Women's Economic and Social Empowerment:
Quasi-Experimental Evidence from Rural Egypt

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1   Introduction

The last decades witnessed a rapid increase in the number of microfinance programs that typically target women in developing countries (Field et al. 2010). The international literature shows that female entrepreneurial success, and the associated increase in women's labor income, provide women with more power within the household, and lead to greater investment in education, housing, and nutrition for children (Thomas 1994, Thomas and Strauss 1995, Duflo 2003). However, the literature also shows strong evidence for low returns to capital in female-run micro-enterprises (De Mel et al. 2008). One reason for this could be gender differences in education and business networks; for instance, women are often relatively untrained in basic cost-benefit analysis and uninformed about investment opportunities (Karlan and Valdivia 2011). Another reason could be that norms governing women's roles in society limit women's perceptions about what is achievable in the workplace (Field et al. 2010).

In Egypt, despite improvements in literacy and school enrolment rates over the recent decades, young women still encounter numerous challenges in accessing economic opportunities; particularly in the conservative rural settings in Upper Egypt where only 13.5 percent of young (aged 15-29) women participate in the labor force (Roushdy and Sieverding 2015). This group of rural Upper Egyptian women do not only suffer in terms of restricted mobility when job opportunities are not readily available in the villages, but also face difficulties participating in the public sphere, as the arrival of puberty decreases a girl's access to friends and her freedom to move around the community (Baldwin 2011; Sieverding and Elbadawy 2015). In rural communities, where employment in the non-agricultural private sector is very limited, both small enterprise development and the expansion of female-friendly employment in existing enterprises are essential for job creation and generating employment opportunities. However, based on the results of the 2014 Survey of Young people in Egypt, young people not only in Upper Egypt but throughout the country, and particularly females in rural communities, face difficulties in starting and running their own business because of lack of access to credit, lack of business information, and lack of marketing outlets and financial services (Roushdy and Selwaness 2015; Sieverding 2012; Assaad and El-Hamidi 2009).

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Egypt has a long history of implementing youth employment interventions with the aim of addressing its long-standing labor market challenges, and particularly those pertaining to youth employment conditions, business creation, skills development and school-to-work transition (Amer 2012; Angel-Urdinola et al. 2010). However, the majority of those programs have targeting bias towards male, urban, and educated youth. Despite the above mentioned well-known women disadvantage position on the Egyptian labor market, only a small share (9%) of the employment programs were designed to target young women and only 13% of those program explicitly targeted rural settings (Barsoum and Hempel 2016).[3]

Among the few employment program interventions that were explicitly designed to target young women in the rural settings of Egypt is the Neqdar Nesharek program (Neqdar), or "We Can participate." This program was implemented by the Population Council's Egypt office with funds from the USAID-Egypt from September 2011 to December 2014. Neqdar is a social and economic empowerment program that targeted 4,500 young women aged 16–29 in 30 villages in the governorates of Fayoum, Qena, and Sohag located in Upper Egypt. The Neqdar program aimed to adopt an integrated approach to female economic and social empowerment to enhance transition to work for young marginalized women in rural Upper Egypt.[4] The program intended to go beyond microfinance, to providing business skills, training and actual support in starting a business or getting employed. At the same time, It emphasized soft and life skills, health knowledge, legal rights, and the importance of involving the women's gatekeepers (husbands and fathers) and community leaders (Ramadan et al. 2014).

Given the importance of addressing the female disadvantage position on the Egyptian labor market, particularly in the rural setting of Upper Egypt, in this paper we aim to investigate how a women-specific employment intervention, such as Neqdar, may enhance the livelihood opportunities of young women living in conservative societies. More specifically, this paper evaluates the impact of Neqdar on young women's employment outcomes, mental health and gender roles attitudes.[5] We plan to investigate the impact of the Neqdar Nesharek project using a quasi-experimental design, including a midline (or a late baseline) survey and an endline survey. The impact of the program is assessed using a set of evaluation strategies by comparing end-of-program responses to midline survey responses across participants in intervention villages, and non-participants in both the intervention and control villages.

The paper is organized into 5 section. Following this introduction, Section 2 provides a brief background on the Neqdar Nesharek program goals, training components and key implantation

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[3] These figures are based on data from the Youth Employment Inventory (YEI), which is a global public-access dataset of completed and on-going youth employment interventions. This database includes 182 programs that have been implemented in Egypt between 1990 and 2013. For more details see www.youth-employment-inventory.org.

[4] Similar to the literature (e.g., Ashraf et al. 2010), by "economic empowerment" we mean success in the labor market, and by "social empowerment" we mean an increase in the women autonomy and intra-household bargaining power (e.g., higher influence in household decisions).

[5] In future work we will also investigate the effect of the program on young women's autonomy, decision making, and civic and political participation; as well as the communities' level acceptance of women's work and engagement in public spheres and community activities.

activities. Section 3 presents the midline and endline survey data and the outcomes used in the analysis. Section 4 presents the evaluation strategy and results. Concluding remarks are provided in Section 5.

2   Neqdar Program Background

Neqdar Nesharek is a program launched by the Population Council-Egypt office in September 2011 and continued until December 2014 that aimed to enhance young women transition to work in the rural communities of Upper Egypt.[6] Neqdar targeted 4500 young women in 30 villages in the Upper Egyptian governorates of Fayoum, Suhag, and Qena, and implemented in partnership with three governorate-level NGOs and 30 village-level community development associations (CDAs). Each of the three NGOs overseed 10 CDAs. Unlike most of the existing entrepreneurship programs, which often focus on microfinance, Neqdar program provided young women with a range of skills and support needed to become both economically and socially active community members. This program aimed to empower young rural Upper Egyptian women economically through providing them with business skills and actual support in finding employment or in starting a business, including access to microfinance and markets, registration and licensing and other logistics. It also aimed to empower those young women socially and politically through providing them with life skills, health knowledge and legal rights training, while emphasizing the importance of involving the whole community members.

Figure 1 Neqdar Nesharek Program flow-chart
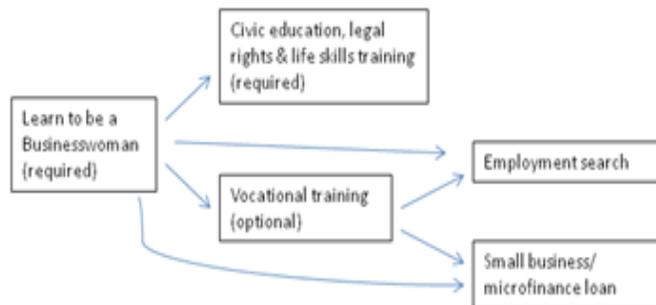
The Neqdar project was designed to be implemented in the 30 villages, which the Population Council previously implemented its Ishraq, a second-chance informal education, program for out-of-school adolescent girls.[7] The preparatory activities of Neqdar took place during the first 18 months of the program. Those activities included getting governmental approvals for implementing the program, village selection, CDAs selection, curriculum development, recruitment and TOT training of project staff, community mobilization activates to introduce the program, and finalization of the villages and the classes' physical places selection.

The Neqdar program hired 355 staff members in total to work under the three NGOs and 30 community development associations (CDAs). Among those were 240 promoters or facilitators (8 in each village), who were young educated women (with at least a secondary education), recruited from the same local community as the Neqdar participants to mentor, teach, coach, guide, as well as provide moral support to the Neqdar participants. Promoters also served as role model of women's achievements in areas where girls face many social and economic restrictions, and they were the critical link between the Neqdar participants, their families, and the Neqdar program team. The staff hired under the three

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[6] This program description section is adapted from Ramadan et al. 2014.
[7] Ishraq is the Population Council project for girls' (aged 12-15) education that was implemented in the same geographic areas of the Neqdar project and with the same partner NGOs during the period 2009-2011.

government-level NGOs helped in recruiting, training and monitoring the promoters and the village-level CDAs staff that implemented the day-to-day activities of the Neqdar program.

Following the preparatory phase, registration was open in all the Neqdar villages at the local CDAs premises for young women to register for the program. Despite the large community outreach and advertising efforts conducted by the program staff before the project registration period, the number of women who registered and were eligible for the program was about the targeted number of women in each village. Hence, the women were not randomly selected for participation in the Neqdar program.

The Neqdar program consisted of three main training components: (I.) business skills training on "How to Be a Business Woman"; (II.) vocational training, market study and support in starting a business or finding employment; (III.) life skills, legal rights and civic education training (concurrent with component II). Wrap-up activities, including evaluation, will take place in the last three months (Figure 1). The business skills curriculum was supposed to be delivered in 12 weeks, meeting three times a week for a two-hour session (i.e. 72 hours); however, due to some implementation logistics not all the villages started and completed the business skills training at the same time. The latest villages completed the business training in December 2013.[8] Following the business training, beneficiaries in each village began either directly searching for employment opportunities (while attending remaining program classes under component III) or began preparing a market study, with guidance from promoters and NGOs staff. The aim of the market study was to map existing local businesses and assess the potential for small businesses in which they were interested in starting. Simultaneously, short training activities such as cooking and jewelry making were held for the beneficiaries to stimulate ideas for projects that they may be interested in starting. Based on the market study, beneficiaries who are interested in starting their own business submitted their business plans and market assessments for their proposed projects, and accordingly their vocational training needs.

Vocational training started in full capacity in January 2014. With the help of local training institutes and businesses, beneficiaries received a variety of training options including: accessory making, sewing, hair dressing, livestock raising, dairy- product making, perfume making, cleaning-supplies making, mobile repair and computer hard/software training, first aid/paramedic, and dessert/food catering services. After conducting market assessments and receiving vocational training, beneficiaries started their own businesses. By the end of the project, 1,297 opened their own project (560 in Fayoum, 368 in Sohag, and 369 in Qena). Simultaneously, employment opportunities were secured for many of the beneficiaries who were seeking employment in various factories, shops, schools, illiteracy programs, pharmacies, and in development projects implemented by local CDAs, etc. NGO staff continued to coordinate vocational training and employment opportunities, as well as help participants to start their businesses until the project implementation end-date of September 2014.

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[8] The business classes started in Fayoum and Qena in two phases. The first set of trainings started in March 2013 and was completed in July 2013 in 4 villages in Fayoum and 6 villages in Qena. The remaining villages in Fayoum and Qena opened in August 2013 and were completed in October 2013. In Sohag, due to delays in getting government approvals for the Sohag NGO to start implementing the program, business skills classes were only launched at the end of September 2013 in all the ten villages, to catch up with the other two governorates, and were completed in December 2013 (Population Council 2013).

Concurrent with the vocational training and business startup or employment phase, Life skills (8 two-hour) sessions), Health-awareness classes (4 two-hour sessions), legal rights and civic engagement (2 two-hour sessions) took place during the first two quarters of 2014. Moreover, throughout 2014, the last year of the Neqdar program implemetation, NGOs and CDAs staff made sure that all beneficiaries had proper identification, since having proper identification is vital to apply for loans, formalize businesses, find employment, and vote. A total of 402 beneficiaries were helped to get their national ID cards (42 in Fayoum, 207 in Sohag, and 153 in Qena). CDAs staff also helped beneficiaries with opening their own saving accounts at the local post office between April- September 2014. Furthermore, near the end of the Neqdar program implementation phase a total of 450 beneficiaries with potentially successful or already-started businesses were awarded small grants to cover start-up costs (148 beneficiaries in Fayoum, 153 in Sohag, and 149 in Qena).

3   Data and Sample

Neqdar activity implementation has begun before securing enough funds for a baseline impact evaluation survey. Accordingly, when funds got available, the Population Council contracted an external independent entity (the Egyptian Demographic Association (EDA)) to conduct a late-basline or a midline survey as well as an endline survey to access the impact of the Neqdar program. The midline survey was conducted in December 2013/January 2014 and an end-line survey in November/December 2014. Before the mid-line survey, the "How to be a Business woman" classes were completed in 2013 in all 3 governorates, and the vocational training was just starting. Also, the life skills, legal rights, and civic engagement trainings and community awareness events were still to be implemented following the mid-line evaluation. Hence, following the midline data collection, many changes were expected to occur to the program participants' lives as well as to their communities. We are aware that an interim survey results, compared to that of a baseline, might give an underestimate of the effects of the program, we yet believe that comparing the results of the mid-line and the end-line surveys, we should still be able to capture a significant share of the effect of the program on women's economic empowerment and the changes in beneficiaries' and community member's attitudes around women's employment and participation in the public sphere.

Since the Neqdar villages were not randomized, propensity score matching was used to select a group of 15 control villages that were comparable to the 30 Neqdar villages.[9] The control and intervention villages were matched in terms of village size, poverty level, education prevalence, and labor market-related variables. Using matching in control village selection is expected to have made the selection as close to being random as possible, thereby alleviating the potential selection bias at the village-level.[10]

The midline survey interviewed: 4300 Neqdar young women participants (around 140 women per village- *treated group*) and 1500 non-Neqdar eligible young women (50 women per village- *untreated*

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[9] See Bifulco (2012), Arceneaux et al. (2006) and Aiken (1998) for a discussion on how the experimental and matching methods may lead similar results.

[10] More accurately, control villages should be referred to as comparison villages since they are not part of a social experiment.

in treated villages group) in the 30 Neqdar villages, as well as another 1500 non-Neqdar eligible young women in the 15 selected control villages (100 women per village-*untreated in control villages group*). During the endline interview, EDA's data collection team manage to track back 6,219 young women (3,766 Neqdar participants, 1,209 untreated women in treated villages, and 1,316 untreated women in control villages) from the same sample of young women who were interviewed at the midline survey.[11] The analysis in this paper is limited to 4,308 women (2,493 treated, 836 untreated in Neqdar Nesharek villages, and 979 in control villages) whom completely filled both midline and endline surveys and have complete information on all relevant variables.[12]

Questionnaires

During the mid-line and end-line surveys, in both the intervention and control villages, three different questionnaires were administered to each household containing a Neqdar-eligible young woman (aged 16-29 and can read and write), a household questionnaire, and a parent or a spouse questionnaire. The household questionnaire covered basic household conditions, access to public services, ownership of durables and agricultural land, as well as household awareness of the Neqdar program. It also collected information on each individual living in the household including age, marital status, education, work information and parents' education. The eligible-young women questionnaire is the principal questionnaire. In addition to information on demographic characteristics, it has modules with information corresponding to the different Neqdar program outcomes. The questionnaire modules included: education (including attendance of informal schools/other literacy programs); work and financial independence; civic and political participation; time use; mobility (including access to the youth centers); harassment and violence; business and marketing knowledge, saving and financial literacy; views on marriage; health, nutrition, puberty, reproductive health; social networks, friends, self-esteem and participation in decision-making; and gender roles (including views on women's work, women's rights and gender equality). The parent or spouse questionnaire focused on views related to young women's education, work, participation in the public sphere, gender roles, woman mobility and participation in sports and woman involvement in decision-making.

Outcome Measures

We investigate the effect of the Neqdar program on two labor market outcomes: employment status and type of employment. Employment status is measured by a binary variable on whether the women was working or not at midline and endline. Type of employment is measured by two binary variables: the first variable takes the value 1 if the women is wage worker (and zero otherwise), while the second takes the value 1 if the women is self-employment (and zero otherwise).

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[11] All households interviewed at midline was easily tracked during the endline survey. However, attrition from the endline survey was mainly due to young women getting married and moving out of the surveyed villages (i.e. it was basically due to attrition at the individual-level). Probit model was used to investigate whether or not such attrition at the young women level was essentially due to a random process. The probit estimates shows that there were no significant difference between the characteristics of the attrited and non-attrited women. Accordingly, we confidently concluded that there was no need to adjust the endline sample for attrition.

[12] A different sample size with different subsets of variables was investigated for robustness checks and yielded similar results. More analysis will be added regarding this in later versions of the paper.

To measure mental health the Neqdar midline and endline survey utilizes the Self-Reporting Questionnaire (SRQ-20), which consists of a set of 20 yes/no questions, developed by the World Health Organization to capture indicators of poor mental health in low-income settings (for more details see Ismail et al. 2015).[13] This tool is designed such that a higher score indicates poorer mental health. The Mental health indicator is then measured in this paper by averaging the score of the 20 questions of the SQR-20 tool.

Gender attitudes is measured by the average of 10 items each of 5-point scale that ranges from strongly disagree to strongly agree. The items consists of questions on: whether women must be allowed to work, whether women who work can still take good care of her children, whether women's work may negatively affect her relationship with her husband, whether a woman may go out to near places without taking her husband's permission, whether boys and girls must have same level of education and employment, etc.

Table 1 shows the descriptive statistics for the three groups at the midline interview. The table shows that treated women are significantly different from the other two groups in several observable characteristics. They are less likely to be married and have children, more likely to be working, and have on average lower level of mental health, and less conservative attitudes towards gender roles. Similar pattern of differences appears when we compare the characteristics of girls in treated vs. control villages (Table 2).

4   Empirical strategy and results

Following the previous literature on the impact of women empowerment interventions on the outcomes of women (see Ashraf et al. 2010; Bandiera et al. 2016), we estimate the following model:

$$Y_{it=}\ \alpha +\ \beta_1 T_i +\ \beta_2 Y_{it-1} + \beta_3 X_{it-1} + u_i$$

Where Y_{it} is the post-treat outcome, T_i is a dummy variable for the treatment, Y_{it-1} is the pre-treat level of the outcome, X_{it-1} is pre-treat vector of controls which include age, a dummy for being married, a dummy for having children, education, father's education, household size, household wealth, and markaz (municipality) fixed effects, and u_i is the error term.[14]

The definition of T_i differs according to the counterfactual group. We estimate 4 different definitions of treatment group: (1) Treat 1: treated villages to control villages (intention to treat model); (2) Treat 2: treated individuals in the Neqdar Nesharek villages to untreated individuals in control villages only; (3) Treat 3: treated individuals in the Neqdar Nesharek villages to untreated individuals in the Neqdar

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[13] The SQR-20 tool includes questions on whether the young women is having headache often, experiencing bad sleep, feeling stressed, difficulty to enjoy daily activities, no longer interested in things, cries a lot, thought about suicide, etc.

[14] The results of the difference-in-difference model are quite similar and will be included in the next version of this paper before the ERF conference.

Nesharek villages; and (4) Treat 4: treated individuals to all untreated individuals (in both Neqdar Nesharek and control villages) combined.

Table 3 shows the impact of the Neqdar program on the employment, mental health and gender attitude outcomes. The program has a significant positive impact on the labor market outcomes of the treated. However there is no evidence of a positive impact on mental health or gender equality attitudes.

Our main empirical problem of the analysis above is the self-selection of participants arising from the voluntary nature of the program participation; especially because randomization at the individual level was hard to achieve. To deal with the selection on observable characteristics, we estimate the equation above using propensity score matching. Pre-treatment levels of age, education, marital status, number of children, household size, father's education and wealth index are used for matching. We use the nearest neighbor propensity score matching with replacement and common support.[15] We apply matching on the log odds of the propensity score to deal with the 'potential' oversampling of the treated girls (Heckman & Todd 2009). Propensity score matching is based on two main assumptions: First, conditional independence (i.e., the existence of no selection on unobservable characteristics) which is a strong assumption to make, and second, common support which means that for each value of pre-treat variables, there is a positive probability to be either treated or untreated. Figure 2 shows how the bias decreases with the propensity score matching relative to the unmatched estimates for the 4 definitions of treatment.

Table 2 shows the estimates of the equation above using propensity score matching. The table shows that the estimates for the labor market outcomes are still positive and statistically significant. However, the coefficients for mental health and gender equality attitudes differ from the OLS estimates. Mental health becomes negative and statistically significant.[16] Gender equality attitudes improve with treatment and become statistically significant.

A major drawback of this analysis is the high chance of selection based on unobservable characteristics which PSM is limited in its ability to handle. To deal with this issue we plan in future versions of the paper to run simulation-based sensitivity analyses (Ichino et al. 2009) that would enable us to have better judgement of selection. We also plan to use IV techniques to account for endogeneity of taking the training. Possible IV's include the distance between home and training center, historic female labor force participation in village, and mother's education.

5 Conclusion and Policy Implications

Economic and Social empowerment of women in developing countries is associated with long term higher investments in education, housing, and nutrition for children (Thomas 1994; Thomas and Strauss 1995; Duflo 2003). Accordingly, we expect the findings of this paper to be of extreme help for policy makers when designing interventions for women's empowerment on both the social and economic dimensions. (TBC)

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[15] The results are robust to other PSM methods.

[16] One reason for this could be the improvement in aspirations and expectations of girls and/or increase in household tensions. We will study these channels in more depth.

Figure 2: Propensity score matching estimates versus OLS estimates
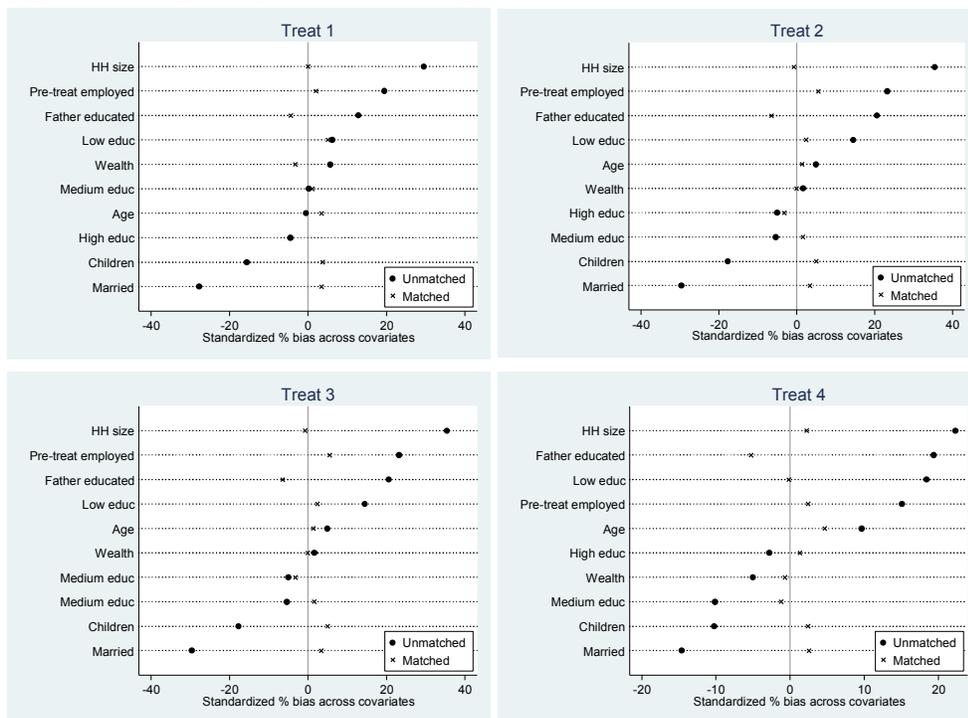
Note: Graph based on estimates of the 4 treatment definitions for employment as an outcome variable. PSM with nearest neighbor propensity score matching with replacement and common support.

Table 1: Young women characteristics at the midline survey, by treated/untreated women group type

VARIABLES	(1) Treated	(2) Untreated NN	(3) Untreated Control	(4) p-value (1) = (2)	(5) p-value (1) = (3)	(6) p-value (1) = (3)
Age	21.72	21.58	21.70	0.41	0.83	0.49
Married	0.34	0.55	0.54	0.00	0.00	0.53
Have children	0.30	0.43	0.42	0.00	0.00	0.70
HH size	5.31	4.67	4.57	0.00	0.00	0.17
Wealth quantile (10)	5.37	5.91	5.57	0.00	0.04	0.00
Father educated	0.53	0.44	0.44	0.00	0.00	0.67
Mother educated	0.51	0.32	0.35	0.00	0.00	0.19
No qualification	0.16	0.16	0.13	0.79	0.04	0.04
Compulsory education	0.42	0.40	0.42	0.18	0.87	0.45
Post-compulsory education	0.42	0.44	0.45	0.26	0.08	0.61
Employed	0.08	0.03	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.76
Wage employed	0.05	0.02	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.69
Self-employed	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.24
Mental health (0-1)	0.77	0.81	0.78	0.00	0.02	0.00
Gender equality attitudes (1-5)	3.82	3.79	3.65	0.06	0.00	0.00
Sample size	2,493	836	979			

Table 2: Young women characteristics at the midline survey, by village type

VARIABLES	(1) Control villages	(2) NN villages	(3) p-value
Age	21.70	21.68	0.92
Married	0.54	0.39	0.00
Have children	0.42	0.34	0.00
HH size	4.57	5.13	0.00
Wealth quantile (10)	5.57	5.52	0.57
Father educated	0.44	0.51	0.00
Mother educated	0.35	0.45	0.00
No qualification	0.13	0.16	0.02
Compulsory education	0.42	0.42	0.86
Post-compulsory education	0.45	0.42	0.12
Employed	0.02	0.06	0.00
Wage employed	0.02	0.04	0.00
Self-employed	0.00	0.02	0.00
Mental health (0-1)	0.78	0.78	0.44
Gender equality attitudes (1-5)	3.65	3.81	0.00
Sample size	979	3,330	

Table 3: The impact of Neqdar intervention, OLS estimates

VARIABLES	(1) Employed	(2) Wage employed	(3) Self-employed	(4) Mental health	(5) Gender attitudes
Treat 1	0.046***	0.015**	0.023***	-0.012	0.067
	(0.012)	(0.006)	(0.008)	(0.020)	(0.064)
Control group mean	0.035	0.023	0.012	0.76	3.70
Observations	4,321	4,321	4,321	4,106	4,106
R-squared	0.117	0.153	0.054	0.013	0.012
Treat 2	0.067***	0.021***	0.034***	-0.010	0.081
	(0.013)	(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.020)	(0.064)
Control group mean	0.035	0.023	0.012	0.76	3.70
Observations	3,484	3,484	3,484	3,296	3,296
R-squared	0.109	0.140	0.065	0.015	0.013
Treat 3	0.067***	0.017**	0.041***	-0.001	0.042
	(0.011)	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.010)	(0.046)
Control group mean	0.037	0.027	0.007	0.75	3.75
Observations	3,337	3,337	3,337	3,204	3,204
R-squared	0.123	0.150	0.064	0.014	0.009
Treat 4	0.066***	0.019***	0.038***	-0.005	0.056
	(0.010)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.011)	(0.040)
Control group mean	0.036	0.025	0.009	0.75	3.73
Observations	4,321	4,321	4,321	4,106	4,106
R-squared	0.126	0.154	0.061	0.013	0.012
Pre-treatment level	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Markz FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Note: Treat 1: treated villages to control villages (intention to treat model), Treat 2: treated individuals in the Neqdar Nesharek villages to untreated individuals in control villages only, Treat 3: treated individuals in the Neqdar Nesharek villages to untreated individuals in the Neqdar Nesharek villages, and Treat 4: treated individuals to all untreated individuals (in both Neqdar Nesharek and control villages) combined. Controls include age, married, children, education, father's education, household size, household wealth, and Markaz (municipality) fixed effects.

Table 4: The impact of Neqdar intervention, PSM estimates

VARIABLES	(1) Employed	(2) Wage employed	(3) Self-employed	(4) Mental health	(5) Gender attitudes
Treat 1	0.049***	0.014	0.027***	-0.019**	0.071***
	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.027)
Control group mean	0.032	0.020	0.012	0.76	3.70
Observations	4,308	4,308	4,308	4,308	4,308
Treat 2	0.057***	0.014	0.033***	-0.019*	0.109***
	(0.015)	(0.012)	(0.006)	(0.010)	(0.032)
Control group mean	0.032	0.020	0.012	0.76	3.70
Observations	3,474	3,474	3,474	3,474	3,474
Treat 3	0.055***	0.007	0.040***	0.003	0.003
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.007)	(0.011)	(0.032)
Control group mean	0.037	0.027	0.006	0.75	3.75
Observations	3,330	3,330	3,330	3,330	3,330
Treat 4	0.064***	0.019*	0.036***	-0.024**	0.055**
	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.006)	(0.010)	(0.025)
Control group mean	0.035	0.024	0.008	0.76	3.73
Observations	4,308	4,308	4,308	4,308	4,308

Note: Treat 1: treated villages to control villages (intention to treat model), Treat 2: treated individuals in the Neqdar Nesharek villages to untreated individuals in control villages only, Treat 3: treated individuals in the Neqdar Nesharek villages to untreated individuals in the Neqdar Nesharek villages, and Treat 4: treated individuals to all untreated individuals (in both Neqdar Nesharek and control villages) combined. Controls include age, married, children, education, father's education, household size, household wealth, and Markaz (municipality) fixed effects.

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