A Sample Gender Analysis

Abridged Version
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CRS Ethiopia conducted the gender analysis that led to this abridged version.

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Cover: Women from Sire (Arzi Zone) developing their map of community assets. Trish Ahern/CRS

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A SAMPLE GENDER ANALYSIS

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HOW TO USE THIS DOCUMENT

This document is a condensed version of a full gender analysis of a food security program in Ethiopia. We hope that program staff will use this condensed version as a template when conducting their own gender analyses.

The document provides an example of what a gender analysis looks like and the questions it seeks to answer—as well as how to collect the data, analyze findings, and incorporate those findings into a program strategy. Conducting a gender analysis is an important step in helping program staff understand and address gender inequalities to maximize program results and outcomes and achieve a greater impact in the communities they serve.

The full version of this gender analysis is available at https://global.crs.org/communities/Gender/Community%20Documents/Gender%20Analysis%20Report.pdf.

ABBREVIATIONS

CRS  Catholic Relief Services
DFAP  Development Food Assistance Program
EH  East Hararghe
FGD  focus group discussion
FSTF  Food Security Task Force
HCS  Hararghe Catholic Secretariat
IHD  integral human development
MYAP  Multi-Year Assistance Program
PIM  Program Implementation Manual
PSNP  Productive Safety Net Program
SILCs  savings and internal lending communities
USAID  U.S. Agency for International Development
WASH  water, sanitation and hygiene
WCC  Wonji Catholic Church
WHO  World Health Organization
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This case study summarizes a gender analysis conducted from June to October 2012 to assess gender dynamics in household livelihoods in six selected districts (woredas) in Arsi Zone and East Hararghe (EH Zone) of Oromia Region and Dire Dawa Administrative Council, Ethiopia. The purpose was to inform the development of a cross-cutting gender strategy to ensure women, men, girls and boys equally participate in and benefit from a CRS food security program in Ethiopia—the Development Food Assistance Program (DFAP) funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development Food for Peace program. DFAP operates within the national Productive Safety Net Program (PSNP), which supports male and female chronically food-insecure households to reach food sufficiency and security.

The research is based on primary data collection and analysis using a gender-sensitive qualitative and participatory methodology and a wider literature review. A total of 1,276 participants and CRS Ethiopia partner and implementing government partner staff participated in the study with almost equal representation of women and men. This case study presents the main methodology, major findings and recommendations. It seeks to contribute to wider learning among CRS country offices and the wider development community on the relevance of gender analysis for enhanced impact and strong gender responsive programming.

MAJOR FINDINGS

Women from the poorest households are the most vulnerable to food insecurity. Women and girls are the main managers of household food production but underlying gender biases put them in a much more disadvantaged position relative to men and boys. Because they have less decision-making and bargaining power, women may suffer more during drought or hunger periods, for example eating less. Women and girls reported low self-confidence and self-worth and limited ability to influence decision-making at household, community and institutional levels.

Women and men have distinct but complementary roles and tasks in both agriculture and livestock production and marketing, but men have more control and benefits from them. Women and girls are responsible for all domestic and reproductive duties, which restricts their capabilities to improve their socioeconomic status.
Despite improved gender laws and policies, informal gender biases dominate most levels of the government, preventing women’s access to needed services. Harmful traditional practices and gender stereotypes also undermine female empowerment. There are, however, recent improvements in women and girls’ status and opportunities to support women, such as externally supported savings and lending groups. Findings showed that women who are more empowered are more articulate and able to exercise their rights and influence critical decisions relative to their lives in their homes, communities and wider institutional structures.

The analysis also analyzed the degree of gender responsiveness within DFAP and PSNP. Mixed-sex and all-female savings and internal lending communities (SILCs) have helped DFAP/PSNP public works clients create safe and mutually supportive spaces to share problems, exercise leadership, build self-confidence and access savings and credit. For female-headed households, PSNP food transfers and SILCs have enabled them to have enough food to eat and to enjoy the additional social benefits. These efforts hold much potential and are strong strategies within DFAP’s design. However, such changes have not been enough to produce significant changes to unequal gender relations and female empowerment.

Based on these findings, recommendations address both gender inequality and the advancement of women’s and girls’ rights. Key recommendations include:

1. Develop a strategy that addresses organizational and programming levels with a gender-sensitive monitoring and evaluation system backed by an action plan with proper human and financial resources.
2. Support the broader institutional environment to be gender responsive.
3. Strengthen linkages with other programs working on gender issues.
4. Ensure that public works and decision-making structures address both men’s and women’s needs.
5. Promote women’s leadership at the program level.
6. Build capacity and gender sensitivity of mixed-sex DFAP committees and SILCs.
7. Develop community mobilization and multimedia campaigns using informal community groups and engage women, men, boys and girls in advocating and taking actions against gender-based violence.
1. BACKGROUND

CRS recognizes that gender equality and women’s empowerment are essential to the success of any humanitarian and development program. In 2011, CRS Ethiopia and its two implementing partners, Hararghe Catholic Secretariat and Meki Catholic Secretariat, committed to fully integrate gender into all components of the Development Food Assistance Program (DFAP) from 2011 to 2016 in Oromia Region, Ethiopia. DFAP is funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) Food for Peace Program and operates within the Ethiopian government-led Productive Safety Net Program (PSNP) to support the program’s goal to help vulnerable male and female households reach food security. Today, PSNP is one of the largest social protection programs in Africa and has been recognized globally for its efforts to address gender inequality and diverse women’s needs and interests.

STUDY GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

From June to October 2012, CRS Ethiopia conducted a gender analysis to assess gendered power relations and inequalities in DFAP’s seven targeted food-insecure districts (woredas) in two zones. The goal of the gender analysis was to inform the development of a cross-cutting gender strategy to address the root causes of gender inequality and support female empowerment for maximizing program impact for food security.

The core objectives of the gender analysis were to:

- Analyze the root causes of gender inequality in the context of food insecurity at individual, household, community and institutional levels.
- Identify programming opportunities, strengths, gaps, lessons learned and recommended strategies for designing a gender-responsive strategy catered to the needs and interests of women, men, boys and girls to enhance program effectiveness.

The ultimate aim was to inform the development of a gender strategy that moves beyond simply accounting for equal representation of female and male beneficiaries in all activities. Rather, the objective was to confront the deeper root causes of gender inequality and support female empowerment for maximizing program impact for food security.

The purpose of this case study is to provide an overview of the gender analysis methodology, major findings and recommendations. It serves to contribute to wider program learning on how to develop more gender-responsive programs for the interests of other CRS country offices, various program and humanitarian sectors and the broader development community.
CONTEXT OF GENDER AND FOOD SECURITY IN ETHIOPIA

In Ethiopia, female farmers contribute up to 70 percent of on-farm labor to post-harvesting activities.¹ Despite their central roles, studies have found that they produce up to a third less than male farmers due to gender discrimination in accessing agricultural inputs and extension services.² They remain under-recognized for their vital contributions to bringing about food and nutritional security.³ Yet evidence globally and from Ethiopia clearly shows that rural women’s and girls’ empowerment has direct and positive impacts on improved household livelihoods, health and nutritional outcomes and broader millennium development goals.⁴ On a global scale, if women had equal access to resources relative to men, “they could increase yields on their farms by 20–30 percent . . . raise total agricultural output in developing countries by 2.5–4 percent, which could in turn reduce the number of hungry people by 12–17 percent.”⁵

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¹ Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, Accelerating Ethiopian Agriculture Development (Seattle, WA: Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, 2010), 16.
Women, girls and boys make up the majority of over 8 million food-insecure Ethiopians who are chronically poor and unable to either produce enough food or afford to purchase it. These rural women and girls are key change agents to household food security but face deep-rooted and unequal barriers which deny them their rights to reach their full potential. Ethiopian women and girls face major constraints to accessing resources, assets and basic services such as land, credit and agricultural inputs critical to decent livelihoods compared to their male counterparts. The evidence demonstrates that any program dealing with food security issues must address gender inequalities as one of many strategies to tackling the underlying causes of food insecurity.

**KEY QUESTIONS**

The gender analysis answered the following key questions:

Gender dynamics at household, community and broader institutional levels:

1. What are the differing needs, roles, interests, opportunities, barriers and experiences of women and men, boys and girls in household livelihoods and overall health and nutritional well-being in Hararghe Catholic Secretariat’s Dire Dawa Administrative Council and East Hararghe (EH) Zone and Wonji Catholic Church’s Arsi Zone?

2. What are the most important gender gaps to address and what opportunities are there to support gender equality for maximizing achievement of DFAP’s program goals and objectives?


3. What current gender mainstreaming strategies and provisions in PSNP and DFAP have been the most effective or least effective strategies for contributing to positive and negative changes to gender equality in PSNP/MYAP/DFAP so far?

4. How could the DFAP-proposed activities be improved to reduce gender gaps and promote equality without negatively affecting gender dynamics?

Recommended strategies for strengthening gender responsiveness of DFAP:

5. Based on results, what are the key recommended strategies for DFAP to bring forward an effective gender strategy responsive to the gendered dimensions of household livelihoods and attaining food security?

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KEY GENDER CONCEPTS

The gender analysis was informed by CRS’ Global Gender Strategy, its Integral Human Development (IHD) Framework, and definitions, approaches and programming priorities for gender equality. These conceptual underpinnings aim to help CRS and partners to formulate a strategy and common vision of how programs can become more gender responsive (see Annex 1).

CRS uses gender analysis to consider the existing systems and structures within a society, including cultural norms and historical trends that affect gender norms, roles and relationships. Gender considerations are essential in developing strategies and programs for individuals and communities to achieve integral human development.

Drawing from USAID’s Gender Equality and Female Empowerment Policy (March 2012), gender equality is understood as working with women and men, boys and girls to bring about changes in attitudes, behaviors, roles and responsibilities at home, in the community and in broader institutional structures. Genuine equality means more than parity in numbers or laws in the books; it means expanding freedoms and improving overall quality of life so that equality is achieved without sacrificing gains for males or females. Women, men, boys and girls must be encouraged to engage in more egalitarian and respectful relationships for enhancing household, community and national nutritional and food security.

For CRS, empowerment is a process of awareness and capacity-building leading to greater participation and decision-making power. It enables women and men, boys and girls to take control over their lives—to determine their own agendas and build their self-confidence, problem-solve and become self-reliant. It involves the ability to make choices as well as to define what choices are offered. Though empowerment often comes from within, and individuals empower themselves, institutions can (and have the responsibility to) support processes that create space for women and men, girls and boys to develop their skills, self-confidence and self-reliance.

CRS understands that DFAP may not fully empower women and men, girls and boys over the program’s 5-year lifespan but can support women and girls toward self-efficacy for their empowerment. Self-efficacy is defined as a sense of personal agency and ability to mobilize the motivation, cognitive resources, and courses of action needed to exercise general control over events in one’s life. It is linked to personal and collective goal-setting and perseverance in the face of difficult situations.⁷

A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS: CRS INTEGRAL HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

The CRS IHD framework (See Annex 2) enables CRS and partners to design humanitarian and development interventions in holistic, people-centered ways to build resilient individuals, households and ecosystems. It helps staff and partners—along with the resource-poor women, men, boys and girls, households and communities whom CRS serves—to develop more rapid, effective, and environmentally sustainable pathways out of poverty and into empowered and healthy productive lives supported by more just systems and structures.

The core of the IHD framework is that the ability of women, men, boys and girls to realize their rights is driven by a combination of factors relating to the human, social, natural, physical, political and productive assets available to them, their households and communities. At the same time, systems and structures enable or constrain how they use those assets and any number of cycles, trends or shocks in the environment can have an impact on how they manage and benefit from their assets.

To support integral human development, CRS programs are required to carry out a participatory assessment of individual, household and community assets, risks and vulnerabilities, and the social, economic, and political structures and systems in which people operate. This assessment involves looking at differences based on gender and other social factors. Identifying shocks, cycles, and trends (vulnerability) helps programs to design mitigation, preparedness, and preventive activities that decrease vulnerability and increase resilience.

CRS GENDER LENS APPLIED TO THE IHD FRAMEWORK

Drawing from CRS’ gender lens as it applies to the IHD Framework, all CRS programming must ensure that men, women, boys and girls have equitable opportunities, capacity, voice and support to participate on an equal basis, to realize their full human potential and to reduce the disparities and imbalances of power that exist between males and females.

The IHD framework assesses the positions of individuals, households and communities relative to “equality in access and assets.” Gender inequalities can thus be assessed according to differences and relationships between women and men in terms of access, control and ownership of assets and resources at individual, household, community and broader institutional levels. In the context of household livelihoods and food security, assets are the resources that women and men, boys and girls use to support their families and to protect themselves from crises and shocks. Figure 1 reflects how the multi-level components of the IHD framework support gender considerations.
THEORY OF CHANGE

Drawing from the CRS IHD framework, the theory of change recognizes that changes in social, nutritional, economic and environmental assets for male and female food-insecure household members must be improved for them to be resilient to shocks while broader systems and structures must be responsive to the different needs and interests of women, men, boys and girls to enable them to improve their food sufficiency and security. By addressing gender inequality and transforming systems and structures, we create an enabling environment that provides greater access to assets and a wider array of livelihood strategies that increase resilience and improve household well-being.

THREE INTERCONNECTED DIMENSIONS

This gender analysis examined gendered differences across three mutually reinforcing dimensions of change understood in relation to the IHD gender framework. The analysis looked at each domain separately and in terms of how they mutually reinforce one another to review the interconnections between gender equality and household livelihoods:

- **Dimension 1**: Level of women’s and girls’ sense of self-efficacy and capabilities to make life choices. This dimension must be understood for a program to contribute to women’s agency to influence decision-making power on issues that affect their lives. This dimension covers women’s social, psychological, emotional and political assets and the strategies they create and work with to satisfy their practical needs and strategic interests.
• Dimension 2: Gendered division of labor and women’s and girls’ heavy workloads. This dimension examines differing roles, responsibilities, opportunities and barriers of female and male household members in paid and unpaid productive, reproductive and community activities in the household and at community levels. Key issues are which gendered formal and informal tasks DFAP needs to pay attention to and in what ways, in order to accomplish DFAP results. This dimension looks at how political, economic and social systems structure the gendered division of labor within households and communities.

• Dimension 3: Access, control and benefit of household and public resources, assets and services and household and community decision-making. This dimension examines the power women and men hold. It looks at who has access to and control of various resources and assets including human capital assets (e.g., education), financial assets, natural assets (e.g., land), agricultural input assets (e.g., seeds) and social assets (e.g., social networks). This dimension explores in what ways interactions between and among men and women at household and community levels might affect who has access to and benefits from program interventions and resources.

These dimensions are often difficult to differentiate. If women have the self-confidence and ability to voice their opinions, this will influence their positioning in the household relative to men and other household members, and in the broader community. However, if men are in charge of all household income, women will be constrained in being able to access resources to satisfy basic needs unless men are supportive and share the same priorities for the family.
2. RESEARCH METHODS

DISTRICTS AND ZONES SELECTED

We selected all seven DFAP-targeted districts for primary research—six districts in Oromia Region (Goro Gutu, Kersa, Meta and Melka Bello of EH Zone, and Dodota and Sire of Arsi Zone) and Dire Dawa Administrative Council (see Annex 3 for maps of the region). These districts are characterized by midland/lowland mixed cereal crop and livestock livelihood systems and have been categorized by the government of Ethiopia as chronically food insecure and among the most vulnerable in the region.8

In these districts, the major contributing factors to household food insecurity are cyclical and recurrent droughts, population pressure, inadequate cash incomes, poor market and credit access, low productivity, poor quantity and quality of food intake and limited off-farm employment opportunities.9 These household vulnerabilities are deeply gendered.10 For example, 70 percent of female-headed households are considered poor in comparison to only 45 percent of male-headed households.11

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10 Jones, Tafere and Woldehanna, Gendered Risks, Poverty and Vulnerability in Ethiopia.
11 Lemlem Aregu et al., Opportunities for Promoting Gender Equality in Rural Ethiopia Through the Commercialization of Agriculture (Addis Ababa: IPMS and IRLI, 2010), 14.
Table 1. Basic profile of gender analysis study sites.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zone</th>
<th>Arsi Zone</th>
<th>EH Zone and Dire Dawa Administrative Council</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender analysis sites (DFAP districts)</td>
<td>Dodota and Sire</td>
<td>Dire Dawa Administrative Council, Goro Gutu, Kersa, Meta and Melka Bello</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main livelihood sources</td>
<td>Midland/lowland mixed cereal crop and livestock livelihood systems; daily labor; some PSNP/MYAP/DFAP; and women’s small businesses in fuel wood, poultry, pottery and handcrafted baskets.</td>
<td>Midland/lowland mixed cereal crop and livestock livelihood systems; cash crop sales; daily labor; some PSNP/MYAP/DFAP and women’s petty trading in chat, poultry, selling eggs, milk and vegetables.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main crops</td>
<td>For home consumption and sometimes for sale: wheat, barley, maize, teff and a variety of pulses like white beans, lentils and peas.</td>
<td>For home consumption and sometimes for sale: sorghum and maize and varying across districts; chat, haricot beans, sweet potato, wheat, lentils, sesame seeds, barley, potato, soybeans and vegetables like peas, fenugreek, green peppers and sugar beets. The main cash crops are chat and coffee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarcest resource</td>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main religion</td>
<td>Muslim and Christian Orthodox</td>
<td>Muslim and Christian Orthodox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main harmful traditional practices</td>
<td>Abduction, rape, polygamy and early marriage.</td>
<td>Female genital cutting or mutilation, early marriage, abduction, domestic violence and rape.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DATA COLLECTION

CRS and partner staff designed the data collection tools and collected data in two phases using a gender-sensitive, mainly qualitative participatory research approach. A literature review was also conducted to enrich and further validate the analysis of primary research findings.

In the initial phase of field research carried out between June 11 and June 30, 2012, research teams divided into two groups to cover two selected village clusters (kebeles) in each of the seven targeted districts. The first phase focused on assessing existing gender inequalities.

After completing the first phase of research, the team felt it was important to conduct additional research to fill in important gaps. In the second phase of research, the team focused on the experiences of women, men, and girls and how their involvement in PSNP, MYAP/PSNP and DFAP had affected their livelihoods and resilience to shocks. Due to time constraints, the second phase of research was conducted during a shorter period of time, between September 4 and September 6, 2012, in Sire and Dodota (Arsi Zone) and in Goro Gutu (EH Zone).
Research methods included mainly focus group discussions (FGDs) and semi-structured key informant interviews. The team used seven gender analytical tools and key interview questions to collect information on gender dynamics at household and community levels and in previous PSNP/DFAP programming (see Annex 4). A wide range of tools was used in order to capture all the dimensions of women and men’s livelihoods, social and cultural context. The use of various tools enabled cross-referencing and validation of results, and deepened the findings and patterns found when analyzing the data.

The detailed note-taking and FGD methodology revealed important gender issues not initially considered in the research design, especially women’s sense of self-efficacy and men’s attitudes toward women in the household and in broader political spaces. We included these issues in the gender analysis because male and female focus group participants frequently referred to women’s low self-confidence and gender stereotypes of women in the private sphere and referred to men as the main farmers and decision-makers. These issues are important to address because internalized gender ideals and values are often the most difficult to change.

A total of 1,276 direct and indirect project beneficiaries and CRS Ethiopia partner and implementing government partner staff participated in the study with almost equal representation of women (47.6 percent) and men (52.4 percent) (see Annex 5). The study participants included all households in the village clusters and districts covered by DFAP; however, not all participants were DFAP/PSNP public works beneficiaries.

**DATA ANALYSIS**

CRS country program and partner staff, along with a technical consultant, assisted in the analysis of data gathered from DFAP operational areas and prepared a substantive report of findings from the field research. The consultant used relevant documents prepared by CRS and integrated other secondary data available in Ethiopia. The consultant worked closely with CRS’ Gender Officer and Senior Technical Advisor for Gender who participated in the data collection and analysis process. A literature review fed into the primary data analysis to enrich and further validate analysis of the findings drawing from national and international sources.
3. FINDINGS

The gender analysis resulted in important findings about the multi-dimensional and multi-level factors contributing to household food insecurity in targeted districts of Ethiopia’s EH and Arsi zones from a gender perspective. The following sections highlight major findings on gender dynamics and food insecurity in relation to household livelihoods, health and nutrition, broader institutional structures, women’s and girls’ self-efficacy, division of labor, and decision-making power. Findings also revealed programming opportunities and lessons learned at the program level in DFAP/PSNP.

HOUSEHOLD LIVELIHOODS AND FOOD INSECURITY

MAIN SOURCES OF LIVELIHOOD

In both Arsi and EH zones and Dire Dawa Administrative Council, the main livelihood sources are agricultural and livestock production and sale. Main sources include mixed cereal crop and livestock livelihood systems, daily labor, some support from PSNP/MYAP/DFAP, and women’s small businesses (e.g., fuel wood, poultry, pottery, baskets, chat, eggs, milk and vegetables).

CONTRIBUTING FACTORS TO HOUSEHOLD FOOD INSECURITY

At the household level (based on FGD responses):

- Low cash incomes and agricultural productivity
- Limited access to markets and productive inputs
- Dependency on rain-fed agriculture
- High dependency ratios
- Small landholdings and landlessness
- Unequal gender relations
- Sex of household head
- Poor maternal and child care
- Poor nutritional and feeding practices
- Insufficient quantity and quality of food consumed
At the community level (based on FGD responses):

- Lack of water access for human and animal consumption
- High population density and fertility rates
- Natural resource degradation
- Limited grazing land
- Lack of energy for fuel
- Poor water management

CRS and partner studies conducted in targeted districts found similar results. Asset-poor farmers in these districts are highly vulnerable to cyclical droughts, erratic and unpredictable rainfall patterns and low agricultural productivity, inhibiting their ability to produce sufficient quantities of food. For example, in Dodota (Arsi Zone) the 2009 drought contributed to food shortages among 41 percent of MYAP beneficiaries, despite PSNP food transfers.

**Scarce resources**

The scarcest resource named by all study participants in both zones was water for safe drinking and farm production. Over 90 percent of women, girls and boys travel more than 1.5 kilometers or 1 to 2 hours per trip daily to fetch water, usually from unprotected sources. Only 42 percent of the rural Ethiopian population has an improved drinking water source and only 6.8 percent are using an improved sanitation facility. As a result, parasitic, diarrheal and other water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH)-related diseases are common. In the majority of targeted districts, these preventable diseases are among the top ten diseases recorded by Woreda Health Offices and are among the most active killers of children in Ethiopia.

In both Arsi and EH zones, other scarce resources identified were lack of grazing land, fuel, social infrastructure and credit access. A large proportion of women’s time and labor goes into searching for and gathering firewood and collecting crop residues for fuel and shrubs and natural vegetation for livestock feed. Such work was considered very laborious, time consuming and even putting women and girls in danger of being attacked by animals or raped along the way.

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12 CRS, *Title II Non-Emergency Food Aid Program in Ethiopia: Proposal.*
16 Ibid., 163.
**Vulnerability**

Focus group respondents in both zones identified women as the most vulnerable to food insecurity and other shocks. Others who are vulnerable include the poorest community members—landless or small landowners (i.e., less than half a hectare) or those owning either no livestock or having little off-farm employment opportunities. Female heads of household, married women in male-headed households, and male and female youth were referred to as the most disadvantaged in land access compared to male heads of household who were defined as rightful land owners.

**Land shortages and unfair land distribution**

Land redistribution during the Derg regime (1974–1991) led to fragmented, unfair land ownership. Land has remained among the same male owners and their families, and has been subdivided to the point that farmers do not have enough land to sustain their households.

Customary law often supersedes more recent gender equitable land reforms.\(^1^7\) In all the male and female FGDs in both zones, land was defined as under men’s ownership and control; women were subsumed under male household headship. Based on the findings, women and youth from the poorest households have the least amount of bargaining power and are most likely to be landless.

The combination of new gender-equitable constitutional rights and land registration has led to some improvements for women. Now more women are able to challenge or bypass customary or religious personal law by transferring decisions to civil courts. With improvements in land certification and ownership, female heads of households who have land tenure improve their land management and overall productivity because they are more motivated by their land security.\(^1^8\) Nevertheless, men are still the primary owners and women have secondary status. These findings demonstrate that youth, married women, and female heads of household must be supported to access and own productive assets. Both sexes must be informed of the new land certification policy in order to exercise their rights.

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\(^1^8\) Mintewab Bezabih, Stein Holden and Andrea Mannberg, *The Role of Land Certification in Reducing Gender Gaps in Productivity in Rural Ethiopia* (Aas, Norway: Norwegian University of Life Sciences, 2012).
COPING STRATEGIES AT THE HOUSEHOLD LEVEL

Based on study data on seasonal calendars for all seven districts, food-insecure households are food self-sufficient anywhere between 3 and 6 months per year. Secondary sources from CRS and local government offices confirm these results. When faced with shortages, women and men engage in public works or direct support for food or cash, engage in petty trade (especially women), work as daily laborers, and reduce food intake. In EH Zone, other survival strategies included selling off livestock and their by-products (i.e., milk), renting out donkeys, selling and trading chat, and borrowing from wealthier households. In Arsi Zone, 46 percent of households in Dodota and 35 percent of households in Sire were landless or had insufficient land to meet minimal annual food requirements. These households, many of which are female-headed households, depend on renting land, sharecropping or petty trade.

The worst months for food and income insecurity are June to September. In these lean periods, women and men are labor- and time-constrained in their efforts to devise alternative sources of income and food. Women, in their desperation to feed their families, will attempt to diversify their petty trading in vegetables, goats, chickens and fuel wood. The poorest, most disadvantaged women (i.e., young married women and female heads of household) may try local alcohol production, pottery, basket making and selling firewood.

These livelihood strategies often fail to give households enough food to meet their consumption needs. Insufficient production and limited access to credit, markets, and land force the most productive household members to migrate in search of employment, reducing the productive capacity of households. Landless young men migrate to towns. Secondary evidence suggests some parents send their girls to towns as well to work as domestic workers, some as far as Arab countries. In five out of six districts, migration—including migration abroad for domestic work—was among the top three factors for girls’ dropping out of school. Evidence from other countries and interviews from other studies in Ethiopia suggest that in the worst-case scenarios, women may engage in high-risk sexual behaviors to earn income to purchase food.

INFLUENCE OF BROADER INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES

Broader environmental, economic and political factors influence household resilience, such as climate change or food price hikes due to global food and economic crises. National and local policies and institutions create both opportunities and barriers for female and male food-insecure household members. In Ethiopia, major advancements and progressive gender policies

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19 Woreda Agriculture Offices (2010).
and institutional commitments have prioritized women’s empowerment and gender equality. For example, Ethiopia has reached gender parity at the primary level of education. In addition, the government’s third-generation poverty reduction strategy, the Growth and Transformation Plan (2010–2014), has made gender equality one of its eight pillars and sets targets for increasing women’s entrepreneurship, access to credit and saving services and increased participation in decision-making processes.

Despite these policies and program efforts, in rural areas, customary laws and local cultural values and kinship structures are often more relevant to decisions affecting women, men, boys and girls in household food security, such as land allocation and marriage customs. Despite efforts by the government to discourage polygamous marriages, there has been only a 1 percent drop (from 12 percent in the 2005 Demographic and Health Survey to 11 percent in the most recent 2011 survey). Polygamy was named one of the top five harmful traditional practices disempowering women and girls in both Sire and Dodota districts in Arsi Zone and in two out of four districts in EH Zone and in Dire Dawa Administrative Council.

Informal gender biases dominate most levels and structures of the government from villages to districts to zonal, regional and federal levels. Gender stereotypes and assumptions prevail, for example men are considered the main breadwinners, farmers and laborers, and women’s farming work is considered informal and part of the private sphere. Women are not accessing training or agricultural inputs like credit or technologies due to biases for male farmers. In 2005, only 18.6 percent of rural landholders were women, only 9 percent had access to agricultural extension services, and only 12 percent of those accessing agricultural credit were women.

**HEALTH AND NUTRITION**

**Health and nutrition at the community and household levels**

Malnutrition was identified as a serious problem and attributed to low nutritional diets and insufficient food intake. Poor infant and young child feeding practices, food insecurity, and limited access to health services are major determinants of the high prevalence of malnutrition among young children in the target districts. Among rural children 6 to 59 months old, 41 percent are stunted. The CRS rapid assessment indicated a global acute

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malnutrition (wasting) rate of 22.5 percent in the current CRS MYAP zone, far beyond the World Health Organization’s (WHO) emergency threshold (global acute malnutrition over 15%) and nearly twice the national average of 12 percent. In Sire, 34 percent of children were underweight (37 percent in rural areas). The mothers of underweight children are often less educated and have a body mass index below 18.5.

Women and children, particularly female heads of household, the elderly, and pregnant and lactating women, were identified as the most vulnerable to malnutrition due to heavy workloads and lack of sufficient access to food. Pregnant and lactating women’s poor and inadequate diets and ill health increase their risk of childbirth complications. As mothers, they may have an insufficient supply of breast milk to feed their infants.

**Links between female empowerment and health and nutrition**

Across all FGDs in Arsi and EH zones, women and girls were identified as central agents in dealing with hunger and child malnutrition; they are involved in all stages of food production, from their knowledge and role in seed and crop selection to making daily decisions on food preparation. They are the first adults children turn to for food and care. Because of their role as primary household food agents, empowering females has a direct effect on improving household health and nutrition.

Many factors related to the disempowerment of women and girls contribute to poor nutritional outcomes for food-insecure households, including:

- Low educational status
- Heavier work burden causing anemia and low weight
- Culturally defined food taboos that restrict pregnant and lactating women and children from eating certain nutritious foods like vegetables and eggs, or priority given to selling these products first
- Culturally defined feeding practices dictating that men eat first, then children, then women and girls
- Women’s limited access to social and economic resources
- Low decision-making power
- Socially defined roles that men are not responsible or engaged in domestic work and child care
- Lack of information on health and nutrition

“Men and boys are the first ones to eat. Women and girls eat leftovers if there are any. If not, they will pass the meals. The pattern does not change during pregnancy or lactation. Because there is shortage of food, we cook very little.” *(All-female FGD, Haqabas, Meta, EH Zone, June 2012)*
Women devise different coping strategies to deal with hunger. They negotiate and bargain for income and food with their husbands and wealthier households or find other sources to gain access to food or income to purchase food. One study found that in female-headed households, women and children were more likely to reduce food intake and borrow from other households as coping strategies, whereas male heads of household were more likely to sell off assets. In both zones, women stated that they could not even take stored food on their own and had to wait to get permission from their husbands. The household head decides how larger staple crops should be used, whereas women have control over other daily food crops such as vegetables.

Extensive research has demonstrated that female empowerment improves household health and nutrition. It enhances a woman’s access to knowledge on best caring and feeding practices, her ability to contribute to household income to cultivate and purchase nutritious food, her household decision-making power around resource allocation, and her ability to sell and control profits from her own businesses. Men and boys must also be encouraged to take an active role in household health and nutrition, share reproductive tasks, and adopt more equitable and healthy marital relationships for more equal allocation of resources between male and female household members.

Maternal and child health and nutrition

The Government of Ethiopia established a national nutritional strategy and program in response to high child and maternal malnutrition and mortality. A major component is supporting community health extension workers who serve several villages to cover WASH, nutrition, and maternal and child health in basic health care provision. Women and men focus group participants reported very positive results and opportunities created from recent awareness-raising sessions on water and sanitation, health and nutrition.

Despite these improvements, challenges continue. A major challenge to child and maternal health and nutrition is lack of access to health clinics. For Ethiopian women, top barriers are transport (71 percent), money (68 percent) and distance to the facility (66 percent).\(^\text{27}\) In this gender analysis, respondents complained that they are discouraged from going to health clinics because there is often no medication. Moreover, women are limited in their abilities to actually seek health care due to men’s control over household incomes and their mobility.

Childbirth

In EH and Arsi zones, less than a third of women give birth in health centers. It is more culturally appropriate for women to give birth at home with a traditional birth attendant to be close to family and to not show their bodies in public. Other reported reasons for not giving birth in health centers are poor-quality facilities, low confidence in health personnel skills, and women’s discomfort in being treated by a male health officer. Only a third or less of women are receiving postnatal care. Considering that 30 percent of women’s deaths are caused by preventable childbirth complications, maternal health promotion activities must encourage more women and men to go to health clinics as much as quality of health services must be improved.

\(^{27}\) Ibid., 119.
The analysis examined three dimensions of change to further understand the connections between gender equality and household livelihoods. This section discusses the three dimensions. Dimension 1: Level of women’s self-efficacy and capabilities to make life choices; Dimension 2: Gendered division of labor at household and community levels; and Dimension 3: Access, control over and ownership of resources, assets and services and level of decision-making power at all levels based on gender differences.

In this gender analysis field work, one of the strengths of the sex-segregated FGDs was that women and men felt free to share their perspectives on gendered cultural and social stereotypes and values. Though the research tools used did not explicitly ask questions on cultural values and practices, in the note-taking, facilitators collected rich data on dominant and changing gender values, attitudes, and stereotypes, which shape gender relations and help explain why women have much lower status and decision-making power in marriage, the household, the community and broader institutional structures. Table 2 below illustrates the kinds of statements expressed by male and female respondents recorded by gender analysis study research note-takers. By cross-checking these statements with data recorded in the tools and secondary sources, it became possible to identify women’s level of self-confidence and men’s respect for women. Deep cultural issues emerged as central themes to understanding gender equality for household nutritional and food security. This data informs the following pages.
Table 2: Statements of gender attitudes and stereotypes collected in female and male focus group discussions by district and zone, June 2012.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arsi Zone</th>
<th>EH Zone and Dire Dawa Administrative Council</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Women’s low self-confidence and men undervaluing women</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>• “We thought women were nothing and now we know [did resource mapping exercise] that we know more and we think we should be equal at home.” (All-female FGD, Sharbe, Dodota)</td>
<td>“Women do not chair meetings, make decisions or elect leaders because they are not educated or experienced and they are afraid to say what they think.” (All-male FGD, Belawa, Dire Dawa)</td>
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<tr>
<td>• “Men have more skill and experience in talking.” (All-male FGD, Ibseta, Sire)</td>
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<tr>
<td>• “There is an attitude among the community that women do not have capacity to decide on such issues [from land preparation to weeding to harvesting].” (All-male FGD, Shaarbe, Dodota)</td>
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<tr>
<td>• “Production is considered as men’s role by the community, less respect and recognition is given to women in the community. There is poor awareness on women roles and ability to decide in the community.” (All-male FGD, Shaarbe, Dodota)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Men have final say in most decision-making</strong></td>
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<td>• In marketing farm products “man takes decision, not for discussion. The man decides.” (All-male FGD, Ibseta, Sire)</td>
<td>• In decisions on who should attend community meetings, “If it is far, some men do not allow women to participate, some allow them if they prepare the food and other necessities to the household before.” (All-male FGD, Hawi Bilisuma)</td>
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<td>• “If we try to challenge them, we will be beaten.” (All-female FGD, Sharbe, Dodota)</td>
<td>• “Women forward their ideas on what crop varieties to plant but final decision lies with men.” (All-male FGD, Burqua Nagaya, Melka Bello)</td>
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<tr>
<td>• In family planning “men have final say.” (All-male FGD, Amude, Dodota)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Women are second in command in charge of all domestic duties; men are the main farmers, heads of households and decision-makers</strong></td>
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<td>• “Some men drink alcohol and come home drunk and otherwise do leisure time. This creates problems in the family [conflict] because the man does not work in the home because he is a gift from God. Women’s place is in the home. She works, he rests and God gave men this for their employment.” (All-female FGD, Sharbe, Dodota)</td>
<td>• “Men play major roles in farm activities and are responsible for crop handling; females play a role in supporting men on agricultural activities and are responsible for home activities and child care. Boys and girls are responsible for livestock guarding and helping their families.” (All-female FGD, Kufansik, Kersa)</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Decision-making begins in the home. If women were able and allowed to make decisions in their homes, they would have been able to do the same in their communities.” (All-female FGD, Sharbe, Amude)</td>
<td>• “Most farming activities are done jointly by men and women. However, women do much more work than men because they are solely responsible for the domestic tasks other than the productive activities they are involved in.” (All-male FGD, Burqua Nagaya, Melka Bello)</td>
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<tr>
<td>• “Sources of fuel are cow dung and crop residues; women and girls and boys under 7 years age participate in collecting fuel. Men do not participate in this activity because culturally it is considered as women’s role and not acceptable for men who are expected to participate in farming only.” (All-male FGD, Kolebele, Sire)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Marriage is a site of contestation and cooperation based on role expectations in marriage of mutual support</strong></td>
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<td>• “Inequities exist between women and men when there is no mutual decision-making. Unless there is agreement within the family, there will be no change, it leads to violence, separation and divorce.” (All-female FGD, Kolba Bele, Sire)</td>
<td>• One man said “because we do not provide enough food for them and our children, we often do not say anything when they decide to do whatever they decide to do [on family planning]. We also do not restrain our physical urges so we continue producing more children than we can support.” (All-male FGD, Gale Mirga, Kersa)</td>
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<tr>
<td>• “Family planning is a joint decision but if husband says no, wife might do it secretly.” (All-female FGD, Ibseta, Sire)</td>
<td>• “What to invest in is a joint decision and if a husband makes a decision without his wife’s agreement it could end up in a fight or even divorce.” (All-female FGD, Biftu Durema, Goro Gutu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• “First they should agree such as to buy a donkey. Without agreement, each one cannot decide.” (All-male FGD, Ibseta, Sire)</td>
<td>• “If women alone decide on children’s education there might be conflict. Men should be convinced. There are some women who send their children without men’s decision.” (All-female FGD, Hawi Bilisuma, Meta)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• “In some cases women decide to take without their husband’s knowledge as men tend to want to have more children.” (All-male FGD, Hawi Bilisuma)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• In decisions on investments, “in a few cases, men decide themselves but there will be conflict and separation will be the consequence.” (Male/female FGD, Haqubas, Meta)</td>
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</table>
DIMENSION 1: SELF-EFFICACY

**Sense of self-efficacy and capabilities to make life choices**

Across rural Ethiopia, dominant and rigid gendered cultural norms, values and practices influence how girls and boys are socialized and how they come to understand themselves as adults. Women and girls reported low self-confidence and self-worth and an inability to voice or articulate their interests and influence in household and community decision-making. In the all-female focus groups, women’s roles were in the private sphere and to support their husbands’ farming activities. Both women and men described women as shy and lacking confidence. Women’s self-worth was defined in terms of being married, a mother and household manager, and being under the authority of their husbands and other male authorities.

Men were seen as heads of the household, public figures, principle income-earners/farmers and ultimate authorities in the home and community. But women do negotiate and challenge their husbands when they can. For example, they might push their husbands to work, and ask for money to spend on household needs instead of alcohol, cigarettes or chat. Traditional attitudes toward women are changing with the increase in women’s and girls’ literacy and economic positioning relative to men and a more supportive environment for gender equality. These recent changes have improved women and girls’ status and gender relations at the household level. In this context, there are important opportunities to help women and girls further improve their self-confidence, knowledge and ability to negotiate their needs and interests at all levels.

**Influence of externally supported structures**

Findings from the gender analysis indicate that in districts with externally supported structures that promote gender equality and women’s empowerment, women and men reported more equitable gender relations. According to respondents, there are more positive gender relations in EH Zone than in Arsi Zone, potentially due to the combined effects of women’s participation in social and economic empowerment activities and men’s involvement in behavior change and awareness-raising activities on women’s rights.

“Currently both husband and wife decide on how to spend their income. Due to awareness of the community, they started involving women in decision-making but during old days the practice was different. They said joint decision-making helps the family as women do not spend money on other things that are not useful to the family as a whole.” (All-male FGD, Melka Bello, EH Zone, June 2010)
Respect for their contributions

Men’s self and collective understanding of being male and female reflects dominant stereotypes. Husbands and men generally do not view women as leaders but see themselves as the public decision-makers.

In Arsi Zone more than EH Zone, women and men undervalued women's critical contributions to household well-being. Men in Arsi Zone do not think that women know much about agricultural activities. In EH Zone, there were comments about how men generally do not recognize women’s heavy work burden at household and community levels (all-male FGD, Belawa, Dire Dawa, June 2012). However, much more positive comments were made about women’s abilities and roles in managing household daily budgets and triple workloads and their expert knowledge in seed selection and planting.

Educational attainment

Women and girls reported that they have limited knowledge and bargaining power from being illiterate. They reported lacking access to information on social, legal, and economic and political rights, and not knowing how to voice their opinions or lead discussions.

There is gender parity at the primary school levels, but many girls are not attending secondary school due to early marriage, migration, financial constraints, and domestic labor. In EH Zone, some FGD participants mentioned the need for primary and especially secondary schools in closer proximity to community members; the long distances to travel were huge disincentives for girls and boys to attend school. In rural areas, 68 percent of households only have a secondary school at least 10 kilometers away. Other constraints to attending school include the time needed to travel long distances to fetch water for home and school consumption; gender-based violence near and around schools; and lack of separate toilet/latrine facilities and proper water supply to deal with menstruation and the need for privacy.

“We do not encourage our wives to take charge and speak their minds because if we encourage them, they will leave the household and become our leaders. So now, they keep their ideas and decisions in their hearts.” (All-male FGD, Belawa, Dire Dawa, EH Zone, June 2012)

28 Woreda Education Office, personal communication (Dodota, Arsi Zone: August 16, 2012).
29 Central Statistical Agency and ORC Macro, EDHS 2011, 7.
Differences among women

Women’s experiences in household livelihoods change according to their age, socioeconomic status and location. The results of this gender analysis and another study found that female heads of household have certain advantages over married women. They have greater knowledge and power in household and community decision-making and greater access to social, political and economic information. But they may also be more dependent on their male relatives like a son, brother or uncle to plow their land and are more likely to depend on share-cropping. However, most female heads of household are among the poorest due to labor and land deficits. Male neighbors may refuse to help them plough their land fearing their wives’ disapproval. For these reasons, female heads of household are much more vulnerable to chronic food insecurity than male heads of households.

“Educated woman work alongside men and make decisions whereas uneducated women accept their husbands’ decisions, even regarding marriage.” (All-female FGD, Ibseta, Sire, Arsi Zone, June 2012)

“If a woman is educated; she can do all the same things as a man.” (All-female FGD, Alem kebele, Dodota, Arsi Zone, September 2012)

31 Mirutse Desta, Gebregiorgis Haddis and Selam Ataklt, Female-Headed Households and Livelihood Intervention in Four Selected Weredas in Tigray, Ethiopia (Oslo, Norway: Drylands Coordination Group, 2006).

Harmful traditional practices

Harmful traditional practices seriously limit girls’ and women’s status, are human rights violations, and have important implications for maternal health and nutrition due to early pregnancies and higher risk of HIV infection. They hinder women’s and girls’ abilities to make choices about how to lead their lives.

In EH Zone and Dire Dawa Administrative Council, harmful traditional practices include female genital cutting or mutilation, early marriage, abduction, polygamy, domestic violence and rape. In Arsi Zone, the most common harmful traditional practices are abduction, rape, polygamy and early marriage. Gender-based violence, early marriage, female genital cutting or mutilation and abduction were reported to be decreasing due to recent awareness-raising activities and legal actions. This reporting reflects national data. However, many women still value the practice for making girls “clean” and for customary and religious beliefs, despite greater awareness of the health implications and disempowering aspects.

Women’s participation and leadership in groups

Women in Africa have long traditions of organizing social support networks to help each other resolve common problems, such as pooling labor. In Ethiopia, these groups may be all-female or mixed-sex informal groups and more formal groups like cooperatives or village women’s associations.

Savings and loan groups

Findings from the gender analysis indicated that women are more active in village savings and loan groups (e.g., SILCs) than men. The small-scale savings and loan approach caters more to women’s income-generating activities and need for small but regular income to cover daily household costs.

“Being able to do something outside of domestic work, I was able to learn from others (my colleagues); I am able to manage my household and the existing sanitation conditions better; and I earn income. The fact that I am able to mix and work with other people is a wonderful experience even if I do not get paid.” (All-female FGD, Shaarbe, Dodota, Arsi Zone, June 2012)

34 Central Statistical Agency and ORC Macro, EDHS 2012, 64.
35 Carine Pionetti, Berhanu Adenew and Zewdi Abadi Alemu, Characteristics of Women’s Collective Action for Enabling Women’s Participation in Agricultural Markets (Oxford, UK: Oxfam Great Britain; Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute, 2010), 1; World Bank, FAO and IFAD, Gender in Agriculture Sourcebook, and FAO (2011).
Membership in savings and loan groups has important social benefits for women that are often more valuable than the economic benefits. Women reported that these groups built their self-confidence and provided a safe space to practice leadership skills, share and improve their business skills and learn about their rights. It gave them a sense of social solidarity, improved their existing small scale income-generating activities, and enabled them to have more confidence and bargaining power in marital and wider social relationships.\(^{36}\)

Though savings and loan groups have generally been successful, women reported some challenges with them. Some women wanted to expand their businesses but felt that the loan amount in the DFAP-supported SILCs was too small. One obstacle to larger loans is that microfinance institutions and other agricultural support services tend to assist more formalized male-dominated cooperatives than smaller, more informal women’s self-help groups. Individual or groups of women clients may be seen as too high-risk because they have no collateral. Also, men’s interests may influence decisions on how the women’s loans are spent and may go more toward men’s farming or marketing activities.\(^ {37}\) Some men reported using women’s savings to pay for their own personal pleasures like chat. On another note, if men feel that women have more cash, they may take it as an opportunity to pull away from sharing responsibilities for covering daily household expenses. Although no respondents mentioned that men’s expectations to access money saved in SILC caused conflicts, future research should pay close attention to this.

**Health development armies**

In EH Zone, women and men are organized as health animators or health extension community volunteers in health development armies to raise awareness among community members on health and nutrition issues. Female heads of household were particularly active in these groups and shared important information about women’s rights and new laws such as the Ethiopian Penal Code, Family Code and Constitution. In Goro Gutu and Kersa, they even protected women from domestic violence and early marriage.

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\(^{36}\) All-female FGDs, Alelu Gesala kebele, Sire (Arsi Zone), September 2012; and Biftu Direma kebele, Goro Gutu (EH Zone) September 2012.

Recommendations for Dimension 1: Self-efficacy

Based on these findings, DFAP and other related CRS programs should:

- Provide training for women and girls in leadership, life skills and entrepreneurship; expand support to women-only SILCs to provide such training and to support the group members to create safe spaces to share and problem solve; and secure funds to develop gender-specific livelihood support activities to support individual group members to access larger loans and agricultural inputs.

- Engage men and boys separately and together with girls and women to discuss gender norms, roles and relations to promote more egalitarian relationships.

- Adapt methodologies for community conversations to be more gender transformative and pilot test other participatory empowerment methodologies for social change; draw from governmental and nongovernmental experiences; and pilot test positive deviance approaches and gender analytical forums to enable women, men, boys and girls to discuss gender issues for creating more equitable respectful relationships.

THE CASE OF KERSA

In Kufansik, Kersa (EH Zone), women mentioned how the government was supporting them to self-organize and providing them with training and capacity-building to form into many different kinds of groups. One women’s FGD described the “peace and security” and health and development groups for enabling women to band together to protect one another against domestic conflicts and violence against women. Through awareness-raising and reporting, women reported decreased incidences of domestic violence because women knew their rights and strived to protect them. The women also mentioned how these groups educate young girls who are about to be married about their rights, how they have to take care of children, and how to prevent malnutrition. The women explained that men had accepted these developments because the women assert themselves more and are active participants in decision-making at household levels. In fact, households are benefiting in terms of farm produce by allowing women to participate in decision-making. The women said they feel empowered and encouraged by the support they are getting from the government. One woman said, “In earlier times, a man can simply throw his wife out of the house for no reason and with no valuable assets on her hand. But now, if we want divorce, we split everything fifty-fifty. So the men are more careful in the way they deal with us.” When asked whether their husbands feel comfortable sitting in the same meetings with them, one woman said, “If he prohibits me from going, I will not argue with him. I will call the women in my team and my neighbors and ask him to explain to me why I cannot go to the meeting. Often the men, seeing the crowd and what they have to say, will relent and let their wives go.” (All-female FGD, Kufansik, Kersa, EH Zone, June 2012)
• Consider securing additional funding to support women’s and girls’ education and literacy, such as adopting and adapting approaches like PACT’s mother/daughter literacy-led saving and loan models used successfully in Ethiopia. Explore and pilot test integration of such an approach into the SILC methodology.

DIMENSION 2: GENDERED DIVISION OF LABOR

Women and men have distinct but complementary roles in both agriculture and livestock production and marketing; however, men have more control and benefits from them. Women and girls face additional time and work burdens with all domestic and reproductive duties.

Typical daily and seasonal activities

Women work long hours—15 to 19 hours a day compared to 5 to 13 hours a day for men, depending on on-farm/off-farm labor demands over the year. For women and men, daily activities vary by daily routine and by season. Table 3 provides an example of typical daily activities.

Men participating in developing their daily and seasonal calendars in Dodota (Arsi Zone). Trish Ahern/CRS
Table 3. Women’s and men’s typical daily activities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity*</th>
<th>Activity*</th>
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| 4:00 a.m.–9:00 a.m. | • Prepare food and coffee and serve breakfast  
• Prepare children for school  
• Clean house  
• Fetch water  
• Milk cows  
• Take care of livestock | • Pray  
• Eat breakfast and drink coffee  
• Work in the fields |
| 9:00 a.m.–12:00 p.m. | • Work in the fields  
• Take care of livestock  
• Fetch water and firewood  
• Prepare food for community labor or bring tea to husband | Work in the fields |
| 1:00 p.m.–3:00 p.m. | • Prepare and serve lunch (often bringing it to the field)  
• Work in the fields | • Eat lunch and rest  
• PSNP public works  
• Work in the fields  
• Collect feed for animals |
| 3:00 p.m.–5:00 p.m. | • Feed animals  
• Collect fuel and participate in other income-generating activities  
• Wash clothes and clean house | Work in the fields |
| 5:00 p.m.–9:00 p.m. | • Collect and feed livestock  
• Fetch water  
• Prepare and serve dinner | • Collect and feed livestock  
• Chew chat and rest  
• Eat dinner |
| 9:00 p.m.–12:00 a.m. | • Prepare bed for children  
• Prepare and drink coffee while discussing with husband  
• Clean house  
• Prepare dough for the next day | • Drink coffee and discuss with wife  
• Go to bed (by 9:00–10:00 pm) |
| 11:00 p.m.–12:00 a.m. | Go to bed | | |

Activity summary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arsi Zone</th>
<th>EH Zone and Dire Dawa Administrative Council</th>
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| • Women work 15–18 hours per day (longest hours from July to January). No hours of rest mentioned.  
• Men work 9–13 hours per day (longest hours from October to January). Rest for an average of 7 hours. | • Women work 15–19 hours per day. Two to three hours of rest mentioned only for Goro Gutu, Meta and Melka Bello.  
• Men work 5–12 hours per day. Chew chat for 3–4 hours. Rest for 8 hours total. |

Source: Data compiled from men’s and women’s focus groups in EH Zone, Arsi Zone, and Dire Dawa Administrative Council.

*Daily activities vary by season and by district. Certain activities for women are more time-consuming such as collecting water, going to the grinding mill for flour, and petty trading, so they may do one of these activities one day and another the next day.

Women and men are both engaged in land preparation and harvesting. Men have primary responsibility and control over plowing land and women weed and clear crop residues. From spring to September, both participate in different tasks associated with seeding, cultivating and weeding. From September to December, men cut the crops and women transport them for threshing and storing. Women are responsible for production and sale of smaller food crops like vegetables and
men are more responsible for producing and selling larger cash crops. In Arsi and EH zones, women tend to have smaller garden plots, which require their labor all year round.

For women and men, the least demanding time of the year is post-harvest in January and February and for some in May after the main crops have been planted. These are the best times for outside interventions or extra activities. Public works projects usually start in January until June.

**Women’s heavy work burden**

Women pay a higher price for deepening poverty and food insecurity because they are responsible for unpaid domestic and reproductive duties in addition to agricultural demands. Women work longer hours than men—15 to 19 hours a day compared to men working 5 to 13 hours a day, depending on on-farm/off-farm labor demands over the year. Women and girls fetch and collect water and fuel sources, go to the grinding mill, care for children and sick family members, clean and repair houses, prepare three meals a day, and sell food surpluses and small ruminants. Recurrent droughts have increased these time and labor constraints. In certain periods, they find livestock feed in food-scarce months. Women’s multiple and demanding duties are often not considered “work.” Little time is left for market-related and income-generating activities or to participate equally as men in community-based formal and informal groups.

“Mondays are market day. Our mothers will restrict us from going to school saying you must stay at home to look after the house and cannot go to school. We will miss a day of school and this means we can miss exams or something. We have to listen to our mothers. They tell us not to go anywhere. The same happens for public works. We will be told to stay home to look after children or sick relatives.” *(Girls’ FGD, Alelu Gesla kebele, Sire, Arsi Zone, September 2012)*
Girls are particularly vulnerable to heavy work burdens and do much of the same work as women. In female-headed households, women and their children divide up agricultural, livestock and domestic tasks, suggesting that girls and boys have greater work demands than children in male-headed households.

Men and women also participate in public works related to natural resource management and construction and maintenance of schools and roads. Women play important community roles in building social cohesion and are often active in government volunteer structures at village cluster, village and smaller neighborhood levels.

**Recommendations for Dimension 2: Gendered division of labor**

Based on these findings, DFAP should:

- Introduce other labor-saving technology in addition to fuel-efficient stoves; hold participatory consultations with male and female community members on their needs and interests; pilot test environmentally sustainable interventions based on close consultation with diverse women.
- Conduct formative research on DFAP’s natural resource management public works community projects on the production and sale of fuel-efficient stoves and the selection of improved agricultural inputs to examine what activities reduce women’s time poverty and uneven labor demands.
- Increase women’s leadership in protected area and water committees by including specific targets in a monitoring and evaluation plan.
- Consider offering cash transfers or a special social fund in August and September to help women and men cover the highest expenses during the most food- and income-scarce months.
DIMENSION 3: ACCESS AND CONTROL OVER RESOURCES AND DECISION-MAKING

Married women and men have their respective roles, responsibilities, and ownership of certain agricultural products to which they benefit. But due to deeply held gender norms, men have a more privileged position to access and take advantage of assets, resources and services (see Annex 6). It is worth noting that there is a positive relationship between a woman’s ownership and control of assets and improved household well-being (e.g., food, education, health care and children’s clothing).  

Seed selection and planting

Most respondents agreed that women are in charge of selecting seeds and planting for their home gardens and men are in charge of the principle and more profitable cash crops. Though some women and men described joint decision-making on the choice of main crops, men made it clear that women suggested ideas and men made the final decision. Only in Goro Gutu (EH Zone), did men express appreciation for women’s skills in seed preparation and planting.

Food storage and processing

In Arsi and EH zones, men are responsible for traditional food storage and taking food out from under the ground because it is considered hard labor. Women are in charge of most food processing and preparation. In Arsi Zone, women have to ask permission from husbands to access stored food. But

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38 World Bank, FAO and IFAD, Gender in Agriculture Sourcebook, 126.
in EH Zone, a few women mentioned they could take food staples from the stored bags without asking permission from their husbands.

**Livestock and crops**

In both zones, decisions on marketing of food crops and livestock are 100 percent jointly made, though there is a clear gender division of labor and control. Men have control over production and sale of larger livestock like ox and cows and the more lucrative cash crops. They benefit from large sums of money once or twice a year, usually after harvesting. Women have access to smaller livestock and control over less profitable staple crops such as home garden vegetables. To a certain degree, they control and own sale of smaller ruminants and petty trading of vegetables, poultry and eggs. Compared to men, their smaller income sources tend to be more evenly distributed throughout the year and are used to cover daily household costs.

**Household budgeting and spending**

In EH Zone, the majority of male and female respondents reported that women are the primary managers of daily household budgets. Men valued women for being more economical and not wasting money, but men still believed they had ultimate authority on how to manage and spend money. In Arsi Zone, men have the final word on how household resources are marketed and spent.

In both zones, men and women referred to men’s greater authority as the recognized household head, main farmer and income-earner. But agreeing on budgeting and spending was important for men and women and valued in order to avoid marital conflicts, violence and worst of all, separation and divorce. A woman might challenge her husband if she felt he was wasting money on his own personal pleasures or for business rather than for the family’s immediate needs like food. Men have been reported to sometimes sell commodities they received and spend the money on drinks, chat, and other things.³⁹

The findings in this gender analysis study and other studies on bargaining power in household decision-making⁴⁰ suggest that as women’s economic contributions increase, they may be able to bargain and influence more on

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household budgeting and spending. However, if women believe they are inferior to men or men feel threatened by women’s new income-earning power, there may be new kinds of conflicts. Programs will need to closely monitor whether women and men report that women’s participation in SILCs and increased income earning has resulted in women having greater ability to influence household decision-making and that men’s attitudes toward women have changed in positive rather than negative ways.

**Investments**

The majority of respondents in both zones agreed that decisions on investments were made jointly. In EH Zone, some women and men mentioned that investments were under women’s control because they control the household budget. In Arsi Zone, women reported it was fully a joint decision, whereas only half of the men agreed. Despite minor differences between zones, in general a woman’s money is never completely her own. A woman’s profits will largely be used for daily consumables and men’s income on larger purchases or personal pleasures like chat and tobacco.

**Differences among women**

Female heads of household are charged with making farming decisions but are often restricted in their choices due to labor and land deficits. Generally, female heads of household control their own budgets and decide on where to invest but they may be dependent on a son, male relative or neighbor to help prepare land and even to support them financially. They do not have the same knowledge and access to resources to produce equal agricultural outputs as male heads of household. Female heads of household have more social freedom to participate in community meetings, multipurpose cooperatives and DFAP-area closure committees which provide access to politics, social affairs and livelihood opportunities.  

Married women get support from their husbands and may have greater access to productive inputs such as farm technologies, credit and transportation. But they face expectations from husbands to stay near the home and thus have less access to community resources than female heads of household.

Women in polygamous marriages are more disadvantaged because husbands do not share equally with co-wives, and husbands do not consult or discuss as much because there is competition between co-wives. The husband will make all the decisions and not share knowledge of total assets with wives.

42 Desta, Haddis, and Ataklt, Female-Headed Households and Livelihood Intervention in Four Selected Weredas in Tigray, Ethiopia.
Decision-making on social and health assets

In both zones, men and women generally make decisions jointly regarding the education of children, early marriage, family planning and use of health services. But in Arsi Zone, 33 percent of women’s FGDs and 50 percent of men’s FGDs said it was under men’s control.

In regard to education, the majority stated that men and women make decisions jointly. In EH Zone and Dire Dawa Administrative Council, some men and women felt it was the women’s decision whether to educate daughters because they are in charge of allocating domestic duties. In Arsi Zone, half of women FGDs identified men as in charge of education, whereas all of the men’s FGDs considered it a joint decision-making process.

Women in Dodota may choose to wait for their husbands’ permission before seeking health care to avoid provoking any anger or violence against them.43

At community and broader institutional levels

Married couples sometimes jointly decide who should attend community meetings, but usually the wife must get permission from her husband. In EH Zone, the majority of women and men focus groups said they decide jointly but in Arsi Zone, most FGDs reported that it was under men’s authority. Similarly, in terms of leadership and participation in SILCs and other credit programs, women and men in EH Zone stated that sometimes women decide, but usually men and women decide jointly. In contrast, in Arsi Zone, male FGDs said men made the decisions.

Both male and female respondents mentioned that men are more likely to participate and assume leadership in community meetings because they have more experience. Men felt that women do not have the knowledge and skills to contribute to community decision-making, and are resistant to their wives attending the same meetings. As a result, women who attend are less vocal. Opportunities are lost to represent women’s interests in community-based DFAP decision-making structures.44

The government of Ethiopia has made advancements to support women’s needs and interests and to increase women’s active participation in the PSNP- and DFAP-supported food security decision-making structures. Nevertheless, men are still more likely to dominate at the broader institutional levels. Dominant and informal gender misconceptions have led many

43 CRS encourages opportunities to improve communication and joint decision-making for couples with the goal of avoiding violence, improving gender relations and strengthening the family unit.
44 Woreda Food Security Task Force (Dodota, Arsi Zone: June 12, 2012).
government services and their agents to overlook women’s needs and interests, including programs like PSNP and HAPB.  

Livelihood opportunities

The gender analysis collected data on women’s and men’s participation and leadership in various mixed-sex groups catered to improving rural farmers’ production, marketing and income-generating opportunities; rural farmers groups, cooperatives, and village saving and loans groups. Women are represented in numbers but their quality of participation and leadership were extremely low. Across all districts, women participated in discussions but rarely took part in final decision-making and were only sometimes in leadership positions.

Mixed-sex farmers’ groups

Women participate more in smaller, informal self-help groups than in formal mixed-sex community farmers’ groups. Married women and the poorest women in particular are excluded from mixed-sex farmers’ groups and the associated benefits—accessing credit, agricultural inputs and technologies to improve their income-generating opportunities. According to the gender analysis study results, only female heads of household participated in cooperatives due to the membership requirement that only the household head can join. Other research supports these findings.

In Dodota (Arsi Zone), only 13.8 percent of agricultural productive cooperative members were female. Only in milk production was there more equal representation of women and men. Though men dominate overall in cooperatives, women dominate in savings and credit cooperatives. This data reveals that women are consigned to traditional or more gender-neutral sectors in agriculture. In EH, women faced the same barriers and were underrepresented in more formal mixed-sex farmers groups.

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45 Marie-Katherine Waller, Transforming Women’s Lives for Household Food Security in Ethiopia: Women’s Empowerment and Gender Equality in PSNP Plus; A Gender Impact Study (2012); Mogues et al., Agricultural Extension in Ethiopia through a Gender and Governance Lens, 9; Pionetti, Adenew and Alemu, Characteristics of Women’s Collective Action for Enabling Women’s Participation in Agricultural Markets, 1; and World Bank, FAO and IFAD, Gender in Agriculture Sourcebook, 63.

46 Pionetti, Adenew and Alemu, Characteristics of Women’s Collective Action for Enabling Women’s Participation in Agricultural Markets, 1; Mogues et al., Agricultural Extension in Ethiopia Through a Gender and Governance Lens; World Bank, FAO and IFAD, Gender in Agriculture Sourcebook.

47 Women’s FGD results (Amude, Dodota, June 12, 2012).


49 Woreda Cooperative Office data (August 16, 2010).
All-female cooperatives and farmers’ groups

In Goro Gutu (EH Zone), women organized themselves with external support into all-female cooperatives and farmers’ groups. When women are given the right capacity-building support, such as leadership, financial, entrepreneurship and literacy training, they can self-organize into more formalized women specific or mixed-sex groups. Women-only groups offer women opportunities to build their self-confidence, entrepreneurial skills and develop more lucrative businesses by gaining access to bigger loans and technological inputs. In Goro Gutu, many women formed into all-female cooperatives such as grain milling services for their communities and thus reduced women’s heavy burden. Women in this district have more confidence and ability to participate and lead in community groups and to access important livelihood opportunities, which may be due to a number of complementary female empowerment programs and services.

Barriers constraining women from accessing cooperatives and farmers’ groups are their lack of access and control over land, capital and other production assets and time poverty due to multiple responsibilities in the home and on the farm. Participation may only lead to more demands on their time, energy and workload. Women and men may be members, but wives are often obliged to engage their husbands in these groups because if she wants to get credit, land is often used as collateral. The danger is that husbands will then feel entitled to decisions over use of the loan. Similarly, for female heads of household who are landless, they may need to ask a male relative who has land and is willing to be her guarantor to access a loan from a savings and credit cooperative.

50 World Bank, FAO and IFAD, Gender in Agriculture Sourcebook.
Informal self-help/savings and loan groups

Most women interviewed access financial support largely through membership in self-help groups or village and savings groups, including DFAP-supported SILCs. In the SILCs, higher numbers of women participate and are leaders. These groups may be more in line with their interests because women are more likely to develop collective activities around domains and crops that are under their direct control and which are less profitable. This study clearly demonstrates the importance of these groups to women’s social and economic empowerment.

At the same time, loan amounts do not necessarily give women the real leverage to expand and build up their businesses into more lucrative ones and risk keeping women in their traditional subordinate position relative to men. Women are excellent microfinance clients and very able to repay and to borrow higher amounts as their businesses expand. Though many women requested access to higher loans, other women expressed fear in not being able to pay back loans with high interests. A few female respondents explained that men tend to discourage women from accessing larger loans.

Local and community-led governance structures linked to DFAP

Women are represented in DFAP decision-making structures including district- and community-based Food Security Task Forces (FSTF), water committees, and DFAP village- and community-based FSTFs and appeals committees. However, women did not actively participate or take on leadership roles due to various reported reasons (e.g., not having a clear understanding of their role, low awareness of rights, lack of leadership experience, and lack of confidence). Leadership in these structures is male-dominated. Almost no women were identified by FGDs as chairpersons. In some village clusters in the study, women and men interviewed did not even know what the FSTFs were and had not heard of such structures. The few women who do participate face the challenges of being in a largely male-dominated decision-making structure and thus are not being heard. In contrast, a recent gender assessment of the PSNP (2010) showed that women’s participation in decision-making structures contributed to positive changes in male perceptions regarding the knowledge that women have to contribute.

52 Jones, Tafere and Woldehanna, Gendered Risks, Poverty and Vulnerability in Ethiopia, 36.
Recommendations for Dimension 3: Access and control over resources and decision-making

Based on these findings, DFAP should consider the following opportunities.

Public works:

- Observe who collects money/food transfers and whether these allocations are fairly consumed and used by all household members.
- Engage women and men community members and all male and female government and project partner staff in gender awareness-raising activities.
- Strengthen linkages with other complementary programs.

Maternal and child health and nutrition knowledge and practices:\[53\]

- Conduct formative research to identify key maternal child health and nutrition messages and best practices to promote in order to effect behavioral change. Design a social and behavioral change strategy based on key practices promoted by the National Nutrition Program.
- For gender transformation, create specific meeting spaces for men and boys to discuss how dominant masculinities positively and negatively impact their health and relationships with women and girls.

\[53\] Health and nutrition components encourage couples to make decisions together with regard to household division of labor, child care, support for pregnant and lactating mothers, and access to health care.
Table 4. Broader enabling and disabling factors to gender equality in DFAP-targeted districts based on gender analysis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Enabling</th>
<th>Disabling</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>• Women-only SILCs, cooperatives and rural farmers’ groups</td>
<td>• Women’s and men’s valuing of deeply held patriarchal norms and practices</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Women’s active participation and leadership in community-based and</td>
<td>• Women’s and girls’ low literacy due to gender barriers such as parents favoring sons to be sent to school; girls seen as transient family members to be married off early</td>
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<td></td>
<td>government structures at all levels relevant to gender equality, women’s</td>
<td>• Women’s and girls’ time and labor poverty</td>
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<td></td>
<td>empowerment and food security</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Women self and collectively organizing into health development armies</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>for health promotion and prevention of violence against women</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Women with more lucrative and diverse income-generating activities</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• More educated self-reliant women have greater bargaining power and</td>
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<td></td>
<td>household decision-making</td>
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<tr>
<td>Household</td>
<td>• Men socialized and/or exposed to gender awareness-raising, more</td>
<td>• Female-headed household</td>
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<td></td>
<td>respectful of and valuing their wives, women sharing more in household</td>
<td>• Landlessness and lack of ownership of land and resources</td>
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<td></td>
<td>and productive tasks</td>
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<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td>• Construction of water points and wood plots reduce women’s workload</td>
<td>Male-dominated and biased community and institutional decision-making structures such as in cooperatives, rural farmers groups and government structures</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Food/cash transfers reduce anxiety and increase quality and quantity</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of food and nutritional intake</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Gender-sensitive agricultural and financial services</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Institutional</td>
<td>• Complementary gender equality and women’s empowerment awareness-</td>
<td>Lack of gender sensitivity and support structures among government and food security program decision-makers and community implementers</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>raising activities by MoWYCAs, health extension workers and other</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>programs sensitize women and men at individual, household and</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>community levels to adopt more gender-equitable norms and practices to</td>
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DEGREE OF GENDER RESPONSIVENESS IN DFAP AND PSNP

The study also examined the level and quality of gender mainstreaming of DFAP/PSNP program design and what can be learned from previous PSNP/MYAP/DFAP program implementation from a gender lens. The analysis is based on previous PSNP and USAID-funded MYAP and DFAP program documents, government and external program evaluations, and findings from this gender analysis study.

DFAP goes beyond PSNP to address not only women’s practical needs but also their strategic interests and broader uneven gender power relations at the household, community and institutional levels. It has greater transformative potential to ensure women and men equally benefit from community asset building, improved health and nutrition and increased income-generating activities due to its focus on addressing gender barriers and supporting female empowerment (i.e., providing support to largely female-dominated SILCs).

Examples of DFAP gender considerations include but are not limited to:

- Almost equal targeting of female and male client beneficiaries in public works and direct support
- Engaging men and boys in health and nutrition awareness-raising activities
- Women’s leadership training
- Gender equality and equity training for female and male program beneficiaries and implementing partners at all levels
- Support to 330 new SILCs with expected female membership of 60–65 percent
- Promotion of 2,360 fuel-efficient stoves and production and sale of them to reduce female beneficiaries’ labor and time burdens and increase most vulnerable economic status
- Community mobilization sessions on gender, health and nutrition, and prevention and eradication of harmful traditional practices using men’s clubs, women’s groups, school gender clubs and traditional leaders
SUCCESSES

The Ethiopia DFAP has a stronger gender lens compared to previous MYAPs, which has led to greater efforts to apply gender provisions from the Program Implementation Manual (PIM) in its first year of implementation (2011–2012). Program implementers reported increasing women’s representation in PSNP decision-making structures. At the national level, PSNP has made similar efforts to strengthen gender equality following feedback from evaluations.

Previous findings from PSNP gender assessments and DFAP (2011–2012) gender analysis show these programs have addressed women’s and girls’ practical needs and improved household well-being (i.e., nutrition, food security, health and social status). In the gender assessments, some women reported higher levels of decision-making power due to their involvement in PSNP-related activities.

In DFAP, more community-asset-building public works projects have supported women’s needs and interests, such as construction of schools and improving WASH facilities, than in PSNP. Respondents from the 2010 gender evaluation described changes in men’s attitudes toward women in terms of being more respectful, consulting their wives more about selling livestock and sharing more in domestic chores. However, these changes were few and far between and not significant enough to conclude that PSNP has transformed gender inequalities.

Findings from this gender analysis study show that mixed-sex and all-female SILCs among DFAP/PSNP public works clients have been very positive, in terms of self-organizing and saving together. These support structures have helped diverse women’s practical and strategic interests—to create safe and mutually supportive spaces for women to share problems, to exercise their leadership, to build their self-confidence and access savings and credit. For female heads of household, PSNP food transfers and SILCs have enabled them to have enough food to eat and to enjoy the additional social benefits.

Now in its third phase (2010–2014), PSNP is attempting to develop stronger inter-governmental linkages between health services (i.e., NNP), women’s affairs (i.e., NAP) and agriculture (i.e., PSNP) sectors, to more effectively address the links between gender inequality, malnutrition and food insecurity. As discussed, in villages and districts where multiple ministries collaborate and supported women to self-organize, women learned about their rights and male and female respondents reported reduced incidences of harmful traditional practices. These efforts hold much potential and are strong strategies within DFAP’s design.

In the PSNP Program Implementation Manual (PIM), the gender provisions aim to (1) promote participation of both women and men in PSNP decision-making structures, and (2) respond to women’s heavy work burden of both productive and reproductive work and the differential barriers and needs of diverse women.

For detailed discussions on successful impacts for women and men, households and communities, see Jones, Tafere and Woldehanna, Gendered Risks, Poverty and Vulnerability in Ethiopia; and Evers et al., PSNP Gender Study.

Jones, Tafere and Woldehanna, Gendered Risks, Poverty and Vulnerability in Ethiopia, ix; and Evers et al., PSNP Gender Study.

Jones, Tafere and Woldehanna, Gendered Risks, Poverty and Vulnerability in Ethiopia, ix.
CHALLENGES

Overall, PSNP has fallen short of translating gender provisions from program design to concrete actions and results. Some public works activities are increasing women’s and girls’ work burdens rather than reducing them. PSNP is gender aware but not necessarily gender transformative. It recognizes inequalities among women and men but when it comes down to implementation such as through the cash and food transfers, it fails to respond to the complex and unequal gender dynamics that play out in public works.

Previous studies and this gender analysis identified specific weaknesses, gaps, and challenges within DFAP and PSNP more broadly. These include:

- Women were not aware of the gender provisions of the PIM and generally did not know PSNP client rights and entitlements.
- Female heads of household had other time constraints that did not allow them to work the required number of days per month expected in public works.
- Timing of public works sometimes interferes with men’s and women’s income-earning activities and their reproductive and domestic responsibilities. Also, the appeals process is not clear to providers and beneficiaries, and some aspects may be disadvantageous for women.
- Girls reported that when their mothers participated in public works activities, the girls were tasked with additional domestic chores which limited their abilities to attend and succeed in school.
- Men tend to collect food and cash transfers and sometimes use them to buy cigarettes or chat rather than food or to cover basic household needs. When women try to collect food or cash, PSNP/DFAP staff at village levels may refuse to give them the food or cash even though the client card has their name alongside their husband’s.
- Women interviewed expressed fear that they might lose their PSNP beneficiary status if they take temporary leave during pregnancy or lactation.
- Women’s needs in regard to community assets risk being ignored when men are reluctant to let their wives participate in public meetings and women lack communication skills and confidence.
- Women’s and girls’ illiteracy is the biggest challenge for women to participate in DFAP/PSNP decision-making structures. Husbands also resist allowing their wives to participate. Even at higher levels of PSNP decision-making levels, fewer women are represented.

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58 See Evers et al., PSNP Gender Study; and Jones, Tafere and Woldehanna, Gendered Risks, Poverty and Vulnerability in Ethiopia.
59 Jones, Tafere and Woldehanna, Gendered Risks, Poverty and Vulnerability in Ethiopia, x.
60 Jones, Tafere and Woldehanna, Gendered Risks, Poverty and Vulnerability in Ethiopia, 23.
61 Woreda WYCA Office, personal communication (Siree, Sire, September 4, 2012).
• Even if government gender advisors are within all sectors, they often lack voice and authority. At institutional levels, gender units are low on the hierarchy, making gender priorities also a low priority. There is weak capacity for gender advisors to support PSNP in terms of time, staff, financial resources or transport, and lack of gender sensitivity among district officials to consult with these advisors.

• Implementation guidelines on PSNP gender provisions are not clear, such as defining what light versus heavy works mean.

• There is little accountability to gender among PSNP implementers due to a weak gender-sensitive monitoring and evaluation system. These weaknesses could undermine the sustainability of progress achieved so far. PSNP tends to see gender equality as a “women’s only” issue rather than seeing gender equality as the responsibility of women, men, boys and girls and as being mutually beneficial for all.

NEXT STEPS

Whereas PSNP has fallen short in achieving concrete results to promote gender equality, DFAP’s proposed strategies for integrating a more gender-transformative strategy have the potential to make significant contributions to addressing food insecurity, malnutrition and poverty. The program can add much value to PSNP programming capacity and impact overall if it builds capacity of government and addresses gaps.

To support meaningful changes, DFAP must implement a strong gender-responsive program in close collaboration with the government to ensure the gender-mainstreaming framework of the PSNP is fully implemented at district levels. They should also support additional gender provisions and principles to enhance PSNP impacts on gender.

In a more recent impact evaluation of PSNP, results showed that public works are not enough to build resilience among female and male farmers to become food sufficient and secure. The study strongly recommends additional livelihood activities be integrated into the full package of support. With this in mind, DFAP may want to consider securing additional funding to develop a third strategic objective on gender and livelihoods to support women and men, but women in particular, to improve their agricultural production and marketing and diversification of livelihood options by supporting gender-sensitive value-chain development.

4. RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommended strategies below can help guide the design and implementation of gender-responsive programs that take a “twin-track” gender-transformative approach—to address gender inequality and also advance the rights of women and girls. Some recommendations are specific to food security programming whereas others are applicable at the institutional and program levels across multiple sectors.

INSTITUTIONAL LEVEL

1. Develop a gender-transformative mainstreaming strategy that addresses organizational and programming dimensions with a gender-sensitive monitoring and evaluation system backed by an action plan with proper human and financial resources.

Twin-track gender-transformative mainstreaming combines gender-specific empowerment activities with full integration of gender and diversity across all project activities and internal operations. It is best to design and conduct ongoing gender training and more informal gender action learning discussions to improve staff gender capacity, learn what works, and develop a sense of ownership that gender matters to them.

Collect gender- and diversity-sensitive indicators regularly during monitoring and evaluation. Qualitative indicators are valuable to measure the informal dimensions of change in gendered power relations.

In project documentation, record changes to gender on a regular and consistent basis to improve project interventions for women’s empowerment and gender equality. Innovative participatory tools might include write shop techniques to engage staff in capturing stories of change or Most Significant Change (MSC) methodologies to engage beneficiaries and staff to identify the most important factors contributing to change.

It is important to fully integrate gender into the entire program management cycle from the context analysis to monitoring, evaluation and learning. To do this, adopt easy-to-use tools and ensure ongoing capacity-building for program implementers for consistent and effective gender mainstreaming.
2. **Support the broader institutional environment to be gender responsive.**

A twin-track approach requires that CRS and its partners invest time and energy to be more sensitive and knowledgeable about gender. They must have the political will, organizational culture, accountability and technical capacity to implement programs that address unequal gendered power relations meaningfully. Best practice methodologies include (1) engaging in participatory gender audits, (2) developing gender policies, action plans and the right gender-sensitive interventions and (3) using a shared learning process on institutional change for gender equality between CRS and its partners to conduct gender audits or collaborate on innovative gender-specific initiatives.

**PROGRAM LEVEL**

1. **Strengthen linkages with other programs working on gender issues.**

Food security programs focused on practical needs should collaborate strategically and coordinate with ministries and other complementary programs working on gender barriers and women’s empowerment to address the root causes of household food insecurity and gender inequality.

2. **Ensure that public works and decision-making structures address both women’s and men’s needs.**

Most community-asset-building public works focus on revamping natural resources, roads and infrastructure. DFAP should train its government partners at district and village levels in participatory approaches to engage community members to identify the most important public works for improving household livelihoods, with special attention to women’s uneven and specific vulnerabilities and constraints.

3. **Promote female leadership within a broader gender-sensitive food security program.**

Including female-specific empowerment activities within a broader gender-sensitive program is a globally recognized best practice. It provides the necessary measures to support women and girls to overcome barriers that constrain them from participating in male-biased community groups and structures—such as public works and PSNP decision-making structures.

We recommend developing longer-term capacity-building and support to women’s leadership within SILCs. In contrast, one-time leadership training fails to give women time to build up, learn and test out newly acquired skills. Support women to become more skillful and experienced leaders by offering training and practice in communications, public speaking and management. Consider selecting and training a smaller group of female and male leaders...
of diverse backgrounds who can act as model change agents and provide coaching and mentoring. After one or two years of building community-based self-mobilizing structures using SILCs, DFAP may want to consider securing additional funding to support targeted interventions to help SILCs and other women-specific cooperative members to access improved agricultural inputs.

4. Build capacity and gender sensitivity of mixed-sex food security/DFAP institutional committees and targeted SILCs.

This study demonstrated that women, men, boys and girls must be engaged in questioning dominant gender values for real change to happen. They must all believe that such a change process is worthwhile and to their benefit. A capacity-building program would support male and female members to critically reflect on gender relations on issues at household levels, in community spaces such as DFAP structures and in public works teams. Interventions would be targeted and facilitated discussions would take place regularly with long-term capacity-building to make these groups more democratic and egalitarian.

5. Develop community mobilization and multimedia campaigns using existing informal community groups and engage women, men, boys and girls to take actions against gender-based violence and adopt healthy relationships.

Encourage the adoption of positive behaviors for healthy relationships among women and men and between generations. Draw from wider best practices and lessons learned.
REFERENCES


ANNEX 1: KEY GENDER DEFINITIONS AND CONCEPTS

A critical first step in adequately incorporating and addressing gender issues in programs is to establish a common understanding of the definitions of key terms and the various ways in which gender is discussed within the context of poverty and development. Below are some key definitions and concepts, the sources for which are noted below.

KEY DEFINITIONS

Gender: Refers to the two sexes, male and female, within the context of society. Factors such as ethnicity, class, race, age and religion can affect gender roles. Gender roles may vary widely within and between cultures, and often evolve over time. These characteristics often define identities, status, and power relations among the members of a society or culture.

Sex: The biological identity of males and females, as manifested primarily by our physical characteristics.

Gender equality: Reflects the concern that women and men, boys and girls have equal opportunities, resources, rights, and access to goods and services that a society values—as well as the ability to make choices and work in partnership. Gender equality also means equal responsibility in terms of workloads and energy expended within one’s individual capacity to care for families and communities. Gender equality does not mean that men and women, boys and girls become the same, but that their opportunities and life chances are equal and that the differences that do exist in their talents, skills, interests, ideas, etc., will be equally valued.

Gender equity: The process of being fair to men and women, boys and girls that leads to equality—the equal valuing in society of both similarities and differences between men and women, boys and girls and the varying roles they play. To ensure fairness, measures must often be available to compensate for historical and social disadvantages or biological makeup that prevent women and men, girls and boys from otherwise operating on a level playing field.

63 Definitions adapted from the CRS Southern Africa Guidelines for Gender-Responsive Programming (Baltimore: CRS, 2010).
64 From address given by Archbishop Francis Chullikatt, permanent observer of the Holy See to the UN at the 55th session of UNESCO’s Commission on the Status of Women, March 18, 2011.
**Empowerment**: A process of awareness and capacity-strengthening that leads to greater participation and decision-making power. It enables people to take control over their lives, set their own agendas, build self-confidence, solve problems, and develop self-reliance. It involves the ability to make choices as well as to define what choices are offered. While only women and men can empower themselves, institutions can support processes that create space for them to develop their skills, self-confidence, self-reliance, and to access resources.

**Gender-based violence**: Violence that is directed against a person on the basis of gender or sex in public and/or private life. It includes acts that inflict physical, mental or sexual harm or suffering, threats of such acts, coercion, and other deprivations of liberty. While women and men, boys and girls can be victims of gender-based violence, women and girls are the main victims.

**Gender analysis**: Examines the differences in women’s and men’s lives, including those which lead to social and economic inequality for women. It is a tool for systematically collecting data that can be used to examine these differences, the different levels of power they hold, their differing needs, constraints and opportunities, and the impact of these differences on their lives. This understanding is then applied to policy development and social services in order to address inequalities and power differences between males and females.

**Gender mainstreaming**: Is a strategy for promoting and achieving gender equality. It involves making women’s as well as men’s concerns, needs and experiences an integral part of ensuring that gender perspectives and attention to the goal of gender equality are central to all activities such as policy development, research, advocacy/dialogue, legislation, resource allocation, and planning, implementation and monitoring of programs and projects. It is not an end in itself, but a strategy and approach used as a means to achieve the goal of gender equality.

**Gender relations**: Concerned with how power is distributed between women and men, girls and boys. Gender relations are simultaneous relations of cooperation, connection, mutual support, and of conflict, separation, and competition, of difference and inequality. They create and reproduce systemic differences. They define the way in which responsibilities and workloads are allocated and the way in which each is given a value. Gender relations vary according to time and place, and between different groups of people. They also vary according to other social relations such as class, race, ethnicity, and disability.

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**KEY CONCEPTS**

**Gender-responsive programming:** Programming that addresses the gender roles, relations, needs and interests of women and men, boys and girls in order to guarantee those right relationships. Men and women, boys and girls experience their surroundings differently as they fulfill different sets of roles, but also face different sets of rules, norms, and practices informed by their particular cultures and contexts. The inclusion of a gender analysis is essential for properly developing gender-responsive programs and strategies for individuals and communities to achieve integral human development.

**Gender integration:** Involves identifying and then addressing the gender differences and inequalities across all program and project design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. Since roles and relationships of power between men and women affect how an activity is implemented, it is essential that project and activity planners address these issues throughout the life of a program or project. USAID uses the term “gender integration” in both development and humanitarian planning and programming.66

**Levels of gender integration:** There are three broad-levels of integration: gender neutral, gender sensitive, and gender transformative. Understanding how programs reflect gender awareness can help us understand how the program or policy was designed and is being implemented as well as in designing and implementing new programs.

- **Gender neutral.** Gender-neutral programs distinguish little between the needs of men and women, neither reinforcing nor questioning gender roles. By this definition, these types of programs are often called “gender-blind.” If a program does not recognize the differences between men and women, it is in danger of incorporating existing biases. However, some gender-neutral programs or policies may benefit women and transform inequalities without having to account specifically for gender differences. For example, a policy for free primary education would significantly improve access to education for girls as well as boys.

- **Gender sensitive.** Gender-sensitive programs recognize the specific needs and realities of women and men, boys and girls based on the social construction of gender roles and respond to them accordingly. This level of awareness may be informed by a sound gender analysis that has looked at the specific assets of men and women and assessed how to accommodate their different roles and needs.

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• **Gender transformative.** Gender-transformative programs seek to transform gender roles and promote more gender-equitable relationships between men and women. This level of awareness is informed not only by an analysis of the practical needs of males and females based on their respective roles, but also the underlying structural and systemic issues that have created and sustained the different needs of men and women. This type of program is designed to not only meet the practical needs of men and women but also respond to the strategic interests for greater, more sustainable equity between sexes.67

**Types of labor:** Labor is divided among productive and reproductive tasks. The assessment helps identify the different labor tasks and addresses the question of who does what task?

• **Production.** This includes the production of goods and services for income, subsistence and trade. It is work done that is mainly recognized and valued as work by individuals and societies, and which is most commonly included in national economic statistics. Productive work normally earns money for the person who does it. Women and men both perform productive work, such as agricultural production, but not all of this is valued in the same way. Lack of recognition of certain categories of productive work distorts program and policy planning as it is not considered in the design. Much of women’s labor is often unrecognized, and therefore, not considered in the program and policy design.

• **Reproduction.** This encompasses the care and maintenance of the household and its members, such as cooking, washing, cleaning, nursing, bearing and looking after children, building and maintaining shelter. This work is necessary, yet it is rarely considered of the same value as productive work. It is normally unpaid and is not counted in conventional economic statistics. It is mostly done by women.

**Access and control:** Access is defined as the opportunity to make use of a resource. Control is the power to decide how a resource is used, and who has access to it. Understanding who has access to and control of resources can help to identify opportunities that make use of a resource for a larger gain. It indicates whether women or men have access to resources, who controls their use, and who controls the benefits of a household’s (or a community’s) use of resources. Access simply means that you are able to use a resource, but this says nothing about whether you have control over it. For example, women may have some access to local political processes but little influence or control over which issues are discussed and the final decisions. The person who controls a resource is the one ultimately able to make decisions about its use. Women often have access but no control.68

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67 Adapted from **CRS Southern Africa Guidelines for Gender-Responsive Programming** (Baltimore: CRS, 2010).

**Power:** The degree of control over material, human, intellectual and financial resources exercised by different sections of society. Power is dynamic, exercised in the social, economic, and political relations between individuals and groups, and can be used for both positive and negative ends.⁶⁹

**Condition:** The immediate, material circumstances in which men and women live, related to their present workloads and responsibilities. Providing clean water or stoves for cooking, for example, may improve the condition of women by reducing their workloads.

**Position:** Describes the place of women in society relative to that of men. Changing women's position requires addressing their strategic gender interests, including equal access to decision-making and resources, and eliminating discrimination in employment, land ownership and so on. In order to change women's position, we must address the way gender determines power, status, and control over resources.

**Practical needs:** These needs are often associated with material conditions related to daily needs. If these were met, the lives of women and men would be improved without changing existing gender division of labor or challenging women's subordinate position in society. Meeting practical interests/needs is a response to an immediate perceived necessity; interventions that do this are typically concerned with inadequacies in living conditions such as provision of food, fuel, water, credit, land, technology, health care, education and employment.

**Strategic interests/needs:** The needs represent changes in gender roles, division of labor, power control, or new opportunities related to disadvantaged positions in society. If these were met, the existing relations of unequal power between men and women would be transformed. Those identified by women may include issues such as legal rights, domestic violence, equal wages, and decisions about their health. Men also have strategic interests/needs such as transforming their own roles in child care or resisting conscription into a fighting force, or, on the other hand, they may resist women’s demands for more control over their own lives. Every practical development intervention has an effect on power relations (the strategic areas of life) whether this is intended or not.

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⁶⁹ Ibid.
ANNEX 2: THE INTEGRAL HUMAN DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK

ASSETS
We help people assess what resources they have access to, such as homes, crops, money, health, faith or education.

SYSTEMS & STRUCTURES
We assist people as they map how societies are organized in systems and structures.

OUTCOMES & FEEDBACK
We monitor the results and help find ways to address people’s needs, reinforcing their capacities and ability to influence.

INFLUENCE & ACCESS
We help people identify who has power to influence the systems and structures, taking into account gender and other factors.

STRATEGIES
We seek to understand people’s strategies for improving their lives and preparing for the future.

RISK & VULNERABILITY
We help people identify threats to their lives and livelihoods so they can build resilience.
ANNEX 3: ETHIOPIA REGIONAL MAPS

ANNEX 3.1. DFAP GENDER PROGRAM MAP
ANNEX 4: GENDER ANALYTICAL TOOLS ADAPTED BY THE GENDER ANALYSIS

Four gender analytical tools were used and adapted from standard tools: the Moser Framework, the Women's Empowerment (Longwe) Framework, the Gender Analysis Matrix (GAM), and the Harvard Analytical Framework. The tools were used to guide all male and female FGDs with direct and indirect beneficiaries to collect specific information on gender roles, relations and inequalities at individual, household, community and broader institutional levels.

In addition, Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) techniques, focus group discussions (FGD), resource and social mapping, pair wise ranking, and daily/seasonal calendars were used to complement and triangulate various sources of information. A checklist of guiding issues and questions was developed using Most Significant Change Methodologies for the follow-up fieldwork interviews/FGDs with district-level FSTFs, diverse women and girls 10 to 17 years of age.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tool</th>
<th>Data Collected</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Gender Resource Map</td>
<td>Identified what resources and diverse assets are accessible and under control of women and men for reproductive and productive activities and provides information on gendered division of labor in household livelihoods and food security.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Seasonal Calendar Process</td>
<td>Gendered division of labor of reproductive, productive and community/social activities and access/control of assets over a one-year seasonal calendar to capture gender differences in roles and responsibilities, opportunities and barriers to income, food and other livelihood and well-being assets relative to external environmental and social shocks, seasonal cycles and trends.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Gendered Daily Calendar</td>
<td>Comparative data on differing roles and responsibilities and work and time burden for male and female household members.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Decision-Making Power of Male/Female Community Members</td>
<td>Gendered differences in decision-making power at household and community levels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Participation in Formal and Informal Institutions</td>
<td>Quantitative and qualitative data on gendered differences in representation (numbers of women compared to men) and degree of active participation and leadership in terms of ability to articulate and voice interests and to influence and bargain for them in community and broader PSNP/DFAP institutional structures (i.e., district, village and community-level FSTFs).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Gender Assessment of Health and Nutritional Status at Household and Community Levels</td>
<td>Gendered differences in nutritional and health status for women, men and boys and girls along with exploration into underlying causes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Semi-Structured Interview Questions/Checklists</td>
<td>Questions were used to find out more about women and girls’ empowerment; experiences in PSNP/DFAP public works and SILCs and what recommendations women might have to improve such activities to reduce women and girls’ heavy work burden and to improve their livelihoods (i.e. petty trading, access to credit, etc.).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## ANNEX 5: SUMMARY OF FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th># of Research Activities</th>
<th>Total # by Sex</th>
<th>Total Participants</th>
<th>% Women</th>
<th>% Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HCS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 Community Members’ FGD (Female/Male FGDs included)</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>830</td>
<td>50.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 WFSTF FGD Melka Bello</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Dire Dawa district WFSTF FGD</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Meta WFSTF FGD</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Goro Guta WFSTF FGD</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Kersa WFSTF FGD</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 FGD with HCS staff</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 FGD with Woreda MoWYCA</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Girls FGD</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Female FGD (Diverse women)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>438</td>
<td>438</td>
<td>876</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WCC</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Community Members’ FGD (Female/Male FGDs included)</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 All Female FGD (Diverse women)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Girls FGD</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Dodota WFSTF FGD</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Sire WFSTF FGD</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 MoWYCA FGD</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 WCC staff FGD</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total by sex recorded</strong></td>
<td>179</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>43.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total for both zones</strong></td>
<td>617</td>
<td>669</td>
<td>1286</td>
<td>47.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## ANNEX 6: SUMMARY TABLE OF PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN AND MEN IN DECISION-MAKING AT HOUSEHOLD AND COMMUNITY LEVELS BY ZONE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zone*</th>
<th>East Hararghe Zone and Dire Dawa</th>
<th>Arsi Zone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>TOTAL WOMEN FGDS</strong></td>
<td><strong>TOTAL MALE FGDS</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Decision-making at household level:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What crops to produce?</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land preparation and how much land to cultivate?</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When and what variety of seed to plant?</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who does preparing the land, weeding?</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who does harvesting?</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Storage and processing?</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketing of both food and cash crops?</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who controls the daily budget?</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who decides on domestic work?</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who decides on child care issues?</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who decides on education?</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who decides about family size?</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harmful traditional practices</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family use of health services?</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The percentage calculation is based on the number of male or female focus groups that answered “yes” to a box divided by the total number of male or female groups responding to the overall question.*