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**KASHF FOUNDATION**  
**IMPACT ASSESSMENT**  
**OCTOBER 2005**

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# 1 Executive Summary

Kashf has grown rapidly in the last few years and has an ambitious growth plan. Therefore, at this point an impact assessment (IA) is essential to evaluate how Kashf's services affect its clients. The past impact assessments have shown positive impact on the economic side and this study will focus on both the economic and social aspects.

This study is different from previous IA's because the mature group of clients, who have been associated with Kashf for more than three years, are being compared with new clients, who are in their first loan cycle, rather than non-clients. The branches included in the assessment are all urban branches around Lahore, since these are the older branches with mature clients. The new clients are from the new urban branches, also in Lahore, so that the macroeconomic environment and infrastructure is similar and therefore does not lead to bias.

The methodology followed was a mixed one which relied on both personal surveys and focus groups. About 250 personal interviews and seven focus groups were conducted and included mature, new and drop out clients. Both the new and mature client groups were quite similar and were involved in similar businesses such as operating shops of various kinds or manufacturing different goods. In both groups only 20 percent of the women were using the loan themselves and in the other households the loan was being used by the male members

Examining the effectiveness of Kashf in targeting the poor, we found that 90 percent of all its clients were living on less than \$1 a day. This is a commendable achievement that in spite of growing rapidly and attaining 100 percent operational and financial self-sufficiency, Kashf is reaching the 'very poor' people. The income of Kashf's mature clients is 51 percent higher than its new clients and this shows that Kashf is leading to poverty alleviation. Furthermore, the longer a client is associated with Kashf the higher their income is. Surprisingly, over 80 percent of both mature and new clients save and this is their main emergency coping mechanism. On the diet and health side, mature Kashf clients experience significantly less number of days when they have to eat less and have better access to health care.

On the social side, over 75 percent of clients in both groups are involved in the household decision-making and control household income to some extent. A large proportion of both mature and new clients are involved in household purchases ranging from daily consumables to more expensive purchases such as furniture and household repairs. However, more new clients experience physical abuse at home compared to mature clients. The explanation for this is that new clients are poorer and have to struggle harder to meet daily expenses and this translates into discontent at home.

An interesting finding of this study was that about 65 percent of all clients have their own income, though only 20 percent are using the loan themselves. The rest earn a nominal amount of income (Rs.1000 or so) by stitching or embroidering, which they do at home in their spare time. However, the clients are paid a trivial amount for the work they put in.

The income earned by most clients is spent on meeting the household expenses as the husband's income is not enough and whatever little amount they can save, they try and save it for their children.

Another aspect we observed was that the decision-making power of the client improves with age. Both the groups were quite similar on most of the social facets we delved into, therefore, we conclude that within the household, Kashf is not leading to a significant change in decision making and control of resources. However, the clients of Kashf, both mature and new, in general have a decent degree of autonomy in the household. On the economic side, Kashf has achieved a significant impact in terms of increase in income. At the same time, in the researcher's opinion that there is more Kashf can achieve by focusing on how women can be persuaded and encouraged to use the loan themselves rather than passing it on to the male family members, provided they have the skills and the inclination to use the loans directly. However, there is nothing in Kashf's policy that prevents women from using the loans themselves and the Kashf concept of financial services hinges on allowing the household to make its own decisions on where to invest the loan thereby helping women and low income households becoming more economically viable. Empowerment is conceived as a long term process which begins with the perception of the self, matters of decision making, access to resources and is eventually inclusive of economic independence within and outside the household. There is one school of thought which believes that empowerment can only be achieved if women are financially independent as juxtaposed to Kashf's belief that by allowing poor families a foot on the first rung of development both poor men and women can be empowered economically

## 2 Introduction

This is the fourth Impact Assessment (IA) of Kashf Foundation and comes 2 years after the IA undertaken by Arjumand Associates in 2003 funded by DFID. At this stage the IA is vital because in the last few years Kashf has expanded rapidly. From 15,706 clients in 2001, Kashf has over 70,000 clients in 2005. While, for the future Kashf has an ambitious growth plan in which it plans to increase the outreach immensely. Therefore, it is imperative to evaluate how the services of Kashf translate into the reality of the women who are the clients and to see that Kashf is still true to its mission.

In the last IA the results were very positive and showed that Kashf clients had higher incomes and greater income mobility than non-clients and that the effect increases with the number of loans. In the IA it was also learnt that Kashf clients spend considerably more than non-clients on health care and education, while 32 percent of client households were able to move above the poverty line in one year.

However, the last IA did not explore in depth the social changes that may have taken place due to Kashf. Specifically, it did not report how decision-making status in the household had changed and how it was different from the control group. This was a serious shortcoming of the report as enhancing decision-making is part of Kashf's mission.

In this IA, the mission statement is the central focus and key research questions are derived from it as the basic premise of the IA is to see how well the mission is being fulfilled. The mission of Kashf is stated as:

*“To alleviate poverty by providing quality and cost effective microfinance services to low income households, especially women in order to enhance their economic role and decision-making capacity”*

Breaking the mission into parts, we frame the following questions, which we will try to answer:

- Is Kashf reaching the low income households? Who is the target group in terms of poverty?
- Are Kashf's services leading to poverty alleviation? Is it leading to an increase in economic welfare, a reduction in vulnerability like ability to cope with distress, meet dietary requirements, and so on?
- Is involvement of clients increasing their decision-making capacity in the household? Is there greater empowerment of women?

To evaluate the first question, the income of households is divided into the World Bank defined poverty categories of \$1, \$2 or more per day. From the categories we assess how poor the people are, who receive the loan. For the second question we have taken a multi-faceted approach and look at poverty alleviation in several ways. It is simply not about an

increase in income, but also exploring if the vulnerability of the household has decreased in terms of supporting themselves in a crisis. We also look at diet and health as they determine the ability to generate income, while accumulation of assets helps reduce vulnerability. The final question is about empowerment and investigates how women see empowerment and how they are involved in decision-making and supporting their families.

The following section describes the methodology, while the fourth section looks at who the clients are and how they use the loan. The fifth and the sixth section explore the economic and social impact of Kashf.

## 3 Research Design

Impact assessment is the measurement of transformation among clients. Measurement of transformation or the impact is important as it determines that the MFI has met its stated purpose. The ideal way to assess impact would be to see what the status of participants in the programme is and what it would have been had they not participated. Observing the latter is impossible so we have to settle comparing with a control group.

### *Sample Frame*

Sampling the control group is problematic as it leads to methodological problems or more specifically *self-selection bias*. Self-selection bias is that some people choose to join the MFI and they are likely to be inherently different from those who do not join. Subsequently, for methodological rigour we should only compare the people who choose to join. This approach is propagated by the SEEP/AIMS team and suggests that incoming clients who have not yet received services should be used as the control group. At Kashf the disbursement of loan is so quick, sometimes within 24 hours, that it would have been impossible to find people who have not received the loan. Therefore, clients who had been with the programme for less than six months and were in their first loan cycle were used as the control group.

The control group was compared with a sample of mature clients, who had been with Kashf for more than 3 years but less than 5 years. The reason for using clients older than three years was to make sure there had been sufficient time for them to have experienced the impact in a sustained manner. But the mature clients group also included clients who had dropped out after two<sup>1</sup> to three loan cycles so as to avoid the *incomplete sample bias* and the *attrition bias*<sup>2</sup>. The logic behind this is that the new client group or the control group consists of people who will dropout; consequently the mature client group should also include dropouts.

Another concern while identifying the sampling frame was, that people in the programme should have had equal amount of exposure to it. Otherwise the question, why certain people join earlier and others later would arise<sup>3</sup> and an evaluation of risk taking behaviour would have had to be undertaken. Therefore, new clients were selected from new branches, while mature clients were selected from branches which were three years or older.

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<sup>1</sup> Originally the criteria set for dropouts was also three years but due to difficulty in getting hold of older dropout clients we relaxed the criteria to include those who dropped out after two loan cycles.

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed discussion on these two issues refer to Karlan (2001).

<sup>3</sup> For further detail refer to SEEP/AIMS (1999), page 4A-6.

Programme placement bias<sup>4</sup> between clients is unlikely to be serious because all the clients interviewed were taken from the urban branches in Lahore and surrounding areas. The macro economy and infrastructure is similar in all of these areas. The reason for using only the Lahore branches was that these branches had been established three or more years ago and had clients who had been taking loans for more than three years. Urban branches were selected so that the communities being studied were similar and more than 80 percent of the older branches are in the urban areas of Lahore. Luckily, a few new branches had also recently been set up in the Lahore areas of Walton and Dharam Pura, so new clients could be selected from there.

For evaluating decision-making in the household, another stipulation was made that widows should not be interviewed because their independence in decision-making is due to their unfortunate circumstances. Hence, to understand the household dynamics of decision-making only married women were interviewed.

### *Size and Distribution of Sample*

For collecting information a flexible approach was used which drew on quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative information was collected through 250 personal interviews, which mainly dealt with economic indicators such as income and nutrition, but also included a list of categorical questions on what kind of decisions were taken by the individual. The qualitative aspects were investigated in seven focus groups and dealt with understanding the dynamics of the decision-making in the household. The breakdown of the areas from where the clients were selected for personal interview is given below:

**Table 1: Sample Size of Personal Interviews**

<b>Mature Branches</b>	<b>Number of clients interviewed</b>	<b>New Branches</b>	<b>Number of clients interviewed</b>
Baghban Pura	24	Dharam Pura	23
Bund Road	25	Rehmat Colony	21
Chungi	11	Walton	32
Jorah Pull	20		
Karim Park	14		
Kainchi	18		
Shadarah Moore	21		
Siraj Pura	22		
Yakki Gate	19		
<b>Total</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>76</b>

The breakdown of the seven focus groups is given in Table 2. These focus groups were towards the end of the study and apart from understanding the decision-making dynamics, some other issues were further investigated and some information rechecked to reduce any bias.

<sup>4</sup> For further discussion refer to Karlan (2001), Page 7.



**Table 2: Focus Group Discussion Sample Size**

<b>Focus Groups</b>	<b>Clients</b>
Chungi	14
Kot Lakhpat	14
Walton	10
Kainchi	8
Siraj Pura	7
Jorah Pull	11
Dharam Pura	13
<b>Total</b>	<b>77</b>

The survey used drew heavily on the SEEP/AIMS questionnaire, but some questions for decision-making were adapted from Shuler, Hashemi and Riley (1997) and Pitt, Khandker and Cartwright (2003). A copy of the questionnaire is attached in the appendix. The first part of the questionnaire covered the client, the second explored sources of income and effects on savings, diet and health. The third section looked at the social issues within the household and in the community.

## 4 The Client

The sample of mature and new clients, who we spoke to were very similar as the following table highlights:

**Table 3: Comparison of Mature and New Client**

Averages of:	Mature Clients	New Clients	Statistical Significance
Age	37.36	37.47	0.92
Schooling	2.72	2.96	0.65
Adults in Household	3.66	4.22	0.03
Children in Household	2.83	2.89	0.80
Income Contributors	2.33	2.32	0.91
Household Dependency	3.53	3.76	0.39

The similarity in the personal and household variables between the two groups increases the rigour of our study as it reduces the *selection bias*. Looking at age in detail (Table 4) we find that the distribution of age between the groups is also similar with slightly more

**Table 4: Age Distribution**

Age Group	Mature Clients	New Clients
Less than 30	17%	14%
Between 30 and 40	39%	38%
Between 40 and 59	34%	43%
Greater than 50	10%	4%

older women in the new clients group. New clients have better schooling (Table 5) than mature clients, with 46 percent having completed primary or a higher level of education compared to only 40 percent of mature clients. Also in the new clients group, about 5 percent of women have completed education to FA/F.Sc. level while less than 1 percent

**Table 5: Education Level**

Education	Mature Clients	New Clients
None	60%	54%
Primary(Class 5th)	19%	28%
Secondary(Class 8th)	10%	8%
Matric	10%	5%
F.A/F.Sc	1%	5%

in the mature clients group have reached this level. Looking at table 3 we can see that the average of ‘Adults in Household’ is higher in new clients at a significant level<sup>5</sup>. Nevertheless, household dependency is comparable, which is a more comprehensive variable than simply adults as it tells us how many income contributors are supporting the total number of individuals in a family.

### **Loan Use**

Examining how the loan is being used, we find that in both groups about 20 percent of respondents are using the loan themselves and the rest were borrowing for their husbands or sons. Generally, the respondents borrow for the male family members when either they are unemployed and they need a vocation, or when they are working for someone else and want to start up their own business. In mature clients the successive loans are used to expand the business originally set up (68 percent) or used by another family member who is unemployed to start a new business (32 percent).

Analyzing the different kinds of businesses started by clients, we find that we can divide them into six general categories. Table 6 gives a percentage breakdown:

**Table 6: Business Segmentation**

Type of Business	Percentage
Cattle (Milk)	4%
Food (Vegetable/Fruit Stand, Restaurant)	11%
Manufacture (Sewing Clothes, Shoe Brushes, Furniture, Shoes)	22%
Service (Sanitary, Carpenter, Auto Mechanic, Paint)	13%
Trade (Parchoon, Medical Store, Electrical Shop)	37%
Transport (Riksha, Donkey cart)	13%

Opening up different kinds of shops or trade is the most common type of activity followed by manufacturing. In certain areas particular kinds of activities are more widespread, for instance in the Baghban Pura area, driving a rikshaw is very common. Looking at those clients who are using the loan themselves, we find the majority are involved in clothing, either buying and selling, or stitching and embroidery. The second popular activity is setting up a parchoon shop.

Analyzing the number of people on salary in the household (Table 7), we find that in the mature clients group 46 percent of households have one or more family members working for a salary and in the new clients group 53 percent. Comparing the number of family members working in each group we find a difference that is statistically significant at seven percent. The mature clients have 1.6 members on average working for a salary and new clients 1.3. Surprisingly, mature clients have a higher number of

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<sup>5</sup> When interpreting statistical data for impact, it is important to understand that individual percentages of each group in the sample are irrelevant; rather, the key is to assess whether *the difference in observed means between two groups/sample is random or statistically significant* by comparing the data on the treatment and control groups using statistical tests such as t-tests and chi-squares.

family members working for a salary, although overall less mature client households are involved in salaried work.

**Table 7: Household Members on Salary**

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	<b>Salary Earners</b>	<b>Mature Clients</b>	<b>New Clients</b>
Household with more than one salaried person		46%	53%
Average number of salary earners		1.6	1.3

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Children in households of both groups are usually attending school. In both the groups there are some households where children are not going to school and the reasons given for that are either the child is not willing or they cannot afford the school expenses. In the mature client group, surprisingly, a few respondents mentioned that the children need to work to support the family or the husband does not allow the daughter to go to school because he feels the society is corrupt and unsafe for the child.

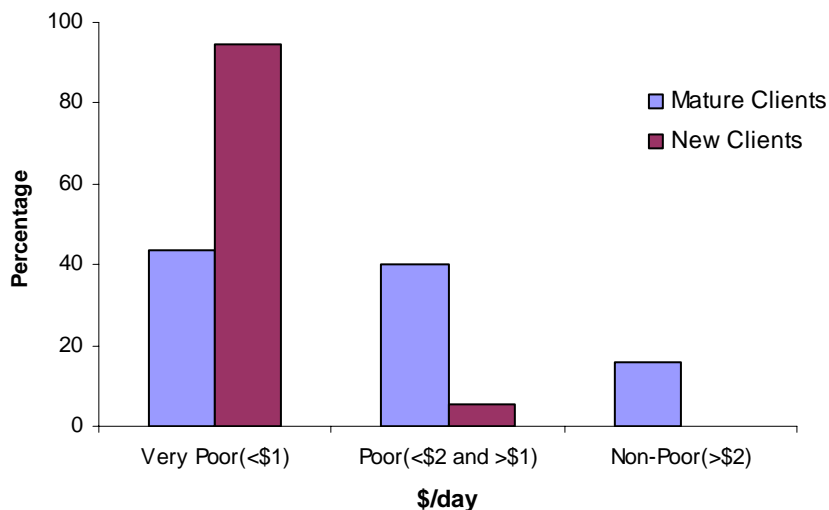
On the whole, both the groups are quite comparable, with similar age, schooling and household dependency. The business activities are also alike and therefore we can confidently assume that the variation in economic and social aspects, between the two groups, are an impact of Kashf and not because the groups are different.

## 5 Economic Impact

### Poverty Targeting

Our first question, “**Is Kashf reaching the low income households?**” is more about who the organization targets to provide microfinance and can they be categorized as poor households. Using the World Bank standard of poverty that defines the “very poor” as earning less than \$1 a day, “poor” as earning between \$1 and \$2 per day, and “non-poor” as earning greater than \$2 per day, our sample presents the following picture:

Figure 1: Poverty Targeting



From the bar chart we can see that about 90 percent of all respondents in our study are ‘poor’ or ‘very poor’. In fact most of the new clients, 95 percent, are ‘very poor’ people, living on less than \$1 a day. On the other hand, 44 percent of mature clients are ‘very poor’ and 40 percent are ‘poor’. Only 16 percent are ‘non-poor’ or living on more than \$2 a day. Apart from these 16 percent of mature clients, all the respondents in our study are poor and vulnerable and one unfortunate event, like illness or death, can cause them extreme hardship.

Thus figure 1 shows that Kashf has been successful in targeting the poor as most of its clients live on less than \$2 a day, while most new clients are ‘very poor’ and live on less than \$1 a day. This is a commendable achievement of Kashf that in spite of growing rapidly in the last few years and maintaining 100 percent operational and financial self-sufficiency, the targeting has not been compromised. The right group of people is receiving the loans and this is essential for meeting the main objective of Kashf which is poverty alleviation.

## Poverty Alleviation

Turning to the second question, “**Is Kashf leading to poverty alleviation?**”, we want to find out whether Kashf is improving the earning capacity and consequently the standard of living of its clients. Therefore, we start by comparing the incomes of the mature and new clients.

**Table 8: Average Monthly Income**

	<b>Average Monthly household income (Rs)</b>	<b>Average Daily Income per person (\$)</b>
Mature Clients	12,412	1.27
New Clients	6,095	0.53

The average monthly household income<sup>6</sup> of mature clients is 51 percent higher or more than double that of new clients. This figure implies that mature clients can afford a much better standard of living than new clients and thus Kashf has made a significant difference in the lives of its clients. New clients on average have only 53 cents per person daily to live on while mature clients have \$1.27; therefore, we can conclude that clients who have been with Kashf for more than 3 years are better off than new clients.

Analyzing how the income of mature clients changes with the number of loans, we find that the longer the client has been with Kashf the higher the income is. Table 9 shows how income has increased with each loan cycle for our respondent clients.

**Table 9: Income by Loan Cycle<sup>7</sup>**

<b>Loan Cycle</b>	<b>Average Daily Income per person (\$)</b>
3rd	1.27
4th	1.44
5th	2.26
ANOVA F-Statistic	8.80
ANOVA P-Value	0.00

Comparing the income figures with the previous impact assessment we can see that incomes of mature clients have improved by 34 percent while new clients are poorer than the sample of non clients used last time. However, comparing new clients with non clients poses the *self-selection bias* as the new clients have opted to become programme clients and are likely to be inherently different from the non clients.

<sup>6</sup> For Mature Clients the Average Monthly Household Income is ‘at the moment’ figure while for New Clients it is the figure reported in their application. The logic behind using the amount in the application is to have an unbiased estimate of income.

<sup>7</sup> The ANOVA F-statistic is used here to test the statistical significance as in this case the mean of three different groups has to be compared instead of two, where a simple t-test is sufficient.

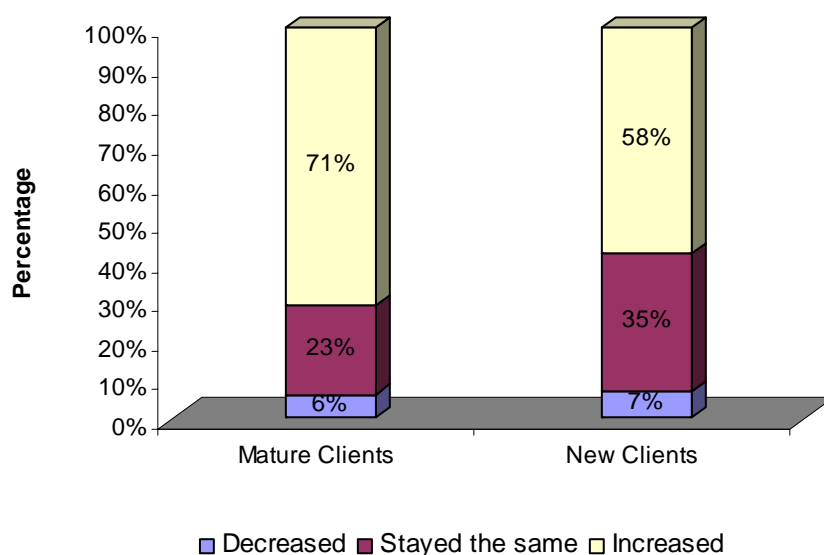
**Table 10: Comparison of Income with Impact Assessment 2003**

	Average Monthly income IA 2003 (Rs)	Average Monthly income IA 2005 (Rs)	Average Monthly income IA 2005 adjusted for Inflation (Rs)	Percentage Increase
Mature Clients	7,038	12,412	10,639	34%
New/Non Clients	6,206	6,095	5,224	-19%

The above data shows that clients are not only moving out of poverty but in real terms their incomes are also increasing over time. However, income increasing over time is not just a function of microfinance but a result of many other factors, like the economy, business conditions, incentives and so on.

Comparing perception of income between mature and new respondents, we find that mature clients have a more optimistic outlook about the change in income over the last year. The following figure illustrates the perception comparison between the two groups and the results are significant at 6.5 percent:

**Figure 2: Perception of Income**



More than 70 percent of the clients feel that their income has improved due to the loan and only six percent feel that it has decreased. In the current assessment the positive changes are primarily related to three factors. A majority of respondents either expanded their business or encountered good sales during the year, while some started a new business. Those who mentioned that their income had decreased related it to poor sales or illness of a family member on whose treatment household resources had to be spent. On the other hand 58 percent of new clients also feel that their income has increased over the course of one year, this is a very high percentage when we compare the results with the IA of 2002 where only 24 percent of non-clients felt that their income had increased compared with the last year. The reason for the optimistic perception of new clients in this IA might be that they are already in their first loan cycle and benefits of increased income have probably started to filter through.

## Coping with Distress

Moving on from income, we look at emergency coping mechanisms. A large percentage of clients' report that they are saving and it is a major stress coping strategy for them. A large number of new clients also report that they are saving and this is surprising considering that they have half the average monthly income.

**Table 11: Emergency Coping**

<b>Emergency Coping</b>	<b>Mature Clients</b>	<b>New Clients</b>	<b>Statistical Significance</b>
Household Savings	89%	82%	0.23
Borrow from Neighbours and Friends	9%	18%	--
Other	2%	0%	--

The high number of clients, both mature and new, reporting savings is a substantial figure (more than 80 percent), savings considerably reduces vulnerability as it allows the poor to meet unpredictable expenses or to support themselves in periods of low incomes. Those who do not have savings report that they borrowed from friends and neighbours in times of distress, some mentioned taking an emergency loan from Kashf, a number of clients sold assets such as jewelry or durable goods and a few mentioned that a family member who was not working before found employment. Unfortunately, a few clients also mentioned that due to the emergency they had to stop sending some of their children to school, and generally it was the daughter who had to drop out. The most common emergency faced was a family member falling ill or getting injured in an accident. Other emergencies stated were death, helping relatives who were in desperate need or a family member losing employment.

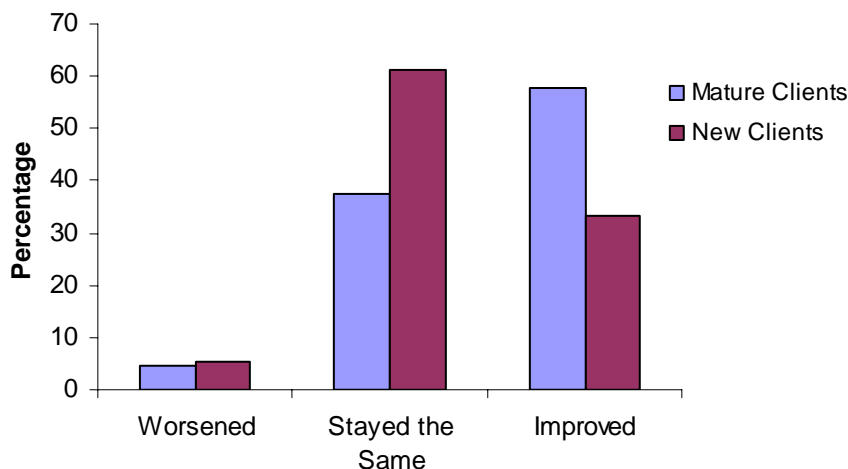
From the focus group discussions we learnt that women generally keep their savings at home, some deposit them with Kashf, while others might be part of a ROSCA (committee). However, many clients were not fond of the ROSCA as they had to wait for their turn to get the money and even when it was their turn they had to ask the person managing the group several times before he/she gave it to them. In spite of this, client savings with Kashf on average are only \$2. So the question is why clients prefer to keep the savings at home, where they might end up using them for everyday use and the discipline of keeping savings with Kashf or a bank cannot be practiced. To figure this out Kashf needs to undertake a study on savings, which quantifies how much clients save and why they choose to keep them at home. The study should look into whether clients find keeping savings with Kashf convenient and accessible and have the ability to save small variable amounts frequently. For women mobility is somewhat restricted as they are responsible for the household work and the children and require more flexibility in accessing the savings. Therefore, a mobile banking unit such as a cashier on a bicycle can ride through the client neighbourhoods everyday rather than the clients walking to the branches. Though most of the branches are within the target neighbourhoods, some are quite far, such as the Dharam Pura branch, where some clients have to walk more than 45 minutes to get to it. Even for branches that are close to the neighbourhoods, it is still quite an effort for women to step out leaving their responsibilities of meal preparation and child care to withdraw or deposit savings.



### Household Diet

Household diet is another way to assess poverty or to capture household economic security. Moreover, diet directly affects a person’s efficiency and working ability. To evaluate household diet, we first look at the perception of household diet and then we look at if clients had to eat less or eat less well during the previous year. In our study, the perception of change in diet compared with last year was reported as follows:

**Figure 3: Household Diet**



In the graph we can clearly see that most of the sample did not experience a worsened diet from last year. The majority of mature clients felt that their diet had improved while most of the new clients felt that their diet had stayed the same. A chi-squared test comparing the two groups is significant at the 6 percent level. Therefore, clients who have been associated with Kashf longer feel their diets are improving over time.

Consumption smoothing is also an important aspect of well being and to estimate this we asked the clients if during the last 12 months they faced a food shortage. Only 32 percent of mature clients reported facing this hardship as compared to 45 percent of new clients, and this difference was significant at 7 percent.

**Table 12: Food Shortage**

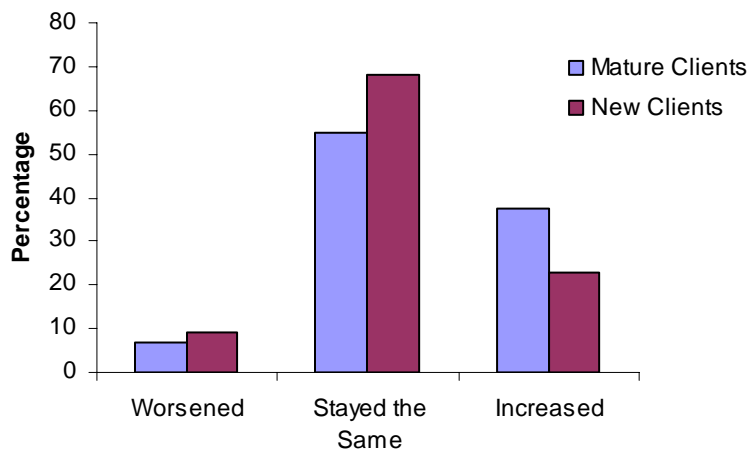
	Mature Clients	New Clients	Statistical Significance
Respondents who ate less (%)	32	45	0.07
Average number of days food shortage lasted	35	50	0.4

Out of those respondents who ate less well, the average number of days the food shortage lasted for mature clients is 35 and for new clients it was 50 (Table 12). Therefore, new clients on average had to eat less well for a longer period or on 15 more days in a year as compared to mature clients, but statistically this was not a significant difference. The majority of respondents borrowed to get through these difficult days, but some of them sold assets to cope with the hardship. Selling assets has further repercussions as it reduces the future ability of the household to deal with another crisis.

### Access to Health

Another important factor in assessing vulnerability of the poor is their health. The effects of bad health are two pronged as sick people work less productively and require assistance from other people and they may also have to pay for medical care. For health, we again had a question on their perception in terms of whether their health access had improved, stayed the same or worsened. The following chart illustrates the responses:

**Figure 3: Health Access**



In this figure we can see that a large percentage of both mature and new clients did not experience any change in their health access. But looking at improvement in health access we find that 38 percent of mature clients felt that it was better as opposed to 23 percent of new clients. These results were significant at the 2.5 percent level. Delving into this issue further, we asked the respondents how many of them went without visiting a doctor or buying medicines when they were ill.

**Table 13: Went without healthcare**

	Mature Clients	New Clients	Statistical Significance
Went Without Healthcare %	33	53	0.00

From table 13, we learn that 53 percent of new clients had gone without these services at some point in the last year compared with 33 percent of mature clients. These results are highly significant. Mature clients do fare better on the health measures and we can conclude Kashf has had a positive impact.

Revisiting the diet and healthcare data, we find that more than 30 percent of mature clients ate less well at some point and went without healthcare over the last year. The fact that one-third of the sample still does not have decent access to basic needs is alarming. Kashf has impacted income and mature clients do perform significantly better than new clients on nutrition and health but it is still inadequate. In its advocacy Kashf can include making clients aware of income and consumption smoothing mechanisms, like

diversifying income sources, building up physical, human and social assets; and ensuring good financial management, so that they can overcome their problems. Kashf can help them by offering more flexible savings and developing micro-insurance products that focus on making sure that basic needs are met. The emergency loan is a beneficial product in this sense and clients do draw upon it in times of need. Furthermore, the research into providing health services to clients is a positive step. Rather than taking on this responsibility, Kashf can form a partnership with an NGO that specializes in health care and ask them to setup a clinic for clients. However, the current regulation limits Kashf from offering a variety of savings products to its clients.

### Asset Ownership

Asset ownership is beneficial as it increases the ability to cope with vulnerability as assets can be sold in times of distress to meet expenditures. They also increase the socio-economic status of the household and instill a feeling of well-being as people view them as a reward for their hard work. Therefore, we now turn to asset accumulation by clients. The picture that emerges from table 14 is mixed, which lists data on how many respondents own particular assets and how many mature clients acquired these assets after joining Kashf.

**Table 14: Asset Ownership**

<b>Assets Owned</b>	<b>Mature Clients (% responded Yes)</b>	<b>New Clients (% responded Yes)</b>	<b>Statistical Significance</b>	<b>Acquired asset since loan (% Mature Clients)</b>
Radio/Tape Player	63	57	0.32	22
Bicycle	43	43	0.93	22
Refrigerator	38	41	0.70	18
Television	95	84	0.01	55
Motorcycle	18	16	0.69	10
Washing Machine	24	0	0.00	23
Mobile	22	0	0.00	22

In table 14 we find that for most assets the ownership patterns are similar and if there is a difference it is not significant. The confusing aspect is that the number of mature clients who have acquired the assets since they joined Kashf is substantial (last column). Therefore, new clients have a larger asset base to start with, while mature clients have accumulated them since they became members. This pattern exists for not only low value goods such as bicycles and tape players but also for medium and high value goods such as refrigerators and motorcycles. This implies that new clients are better off in terms of the asset base. However, we feel that in the past few years' durables in general have become cheaper and are more affordable for everyone and there has been a growing trend in consumerism. Micro leasing at the community level is another reason, most of these items are now purchased by installments.

The assets with significant ownership difference between mature and new clients are Televisions, Washing Machines and Mobile Phones. A very high percentage of both mature and new clients own televisions so we can assume that it is a purchase which has a very high priority among people and as soon as they can spare the money, they invest in it. On the other hand, surprisingly no new clients have washing machines and mobiles while over 20 percent of mature clients own them. Moreover, almost all of the mature

clients have acquired these assets since they started taking a loan (Last Column Table 14). So we can conclude that clients who are more well to do invest in these assets which add to their convenience. These are not seen as a necessity, but their convenience is valued by the richer clients who invest in them when they have extra savings.

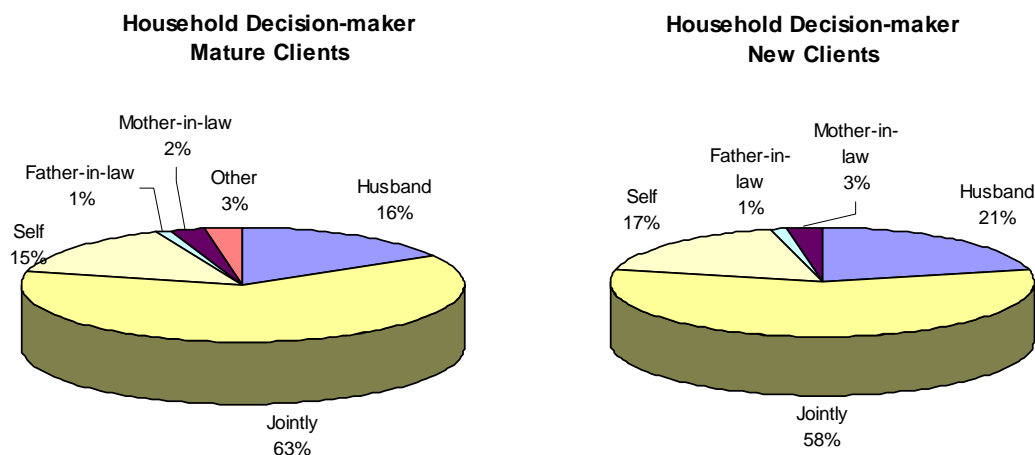
In conclusion, we find that a similar percentage of both new and mature clients own assets such as television and refrigerators, but the more expensive or luxurious assets like washing machines and mobile phones are only owned by the richer mature clients. For the former clients the assets form an invaluable source to deal with vulnerability. While the latter clients have crossed the line of vulnerability and can deal with shocks without being pushed back into poverty. These clients on average have a household income that is about Rs.5000 higher than the clients who do not own mobile phones and washing machines.

## 6 Social Impact

### *Decision-making*

The main social aspect of Kashf’s mission is to enhance the decision-making capacity of women in the household. Experience shows that increased decision-making leads to empowerment of women which results in significant improvements in children’s survival rates, health, nutrition and development. To evaluate decision-making we start by comparing who makes the decisions in the households between our two respondent groups. The pie charts give a breakdown:

**Figure 4: Decision-making Breakdown**



In both groups the majority of the couples were taking the decisions jointly in the household. Surprisingly, the category ‘Self’ was 17 percent in the new clients group and was higher by 2 points compared to mature clients. However, overall adding together the ‘Self’ and ‘Jointly’ categories we find that in the mature clients’ group 78 percent women are involved in household decision-making and in the new clients’ group 75 percent. These are sizeable numbers and it seems that women in the Lahore area have a decent level of autonomy in their households. However, as it is present in both groups we cannot say that it is due to Kashf, but it may be so that it is an attribute of clients specifically, those who approach Kashf for a loan, and not the population in general.

To revalidate our decision-making pattern we can draw on responses from another question in our survey. In this question the clients were asked if their household had made a major purchase in the last year and who took the decision about the purchase. About 30 percent of mature and 16 percent of new clients reported a major purchase in the last year. The decision about the purchase followed the same pattern discussed above, where in the mature client category, 84 percent reported that the purchase was either jointly or by the client herself and in the new client category 75 percent gave a similar

response. So we can confidently declare that clients in general do feel they are part of the decision-making process at home.

The major purchase question also sheds light on asset accumulation. The purchase patterns were very similar between the two groups with television being the most popular choice followed by a refrigerator. The main difference between the two groups was that a much larger proportion of the mature clients had bought a motorcycle. This again shows that mature clients are able to afford expensive assets as compared to new clients.

Coming back to decision-making, we looked into it further by investigating who was controlling the household income. This issue was explored in the focus groups and we found that about 90 percent of mature clients were controlling the financial resources needed for daily use. In the new client group the number was much smaller at 61 percent. However, from the discussion it could be gathered that the control ranged from partial to significant and only 15 percent of clients, in both categories, felt that they had complete control.

The above responses demonstrate that the clients are empowered as far as decision-making within the household is concerned. However, empowerment involves more than just being a part of the decision-making at home, it includes the ability to earn and survive, awareness of self and surroundings and being able to assert oneself<sup>8</sup>. When the clients were asked what they felt empowerment was the general responses were that a woman who has her own income, has a skill and has the ability to run the household and fulfill all household needs timely. However, one respondent had a very interesting viewpoint on empowerment, she felt that empowerment of women would only lead to problems as both husband and wife might start asserting their opinions which would result in discontent within the household. Therefore, she felt that it is better if a woman keeps her husband on a higher pedestal and takes his word to be the final say.

Considering that most clients felt that a woman having her own income is empowered, it is surprising that only 20 percent of them are using the loan themselves and are economically self-sufficient. In the focus groups it was slightly higher, about 28 percent were using the loan. The rest pass it on to their husbands and sons to set up a business. This is an issue which Kashf should research, why majority of the women take a loan for the male family members rather than using it themselves. Empowerment begins with financial independence which gives one the ability to survive. Furthermore, 80 percent of these households are vulnerable as we saw in the last section and are in a dire need for a second or third source of income, which will allow them to diversify and smooth their income and thus consumption. Nevertheless, when the clients were asked if they felt they could support themselves without their husband's/sons support, more than 65 percent in both categories felt that they could. Probing them on how they could do this, a good number responded that they could either stitch or embroider.

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<sup>8</sup> Concept of empowerment is far more complex than what has been stated here and changes with the context and paradigm it is being analyzed in.

## Types of Decisions taken

Decision-making was further investigated by asking a series of questions on different kinds of purchase decisions made by the clients. These purchase questions spanned trivial things like daily groceries to household repairs.

**Table 15: Purchase Decision-making**

<b>General Decision-making (Either Alone or Jointly)</b>	<b>Mature Clients (% responded Yes)</b>	<b>New Clients (% responded Yes)</b>	<b>Statistical Significance</b>
Daily consumables	90	78	0.01
Own Cosmetics	95	87	0.02
Sweets for Children	91	76	0.00
Pots and Pans	93	88	0.20
Household Furniture	53	65	0.08
Clothes for Children	94	91	0.44
Clothes for Self	95	91	0.17
Household Repairs	74	76	0.35

In daily purchase decision, like buying consumables for daily diet, buying cosmetics for client's own use and buying sweets and ice-cream for children, the mature clients significantly did better. On the other hand, a higher percentage of new clients were involved in buying household furniture, which is a more expensive purchase. Due to these varied responses and a high percentage of new clients also being involved in daily decision-making we feel that the results are inconclusive and causation to Kashf cannot be assumed based on the statistical significance of some questions.

## Financial Independence

Another set of questions were also asked in the survey on economic self-sufficiency and social independence.

**Table 16: Questions on Empowerment**

<b>Empowerment Questions</b>	<b>Mature Clients (% responded Yes)</b>	<b>New Clients (% responded Yes)</b>	<b>Statistical Significance</b>
Own Income	68	67	0.93
Own Savings	86	86	0.99
Control own Savings	83	86	0.58
Give asset by will	69	75	0.32
Visit Relatives at will	51	50	0.90
Protest against injustice in community	69	72	0.55
Physical Abuse from Husband	13	21	0.10

In the table we can see that the only significant issue is physical abuse from husband which is higher in new clients. The explanation mentioned by mature clients on this subject was that due to the loan their income had increased, which resulted in less discontent and stress in the household and led to an improvement in the attitude of the

husband. For all the other questions the responses are comparable, even though new clients perform better on ‘Control own Savings’, ‘Give assets by will<sup>9</sup>’ and ‘Protest against injustice in community’. But as these are not statistically significant we cannot take the difference seriously.

The most interesting aspect of the table is that a large number of respondents claim to have their own income and savings and control on them. This is note worthy because only 20 percent of the clients use the loan themselves and therefore generate their own income. Here more than 65 percent have responded yes to ‘Own Income’, so the question “where this income is coming from?” needs to be answered. In the focus groups we investigated this issue and found out that in fact more than 60 percent of women did have their own income and for 40 percent this income was not being generated from the activity funded by the loan. Women who stayed at home were involved in needlework of different kinds like stitching, embroidery, *tilla*, *nakshi*, beadwork and so on. They got this work from different sources, one mentioned she went to Anarkali to get orders and others simply supplied to the neighbourhood shopkeeper. Another common source was that one or two women in the *muhalla* had contacts in boutiques in the city and got orders from there and passed it on to their neighbours. This generated a nominal amount of income (more than Rs. 1000) for these women, which they saved. However, when asked what they spent it on, it was generally on household expenses and not something personal. A concerning feature, albeit an obvious one, was that these women were paid very low rates for their labour. They mentioned that for embroidering a whole *dupatta* or *kameez*, they were paid less than Rs. 50.

To sum up, about 68 percent of women are generating income for their households in some capacity. About 20 percent who are using the loan themselves generate a significant amount of Rs. 4000 or more, while the rest work from home on small handicrafts or clothing and their extra income is a bonus for the household. Most do feel that their own income increases their empowerment, though they do not think that it changes their decision-making capacity at home. Generally, most decisions are made jointly and half the women feel that it’s a give and take situation where sometimes they have to compromise and sometimes the husband compromises. But an equal amount feel that the final say is with the husband even though they are consulted. All mentioned that the decision-making status had been the same even before taking the loan and that Kashf has not made much of a difference. The general consensus was that if a man is ‘good’ he will treat his wife well. A loan or even if the wife is the main breadwinner of the house will not make a difference if she is married to an ill-mannered and ill-tempered man.

This point is revalidated by one of the questions in the survey on inter spousal relationships, in which we asked if the attitude of the husband/family members had improved after the loan. In both groups the replies were similar with majority of the clients responding that the attitude was fine to begin with. However, in both groups about 15 percent of the clients were not happy with the attitude of the husband/family members towards them and felt that the loan had not made any difference.

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<sup>9</sup> “Give Asset at Will” refers to the freedom to lend to whomever whenever the client wishes to do so.



### **Use of Household Income**

Looking at how household income is spent, we found that the income generated by husband is used to meet all the expenses of the household like food, health, education and so on. While the income generated by women, either a significant amount or just something extra was used in several different ways. First of all, it was used to meet any shortfall in the daily expenses like a utility bill or school fees. Next it was spent on clothes or shoes for children and if the children were older, most women wanted to put together dowries for their daughters with their extra money. Nobody mentioned spending the money on their own needs or wants. Most women felt they had full control on their own income but a few mentioned that they voluntarily passed it on to their husbands. Those who generated significant amounts of income mentioned again and again that they simply pooled the money to fulfill household needs and did not differentiate between their own income and their husbands. However, about 20 percent clients felt that their own income gave them the independence to go wherever they wanted or lend money to whomever they wanted without consulting the husband, though they did like to inform their spouses. This is interesting, as it gives space to women to explore and do things for themselves.

### **Other Issues**

As far as paying the installment was concerned, most women felt that it was their responsibility even though most of them were not using the loan themselves. This was an added tension in their life as they had to constantly remind their husbands/sons for the installment. A quick study should be undertaken by Kashf to gauge if this is a major issue for the clients who are not using the loan themselves and see what can be done to overcome this. However, a large percentage of clients were controlling the household resources themselves and had to budget the money to make sure they were able to pay. The women felt that getting the installment on time was a matter of '*izat*' (respect) for them.

As the groups consist of clients from a range of age-groups, one thing that came across in the focus groups was that older women were more empowered or autonomous in the decision-making. This was also validated from the personal interview data, 80 percent of women who were older than 40 years were either taking the decisions themselves or jointly with their husbands. Views on this issue were that more empowerment comes about after children as men start to rely on women for taking care and bringing up the children, so they give them a free hand and once the children are grown up, their respect for the mother also increases her decision-making capacity.

Exploring the social interaction effects of Kashf, we found that 52 percent of mature clients and 56 percent of new clients felt that the group formation had improved their relationships in their neighbourhood. They felt that their trust for each other had increased and would readily help one another in times of financial or emotional distress. Some even mentioned that their mobility had increased due to better social relations as they would accompany each other to the bank or market. These respondents felt that Kashf did lead to social capital generation since they knew more people now and had a feeling of loyalty towards each other. The rest, 48 percent of mature clients and 44

percent of new clients, felt that they already knew each other well as they lived so close together and meetings were just a place to sit and chat.

Summing up the above analysis, we find that mature and new clients are not that different in terms of decision-making within the household, controlling household resources and generally not using the loan themselves. Thus Kashf has not caused a significant change within the household. A large proportion of clients already possess some degree of autonomy in decision-making and controlling the income. Therefore, it would be apt for Kashf to change the focus of its mission from enhancing decision-making to empowerment in general. However, in the Pakistani society traditional gender norms prevail and women are responsible for performing household tasks, caring for children and cooking and therefore do not work on a full time basis. But as we saw a large percentage of Kashf clients work from home, doing stitching and embroidering, and earn an insignificant amount due to lack of access to markets. We feel that a huge opportunity lies in launching a marketing platform for women who work from home and increasing their income. The increased income will enhance their economic role, financial independence and diversify the household income sources which will reduce vulnerability. Moreover, women allocate a greater share of their income to basic needs for themselves and their children and this enhances the human resource base of the country. In time, this might also lead to a change in the prevailing gender norms.

## **7 Conclusion**

On the economic side there has been a significant impact in terms of income, but for the social side the results are mixed. The economic results show that Kashf is having a positive impact as mature clients have an income 51 percent higher than new clients. The longer a client is associated with Kashf, the higher their income is implying that with time the impact increases. Other manifestations of positive impact were in reduced vulnerability due to better diet, fewer food shortages and better access to health. Mature clients also have more expensive assets such as washing machines and mobile phones. A positive aspect of both mature and new clients was that they were saving to deal with emergencies.

On the social side the impact seems to be less as both groups responded similarly on the questions asked, but the overall responses were optimistic. Kashf aims to increase decision-making capacity of women, but our research shows that a large number of women are already taking part in household decisions. About 68 percent of women are also contributing to household income of which 20 percent are using the loan themselves and contribute a significant amount. This is encouraging information as it shows that in the areas of Lahore women are independent to a great extent and husbands do involve their wives in decisions and take their opinions seriously.

Some limitations of the study have to be highlighted. The problem with using new clients as the control group was that they had already received the loan and probably some effects had trickled through to them. The respondents at the focus groups were chosen by the branch staff and thus their selection was not random. Furthermore, we feel that the income of new clients taken from their loan applications was understated to assure they were eligible for the loan. This probably overstates the difference in income between the two groups.

Empowerment as seen by Kashf clients centers on having a skill and earning an income, whereas most feel that they are already part of the decision-making process of the household. The fundamental struggle of Kashf's client's life, and other members of her household, is to earn a decent income and fulfill their basic needs. They do not even think about empowerment in the wider context of the society and cannot even imagine that transformation of gender roles can come about. They try their best to fulfill the needs of their household and even try to earn by making handicrafts sitting at home. But these women need support because the work they do sitting at home, earns them a trivial amount. Perhaps the next initiative for Kashf can be another Karvaan type scheme, promoting fair wages for these women who work from home by giving them a marketing platform for their products. This will lead to an increase in their income and therefore an increase in their autonomy, empowerment and respect at home. Another initiative can be skill training for women, so that they can use the loan productively. As Kashf does not have expertise in this area, it can collaborate with vocational schools to provide this service.

A booklet, like the social ethics booklet, on business strategy and management can be published in collaboration with an organization like SMEDA. This booklet can have basic information on marketing, technical and financial aspects. Seminars on business planning and identification can be arranged so that the clients can develop business acumen. These can be for all the micro-entrepreneurs, men and women, who are using Kashf loans

For a future strategy, a study focusing on why women do not use the loan themselves should be undertaken, examining those who do use the loan and understanding how they overcome the constraints facing them, such as limited opportunities and limited access to markets. This study only looked at decision-making and control of resources of clients in the household which is satisfactory, but other aspects such as access to health, education and other basic services should be investigated. This would give a better picture of the status of women and if and how Kashf is bringing about a change. Furthermore, this study was only looking at the areas of Lahore, but now Kashf is moving into smaller cities and there the decision-making patterns might be different. Therefore, quick focus groups in those areas should be undertaken to determine the decision-making power of women. Further research should be undertaken to develop financial services for women that takes into account the multiple roles they perform at home. For instance if a women is using the loan herself and has a child she should be given a break in repaying the installment comparable to a maternity leave which women get from their workplaces. On the other hand, the current research initiative on providing health services is a step in the right direction as access to health services seem to be inadequate.

Other research initiatives stated in this report include a study on why clients do not save with Kashf, because 89 percent claim to have savings while deposits with Kashf only equal \$2 per client on average. The other issue that needs to be looked into is, if clients who are not using the loan themselves but pass it on to their male family members feel that the installments are a burden on them. This was mentioned by some women in the focus groups and needs to be investigated further.

Impact assessment should become an ongoing process rather than being undertaken at certain points in time. A certain number of clients should be followed overtime and a panel should be constructed to see what impact they experience. Each time these clients renew their loan they should answer a set of questions about their household and micro-enterprise. Starting an impact assessment from scratch with a new set of clients with a different methodology is not an effective strategy, as it does not allow comparison over time and reduces the time horizon over which clients are being looked at. Along with a client panel a control group panel should also be constructed, for rigorous comparisons. The variables collected for impact should overlap with the other Pakistani datasets such as PIHS and PSLMS<sup>10</sup> so that the state of Kashf clients can be compared with that of the whole country or maybe with specific districts.

In ten years Kashf's achievements have been tremendous. It is leading to a significant impact on the economic side, with mature clients having a higher income, better access to

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<sup>10</sup> PIHS is the Pakistan Integrated Household Survey and PSLMS is the Pakistan Social and Living Standard Survey

health, facing fewer food shortages and being able to afford relatively expensive assets. However, on the social side both mature and new clients are part of decision-making and controlling household financial resources, but women are not using the loan themselves which can give them financial independence. It is imperative to increase the participation of women in earning income as that is the basic factor which will lead to empowerment and increase in bargaining power at home. It will also improve their health, social status and the ability to face crises better. In time the traditional roles associated with women will also be re-examined and a change in mindset might occur. In conclusion, we feel that Kashf has overcome the challenge of self-sustainability and now it should focus on how to encourage women to use the loan themselves and ensure that the household approach that is being followed benefits and empowers the clients through microfinance.

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## 9 Appendix

### Questionnaire for Impact Assessment of Kashf

Client name

Interviewer:

Branch/Center no.:

Usual Loan Officer

### Basic Information:

1.1 How long have you been a member of Kashf?

1.2 How old are you?

1.3 What is your civil status?

1=Married    2=Separated/Divorced    3=Widowed    4=Single

1.4 How many years of school have you completed?

1.5 If someone sent you a letter, could you read it?

1=Yes    0=No

### Household Level Information

2.1 How many persons in your household (those who live together and share same food at least once a day) are:

Adults (18 or over)                      Children (under 18)

2.2 How many persons in your household contribute to the income?

	Amount	Frequency				Source	
		<input type="radio"/> Daily	<input type="radio"/> Weekly	<input type="radio"/> Monthly	<input type="radio"/> Yearly	<input type="radio"/> Salary	<input type="radio"/> Self-Employed
Contributor 1							
Contributor 2							
Contributor 3							
Contributor 4							
Contributor 5							
Contributor 6							

3.1 Who is the principal decision-maker in your household? (Head of Household)

1= Self    2=Male Relative (Husband, Father, Brother, Uncle, Father-in-law)

3= Female Relative (Mother, Sister, Aunt, Grandmother, Mother-in-law)

Other =

3.2 Since you have started taking a loan from Kashf, are you involved/consulted more in the decision making? Explain

3.3 Has the attitude of your household members changed towards you since you started taking the loan? (Treatment by husband and others)

3.4 Please indicate which of the following items you have purchased **yourself** in the last month?

	Purchased Yourself		Husband Consulted	
	<input type="radio"/> Yes	<input type="radio"/> No	<input type="radio"/> Yes	<input type="radio"/> No
<b>Small Items</b>				
Items used in daily preparation of food ( Oil, Spices)				
Small items for yourself (Shampoo, Soap)				

Sweets or Toys for Children				
<b>Larger Items</b>				
Pots and pans				
Children's Clothing				
Clothes for yourself				

3.5 Please indicate if you have made any of the following decisions individually or jointly with your husband?

Issue	Decision	
	<input type="radio"/> Individually	<input type="radio"/> Jointly
House repair/renovation in the past few years		
Buy livestock to raise for profit		
Buy land/rickshaw		

3.6 Please indicate if any of the following statements are true?

Question	Response
Do you own your house or any other piece of land	<input type="radio"/> True <input type="radio"/> False
Do you own any assets such as livestock or sewing machine	<input type="radio"/> True <input type="radio"/> False
Do you have any personal cash savings	<input type="radio"/> True <input type="radio"/> False
If you have savings, do you lend them or used them for business	<input type="radio"/> True <input type="radio"/> False

**Education of Children**

4.1 How many Children in your household are school-aged (5-17)?

4.2 How many of these currently attend school?

4.3 Did they attend school before you joined Kashf? 4.4If not, why has your attitude changed? (Special probing on girls' education)

4.5 How many do not attend school and why?

4.5 What is your expenditure on schooling?

4.5.1 How does your expenditure on school and school expenses for this current year compare with what you spent last year?

- 1= Decreased                      2=Stayed the same      3=Increased  
 4=Don't know                      5=Not applicable

4.6 Why?

**Loan Use and Income**

5.1 Do you use the loan yourself or have you passed it on to a male relative?

- 1=Self (Go to 5.2)                      2=Passed it on

5.1.2 If passed it on, why? Do you help in the business running?

5.2 How was the loan used? Explain

- 1=Retail/Trade \_\_\_\_\_  
 2=Manufacturing (Textile, crafts, \_\_\_\_\_  
 3=Service (Restaurant, food stall, \_\_\_\_\_  
 4=Agriculture (crop production, animal raising, \_\_\_\_\_  
 5=Other \_\_\_\_\_



5.3 What is the lag time in your sales i.e. from production to selling? (Trying to get a feel if specific periods of reduced cash flow) 5.3.1 If extended period of reduced cash flow how is it dealt with?

- 1= Save in advance
- 2=Use income of fixed salary members of household
- 3=Take a loan

Other 6.1 Over the last 12 months has your overall household income.....?

- 1=Decreased Greatly      2=Decreased      3=Stayed the same
- 4=Increased      5=Increased Greatly

6.2 (If decreased), Why did your income decrease? (Multiple answers possible, don't read options)

- 1. I/Household member has been sick/died      1=Yes      0=No
- 2. Natural Disaster (Flood)      1=Yes      0=No
- 3. Poor Sales      1=Yes      0=No
- 4. Other:

6.3 (If Increased), Why did your income increase? (Multiple answers possible, don't read options)

- 1. Expanded business      1=Yes      0=No
- 2. Started new business      1=Yes      0=No
- 3. Good sales      1=Yes      0=No
- 4. Sold in new markets      1=Yes      0=No
- 5. Other

7.1 In the last month did you work for anyone else for pay?

- 1=Yes      0=No

7.2 If yes, what was your pay and why?

8. During the last year, in what three principal ways did you use the profit from your enterprise activity? Tell me the one you used the most money for first (Do not read answers):

- 1=Buy Food      2=Buy Clothing      3=Pay School Expenses
- 4=Pay health-related costs      5=Buy items for the house      6=Reinvest in enterprise
- 7= Save      8= Animal Raising      9=Other

9.1 If you are running your own enterprise, what have you learnt from it? Try and evaluate business sense in terms of quality of products/services, demand in the market, expansion, hiring others, improving machinery/site.

9.2 Since you took the loan how has your status in the community changed? (In terms of respect)

10. Do you have any household savings that you use for emergencies?

- 1=Yes      0=No      99= Don't know

10.1 During the last year have the savings.....

- 1= Decreased Greatly      2=Decreased      3=Stayed the same
- 4=Increased      5= Increased Greatly      99=Don't Know

11. Do you have any personal savings?

- 1=Yes      0=No      99= Don't know

11.1 If yes, what do you use them for?