girls want money to buy chips, eggs, and roasted meat/pork they ask their boyfriends (those with boyfriends). - A girl with big behind is admired by men and could flirt with them. - Girls, without lovers (boyfriends), have no other place to eat other than their homes. On average, parents give Tsh.500 or less to schoolgirls as pocket money. The girls tend to spend this amount on milk and plain potatoes - Girls share the deepest secrets about their relationships, problems, and MPs with their mothers and close friends. <i>We confide on mothers (and a close friend).</i> <p><i>“The greatest confidant of a girl regarding abortion issues is the girl’s mother and her lover... the first person to know that you are pregnant is the mother ...the mother is the first one to persuade you to abort ...she tells you: ‘now if your father will discover</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Adolescent girls in Mamboya, have closer relationships with their mothers than fathers. - Girls find it difficult to ask for money from their fathers, except school fees. The majority get money for other necessities through their mothers. - Majority of teenage boys approach fathers whenever they need money but ask their mothers for food. - Day scholars do not receive pocket money, they are encouraged to eat at home and have lunch at school. Necessities such as soaps, body oils, and clothes are bought by parents—few are given money to buy sanitary pads. - Girls share their problems, illnesses, and MPs with their mothers. Boys share their financial problems with their fathers. - Girls share the deepest secrets about their relationships with close friends. - School girls in Mamboya face challenges as they walk the long distance to school which exposes them to temptations. - To overcome the challenge of the long distance to school, some adolescent girls are living in rented rooms, near schools the so-called “ghettos”. The ghetto rooms are characterised by poor ventilation and sanitation—overall conditions of the rooms are very poor. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Girls visit their fellow students once or twice a week. When they meet they just have fun, share jokes and talk about school.

Table: ADOLESCENT GIRLS IN RUKWA, MOROGORO AND IRINGA (SPECIFIC ISSUES)			
Theme	RUKWA	MOROGORO	IRINGA
	<p><i>that you are pregnant what shall we do?" (Adolescent girls Muze).</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The majority of girls go out at night with their boyfriends without their fathers' knowledge—she connives with her mother—in return she gives her mother a portion of chips and nyamachoma or money. (*return home around 10:00 pm). <i>"The mother is the one who plans all tactics... the father usually has no idea of what is going on..."</i> - Unsafe abortion is common among adolescent girls in Rukwa---the abortions are carried out far from the villages. Only a girl, her boyfriend, and her mother are involved in arranging for abortion. <i>"... if you abort here news will spread out fast"</i> - Reasons for unsafe abortions vary from fear of being punished by fathers, stigma, school, not ready to have a child, she/he is not ready for marriage, etc. - When girls are at home, they spend most of their time with their mothers, and siblings. They assist mothers with household chores such as cooking and taking care of siblings. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - When girls are at home, they spend most of their time with their mothers, grandmothers, and siblings, and assist their mothers with household chores. - When school girls are outside homes they meet with their friends and schoolmates. They normally meet at the river on Saturday; wash while chatting and gossiping about anything—someone in our class, boys, parents, teachers etc. - Schoolgirls also meet for group discussions in ghettos or at school any day of the week - The majority also tend to meet at church on Sunday—majority are members of church choirs. 	

Table: ADOLESCENT GIRLS IN RUKWA, MOROGORO AND IRINGA (SPECIFIC ISSUES)			
Theme	RUKWA	MOROGORO	IRINGA
	- After works, girls visit their friends, when OOSGs meet, they gossip and talk about their boyfriends		

Table: ADOLESCENT GIRLS IN RUKWA, MOROGORO AND IRINGA (SPECIFIC ISSUES)			
Theme	RUKWA	MOROGORO	IRINGA
AGENCY	<p>AGENCY</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Adolescent girls in Muze have limited influence over other family members except for their siblings. - The majority of adolescent girls said they won't even dare ask their fathers for money to buy eggs, or some meat because many fathers are not approachable, are cruel and unconcerned especially when facing financial constraints. - According to adolescent girls, mothers are willing to give their daughters money to buy eggs or some meat, but the majority do not have money 	<p>AGENCY</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In many households and community girl's opinions don't matter. - In their household, adolescent girls can only ask their fathers for school fees but not money to buy eggs, or some meat because many fathers are selfish and stingy when it comes to good food for the family. - Adolescent girls said that mothers do not have money to give their daughters to buy eggs and meat. However, even if a mother has money, she cannot give money to buy eggs, or some meat, just for the girls—the normal practice in many households is, food is prepared once for all adult members. - Adolescent girls in Mamboya have limited influence over other family members. However, they can influence their mothers on the time to cook and how to cook food - Those girls living in rented rooms get to decide what to cook among depending on food and budgets available 	<p>AGENCY</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Adolescent girls in Kihesa have influence over their mothers. Mothers and sisters <i>are most likely to appreciate girls' opinions and ideas.</i> - Girls cited examples of how they have had influence over family members on specific issues; - <i>One said I advised the parents to use the open space at home for a vegetable garden and it worked</i> - <i>Another said she advised her father to construct their own house and do away with renting cost and it materialized</i> - <i>Another one said she advised the family to practice good hygiene and sanitation as taught at school, but the practice lasted only for a week</i>

<p>Girls' eating practices</p>	<p>Girls' eating practices</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The majority of adolescent take instructions from their mothers on types of food to buy, what to cook, how to serve and trips of water to fetch. Girls can decide how to prepare a certain food or meal. - Adolescent girls taste food in the kitchen when they are cooking, especially when they cook fish and meat or any other delicious food. - Adolescent girls eat the same food because that is the normal practice, food is prepared once for all members of the family -Girls eat with their mothers and siblings, fathers' meal is always set aside - Girls with boyfriends eat outside homes more. Often, they eat chips eggs, nyama choma and pork. - Girls with boyfriends also eat snacks—biscuits, soda, juice with their friends and boyfriends. - Girls eat in ceremonies and funerals 	<p>Girls' eating practices</p> <p>-FGD participants pointed out adolescent girls lured using chips, eggs, mishikaki, and money because their parents do not provide these foods consistently</p> <p>-The girls living in ghettos are more vulnerable because they are given small amounts of money to sustain their needs.</p> <p><i>“In ghettos, we don't eat meat, or fish or eggs...and the majority eat two meals or less a day.... If you decide to eat three good meals or eat meat or fish or other luxurious foods, your monthly budget will be over within two days...so we eat ugali and nyanya chungu everyday... our friends—those who have a simple hearts are tempted to engage in sexual relationships with older men or bodaboda boys to get chips, eggs and meat...when girls in ghettos see that their peers eat chips & eggs or have money, they are tempted to find people to offer them money or buy them food” (FGD, adolescent girls Mamboya)</i></p> <p>-When a girl cooks, she tends to eats a larger amount of food than other family members It is common for adolescent girls to taste food when they are cooking; the amount of food they taste depends on the food they cook.</p> <p>-When a girl serves food she imitates how her mother serves—she serves a large portion of meat/fish to the father. Mother is last to be served and gets a small portion.</p>	<p>Girls' eating practices</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Adolescent girls eat the same food with other family members as this practice. Those remaining home eat before the ones who go to the farms but the food for the farmers is set aside. Besides, the father always comes late, he eats alone and his food is kept separately. Father's meal is always special---big portion of side dishes. - Sometimes girls eat outside of the family mealtimes. When they eat outside they eat in ceremonies and friends' homes, also when she possess money (from their pocket money and few from their boyfriends) they buy chips and sausage, yoghurt, pork, goat meat, fried potatoes, and makange.
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Table: ADOLESCENT GIRLS IN RUKWA, MOROGORO AND IRINGA (SPECIFIC ISSUES)			
Theme	RUKWA	MOROGORO	IRINGA
		<p>-In many families fathers come home very late at night...they eat alone.</p> <p>-At school, girls drink black tea in the morning and they eat Makande Bila maharage (Maize cooked without beans) for lunch every day.</p> <p>-For dinner (at home) girls mostly eat Ugali and beans or ugali with sweat potatoe leaves, mixed with sardine or mlenda</p> <p>-Fish, meat and eggs are rarely consumed, except during ceremonies/celebrations or when livestock are sick or “when the father is happy”.</p> <p>-In some families in Mamboya some women keep chickens and sell the eggs to get money to buy food and other necessities.</p>	

Menstruation	Menstruation	Menstruation	Menstruation
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Majority of adolescent girls experience stomach aches, nausea and loss of appetite when menstruating. - Adolescent girls eat less due to loss of appetite, nausea and in some cases vomiting. - The majority do not tell their mothers that they are sick--- girls are encouraged to continue with some household chores, including preparing food, fetching water and firewood, the most common statement mothers give to their daughter is “<i>MP is not an illness</i>”. Other girls continue with their chores to so as not to arouse attention. - However, there are some limitations when girls perform household chores when having their period—there are taboos that forbid girls to perform certain roles. For example, they are forbidden to pluck green vegetables, forbidden to blow the fire using their mouths and are not allowed to touch an infant (see table 8, in the main report). - Adolescent girls in Rukwa learn about menstruation periods (MP) from their mothers, sisters, and teachers at school. A mother guides her daughter on maintaining personal hygiene. At 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Adolescent girls in Mamboya learn about menstruation periods (MP) from their mothers, grandmothers and peers. Some keep it secret out of fear. - Very few use sanitary pads; majority use cloth because they are cheaper - Sometimes, girls skip school for days when observing their monthly period due to lack of reliable water and sanitation at school. - Girls who have heavy and painful periods skip school, when attending classes they lack concentration and peace for the fear that the cloth leaks—are also forced to be the last to leave classes—when the teacher asks question they fear to stand up to answer questions—they are punished for being “disrespectful”—these fears discourage girls from attending classes. - The majority do not wash their menstrual cloth with soap due to the cost of buying soap. - Girls dry their menstrual cloth under their beds—hide them. Some girls throw the menstrual cloth in latrines or bushes. Washing menstrual cloth causes some girls to lose appetite - “... you ask your mother to give you some money so that you can buy pads and she is telling you that my daughter you know our economic status just use those pieces of cloth... and here there is water challenge, it 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Adolescent girls experience stomach aches, nausea, and loss of appetite when having their periods. However, the majority continue with normal routine activities, same diet, and caring for siblings. Few receive mother’s attention where chores are reduced. - The majority of girls eat less when are in their period due to loss of appetite, nausea and in some cases vomiting. - Adolescent girls in Iringa learn about menstruation periods (MP) from their mothers <i>and “at school teachers taught us on general menstrual hygiene management and the associated menstrual cycle”</i>. Their sisters also gave the same support as mothers. Mothers and sisters guided on maintaining personal hygiene, the use of pads (70%) and or a piece of cloth (30%) to contain the flow, also reduced household chores assigned to them for that period.

Table: ADOLESCENT GIRLS IN RUKWA, MOROGORO AND IRINGA (SPECIFIC ISSUES)			
Theme	RUKWA	MOROGORO	IRINGA
	<p>school, teachers teach them on the menstrual circle (Std six).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Some use of pads (10%) and or a worn-out lady's print cotton wrap (90%) to contain the flow. - Girls wash their menstrual cloth using water and then dry them under the mattress—where access is limited. 	<p><i>becomes very difficult to wash them, sometimes when you use them you just throw away... and we don't feel well to use them since while washing that blood reduces food appetite...." (FGDs, adolescent girls Mamboya).</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In Mamboya, a lot of girls avoid drinking black tea when menstruating to avoid heavy flow. - <i>Menstruating girls</i> are not allowed to attend funeral or cook — it is believed they are unclean. 	
Exploring potential platforms to reach adolescent girls	<p>Platforms to reach adolescent girls</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Girls go to church once in a while — their decisions to go to church are controlled by their mothers. <i>"you might have planned to go to church but unexpectedly your mother tells you to do something..."</i> - Festivals are not common in Muze. Only at weddings or at schools you can see groups of girls together. - The best way to reach school girls with information about nutrition and other topics is at schools - The best way to reach Out of school girls with information about nutrition 	<p>Potential platforms to reach adolescent girls</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Adolescent girls go to church and mosques; the main emphasis comes from their mothers. - Girls go to church with their mothers, sisters, and siblings. The majority are members of church choirs. - Schoolgirls enjoy singing songs in festivals at school. - Girls like to play football and singing in church choirs—they also attend religious festivals. 	<p>Exploring potential platforms to reach adolescent girls</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Girls attend worship places at least once per week accompanied by mothers and sisters. They also attend worship place festivals and birthdays of relatives - The best way to reach school girls is at school.

Table: ADOLESCENT GIRLS IN RUKWA, MOROGORO AND IRINGA (SPECIFIC ISSUES)			
Theme	RUKWA	MOROGORO	IRINGA
	<p>and other topics is through <i>watendaji wa vijiji</i>.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There are several programs for school girls but none for OOSG. 		

Recommendations	Recommendation in their words	Recommendation in their words	Recommendation in their words
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In Muze, Ugali and beans are among the common foods consumed from Monday to Saturday because fathers do not provide enough money for meals. - The programs should inform fathers about the need for providing enough money for families to buy food i.e. Balancing diet, to prevent girls from being lured into relationships by the promise of good food (chips & eggs, nyama choma) - Girls bear the brunt of water Scarcity. The program can help families and adolescent girls by installing water taps in the villages. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Parents should be educated on the importance of providing balanced diets for adolescent girls - The program should encourage fathers to listen to their daughters and provide them with money to buy personal items, nutritious food, and other necessities to prevent them from temptations. - Fathers should be encouraged to listen to their daughters as they do to their sons. - The government should provide schools with reliable financial support to enable schools change their meal plans - The government and private institutions should provide free pads to students from poor families. - The program and government should assist communities in improving water, and toilets access in schools 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - It is only possible for girls to eat more animal source foods each day if the price of animal foods will be reduced because most parents face budget constraints. - The program can help families and adolescent girls to improve their nutrition by introducing projects for poultry keeping and vegetable and fruits gardens at home.

APPENDIX G: RUKWA REGION-GENDER ANALYSIS

APPENDIX G: RUKWA REGION-GENDER ANALYSIS

Rukwa Region lies in the extreme southwestern part of Tanzania. The Region is divided into four (4) Districts namely Kalambo, Nkasi, Sumbawanga Municipal and Sumbawanga rural. The study was conducted in Katazi village (Kalombo district) and Muze village in (Sumbawanga rural). The major crops grown by households in the region include food crops such as maize, rice, finger millet, beans, cassava and groundnuts and cash crops such as tobacco, sunflower, coffee, and wheat. The fish from Lake Rukwa form an important protein and income.

Gender analysis in Rukwa looked at gender roles and identities, relationships, power relations (agency), workloads and eating practices and how they affect the availability, access, and utilization of diverse, safe and nutritious food as well as WASH among community members with special focus to pregnant or Breastfeeding Women, Husbands of Pregnant or Breastfeeding Women and adolescent girls.

Gender roles, identities and workload

Gender roles and identities; within and across groups there were shared perceptions regarding gender identities and roles of women and men in Rukwa. Men's position as head of the household was also described in terms of dominance in decision-making. Men/Fathers/husbands were described as being the head of the family and the provider for the family. As head of the family, a man is responsible for providing for the family financially, providing money for food, clothing, and health care. For instance, participants mentioned that an ideal husband is supposed to provide for his wife (before pregnancy, during pregnancy and postpartum (childbearing and breastfeeding)).

Providing for his wife entails; *buying food for her, providing money for transport to clinics, purchase of the delivery items and buying clothes for a newborn*. One of the issues that pregnant women reported was the failure of their husbands to provide them with money for the purchase of the delivery items such as vitenge. Mothers/wives were described as the helpers of men/husbands fathers, main food cooks and caregivers of the family. For instance, participants mentioned that a wife can show her husband that she cares by asking him how he feels, listening to him attentively, cook for him nice meals, prepare water for him to shower, and washing his clothes e.t.c.

Practices; women in group discussions mentioned that most men in Rukwa “*lack some of the features of idealized man*”. For instance, women pointed out that the majority of men don't provide enough food or money for the family to buy necessities such as nutritious food. In men's focus group discussions participants pointed out that “the majority of men make attempts to fulfill their responsibility but are financially constrained—lack of economic means. Likewise, women mentioned that it is difficult for mothers to fulfill some roles such as cooking nice meals for the family, taking good care for children due to multiple tasks and busy schedules and lack of money. Responding to the question of how would a man react if his wife

asked him to give her money so she can buy nutritious food for herself and young ones participants said that “...depends on man’s financial status... if he cannot he may be annoyed even insult the health workers (in their absence).”

Workload; in Rukwa women perform tasks such as farming, washing, cooking, cleaning, childcare, fetching water, collecting firewood, serving men and rearing small livestock like chicken. Participants mentioned that the main tasks of men are; farming, fishing, family security, and herding. Some men performed other tasks such as building houses, brickmaking, breaking stones into concrete, carpentry e.t.c. The roles performed by women are those that are for girls. Adolescent girls in Rukwa are responsible to assist their mother in domestic works such as fetching water, cleaning of house and compound, gardening, preparation of meals, washing dishes, washing of clothes and taking care of siblings. Also, adolescent girls are expected to be caring, avoid conflict and not engage in sexual relations before marriage.

The findings show that agriculture is the main activity performed by both women and men in Rukwa. Participants said that despite the diversity of crops cultivated in Rukwa, most of the cash income and staple food comes from maize. Participants mentioned that most of the roles of women and men in agriculture are shared. According to general agreement among focus group participants in Katazi and Muze, men are in charge of bush burning, bush clearing using machetes and women clear land using hoes (hoeing); men are in charge of tilling the land using oxen (plowing) and women are in charge of digging using hoes, women are in charge of sowing/planting and weeding,; men are in charge of buying fertilizers and pesticides and spraying pesticides and seeking extension services; both men and women are in charge of harvesting; men are in charge of storage and selling crops.

When probed why women don’t get involved in marketing the crops, the responses from men differed from those of women; in men’s groups the answers were; *women cannot bargain for a higher price, men have the knowledge to look for markets; women cannot carry heavy sacks of maize; women are busy with domestic roles.* In women’s focus groups the reasons were; *men want to control the income so they can spend in alcohol or engage in extramarital affairs (michepuko); they don’t want us to know the income earned from selling crops; transport costs are high and complicated for women (Men, FGD).*

Participants also pointed out that in Rukwa there are no clearly defined male and female crops, however, groundnuts are practically women’s crops since they are produced by women and meant primarily for home consumption and sold locally to the neighbors and the price is very low.

The 24 hours gender daily calendar of women and men show the “*heavy work burdens among women.*” Participants revealed that although both women and men work in agriculture women worked longer hours than men because activities performed by women such as weeding is time-consuming. Apart from agriculture for women, women’s time is taken up with domestic works such as fetching water, cooking, cleaning and caring for children. Women are also in charge of

keeping chickens and they do not control these resources. Women participants mentioned that weeding season i.e. from February to March is the busiest season for women---they spend most of the time on the farms. The findings on the 24 hours gender daily calendar revealed that on average women wake up at 5:00 and sleep at 23:00, but during the weeding season women work longer. Men's daily calendar depends on the season, they wake up early and go to the farm during the season of land clearing September/ October and plowing (see table 1 below)

Agency: Apart from owning and controlling the income earned from crops and livestock, participants said that men own and control most aspects such as farm animals such as oxen, spray pumps and bicycles used for transporting harvests. As one woman participant explained“...*the woman is involved in all agriculture activities...from preparing the land to harvest except ... except selling activities ... that is where the friendship ends...there are several men of this kind..... (women, FGD).*

Men in focus group justified their control of earned income by claiming that: ...*let's say we planned together to do certain things ... if you give her the earned money she will bring issues of concern to use the money ohh the child fell ill...oh my mother is sick I want to take her to the hospital... I used some money to buy food for the baby... you may find all the money is gone for incidental expenses while big plans which you had planned stuck... Whereas when the money is kept by the man it is very easy to realize planned plans. He will say this is what we had planned..(Men, FGD).*

Majority of women in focus group discussions commented that food shortage in the most household is caused by men superiority and priorities, participant claimed that men tend to favor to sell food for money, rather than keeping food for family consumption--- and use the big amount of-earned money in alcohol. When women start questioning men become aggressive. One participant explained:

...let's say we have harvested several sacks of maize, rice and a variety of vegetables...out of let say 40 sacks of maize he will give one sack or less for family consumption ... he will go to drink and return late in the night.... while the mother and children are left home starving...when a woman dares to ask, can lead into a huge fight and if you fight back he can break your legthere are several cases of woman abuse during the season of harvest in Katazi ... these months of June, July, and August he is hardly seen at home because he has money,... some women are reporting these abuses to 'watendaji' village executive officers (Women, FGD).

Gender relationships

The role of neighbors: Responding to the question when outside home where do they go? The majority of women in Rukwa mentioned neighbors. Women commented that *normally when to have time women spend most of their time with their neighbors.* “The common comment within and across all women groups was “a neighbor is everything...” As one participant clarified;

... when the woman gives birth close neighbors are responsible during the first days ...close neighbors also help, cook porridge, fetch waterclean up the house and its surroundings ... here the neighbor is everything... hence, if the person lives badly with his neighbors he may face great troubles...he may even die due to lack of support (Men's FGD Muze).

In the past when a woman delivers, she was supposed to stay at her mother in law's home...but things have changed here...mother-in-laws are busy some have already passed away. Here neighbors are everything. So women were expected to invest or reciprocate service, care, and love and live in harmony with them. One woman participant narrates:

Here when the pregnancy is due for delivery a man (husband) will prepare material needed for you and infant. Then he will organize your neighbor friend who will escort you to the clinic...the neighbor will also wash the baby and do household chores... (Women, FGD).

The mother is also expected to have taken on more responsibilities or arrange with female neighbors and friends to help. The support a mother gets depends on whether it is the first pregnancy or not. For the first pregnancy, her mother or mother in law or other relatives will also provide support.

Furthermore, alcoholism and extramarital affairs (husband's unfaithfulness—michepuko) were mentioned by all groups as a reason that destroys healthy relationships among couples—the reason why men neglect their families makes them unhappy about their relationships. The majority of women have to put up with such behavior from their husbands for the sake of their children and marriage—they also claimed: “all men are not faithful you cannot leave a man because of michepuko”. Majority of men acknowledged of being unfaithful and the reason they gave was “*we feel distanced from our wives during pregnancy, childbirth and postpartum .*”

RUKWA			
Theme	-Pregnant /breastfeeding Woman	Husbands of Pregnant /breastfeeding Woman	Adolescent girls
Perceptions of gender roles and identities	<p>-An ideal man must care and provide for the family and guarantee their safety</p> <p>-An ideal woman must be humble, obedient, love her husband and children and prepare water for the husband to bath, cook for him.</p>	<p>An ideal man is hardworking, confident and courageous</p> <p>A responsible man provides for his family--providing money for food and other necessities such as clothing, and health care</p> <p>Fipa Men don't fetch water a man who fetches water or performs domestic tasks regarded as women's duties are laughed at and labeled "amelishwa limbwata"</p> <p>A good wife is humble, obeys her husband, care for him and respect him. e.g.. prepare water for him to shower, and washes his clothes—cook for the family</p> <p>Above all, a good wife is the one who bears children</p>	<p>Perceptions of gender roles and identities</p> <p>-A good girl is the one who respects elders and obeys them</p> <p>- The main household chores performed by girls are cooking, washing utensils, washing clothes, collection of firewood, fetching water, cleaning compounds and taking care of siblings (i.e. carrying them, bathing and feeding them).</p> <p>-Outside chores performed by girls are farming and gardening.</p> <p>-Occasionally, mothers send girls to buy food</p> <p>-The roles performed by boys in Rukwa are splitting firewoods, farming, fishing, and herding livestock.</p>

			-Mothers and friends are the most influential persons to girls
Gender relationships	<p>Gender relationships</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The most influence on a woman's relationship comes from her close neighbors. -When a woman is at home—Stay mostly with her children, her neighbors' close door and mother/mother in laws (rarely) -Husbands rarely stay at home during their leisure time—they stay at home in the morning when taking breakfast and when they are preparing to go to the farms and briefly during lunchtime. -Women in Katazi have a tight schedule—during the weeding season, they don't meet at all—during low agriculture seasons they can meet twice a week. -When outside home women visit their close neighbors (not exceed 5 women) 	<p>Gender relationships</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The most influence on man's relationship comes from close friends When a man is at home he listens to the radio, talk to visitors and family members, especially his older son When outside home men go vijiweni---men spend their leisure time with friends--playing bao, draft and vijiweni exchanging ideas---in the evening men meet in local beer clubs or bar When are with their friends, men normally talk about development, to build one another up, farming and prices of crops, shop talking about current events -Most men don't talk about the nutrition of mothers and children with their wives. Men provide money, women decide what to buy. 	<p>Gender relationships and Day-to-day life activities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Out of school girls (OOSGs) wake up at 6:00, sweep the compound, light the fire, prepare breakfast and then eat breakfast. -After breakfast, they work in the fields or do other work assigned by their mothers (see table 6 in the main document) -Adolescent girls in Muze, have closer relationships with their mothers than with their fathers. - Girls find it difficult to ask for money from their fathers. Majority get money through their mothers. - The money girls get from their parents is for buying necessities such as school requirements, pads(occasionally), clothes (occasionally), soaps and body oil.

	<p>-Among neighbor friends, a woman will have one or two close friends and confidants --who will never betray or tell her secrets. Only a close friend will know her pregnancy in the early stages and they will not share the information with other people. Women don't share their pregnancies in the early stages, some people have bad eyes they may steal the pregnancy.</p> <p>-It is not common for couples to talk about the nutrition of mother and child. A man provides money for her—she decides what to buy dependent on the amount of money he provides.</p> <p>-The most trusted source of nutrition information is the clinic</p> <p>-When a woman asks her husband to give money to buy eggs for herself or a child—he will react depending on his financial status, his mood or manner a woman deliver a message</p> <p>-Men only go to the clinic for first registration because it is compulsory</p>	<p>About what food to cook for children and the family is a woman's decision.</p> <p>-It is rare for couples to discuss household finances, the husband provides money to his wife depending on his financial circumstances.</p> <p>-A good husband cannot beat his wife unless, she quarrels with him, refuses to cook for him or prepare water for him to bath, cheats on him, denying him sex, being arrogant to him and answering him back. Drunkard and abusive men beat their pregnant women.</p> <p>Agency</p> <p>-When men get the time they carry their children— this rarely happens because men's activities and daily routines do not allow them to—the majority of men come home late and drunk</p> <p>-Fipa Men do not feed babies. But when a baby cries at night a wise man assists,</p>	<p>-When girls want money to buy chips, eggs, and roasted meat/pork they ask their boyfriends (those with boyfriends).</p> <p>-A girl with big booty is admired by men and could act playfully with them.</p> <p>- Girls, without lovers (boyfriends), have no other place to eat other than their homes. On average parents give Tsh. 500 or less to schoolgirls as pocket money i.e.Tsh.500 When are given that amount they buy a smallest portion of plain potatoes and the smallest packet of milk.</p> <p>-Girls share the deepest secrets about their relationships, problems, and MPs with their mothers and close friends. <i>We confide our secrets to our mothers (and a close friend).</i> <i>The greatest confidant of a girl regarding abortion issues is the girl's mother and her lover... the first person to know that you are pregnant is the mother ...the mother is the first one to persuade you to abort ...she</i></p>
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Agency	<p>-Men make arrangements—neighbors to take their wives for delivery --- he will organize neighbor friends who will escort her to the clinic...the neighbor will also wash the baby and do household chores</p> <p>-Women get support from their close neighbors and older children (in case, have children -girls), the wife of husband's brother and few get support from their mothers-in- laws. In Katazi mother-in-law's support during the postpartum period is diminishing. Very few assists—often do so for the first time mothers</p>	<p>though the majority don't bother expecting that the mother will handle it.</p> <p>-Most women when they are pregnant are not predictable, so the relationships change depending on their mood—men avoid to stay at home.</p> <p>-When having a small baby, a woman directs her attention to her baby, she won't even notice her husband's presence — men opt to stay with peers--unwise men spend time with michepuko.</p> <p>- The convenient time for couples to talk is in the morning from 5:00-6:00 when we have a fresh mind —when we are planning our daily activities. When a man is at home the whole day, couples can talk after dinner</p>	<p><i>tells you: 'now if your father will discover that you are pregnant what shall we do? (Adolescent girls Muze).</i></p> <p>-The majority of girls go out at night with their boyfriends without their fathers' knowledge--- she connives with her mother ---in return she gives her mother a portion of chips and nyamachoma or money. (*return home around 10:00 pm). <i>“The mother is the one who plans all tactics... the father usually has no idea of what is going on...”</i></p>
	<p style="text-align: center;">Agency</p> <p>-Men do not like to be tasked with domestic responsibilities</p> <p>Very few men take care of their children—alcoholism and fear mockery hinder men to take care of their children and to assist their wives with domestic chores</p> <p>-Men come home late and are already drunk—The convenient time to men is early</p>	<p>-Men will appreciate their wives' opinions or ideas if they make sense</p> <p>- Chicken and ducks are owned by both women and men. Cattle and goats are owned by men. Livestock and poultry are sources of capital, security, and labor ---not for consumption.</p>	<p>-Unsafe abortion is common among adolescent girls in Rukwa---unsafe abortions are done far from the villages. Only a girl, her boyfriend, and her mother are involved in arranging for abortion. <i>“... if you abort here news will spread out fast”</i></p> <p>-The reason for unsafe abortions are varied including fear of being punished by their fathers, fear of stigma, schooling, not ready to have a</p>

	<p>at 04:00 am to 06:00 am—he is fresh, sober and need sex</p> <p>Men will only appreciate their wives' opinions or ideas if their ideas match with theirs</p> <p>-Majority of men are not likely to appreciate their wives opinions or ideas</p> <p>- Most relationships change during pregnancy—for some women, pregnancy may make them hate their husbands—and some love them even more. The majority of avoiding staying at home when their wives are pregnant—extra-marital affairs are common during this time—common among young fathers.</p> <p>-The relationship may change after giving birth—Some relationships may change for the better, or the worse for a variety of reasons including sex of a child, birth order</p>	<p>--Women decide about what food buy and cook.</p> <p>Couples plan together what food (crops) to raise or grow.</p> <p>-Men decide about what crops to sell at the market.</p> <p>-A man keeps the money they earn</p> <p>-A man gives his wife money to buy necessities such as soap</p> <p>-Women are responsible for water and cleanliness</p> <p>-women decide what food to cook and how to cook, though occasionally a man decide what food to be cooked</p> <p>-Men do gardening for business purposes</p> <p>-Men vary, some men sell all crops and spend all the money on alcohol. But wise men do not sell all the crops-preserve some for household consumption.</p> <p>- The majority of men sell a larger portion of crops due to economic difficulties.</p> <p>-Men sell crops to buy other necessities</p> <p>Gender and Eating Practices</p>	<p>child, she/he is not ready for marriage.e.t.c.</p> <p>-when girls are at home they spend most of their time with their mothers, siblings, and sisters and assist their mothers with household chores such as cooking and taking care of siblings.</p> <p>-After works, girls visit their friends, when OOSGs meet, they backbite and gossip too much. They also talk about their boyfriends</p> <p>AGENCY</p> <p>- Adolescent girls in Muze have limited influence over other family members except for their siblings.</p> <p>- The majority of adolescent girls said they won't even dare to ask their fathers to give money to buy eggs, or some meat because many fathers are not approachable, are cruel and unconcerned especially when facing financial constraints.</p> <p>- According to adolescent girls, mothers are willing to give their</p>
Gender and eating practices	<p>-In Rukwa women can only decide what food to cook—a woman cook food that is available and buys side dishes that she can afford and choose foods that please her children and her husband. The most</p>		

	<p>common causes of violence are arguments over finances, jealousy, repeatedly failure to perform her duties and alcoholism</p> <p>-men tend to favor to sell food for money, rather than keeping food for family consumption—and use the big amount of of-earned money in alcohol.</p> <p>-Men decide what crops to raise and grow, what to sell and what to buy —except on the crops that are largely owned by women such as groundnuts and millets</p> <p>-Vegetable gardening is women's tasks---vegetables are for sale and consumption. When men are involved in gardening they sell all the vegetables.</p> <p>The livestock that women keep and own are chickens and ducks—but she cannot sell or slaughter without his consent</p> <p>-It is men’s responsibilities to build latrines—women’s responsibility to clean latrines</p> <hr/> <p>Gender and eating practices</p>	<p>-When a man has an extra income he can give his wife money so she can buy nutritious foods, but the majority cannot afford it. So pregnant women, children, and other family members have to consume what is available and what men can afford.</p> <p>-The availability of food depends on the man’s income.</p> <p>-During harvest seasons there is plenty of food all family members eat well—men drink a lot during harvest season</p> <p>-Men eat the same foods that his children and his wife eat but men rarely eat on time or with household members due to their schedules.</p> <p>-The majority of men eat a big portion of meat, fish, and chicken than other household members.</p> <p>-It is common for men to eat Nyamachoma with their friends when drinking</p> <p>-Most women get pieces of advice on what they should eat, or not eat when they are pregnant or breastfeeding from nurses,</p>	<p>daughters money to buy eggs or some meat, but the majority do not have money.</p> <p>GIRLS’ EATING PRACTICES</p> <p>- The majority of adolescent girls follow orders from their mothers regarding; what types of food to buy, what to cook, how to serve and trips of water to fetch. Girls can decide how to prepare a certain food or meal.</p> <p>-Adolescent girls taste food in the kitchen when they are cooking, especially when they cook fish and meat or any other delicious food.</p> <p>- Adolescent girls eat the same food because that is the normal practice, food is prepared once for all members of the family</p> <p>-Girls eat with their mothers and siblings, fathers’ meal is always set aside</p> <p>-Girls who have boyfriends eat outside homes more often they eat chips eggs, Nyama choma and pork.</p> <p>- Girls who have boyfriends also eat snacks---biscuits, soda, juice with their friends and boyfriends</p>
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<p>Gender and workload</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The majority of pregnant women continue with usual diet: no special food -The majority eat more than others (increase quantity) some eat less -In Katazi no culture of eating together — during lunchtime a man eats alone a woman eats with her children in the kitchen. The majority of men come late-night and eat dinner alone. -Snacking is not common among pregnant women -It is not common for women to eat outside of the family mealtimes — except in wedding ceremonies or funerals or other ceremonies such as religious ceremonies -Women get most of the advice about nutrition and diet from community health workers (clinics) and WAVI” means Wahudumu wa Afya wa Ngazi ya Jamii. Get advice about food to avoid during pregnancy from older women (close neighbors) 	<p>WAVI and from their friends who have nursed before.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Men learn from their wives about nutrition. The majority of Men only attend the first ANC clinic because is mandatory. --Pregnant women eat food that are available and what their husbands can afford and seasonal fruits -Women eating schedules change during the first weeks after childbirth. She eats special food and increases the quantity. Men meals and eating schedules do not change <p>Gender and workload</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Men’s and women’s schedules don’t change even when a woman is pregnant. Women’s schedules will only change if there are people around to support her. - "it is a common norm when pregnancy reaches 9 months, a man organizes his sister or neighbors to come and support her in performing some duties. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Girls eat in ceremonies and burials <p>Menstruation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Majority of adolescent girls experiences stomach ache, nausea and loss of appetite when are menstruating. -Adolescent girls eat less due to loss of appetite, nausea and in some cases vomiting. -The majority do not tell their mothers that they are sick--- girls are encouraged to continue with some household chores, including preparing food, fetching water and firewood, the most common statement mothers give to their daughter is “<i>MP is not an illness</i>”. Other girls continue with their chores to avoid others to notice what is going on. -However, there are some limitations when girls perform household chores when having their period---there are taboos that forbid girls to perform certain roles. For example, they are forbidden to pluck green vegetables,
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	<p>-Food that is available are Rice, maize, groundnuts, millet, milk, fruits, eggs, meats, fishes and varieties of vegetables</p> <p>-Livestock such as cows are kept for selling and farming—rarely consumed.</p> <p>-Food such as meat, dairy, eggs, chicken-foods from animals are rarely consumed because men favor selling over consumption</p> <p>-Food women are encouraged to avoid are fish, pepper, sugarcane, mlenda, and milk for some ethnic groups</p> <p>-Food consumed during the postpartum period is rice mixed with meat soup and green bananas(for first four days)—then continues with normal meal portion i.e. rice, ugali, and banana</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Gender and workload</p> <p>-The majority of pregnant women continue with their working patterns and usual diet: no special food, no exemption from</p>	<p>- Man’s activities do not change even when his wife gives birth--- her neighbors or his sister will perform the household chores such as preparing food, fetching water, or cleaning. The woman who does not leave well with her neighbors would perform these duties herself.</p> <p>- Most of the tasks of women and men in agriculture are shared. Women-specific tasks are sowing/planting and weeding. Men are in charge of land preparation using oxen and pesticide application, both men and women are in charge of harvesting and men are in charge of selling crops.</p> <p>Recommendation In Their Words</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The government should put measures to control drunkenness among young men • Men need more education on nutrition, family planning, and gender issues 	<p>forbidden to blow up the fire using their mouths and are not allowed to touch an infant (see table 8, in the main report).</p> <p>-Adolescent girls in Rukwa learn about menstruation periods (MP) from their mothers, sisters, and teachers at school. A mother guides her daughter on maintaining personal hygiene. At school teachers teach them on the menstrual circle (in-class six).</p> <p>-Some use of pads 1% and or a worn-out lady’s print cotton wrap 9% to contain the flow.</p> <p>- Girls wash their menstrual cloth using common water and then dry them under the mattress to avoid other people to see them</p> <p>POTENTIAL PLATFORMS TO REACH ADOLESCENT GIRLS</p> <p>- Girls go to church once in a while--- their decisions to go to church are controlled by their mothers. “<i>you might have planned to go to church</i>”</p>
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<p>Recommendation from participants</p>	<p>domestic and agricultural work. For some, work reduces as her pregnancy advances. Incidences of getting labor pains when are in the farms are common</p> <p>- Few men help their wives (1 in 10) and do so when the pregnancies have complications or when their wives are sick.</p> <p>-Women get up at 6:00 or earlier depending on the season and the age of children</p> <p>-When she wakes up she fetches water from well, prepare tea and then she goes to the farm with her family</p> <p>-A woman starts farming one week after delivery—she comes home a bit earlier (i.e. at 6:00 noon-depending on the seasonality) to prepare lunch</p> <p>-After lunch she washes utensils, rest a bit and then go back to the farm (depending on seasonality—another season they stay to the farm till evening)—she comes back from farm around 5: 00 pm with the bundle of firewood, then she will go to fetch water and start to prepare dinner—she takes her dinner</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Farmers are finding it difficult to find good markets. Support is needed to help farmers to market their crops, access farming inputs, and diversify their income—so they can increase income to support their families—buy nutritious food for their families. 	<p><i>but unexpectedly your mother tells you to do something...</i>”</p> <p>-Festivals are not common in Muze. Only at weddings or at schools you can see groups of girls together.</p> <p>–The best way to reach school girls with information about nutrition and other topics is at schools</p> <p>– The best way to reach Out of school girls with information about nutrition and other topics is through watendaji wa vijiji.</p> <p>-There several programs for school girls but none for OOSG.</p> <p>Recommendation In Their Words</p> <p>-In Muze, Ugali and beans are among the common food consumed from Monday to Saturday because fathers do not provide enough money for meals. Fathers should be informed about the need for providing enough money for families to buy food i.e.balancing diet, to prevent girls from being tempted by the promise of good food (chips&eggs, nyama choma)</p>
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	<p>around 8:00 pm, after dinner she will wash utensils and stay up anytime past 10:00.</p> <p>-Weeding season i.e. from February to March is the busiest season for women</p> <p>Most of the roles of women and men in agriculture are shared.</p> <p>Men are in charge of bush burning bush clearing using machetes and women clear land using hoes (hoeing);</p> <p>men are in charge of tilling the land using oxen (plowing) and women are in charge of digging using hoes, women are in charge of sowing/planting and weeding,</p> <p>men are in charge of buying fertilizers and pesticides and spraying pesticides and seeking extension services;</p> <p>both men and women are in charge of harvesting; men are in charge of storage and selling crops.</p>		<p>-Girls bear the brunt of water scarcity the government should install water taps in the villages.</p>
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	<p>Recommendation In Their Words</p> <p>Men should be educated by experts about the nutrition need of their wives and children</p> <p>WAVI should continue to find a way to attract men's attention ---go to the clubs and where they play bao and draft</p> <p>Health workers should continue providing education on nutrition during pregnancy and breastfeeding</p> <p>Experts should find solutions to reduce pregnant women's work burden.</p> <p>Women should have equal rights to property</p> <p>Experts should help women fight against male privilege and mfumo dume</p> <p>Women should be empowered through resource mobilization and Men should be made aware that women are empowered to help them</p>		
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APPENDIX H: IRINGA GENDER ANALYSIS

IRINGA REGION GENDER ANALYSIS

Iringa Region is located in the Southern Highlands zone of Tanzania Mainland. the region is divided into five (5) Districts namely: Iringa Municipal, Iringa rural, Kilolo District, Mafinga Town, and Mufindi Municipal. The major crops grown in the region are; maize, beans, peas, Irish potatoes, tea, pyrethrum, sunflower, tomatoes, fruits, flowers, and vegetables are grown-- whereby maize and beans are the main crops. Iringa is rich in water sources such as the Mtera Dam, as well as the Little and Greater Ruaha Rivers.

Gender analysis in Iringa looked at gender roles and identities, relationships, power relations (agency), workloads and eating practices and how they affect the availability, access, and utilization of diverse, safe and nutritious food as well as WASH among community members with special focus to pregnant or Breastfeeding Women, Husbands of Pregnant or Breastfeeding Women and adolescent girls.

Gender roles, identities and workload

Gender roles and identities; within and across groups, both in rural and urban Iringa men generally consider themselves—and were considered by women — as the main household heads and breadwinners who are expected to provide for the families. To men, a man is the main provider of the home, owner of money, guard, and administrator of the home under whom the authority that governs the undertakings at home is vested, as they said:

We are powerful, superior, and guards of home; we are the managers, food and education providers, final decision-makers and hard workers. Also responsible for community work especially constructing roads and graves in time of funeral cases (Men's FGD, Kihesa).

For men, a woman is expected to be obedient under all conditions. Women were regarded and identified themselves as main actors for the accomplishment of household chores, household cook and assurer of welfare for every home member at any cost. Further, girls and women pointed out that, the ideal man is the one who provides for the family, is polite and God-fearing, while the ideal woman is expected to have extra qualities above those mentioned earlier including; being hygienic, charming, respect all and entrepreneurial.

An ideal girl is the one who honors elders, obey all people especially parents (this is for meaningful decisions such as abstaining from evil groups such as groups of prostitutes, but not decisions such decisions as engaging in teenage marriage). *An ideal girl should Works hard, have a good code of conduct such as dressing well not too short dresses (dresses that cover the body well; should be above the knees, not so tight. An ideal girl should accept appropriate advice given by sisters and brother just as for the case of parents as explained above.*

Practices

The findings reveal that, although the majority of participants—men and women seemed to support the gender norms that describe men as the breadwinners, participants acknowledged that in many households, especially in urban settings women are increasingly taking the role of breadwinners or contributing to the family income. For instance, participants from the urban group mentioned that in Iringa Municipality, women are involved in income-generating activities such as selling milk, green vegetables, and tomatoes—and are using the money to meet immediate family needs. Women in focus groups reported that for some husbands when women contribute a larger portion of income, they withdraw from contributing to household expenditure. Women also revealed that the increasing role of women as breadwinners do not come with decision-making power, as a participant from the women's group noted:

... Some men are not providing for their families the way they are supposed to... women have to struggle to feed their families... but men want to be the ones to make all decisions, including the money their wives earn... some men force their wives to give them all the money they earn from small businesses by using the argument that the bible says women should obey men.... if a woman resists a man will go to the alcohol club and when he comes back (already drunk), he beats and ill-treats her... (Women, FGD).

Another participant said:

... In this community, men are fond of taking alcohol.... And when they cannot find money to buy food for the families they become even harsh and demand money from their wives... (Women, FGD)

A similar observation was made by a nutritionist, he said:

... women here have big responsibilities for ensuring that they are doing a variety of activities for the well-being of the family... they are the ones that, make sure that the family eats, paying school fees, uniforms... but in the end, even though this woman has produced a lot of crops and even more available, the decision is still on the side of a man... so the woman waits for a man to decide whether to sell all the crops or leave some amount for family's consumption...a woman has no-decision... she receives orders from a man... almost all decisions are made by men... worse enough the nutrition of a mother and children is not his priority... (KI, nutritionist Iringa).

Besides, the findings reveal that women breadwinners face several challenges such as time burdens that affect their domestic roles and cause marital problems. As one group participant commented

“Handling income-generating activities and domestic works are challenging for women, especially when they are breastfeeding or have small children... you have to take care of children, what they eat, cook for the family, and many other activities... very few men appreciate what we are doing... we get negative remarks from our husbands and a lot of discouragements and abuses” (Women, FGDs).

Women participants in the urban area (Kihesa) reported that women's business is constrained with the responsibility to feed and care for the family. Besides, some men do steal/take by force money from their wives; they borrow the capital leaving them indebted to the extent of running from home to hide away from their debtors. This forces older adolescents to prostitution and boys are forced to low paid child labor to get necessities for themselves and their siblings.

Workload: The findings reveals that although the gender division of labor of men and women are common in Iringa some of the roles differ with the economic status and location, for instance, while the majority of women said that they continue with their duties when they are pregnant and soon after delivery of their babies (2 days up to 40 days) those with relatives and maids at home would get assistance in doing house chores up to three months. The 24 hours gender daily calendar of women and men show the *“heavy work burdens among women, however, some gender roles and time burdens differ depending on location.* For instance while both women from rural and urban mentioned that it is a woman's role to fetch water, the actual doing of this role differ across locations—women in rural settings mentioned that in many villages safe water is scarce so women and adolescent girls have to spend a large amount of time fetching water far away from home in the well. In urban areas, water sources are available so women do not walk long distances to fetch water. However, women in an urban area also mentioned that although water taps are available nearby sometimes not reliable—women spend most of their time queuing.

The findings reveal that the majority of women normally wake up early in the morning for cleaning, fetching water and preparing breakfast for the family members. Upon completion of all domestic chores, they continued with income-generating activities or farming until late noon when they go back home to prepare lunch. After lunch, they proceed with income-generating activities or other seasonal activities. The majority said that it is very challenging for women to manage time properly especially during farming seasons by allocating time for domestic chores, feeding their children, and themselves well, farming activities and income-generating activities. The 24 hours analysis shows that women work for an average of 18 hours of work per day results in fatigue and lack of time to eat well and in neglect of their children due to time constraints. *“As argued by community health worker “women's workloads have consequences for their eating habits and their children...”.*

The similar observation was made by the key informant (nutritionist) who asserted that:

... there is a long agricultural season in Iringa... during the seasons women and men are going in the fields early in the morning, returning to late afternoon or evening...you find a woman is breastfeeding but have not prepared anything till the time she comes back from the farm... she spends a long time on the farm ...because the mother has not eaten so there is no milk in her breasts for the baby to suck... baby starts to cry...so she sees it's better to give him/her water or maize porridge to make it calms... but if you ask her what she has at home, he has a lot of food and leafy vegetables, beans, fish but does not have time to prepare them....these challenges are big.... for instance two months ago we were making a follow-up of children with severe malnutrition, we went

to one family and we found a mother with twins (under five), a mother locked them in the morning when she left... she left them sleeping, they had no other guardian, she returned at two o'clock that afternoon and start to prepare something to eat... she said she was busy preparing charcoal for sale. That woman when we met her she was also pregnant...in short, let me say here in Iringa they have food, mothers have a lot of responsibilities and so many priorities that they are unable to prepare good food for their children and themselves (KI, Nutritionist).

The 24 hours analysis of men shows that the workload of men differs depending on the agricultural season and the activities/works men perform. For instance, the majority of men have time to rest compared to women. One participant (businessman) explained: *I wake up at 5 am, thereafter go to sell tomatoes. Return home at 10:00 am to have breakfast. Again, I go back to sell tomatoes. Return home at 2:00 pm for lunch. I go back to sell tomatoes until 3:00 pm I come home to take a bath. Thereafter, returns to the market until 6:00 pm when I close the business. Thereafter, I go to have drinks with colleagues... Drinking may continue until 9:45 pm or 11:00 pm when I return home and have dinner...*

Another man explained:

“...myself the routine depends on the availability of the youth that I have. We can work all day long until evening... as regards having lunch, it depends on the location of the farm we are going to work on. If shamba's are nearby, we return home for lunch otherwise for the distant farms we return in the evening...upon return, I take a bath and move out to visit the neighborhood. It is difficult to find men at home after work in the evening...(Men, FGD).

The findings indicate that in many households farming activities are jointly performed — by women and men—both are in charge of farm clearing, tilling the land, sowing, harvesting, and storage. However, in many households, women are mainly in charge of weeding, and men are in charge of bush clearing, buying fertilizers and pesticides, spraying pesticides, seeking extension services, and selling crops. As a participant put it:

The man can prepare jointly with the wife in the storage place... Wood can be applied for that purpose. Man and woman can plan to go to the forest to collect wood to bring home... The man will be busy working, but, he will have worked together with your wife... When its time for marketing, a man is fully involved (men, FGD).

The findings reveal that whether men or women farm a certain crop also depends on cash the crop generate and where the farming activities are performed, for instance, gardening is regarded as women's activities in Iringa (Kilolo)---when done near homes, but it is also men's activities when performed outside homes (in the valleys) and bring big cash. As participant commented:

“... gardening is women's work ...women cultivate varieties of green vegetables' for sale and part of are for home consumption... men are the main producers of tomatoes,

spinach, and chilies produced in large quantities in the valley—they produce for sale... (Women, FGDs).

As regards storage, participants pointed out that it depends on the type of crop. Crops such as maize and beans are commonly stored in locally made traditional cribs and sacks, and in many homes, storage is done by men. As a participant commented: storage is men's work.

Since the old days, it is the men who follow up information on fertilizers and extension services, women have a lot of activities to do at home... there are a few women who do so... (Men, FGD).

Agency: Concerning decision making on selling, participants across all groups reported that men control the selling of crops and livestock. *Responding to why selling is done by men, a participant in men's group commented that:*

The woman can be cheated by being given an old price... even when she knows the price the woman is not courageous enough to argue with the buyer. You end up getting loses... for a man can be courageous to inform the buyer to leave if he cannot offer a good price.... there can be a fruitful argument between both parties (FGD, men).

Women had different views about their involvement in buying fertilizers and pesticides, seeking extension services and selling crops. Generally, the majority acknowledged that women *have* multiple roles in households and communities — that in one way or another limit their involvement in those activities. Nevertheless, they said that women are increasingly becoming daring and entrepreneurs— *can reach customers* as individuals and as groups. The common comment was that "....we can sell and bargain for higher prices in the market but men won't let us..."

Another participant from the women's group commented:

"A woman can buy fertilizers and do all the activities that men are doing....there are examples of few women who are selling tomatoes and get good profit...most of us cannot dare to sell without consulting ... otherwise would lead to a big fight with our husbands ... to avoid needless quarrel we just leave that to them ... (FGD, women).

Another participant commented

,"...the woman might be aware of where there are customers, but due to being a woman, she has no mandate of taking tomatoes and selling them herself" (FGD, women).

Concerning expenditure, the findings show that men control a large amount of cash income. For instance, women participants across all groups reported that men decided how much maize to sell, even though maize is considered a women's crop. Men in their groups said: all expenditures are decided by joint decision, though most of the time earned money is kept by men and in few families by women. Further analysis revealed that joint decisions are made

only when women hold similar views or have the same preferences as men. As participants from men's groups commented:

"...itis difficult for a woman to disagree with the man's decision. However, if she feels the decision is not good, she may request you to think twice about your decision...as a man you may continue with your plans even though you know she will be disappointed by it... (FGD, men).

Another participant said:

I can decide something even if my wife is not happy about it. I shall keep it in mind.... Many women if not satisfied with your decision will keep quiet. So you know for sure whether your decisions have the support of your wife or not...In support of your decision, she will contribute her views even in a small way (FGD, men).

Across groups participants said, sunflower and cowpeas are considered women's crops—women control these crops as long as they are used for family consumption or the amount sold is very small. As one participant from women groups commented:

"Sunflowers are mine...I plant, grow, and harvest... I will store them in the house and process... I may get a jerry can of 6 liters which I will continue to use with my family at home It helps when I am penniless...the problem will arise when I intend to sell them....he will demand the money" (women, FGD).

Another participant said:

"...in great abundance women grow cowpeas for family use...but a woman has to beg him to let her grow cowpeas on his farm, he will tell her that this is my field I don't want you to plant cowpeas because they cause immense trouble in weeding... but when she harvests and sell some, he will ask for money..... unknowingly - that she had already planned to sell some amount and buy herself a Kitenge... (Women, FGDs).

On decision-making regarding land use, some men during the FGDs indicated that men incarnate authority and decision on land use only on the land that belongs to their clan. According to them a man must control the decision and income from the land inherited from the clan and not otherwise, a participant explained:

It depends on whether the farms are from inheritance or obtained from buying or renting... the farm that I inherited from my father has nothing to do with my wife but, a farm that we rent or bought with money belongs to us both. In practice, it is not easy to sell the inherited farm as it was given to use not selling. A wise wife will encourage you to buy a farm (Men, FGDs).

In general, participants pointed out that although in Kilolo women are the primary producers of maize and men are primary producers of tomatoes, these divisions are fluid, and different districts characterize these divisions differently. Across and within groups participants said in many households men/husbands control income from agricultural production and other

economic activities and few women have access to the income. Participants also pointed out that pre and post-harvest conflicts are common in Iringa, post-harvest conflicts arise due to issues related to income, most commonly men want to sell a large number of crops, while women want the amount to be reserved for family consumption. Women participants mentioned that when men control income make personal consumption a spending priority as opposed to women who prioritize household's food and other needs.

He will sell basket full of tomatoes after receiving cash he will hide the truth regarding the actual cash collected... if you ask him to give you some money to buy food or other necessities he will count the money from his pockets or he will go to the toilet and take some and give you some ...you will never know the actual amount he got from selling tomatoes.. (women, FGD).

Household decisions: The findings show that with few exceptions the participation of the women in the family decision-making process is poor. The highest portion of decisions women make jointly with men is on chicken rearing, home gardening (green vegetables) and selection of crops. In general, the majority of participants said that the decision on income and expenditure are made by a man alone —women are involved in implementing —such as buying food, buying soap and buying water (in the urban area). As one participant commented:

“...among Wahehe a man who permits his wife to make final decisions over household matters is abominated and considered as "Msogose" (a weak man who is controlled by his wife).

The decision that women can make alone in the household is the food to cook and water to fetch—the majority said women have the power to decide on what and how to cook food and trips of water to make. The findings show that women and adolescents in rural settings collect an average of four trips per day —and must travel long distances away from home to collect water. In some villages, water sources are shared with livestock.

While the majority of households indicated that decision-making was a “joint” process, care is needed in interpreting this. The findings suggest that while households report decision-making to be shared, decisions are largely influenced by the preferences of their husbands—and the budget allocated for food. When asked about *the decisions about water, sanitation or hygiene* — women said they can decide the number of trips to make —however, their decisions is influenced by the size of the family, woman's health conditions and the activities to be performed at home or in their communities. They can only decide on matters related to home hygiene and sanitation particularly having tippy taps outside the toilets. However, this is an ad-hock because a woman is constrained on many household chores; hence she does not bother doing it because it is not part of their culture. Across all groups, women participants said that men holding a large part of their income for personal expenditure instead of using for family expenditures such as food. The common comment across the women group was that “*men give very little of all the money they earned to the household*”. Men in focus groups explained why the majority of men control the earned income— below are some of the responses from men:

...yes, it is true one can show he has Tshs 200,000/= while he has Tshs 300,000 in his pocket ...the men do so because, if you share your plans with your partner she can disapprove them. For instance, you may plan to plant tomatoes or another crop and your partner has different ideas. To accomplish your plan you may inform your wife you have earned Tshs 200,000 while you have made Tshs 500,000/= (Men, FGD Mazombe)

...many occasions' women do not approve of our plans. To accomplish your plans you have to hide the truth regarding the actual cash collection...it is also because the majority is involved in extramarital affairs that need financing. You cannot request such funds from your wife. She will ask you for what purpose the money is required... Therefore, the wife should not know your actual income (Men, FGD).

...for example, myself, the money I use to buy drinks is obtained from the money that is kept aside. If my wife asks where I get money to buy drinks, I inform her that colleagues have bought for me. However, for the case of financing extramarital affairs, even Tshs 10,000 is not enough. If we save money together or if I give her to keep, how can I take it for that purpose? Also, when she knows I am going out to have drinks she starts complaining oh you didn't live enough money for food, where do you get money to drink? This is why when we harvest some money has to be kept aside secretly (Men, FGD).

Responding to the question of what things you as a woman own, women pointed out that men own almost everything in the household including land, livestock—men can decide to sell livestock and land without wife consultation—and the money would not necessarily benefit the family. According to participants, women's assets are few. "Besides her clothes and utensils, the majority of women own chickens—when I asked if women are free to slaughter a chicken without her husband consultation answers were mixed, some said women are free to slaughter or sell when they decide, but the majority said they would still usually consult with the men". Participant commented:

The wife's decision to slaughter a chicken without consulting him may trigger her husband's anger ...to avoid impending physical violence a woman is supposed to tell him... (Woman, FGD) "

Generally, if we have to compare women in rural and peri-urban, women in peri-urban appear to have some control over income better than their rural counterparts—this could be an indication of ongoing changes in gender relations to reflect prevailing economic realities.

Gender relationships

Concerning mutual support among couples, pregnant and breastfeeding women said they spend much time with children, relatives, and friends than husbands. When they are outside of their homes they just visit neighbourhood friends and relatives, the likelihood of discussion depends on who she is talking to—women tend to discuss children and marriage challenges with

relatives and friends—farming issues with neighbors, discuss business issues (VIKOBAs) with group members and discuss health problems with their mothers and community health workers. The majority of men, especially from urban areas said that wouldn't allow their wives to meet often because when women meet, they mostly gossip about each other or gossip about their husbands. As one participant commented:

“Women are divided into two groups in this community, one group mostly gossip about each other every time they meet and very few talks about business issues such as VIKOBAs issues or empowering each other or farming issues....”

They added that couples rarely discuss health and finance matters together and when such discussions are initiated, in most cases the two quarrel. This is because such discussions irritate most of the men whose average income is relatively low.

As far as the play role was concerned women said couples rarely discuss health and finance matters together and when such discussions are initiated, in most cases the two quarrel. They said the appropriate time to talk to their husbands (if they around) is in the night after serving them with bathing water and food, but this also depends on the emotional situation of the respective man...most men come late at home, so you will have to wait till morning. As they responded to the question asking them a convenient time to discuss nutrition and financial issues with husbands:

It is not certain when he is emotional probably due to possible boredoms at his work; I just leave him and wait for a day when he is not moody (women's FGD)

Majority of men in their focus group discussions said the appropriate time to talk to their wives is early in the morning, as participants below elaborate:

...Starting 4:00 am. In the evening, I return home tired. Also, I could have met a person who spoilt the mood of my day. This anger I go with it at home. The morning hours are cool, I recall everything... during, morning hours I have a fresh mind and consider all situations wisely (Men, FGD)

In the morning due to my fresh mind, it's easy to consider issues that my wife brings out. It is easy to accept new ideas (Men, FGD).

When responding to the question 'what hinders couple's communication' in their contexts, the three most critical concerns of participants were alcoholism, extra-marital affairs, and women/men talking too much and jealousy. Alcoholism and extramarital affairs were mentioned by all groups across all research sites as a reason that destroys healthy relationships among couples—and the reason why men neglect their families. However, in contrast, in Iringa, alcoholism among women was a common theme—was mentioned by both women and men being the major factors that affect couple relationships and the nutrition of mothers and children.

Let us give you the reality on the ground. You may give her vegetables to cook. In our circumstances, you may find the woman has gone to drink which makes her forget to eat vegetables or eats very little. The challenge here in Kilolo is that women drink a lot of both local beer and some of them modern beers. The problem is not food, but getting the time to eat the food. It is a problem as women use the money for food to buy alcohol. It does not matter whether they are pregnant or breastfeeding. In the past, women were very caring you wouldn't find a pregnant or breastfeeding woman drinking alcohol...one would eat well so she can breastfeed the baby for two years or more...but women here have no morals they contaminate the baby's milk with alcohol...(Men, FGD)

The issue of women's drunkenness was also acknowledged by nutritionists and women in their groups, as a participant commented

... There are some drunkard women who after going to local beer clubs come back home drunk consequently when their husbands come back home find that they hadn't cooked become furious and hit them... (Women, FGD).

Participants said that prolonged arguments in the households weaken communication among couples—make men not spend as much quality time with their wives and may not respond to one another's needs. Participants also pointed out that in case of prolonged arguments it is the man who will be the first to use the physical attack against the woman. This is because men do not want to be answered back by their wives in times of conflict.

Participants commonly commented that, *for women, to create peace and harmony, they are supposed to be humble and cool. This will prevent the man from being angry in case there is a problem (Men, FGD).*

Commenting on the image “mouth” participants said this image should be placed on “both pile”—men and women. *The reason being in many households there are a lot of words—coming from either a man or a woman (women, FGD).*

Another participant in a focus group discussion in Iringa insisted “..., the Wahehe tribe, men do hate women who make noise. To have a stable marriage, the woman has to listen to the husband even if he makes a mistake. Even if caught in adultery, the woman should stay cool. However, in case the mistake is from a woman, punitive actions are taken. We do harass women, so they do not talk a lot (men, FGD).

Concerning mutual support among couples, pregnant and breastfeeding women said couples rarely discuss health and finance matters together and when such discussions are initiated, in most cases the two quarrel. This is because such discussions irritate most of the men whose average income is relatively low. Furthermore, pregnant and breastfeeding women pointed out that the majority of men provide minimal support during pregnancy and during the post-pregnancy period, they pull-away. As a woman from women groups commented:

“husbands’ help is very minimal ... even asking him to carry the baby so that you may cook the stiff porridge he refuses on the ground that those are routine duties of women ...unless you have older children that can help...but if you don’t have a grown-up child after giving birth you have to struggle on your own” (Women, FGD).

A common comment among women was “...once he sees that you begin suffering from nausea and vomiting! O! he will start pulling away little and stick together with a lover who is not vomiting ... free to do whatever he wishes...

Responding to the question of what activities men do when they are at home, participants commented that “men even if there is no work, they will find an excuse to move out and meet colleagues for chatting. That’s why women have a lot of work. Men do avoid to stay home to escape being given work to do”.

Across men’s group participants said that a support a woman gets during pregnancy depends on her health condition.... *if health-wise is fine, she will continue with her duties as normal...* they also said a support a woman gets depends on how the woman shares information and the manner she presents the information.

“...even if she requests for something important, it depends on how she requests for it. If she is angry, you also get angry as well giving rise to conflict...” (Men, FGD).

Men also said, “we are willing to assist some of the activities such as fetching firewood if she says she is not feeling well.... However, men had different reactions regarding this, others said that a wise man should not wait to be asked to support...and other men said on occasion, women may speak out, but men refuse to assist on the ground that they have other activities As a participant from the men’s group remarked,

“it is not easy to support ...the main role of a man is to provide for the family... we have little time to spend with a woman or follow up the child upbringing (male, DGD).

Commenting on a photo of a man holding a child and talking to a woman joyfully the majority of women said that when a man carries a child, a woman feels happy, loved and supported. They commented that it is very rare for their husbands to carry children. As one woman commented “...when he dares to carry the child and it defecates on him he will immediately uproar loudly calling his wife to come fast to attend the child who has defecated...” commenting on the photo the majority of men said that “that man feels happy because he is assisting in carrying the child..”. When I probed why they don’t do the same, the majority of men said that men are busy but also women discourage men from giving support. As participants commented below:

Ladies are funny, once she knows you are assisting her she will tell her friends to pass by the home to see how the man is handling home affairs---washing dishes, washing clothes and even harvesting vegetables from the farm. It is because our women lack morals that is why we leave them to do the work alone (Men, FGD).

Another participant commented

Some women are silly, if you assist them carrying a baby of doing certain domestic works, she will make it a usual routine to support her in undertaking those activities. The problem with the Hehe tribe, once they see you doing home activities, they will think you are controlled by a woman through local medicine “limbwata”. Our wives also do not have secrets. She will tell her colleagues that she is in control of her husband as regards activities to be done at home. So what happens when you hear from outside people talking about your assistance to your wife... This makes you stop supporting her (Men, FGD).

Women also had similar comments on the involvement of men in domestic works, as one participant from women's group commented:

When the man (husband) goes to fetch water they may think that you have bewitched him ... this is the reason why most men (husbands) do not want to support their wives with domestic works... even can't go along together to the clinic because he is worried what will other people think of me, so he will tell you, let us just meet at the hospital ... even after arriving at the hospital you stay here and he stays afar from you as if you don't know each other, even going together to Church on Sunday is a problem(women, FGD).

Responding to the question “does the relationship between a woman and a man change in any way when she is pregnant with his child? Women said, among many couples, relationships change to worse---men tend to push their wives aside. For instance, women from urban areas commented that “no more outings for women”. Women also said that “if a woman does not try hard to keep herself tide most men go to other women”. Women both from rural and urban also said that there a lot of abuse from men during pregnancy...

Men in their groups acknowledged that “there are other men during the pregnancy period or breastfeeding create opportunities of having extramarital affairs. Others commented that some women are pushed away because “some of them hate everyone in the house while pregnant”. Another participant commented:

“A wise man and understanding already knows the situation you avoid staying at home.... taking into account after delivery she will come back to normal situation... unwise men abuse their pregnant wives...abuse are common especially for young men. (Men, FGD).

The majority of men and women insisted that extra-marital affairs affect couple relationships--quality time couples spend together—including escorting their wives to the clinics. A group participant from the male group explained;

...If you decide to accompany your wife to the clinic you keep a distance. You would not like your other women to see you with your wife to avoid conflict... but also it is our

culture, Hehe men do not like going while accompanied by our women or even seen holding each other's hand while moving together. So this applies even when it means escorting wife to the clinic...If you are seen by people being so close to your wife like accompanying her to the clinic may be interpreted that the woman is controlling you (men, FGD).

Responding to the question “does a woman continue with her responsibilities even when she is pregnant”? The majority of men commented that at the advanced stage of pregnancy a woman needs to be supported, as one participant commented

.... It is compulsory to have close relatives (aunty) or sisters if parents are not available to provide support...You see when the pregnancy is at an advanced stage you do inform relatives and friends who will support at the time of delivery. The role of the man is to buy the requirements of the mother and child (Men, FGD).

The findings show that the duration of postpartum support varies depending on various factors such as; the husband's willingness to support, availability of close relatives, supportive neighbors, and woman's health condition. One participant from the men's group commented: “in case of safe delivery, she can stay until one month without going to the farm... but this will also depend on the support she gets from relatives or neighbors” (Men, FGDs).

Below is a summary of responses to the question “does a woman continue with her responsibilities even when she is pregnant”

It depends on her husband's heart... if the husband is supportive the last month of her pregnancy she stays at home....and can even stay one month without going to farm after delivery... whereas if she doesn't have any support she shall continue to cultivate and performing other activities until when she will give birth... (Women, FGD).

Some women, resume performing their routine duties even after just a week.... Another woman may just resume performing her routine duties the very day she gives birth within the ward ... for instance, after giving birth within the ward, she may get up and goes to wash clothes ... Yes if she gave birth during the night...if no a person to assist she may wash clothes in the morning...or wash clothes immediately... (Women, FGD).

If she doesn't have any closest relative, it is her neighbor who helps ... but if she has the closest relative they just come to nurse her or else if she doesn't have such closest relatives her neighbor shall help (support) her ... in cooking, fetching waterbecause it is uncommon for her husband to perform such activities (Women, FGD).

Contemporary mothers-in-law are not supportive, the majority are young-old mothers' in-laws, they tend to encourage a pregnant woman to woman up---be strong and courageous ...some will come and support you only for one week Then will ask you to fight for yourself---especially if it is not the first pregnancy...(Women, FGD).

APPENDIX I: MOROGORO GENDER ANALYSIS

Morogoro Region Gender Analysis

Morogoro Region is located on the eastern side of Tanzania. Administratively, the Region is divided into seven (7) districts, namely Kilosa, Kilombero, Ulanga, Mvomero, Morogoro Rural, Morogoro Urban and Malinyi. The region has a total population of 2.2 million people (based on the 2012 national census). The major activities in the region include Small Scale farming, Cattle keeping, sisal, and sugar plantations/estates while fishing is practiced along the Kilombero River, Mindu dam and Wami River.

The region experiences two major rainfall seasons: with long rains between November and May, and short rains between January and February. The major food crops grown in the region include maize, Irish potatoes, banana, peas, yams, beans, groundnuts, wheat, cassava, millet, sorghum, paddy, legumes, maize, paddy, vegetables, and horticultural. Major cash crops include coffee, sisal, sugar cane, coconuts, oilseeds, cotton, sisal, and oilseeds and fruits such as pineapple and oranges. Livestock raised in the region includes cattle, sheep, pigs, and goats. Gender analysis in Morogoro looked at gender roles and identities, relationships, power relations (agency), workloads and eating practices and how they affect the availability, access, and utilization of diverse, safe and nutritious food as well as WASH among community members with special focus to pregnant or Breastfeeding Women, Husbands of Pregnant or Breastfeeding Women and adolescent girls.

Gender roles, identities and workload

Men are regarded as the heads of their families. They are expected to provide for their families through farming, fishing, and other off-farming activities. According to women participants, an ideal man is the one who provides food, shelter, and clothing to his family members; contributes to the education of children and the needs of the community and people around him. They also said an ideal woman is the one who is submissive to her husband, trustworthy and faithful to husband and generous. Women are expected to carry out household chores such as cooking, cleaning, taking care of family members, fetching water and firewood, washing clothes, bathing, and feeding children. Besides, she is the one who helps the husband's luggage as he enters the home, prepares water for the husband to bath and gives him food also sits and talks to the husband to know how the day went. Further, she is the one who bath children and prepares them for school and follows up their academic progress. The aspect of submission was underscored by women as they said:

An ideal woman should ensure confidentiality for all matters between her and spouse even when she is beaten, she should never disclose even to her children and relatives (WoMen's FGD).

Describing an ideal man, women participants said it is the one who provides shelter and clothing to his wife and children, education to children. Men participants said a man is the ruler of the family, breadwinner, fighter for the family's welfare, main provider and women just assist a little bit. They said the man is the *sole money-provider*, owner and the overseer of the family. Responding to the photo of a dog they said a man is a guard of the home:

In our community, a man is the one who dares to open the door and check outside in the night when the dog backs (Men's FGD).

To men an ideal man has to be civilized, respect all people including his wife, and protect the rights of children such as educating them. He is also the one who leads and teaches the family.

Men identified a woman as the one who is provided for not self-providing, and whose only responsibility is cooking. They also said an ideal woman is the respectful one; dresses well body covering clothes and cares for children and relatives from both sides. Besides, she is the one who supervises children and oversees the security home environment. Most importantly men said the ideal woman is the one who submits to the husband especially in the time of misunderstanding as one respondent said:

In the time of misunderstanding or if my wife has made a mistake, I like her to come down, ask for forgiveness and ensure I forgive her before she starts to joke with me. But not for me to ask for forgiveness even if I am the one who wronged her. Normally it is not easy for the man to say I am sorry (Men's FGD).

Another participant had the following to say:

A man is the only one who provides for the family, me and my wife we have separate farms whereby; crops from my farm are for feeding home and that of my wife belongs to herself (Men's FGD).

Women's focus group discussions in Ifakara highlighted the concern that men do not fully participate in farming but are the one to decide what to sell and also to control the benefits accrued. Besides the women in the focus group discussions said that income realized through the sale of women's crops is usually used to buy kitchen utensils and food.

The same issue was highlighted by extension workers as they said, while men cultivate fruits such as watermelon as cash crops on big farms, women cultivate vegetables on small farms for both food and cash. According to extension officers, this practice leads to low food production at the household level. Alongside, women said men are not willing to disclose their finances to their wives and only 2 out of 10 men can disclose finances and give money to their wives.

During the off-farm season, men in rural areas are engaging in other income-generating activities such as charcoal business and some are engaging in the motorcycle business. Women do small business... work in cafes, and some are vegetable vendors. A men's focus group discussions in peri-urban highlighted the concern about unemployment during the off-farm period. Men in peri-urban said they need the government to assist them with irrigation infrastructure so that they can have assured employment as fruit gardeners.

We are challenged with lack and want because in most cases we move out of home in the morning not sure of what to do. We request that the government may support us

with irrigation infrastructure and tools so that we can consistently work on commercial vegetable and fruit gardens (Men's FGD).

Power relations

In focus group discussions both men and women agreed that decisions about agricultural production e.g. in terms of which crops to raise or grow are usually reached through a consultative process. However, *men dominate in decisions* that involve cash such as buying fertilizers, selling crops and livestock. One participant commented;

“...in many households men are the ones who sell crops, buy fertilizers ...you know why, for example when a woman goes to buy fertilizer, they can charge her very high price as opposed to a man... you know a man uses common sense and his brain work so fast, but a woman is very slow when it comes to decision making... men are well informed...men know where they get fertilizers of cheapest price ... (Men, FGD)

This was supported by extension workers as they said that men have more access to agriculture information than women. This is because while men have sufficient time to listen to media, women are constrained with multiple roles. However, the extension officer said that in Morogoro male extension officers can serve women. This is because the services are offered to farmer groups whereby each group contains 25 – 30 farmers. The method was devised to overcome limitations posed by husband- to forbid their wives to discuss agriculture issues with male agriculture extension officers. According to the agriculture extension officer, the method is useful and reliable as it has enhanced women's access to information and inputs.

Generally, participants of FGD together reported that it is not a common practice for couples to share finances; particularly men rarely disclose their income to their wives. When asked participants to explain decisions over sales of crops and livestock, and control of income from the sale, both women and men usually referred to men as the final decision maker—a man is the one who decides on the number of crops to be sold and what is to remain for household consumption. Besides, women participants reported that the decision to consume foods that are stored also requires consultation with the man. This may raise intimate partner violence if there is no mutual understanding. The following statements by women focus group participants illustrate:

Most of the time husband and wife together decide on how to spend the earnings from their crops... a man's decision becomes final when they fail to agree on their priorities ...let say a man wants something to be done first, and a woman wants that to be done after... then a man's decisions are final... The majority of men when they hold money, it goes from one pocket to another pocket a woman is not involved in anything (Men, FGD).

“... You may both sit and decide what to be bought after getting the money....but when quarrels occur a man will walk out and decide to have a drink... that is it, no more discussion.... (Women, FGD)

“...When you disagree with each other, let say he wants the amount to be used in buying a motorcycle, or something else...and you think the amount should be used to buy necessities for children, food and other important things in the house...he will shout at you saying is that all you think about, your stomach?” he will take all his money and go away...yes, it is his money although we earned it together...what can I say? (Women, FGD)

When participants asked why a man’s decisions are final—they associated the positions of men with his role of head of household—and with idealized masculinity, as highlighted below.

Moderator: Why is the man the final decision maker?

Participant: Because he is the chairman of the house ... He is the ruler of the family.

Participant: ...When there are disagreements in the home between the husband and his wife, his decision is final... because he is the household head... (Men, FGD)

The men in the focus group discussions said that men have much expenditure to take care including household expenditure, alcohol, and other leisure items—that's why men should control the income of the family, as they said:

For life to remain smooth men should remain sole and private owners of family funds and decision-maker... (Men’s FGD).

In most areas, poultry, such as chickens and ducks are owned jointly; in situations where these animals are a major source of household income, ownership and control often shifted to men. Women are normally given leeway to make income use decisions when the income earned is from their small businesses. However, she must consult with her husband first. As one participant said:

... even if you are the one keeping poultry and are yours, you cannot slaughter for household consumption or sell it without asking him... you must tell him to preserve respect and avoid unnecessary conflict ... but eggs you can just take and cook for a child...

Women spend the income earned from their small businesses for basic household expenses and rarely on their consumption. As one participant said:

“The majority of women use the money earned from small businesses to buy necessities such as food, soap, salt, sugar, and clothing...”

Women participants in Mamboya lamented that, although the majority of women have full control over the income earned from their small businesses, some men are forcing their wives to give them the man earned from their small businesses other men steal from their wives. As one participant explained:

“... it depends on a man...there are men who want to control even the income earned by their wives... when they are broke they cannot beg for money from their wives, they will steal the money for alcohol ...

As far as the play role was concerned women emphasized that they do not have the freedom to consult their husbands for discussion on issues that relate to nutrition and general home welfare. They said the appropriate time to talk to their husbands is in the night after serving them with bathing water and food or early in the morning; but this, in turn, depends on the time a man comes home, where the man is coming from and his mood. In rural Mamboya women did not mention the specific day when their husbands are more likely to be in good moods, in peri-urban Ifakara women said that weekends are the most convenient period because the man is free from the workplace quarrels that might arise his negative emotions.

Most men in Ifakara meet, in bars to drink alcohol and share information and different deals. While in Mamboya men meet at kilingeni (Kilingeni is the place where men normally hang out)—at *Kilingeni* men drink local beer and discuss “many fun, meaningful, and silly conversations and share experience such as price of crops, football, women (side chicks), money and events that are happening in our place and outside—no specific agenda”. In peri-urban Women meet in VIKOBA— when they meet they talk about their savings, talk about business, empowering each other, farming issues—women also meet in funerals, ceremonies, and their neighborhood, when they meet they discuss about marriage challenges — how to handle them, share the experience of pregnancy between first-timers and those with children and sometimes they gossip about each other every time they meet, another group talks.

Women said a married pregnant woman spends most of her day at home with her in law and the majority of the in-laws do not support them in performing household chores. According to women respondents, the unmarried pregnant woman spends most of her day time working on household chores together with her mother and siblings

Gender roles

The findings on the 24 hours gender daily calendar for breastfeeding and pregnant women revealed that on average they wake up at 5:00 and sleep at 23:00. The main activities undertaken by them are cleaning home, cooking, feeding children, bathing *children and wash clothes*. In Mamboya a pregnant woman stops doing works in her last month of pregnancy. Few men help their wives with tough works like fetching water, splitting firewood, carrying heavy luggage. As commonly commented by participants “... *if the husband is not willing to assist with heavy works, neighbors do assist...*” Another participant added

“... mother or mother in law or any other relative come to assist few days before delivery, they may come a bit earlier if it is the first pregnancy.... they will help with household chores, cook family meals, they will instruct a new mother what to eat to increase milk supply, how to cook her food, time to eat and how to clean the umbilicus of her baby and how to bath her new-born...most men continue with their daily routines during this period”.

Below are some extracts from women's talk about daily activities of breastfeeding and pregnant women in rural areas

Participant: I wake up at 6 am or earlier every morning, I clean the house and then I go to fetch water. I go to the field at 7:00 am.

Moderator: With whom do you leave your children when you go to the field?

Participant: The majority carry them and go with them to the field....you continue farming while carrying your child on your back... few would leave them with their siblings or other family members when are available.

Moderator: When do you have breakfast?

Participant: Sometimes we skip breakfast because we are in a rush

Participant: Sometimes we don't have enough time to prepare it

Moderator: when are you returning from the field?

Participant...depending on season...the experiences also differ from households ... others stay in the field the whole day, cook and eat there... other return homes in the afternoon and return to the field after lunch...

Participant: When you come home in the evening... You run faster to fetch water, you prepare water for him (husband), you bath your baby then you start preparing dinner...you are already so tired, food is there you feel too tired to eat... the baby is crying you give it porridge...that is why we are not breastfeeding our children for six months... there a lot of works...the works increase every season...

Participant: We know that exclusive breastfeeding is good for babies but women here have a lot of works to do... you may be cooking or washing utensils or doing any other activities...then it starts to cry because of hunger...you decide to give it porridge and breastfeed it for a few minutes so it can sleep and you proceed with your work...

Participant: Yes! If we could have enough time to rest or have someone to help we can breastfeed for six months...

Men said it is rare and strange culturally for a man to carry a child, the majority of people when they see a man carrying his child perceives that his wife has bewitched him. Men also said they are very busy and return home late when children are asleep. Besides, men insisted that a man return home when he feels he has accomplished his intended assignment in that day (time vary between 9:00- 1:00 pm). The results of the role play on a pregnant wife asking assistance on household chores from her husband a man had the following responses:

I cannot assist you because I have too many responsibilities. By the way; will you help me to look for money? The words you are telling me are from health experts, not you. Anyway, I will try and assist you to wash, fetch water and sweep.

However, men together when responding to the question of whether the role plays demonstrated the reality concerning the matter; they had the following to say:

The majority of men in our community will not agree on the sport to assist their wives with household chores, rather a man will say, give me time to think of it.

Men participants underscored the notion that they are too busy to engage in household chores. Contrary to this, men reported that the majority of men in the community about 90% are underemployed.

Gender and Eating practices

The findings revealed that both rural and peri-urban women are tasked with the preparation of food. All participant groups discussed consistent decision-making processes regarding food, revealing clear gender roles in food preparation, portioning and Sequence of eating. However, unlike in rural areas, where the task of purchasing food is *exclusively women's* work, in Peri-urban, it is also common practice *for men to purchase food* at the market. It was emphasized by men that in time of purchasing food, men prioritize energy giving foods because they are the ones that fill the stomach. This concurs with women's argument that; eating animal protein at home is very rare it can happen 2 times a week in peri-urban as women from the peri-urban group said:

We cannot afford meat and fish daily we normally eat meat in the funeral and other community ceremonies. At home, it happens about 2 times a week or less. We use rice, green vegetables and black tea (Women, FGD).

The situation was worse in a rural area, where eating animal protein at home is even rarer than in peri-urban. It was emphasized by men that in time of purchasing food, men prioritize energy giving foods because they are the ones that fill the stomach. In line with this extension workers also underlined that malnutrition in Ifakara results from people's social preference of eating rice accompanied by black tea as main meals.

Similar eating patterns were observed in rural areas, as narrated by a woman focus group participant from Mamboya;

When I wake up around six o'clock in the morning, if I don't go to the farm I dig my cassava, cook the cassava or eat rice leftover with black tea or porridge. When it reaches noon, I cook ugali and at thirteen o'clock I eat... when I eat ugali, I eat nothing till dinner time... when I am no so busy maybe around sixteen hours I can cook porridge and drink it...

In line with this extension workers also underlined that malnutrition in Morogoro results from people's social preference of eating rice accompanied with black tea as main meals.

Also, women pointed out that the majority of their men have not received sufficient nutrition education. However, when their wives share with them nutrition education received from clinics the majority just listen but never act accordingly. Women also reported that a pregnant woman receive advice on what to eat/do from their grandmother and mostly they are prohibited

to eat sugarcane to avoid discharging too much water during delivery, some species of fish such as kitonga, kambare, and mbogo to avoid delivering abnormal children such as those with mental and speech disorders that are displayed by the respective fish species. They are also prohibited to stand on the door or be the last to stand up to avoid delay during delivery, not to fold legs to avoid delivery complications. They also said grandmothers advise pregnant women to have sex with a husband often as they believe that the practice will enhance speedy and smooth delivery.

Like in many other regions women in Morogoro tend to serve large portions of meat or fish to their husbands than any other family member. Below are their explanations:

Moderator: Why do women give their husbands large portions of meat or fish?

Participant: Because a man is the head of the family...

Participant: He will feel bad...I mean he will feel disrespected if you give him a small portion...

Participant: He can become brutal and shout at you...

Moderator: Why do you serve yourselves the smallest portion of meat or fish?

Participant: After serving him, you serve your children...you serve yourself last...you know a mother is sympathetic and caring, that is why she thinks children should eat a larger portion than her...

Unlike much another research setting we found that in Mamboya the Kaguru Men invests in “postpartum Food Preparation” six months before the birth of the child. They will keep the chicken/goat for this special event--- allows the preparation of a special diet for breastfeeding mothers.

“Eat for two practices” was the positive practices observed in the region---pregnant women are encouraged to eat the bigger amount of food in the notion that “they are eating for two.