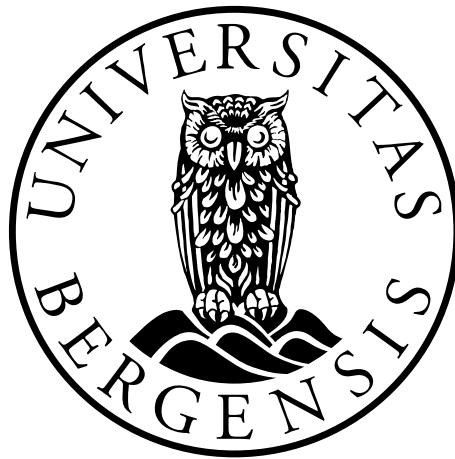


**Food Security, Gender and Community Relations.  
Challenges and Strategies of Rural Women in Goncha Siso  
Enese Woreda, Ethiopia, and the Role of the Productive  
Safety Net Programme in Empowering Women.**

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## **DECLARATION**

I, the undersigned student declare that this is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university and that all sources of materials used in this thesis have been duly acknowledged.

**Addis Bezabih**

**November 19, 2013**

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## **List of Acronyms**

ACSA	Amhara Credit and Saving Association
ADE	Administrative Division of Ethiopia
ADLI	Agriculture Development Led Industrialization
CFSTF	Community Food Security Task Force
CSA	The Ethiopian Central Statistics Authority
DAs	Development Agents
DS	Direct Support
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FSS	Forum for Social Studies
KFSTF	Kebele Food Security Task Force
MoARD	Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development
MoFED	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
PSNP	Productive Safety Net Program
PW	Public Works
SNNPR	Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples
WWAO	<i>Woreda</i> Women's Affairs Office
UN	United Nation

## **Abstract**

*The study was designed to explore Food security, gender and community relations. Challenges and strategies of rural women in Goncha Siso Enese Woreda, Ethiopia, and the role of the Productive Safety Net Programme in empowering women. The research applied qualitative methods such as in-depth interviews, Focused Group Discussions and observation to address issues from a gender perspective. The livelihood approach and empowerment approach have been the theoretical frameworks that underpin this study.*

*Findings revealed that access to and control over resources such as natural capital, human capital, financial and social capital is less for female heads of households than it is for married women. The study also revealed that both female-headed households and male headed household are food insecure. Moreover, the study findings indicate that rural women engage in various agricultural activities though there are activities that women are not supposed to engage in due to cultural division of labour. This put women in a more disadvantageous and vulnerable position than men. The study further confirmed that women's labour is considered to have the same value as men's labour in the study area. The role of female-headed households' role in community based activities such as edir, equb, mahiber and other social events is less than married women. As a result, female heads of households have less access to social capital than that of married women. It has also been found out that lack of agricultural resources or capitals (land, labour, credit and saving), lack of social security and unfair division of resources are major challenges for the informants. There are differences among informants' coping strategy. There are also differences between different groups of beneficiaries as concerns their perceptions of the PSNP programme's contributions to their lives and to the community.*

## Table of Contents

Chapter One.....	1
Introduction .....	1
1.1. Presentation of Study Area .....	1
1.2. Statement of the Problem and Motivation behind the Research .....	3
1.3. Productive Safety Net Program .....	4
1.4. Objectives.....	5
1.5. Research Questions .....	6
1.6. Organization of the Thesis .....	6
Chapter Two.....	7
Literature Review.....	7
2.1. Concepts of Food Security.....	7
2.2. Overview of Food Security Situation in Africa .....	9
2.2.1. Overview of Food Security Situation in Ethiopia .....	10
2.2.2. Food Security State of Amahara Region .....	11
2.3. PSNP .....	12
2.4. Gender Dimension of Food Security and Resource Control .....	13
2.5. Strategies of rural women in Ethiopia .....	15
Chapter Three .....	19
Theoretical Framework of the Thesis .....	19
3.1. The Livelihood Approach (LA) .....	19
3.1.1. The Use of the Livelihood Approach for this Thesis.....	21
3.2. The Empowerment Approach - Kabeer’s and Mosedal .....	22
3.2.1. The Use of the Empowerment Approach for this Thesis .....	24
Chapter Four .....	25
Methodology of the Project.....	25
4.1. The Qualitative Research Method .....	25
4.2. Data Sources .....	26
4.3. The Process of Fieldwork .....	26
4.4. Methods Data Collection .....	27
4.4.1. Interview .....	27
4.4.2. Focus Group Discussion (FGD) .....	28
4.4.3. Observation and Informal Conversations .....	29

4.5. Site and Informant Selection .....	31
4.6. Data Analysis.....	31
4.7. Ethical Considerations.....	31
4.8. Challenges Met During Fieldwork.....	32
Chapter 5.....	33
Agriculture and Food .....	33
5.1. Agricultural Resources .....	33
5.1. 1. Natural Capital-Land .....	33
5.1.2. Human Capital- Labour and Gender .....	37
5.1.3. Financial Capital-Credit and Saving.....	39
5.1.4. Important Crops.....	42
5.1.5. Important Animals .....	46
5.2. Food and Culture.....	51
5.2.1. Social Capital- Maintaining Religious Beliefs- for religious holidays.....	51
5.2.2. Social Capital- Maintaining Social relationships-when a member of a society give birth, graduated, weeding and funeral ceremony.....	53
Chapter 6.....	57
Major Challenges and Strategies .....	57
6.1. Major Challenges .....	57
6.1.1. Lack of Resources: natural capital (land), human capital (labour), oxen, financial capital (loan), agricultural input .....	57
6.1.2. Lack of Basic Social Security: Health Care, school, water .....	59
6.1.3. Division of Labour .....	61
6.1.4. Divorce-unfair division of resources .....	63
6.2. Major Strategies.....	66
6.2.1. Brewing local Drinks.....	66
6.2.2. Selling Firewood and Charcoal.....	67
6.2.3. Spinning of cotton.....	68
6.2.4. Migration.....	69
Chapter Seven.....	73
Analysis of the Role of PSNP .....	73
7.1. Overview of PSNP –Analysis of its Manual .....	73
7.2. The Role of PSNP to Enhance Rural Women’s Food Security .....	77
7.3. Informants’ View point towards the PSNP and their Eligibility .....	79

7.3.1. PW Beneficiaries Viewpoint about PSNP and their Eligibility .....	79
7.3.2. PW Beneficiaries Viewpoint towards Contribution of PSNP.....	82
7.3.3. DS Beneficiaries Viewpoint .....	87
Chapter Eight .....	93
Conclusion.....	93
8.1. Challenges and o Strategies of Rural Women to Secure their Household .....	93
8.2. Empowerment and Disempowerment .....	96
Reference .....	99
Appendix .....	104



# Chapter One

## Introduction

### 1.1. Presentation of Study Area

This research was conducted in one rural *kebele* of Goncha Siso-Enese *woreda*, East Gojjam Zone in the Amhara Regional State, Ethiopia. The research explored the Role of Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) in Enhancing Rural Women's Food Security and Resource Control. Ethiopia is a country located in Eastern Africa with total population of 73,750,932 (CSA, 2008). Addis Ababa is the capital of the country and Amharic is the official language of the country. Since 1995, Ethiopia is divided into nine ethnically based regional administrative and two administrative cities.

From nine administrative regions, the Amhara region is the second largest region in the country. The region is the home land of Amahra people and its capital is Bahir Dar. Amhara region is divided in to 11 administrative zones, 78 urban centres, 126 rural *woredas* and 3,105 rural *kebeles*<sup>1</sup>. There are three basic agro-ecological zones in the region: Dega, Woyina-Dega and Kolla. The dominant economic activity for the region is agriculture and about 85% of the population of the region are engaged in agriculture. The rural population of the region earns its living from mixed agriculture: farming and livestock production (BoFED, 2006). According to the 2008 CSA of Ethiopia, 82.5% of the population in the region are Orthodox Christian. Amharic is the working language of the region as well as mother tongue for 91.47% of population in the region.

The region is one of the major Teff<sup>2</sup> producing areas in the country. Barely, wheat, oil seeds, sorghum, maize, wheat, oats, beans and peas are other major crops produced in large quantities. Moreover, cash crops such as cotton, sunflower, and sugarcane grow in the

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<sup>1</sup> As explained in Administrative Division of Ethiopia (ADE) (2009), *keble* is the smallest administrative unit of Ethiopia and it is part of *woreda* or district. It contains localized and delimited group of people based on ethno-linguistic communities. Each *kebele* consists of at least five hundred families, or the equivalent of 3,500 to 4,000 persons.

<sup>2</sup> Teff is an iron rich grain which grows in the middle elevation with adequate rainfall areas

region's lowlands. The water resources found in the region provide an immense potential for irrigation development of the country.

Ethiopia's largest inland body of water, Lake Tana which is the source of the Blue Nile River is located in the Amhara region. Moreover, the Semen Mountain National Park, which includes the highest point in Ethiopia, Ras Dashen (about 4620m) and many endemic animals in Ethiopia, is found in the region. The Amhara region is also rich in livestock such as cattle, sheep, goats, equines, and poultry.

The research for this thesis has been conducted in Goncha Siso-Enese *woreda*, which is one of rural *wordas* of Amhara region found in East Gojjam Zone. Goncha Siso Ense borders Enarj Enawga *woreda* in the South; Hulet Eju Ense *woreda* in the West; Abay River in the North and Enbsie Sar Mider *woreda* in the East. The *woreda* is located 347 kms North of Addis Ababa. The capital town of Goncha Siso-Enese is Gindo Weyine. Based on the 2007 national census of Ethiopia, this *woreda* has a total population of 149,646, out of which 74,347 are men and 75,299 are women; 7,690 or 5.14 % are urban inhabitants.

Agriculture is the main economic activity and Amharic is mother tongue in the *woreda*. The majority (98.08%) of the inhabitants practice Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity as their religion. According to MoARD, (2004), in 2002, Goncha Siso Enese was judged to be one of the four chronically food insecure *woredas* in Amhara Region, because their farmland is being extremely depleted, deforested and eroded. If a *woreda* is considered as chronically food insecure by Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, then it will be eligible to get support from the PSNP. Hence, it is under PSNP. But it doesn't mean that all *kebles* found in the *worda* and all household heads found in the *keble* will get support from the PSNP. Thus, only chronically food insecure *kebles* and household heads from the *worda* will get the support.

With an area of 1,038.17 square kilometres, Goncha Siso-Enese has a total 38 *kebeles* in which 37 of them are rural *kebeles* and one is an urban *kebele*. Among 37 rural *kebles*, ten are under the support of PSNP. In those *kebles*, all household heads are beneficiaries of the PSNP support. From ten *kebles* under PSNP, the research was delimited to one rural *kebele* of the Goncha Siso-Enese *worda*.

## **1.2. Statement of the Problem and Motivation behind the Research**

People's overall access to food is very dependent on the work of rural women who produce the majority of food and are responsible for ensuring that their families' basic needs are met UNHCR(2008: P2). Hence, rural women's food security is a critical gender issue. According to FAO (2011: P7), women comprise an average of 43 percent of the agricultural labour force of developing countries. Moreover, women produced over 50 percent and 60-80 percent of food in the world and Sub-Saharan Africa respectively (FAO, 2008 cited in UNHCR 2008). In Ethiopia, food shortage has remained to be one of the most important challenges which the country is still experiencing. In an agrarian society like Ethiopia, where the majority of the labour force is engaged in farming, the contribution of women towards household level food production has been important. Ethiopian women constitute almost half of the total population, and around 83.5% of them live in rural areas and earn their livelihoods from agriculture (CSA, 2008). They contribute significantly to the agricultural production and household food security. Nevertheless, there is lack of studies related to their way of dealing with food security issues. Therefore, my study will look into the issue of food security from women's point of view.

In addition, those few researches which focused on women also continued treating women as poorer than men and as victims of food shortages. For example, both Haregewoin Cherinet (2003) and Mulumebet Melaku (2010) stated that women are poorer than men and they suffer more from food shortage. Contrary to the above findings, I learned from my previous Master's thesis fieldwork experience that there are female-headed households that are food secured and male-headed households which are under chronic food insecurity. Therefore, this research was intended to go in detail into women's situations and reflect on those generalizations.

Moreover, in many studies related to resource (access and right) women are represented as victims. For instance, according to Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) 2006, female household heads often have less access to productive resources: land and oxen than their men counterparts. Moreover, Yigremew Adal conducted a research in 2007 about Women's Access to Farmland and his findings showed that female headed households have less access to farmland than male headed households. However, such generalizations are not true all the way. From my experience in Hulet Eju Ensie Amhara region, women's land rights are almost

achieved and women have equal right and access to land as men do. However, I also found that access and right to resources may not mean that full control over resources such as land, oxen, crop, and money are achieved. Hence, I wanted to examine more in detail women's control over such resource in the study area.

Furthermore, from my previous master's thesis fieldwork experience, I understood that there are various social actions and holiday celebrations which are extravagant and required large amount of food and drinks from the society at a time or a day. The society values those cultural celebrations and many people even prefer to spent more food on that day rather than for household consumption. Missing being part of those holidays is a shame for the household. Household heads may consider his/her household as food insecure if that household is unable to participate on those holidays even if the household is able to feed its family members. There is also cultural grace given by society for the household which is able both to participate on those holidays and feed its family member. In such a way, cultural practices also have direct impact on household's food security situation. Therefore, the research was intended to explore the impact of cultural traditions and practices involving food on household food security status in the study area. Because of my previous research in the area, I am familiar with the context and also have some contacts there. Thus, I decided to conduct this research in this *woreda*.

During my previous fieldwork, I heard that Goncha Siso Enese *woreda* is more chronically food insecure than Hulet Eju Ensie and that is why it is under the Productive Safety Net Program (PSNP). As I heard from farmers, PSNP supports women in many ways and they consider that the PSNP give more attention to women than men. Moreover, according to Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MoARD) 2004, Goncha Siso Enese is one of the chronically food insecure *woredas* in Amhara region. This triggered me to select the study area.

### **1.3. Productive Safety Net Program**

Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia issued different development policies at different time. Accordingly, the Food Security Strategy in Ethiopia was developed in 1996, revised in 2002. The main objective of the food security strategy is to ensure food security at the household level. The PSNP is one of the components of the strategy. The objective of the Program as stated in MoARD, 2006, p.1. is to provide transfers to the food insecure

population in chronically food insecure *woredas* in a way that prevents asset depletion at the household level and creates assets at the community level.

PSNP has two components; Public Works (PWs) and Direct Support (DS). Public works are labour-intensive community-based sub-projects designed to address underlying causes of chronic food insecurity through the provision of employment for chronically food insecure people who can work. Public Works are labour-intensive which include road building, soil and water conservation, building of school class rooms, building of public health centre, building and rebuilding houses for female household heads and elderly who are not able to build by themselves, building small dams around river edge and so on.

PW beneficiaries are supposed to work for five hours per day for 3 days per month. Currently, payment per an hour is 14 Ethiopian birr<sup>3</sup>. Households meeting the entry criteria to the PSNP but without ability to supply labour for Public Works receive unconditional direct transfers of an equal amount of cash or food as do the public work beneficiaries. Thus, DS beneficiaries will get 210 Ethiopian birr per month. Such support is known as Direct Support, and households in this category do not work in return for their transfers (MoARD, 2010). The support for both beneficiaries is for six month per year (from February to July).

The PSNP is intended to be short term: the beneficiary households are expected to build their own assets and ultimately become self supporting and graduate from the program within five years time. According to its manual, women are key targets of the program. There are a few scholars who have conducted studies on food security and food security policies and strategies. However, gender issues were not the foci. (See for instance, Workneh 2008 and Yared 2001). Therefore, it is important to trace the role of the PSNP in empowering rural women, in enhancing their control of productive recourse and food security as it was planned.

#### **1.4. Objectives**

The general objective of this thesis is to explore challenges and strategies of rural women in their food security and resources control as well as the role of the PSNP in enhancing rural Fwomen's resource control and their food security in Goncha Siso Enese *Woreda*. As explained in its manual, the PSNP gives special consideration to empower women. Rural

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<sup>3</sup> 5 times 3 will be 15 hours per month and the payment per month is 210 Ethiopian birr or 11USD.

women's resource control and their household food security are important to their economic, political and social empowerment. Therefore, the thesis will explore how the PSNP enhance rural women's food security and resource control in the studied area.

### **1.5. Research Questions**

In order to achieve the above stated objective, this thesis answered the following major questions:

- What challenges do rural women face in sustaining resource control and food security at the household level?
- What strategies do rural women employ to secure their household and resource control?
- To what extent and how does the PSNP empower women in their efforts to achieve food security and resource control?

### **1.6. Organization of the Thesis**

The research has eight chapters. The first chapter deals with presentation of the study area, background of the study, main objective and research question of the research. The second chapter provides an overview of related literature and researches conducted so far. The third chapter outlines the theoretical framework of the study while the fourth chapter summarizes the research methodology and depicts challenges that the researcher faced during fieldwork. The fifth, sixth and seventh chapters discuss the key findings of the study and the last chapter attempts to offer an overall conclusion to the reader.

## **Chapter Two**

### **Literature Review**

This chapter presents the relevant literature on concepts of food security, food security strategies, PSNP, and rural women's access and control over major agricultural resources. Moreover, major challenges and strategies of rural women will also be discussed. Food security is a complex and multi-dimensional phenomena and can be dealt with various concepts and indicators. Several researchers dealt with food security related to issues like access to land, access to labour, access to credit, access to agricultural input and access to fertile land at various levels (household, national and regional). However, I have given much more attention to the research works done on household level in rural Ethiopia since my research area is rural and at household level.

#### **2.1. Concepts of Food Security**

Food security is conceptualized and defined in different ways by different researchers. According to the World Bank (1986: 1) the term "food security," although interpreted in many ways, is defined as by all people at all times to have enough food for an active, healthy life. Its elements are the availability of food and the ability to acquire it. On the same page, food insecurity is defined as "lack of access to enough food". Moreover, according to (FAO, 2010, P:8), "Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life. Food insecurity exists when people do not have adequate physical, social or economic access to food as defined above".

The concept of food security varies across regions, rural and urban contexts. According to Kennedy, (2003) food security availability, access and utilisation differ in urban and rural contexts and across urban socio-economic groups. Kennedy states "Food availability is mainly a function of food production and supply. Both production and supply systems are different in rural and urban contexts. Access to food also has distinct characteristics which differ from the rural to urban areas. Food utilisation, which is influenced by health status and care practices can also be considered from the perspective of an urban environment"

(Kennedy, 2003, P: 2). He showed that the food availability (supply) in urban areas depend on production of rural food while access to food depends on purchasing power and areas of own production of urban people. Degefa (2005), who also conducted research on rural livelihoods, Poverty and Food Insecurity in Ethiopia argued that a household can be regarded as poor and food insecure when it has no access to basic livelihood resources, and when it is highly vulnerable to external shocks (Ibid).

The concerns of food security have also varied historically. As formulated by Maxwell & Smith: "In the 1970s, the concern of food security was at national and global level while in the 1980s, the focus shifted to the question of access to food at household and individual level" (1992: 1). According to Maxwell & Smith (1992), there are four key concepts related to food security: sufficiency of food, access to food, security and time. Among these concepts I will only consider three of them i.e. sufficiency, access to food and time.

**Sufficiency of food** is the amount of food needed by the household or individual for basic needs and a healthy life (P: 4). In the study area, the amount of food required to fulfil basic needs is a question of household. Almost none of my informants have sufficient food for their family member throughout the year. Hence, the issue of sufficient food is important concept to this project.

**Access to food:** according to Maxwell & Smith (1992), access to food can be defined as entitlement of resources and ability of household or individuals to transform resources into food through production or purchase or through gifts (P: 4). Accordingly, access to resources such as land, labour, loan, and oxen determines household's access to food. The ability to control these resources and their products also influence one's access to food. Therefore, the concept of access to food is vital to this project.

The above two concepts are closely interlinked. The amount of sufficient food to the household depends on the household's access to resources as resources are determinant of food production. On the other hand, the existence of sufficient food matters access to resources. Thus, if a household can produce enough food needed by its household members for the whole year, there would not be exhaustion of resources. Otherwise, if the household cannot produce sufficient food for its family member for the whole year, the household often



have to sell or exchange its resources for food. Selling or exchanging resources for food in turn affect household's access to food for the next period of production and then its sufficiency. In such a case there is a direct link between access to food and having sufficient food.

**Time:** Pertaining to time, the severity of food insecurity depends on season and food insecurity may vary according to season or time. In the study area, the food insecurity situation varies from time to time. It is the time or season when the food insecurity is chronic, transitory or cyclic (Maxwell & Smith (1992, P: 4). Most households suffer food shortage for six months. However, it is chronic for most of the households from the beginning of July to beginning of September.

## **2.2. Overview of Food Security Situation in Africa**

Even though there is economic improvement in many countries, food insecurity is Africa's challenge. According to various recent studies and reports, food insecurity in Africa is increasing due to various reasons. Among these Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nation, 2010 on the state of food insecurity in the world reflected that the food insecurity of Africa is declined. "Food security trends in Africa have declined markedly as a result of the combined effects of the food crisis and the global economic downturn" (FAO, 2010: 1). However, the food insecurity of the continent is not even, but varies from region to region and from country to country. In 2006, FAO projected that Sub-food insecurity situation in Saharan Africa will be worsened over the next two decades unless radical measures are taken to improve peace and economic development in the region (FAO, 2006, P: 1).

According to FAO (2010), millions of population in the Horn of Africa are food insecure and those who depend on agriculture are the most vulnerable. It also showed that food insecurity in the region has a gender dimension i.e., the situation has greater impact on women's lives than men. Moreover, according to African Development Bank (AfDB) 2012, food insecurity in Africa, particularly in the Horn of Africa has become worse in previous years and Ethiopia is one of those countries that experienced severe localized food insecurity.

### **2.2.1. Overview of Food Security Situation in Ethiopia**

Different researches have shown that Ethiopia is a country with high prevalence of both transitory and chronic food insecurity. In 2008, Mesay showed that food insecurity in Ethiopia remains a major challenge. Further, in 2006, Asfawe stated that Ethiopian food security situation is persistent. "At national level, the major features of food security in Ethiopia are a persistent deficit in aggregate food supply, a downward trend in per-capita food production, and large variability in output of food items" (Asfawe, 2006:22). There is difference across the different regions of the country however. In 2006, Ejiga stated that the following. " In general, although there is a variation within the country across the regions, the overall production trend in the country has been markedly negative. Millions of Ethiopians each year lack adequate food supplies and are dependent on food aid" (Ejiga, 2006,P:55).

Moreover, research works show that rural parts of the country are more prone to food insecurity. For instance, Frehiwot (2007), stated that large number of food insecure people are found in rural parts of the country. Her study was based on quantitative secondary data of Household Income, Consumption and Expenditure (HICE) and Welfare Monitoring (MW) surveys conducted by Central Statistical Agency (CSA) in the year 1999/00. In most rural parts of Ethiopia, agriculture is main economic activity. Productivity of agriculture depends on fertility and size of farmland, labour, climatic change, modern agricultural inputs and their price and other related factors. All these affect production and accesses to food.

As I discussed chapter one, Ethiopia has nine regions. All these regions do not have the same state of food insecurity, factors of food production, access and time of cultivation. According to Asfawe (2006), most of the chronically food insecure households live in 155 *woredas* found in Amhara, Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples, Tigray and Oromia regions. 2.5 percent of the chronically vulnerable households live in Somalia National Region State (EDRI and IFPRI, 2004, cited in (Asfawe, 2006: 22). Thus Amhara region is one of food insecure regions of the country.

Land, labor, oxen, loan, horse, camel and donkey are the most important food production resources. A number of studies examine the issue of food security in Ethiopia from the resource point of view. For instance, Degefa conducted a research work on *Rural livelihoods*,

*Poverty and Food Insecurity in Ethiopia* in 2005 and on *Assessment of the Role of Local Institutions and Social Capital in Household Food Security* in Oromiya Zone in 2009. He argued that agricultural resources such as land, labour and cattle are the most important factors of production. He also discussed that the distribution of these resources vary across the region. Moreover, Tilaye conducted a study on *Food Insecurity: Extent, Determinants and Household Coping Mechanisms* in Gera Keya Wereda, Amhara Region in 2004. He also reflected that agricultural resources are the base for food security and their distribution is not even within the region. Tarekegn also conducted a study on *Challenges of Sustainable Livelihood* in 2006 and Workneh Negatu on *Land Tenure and Food Security*. Both of them reflected that the above mentioned agricultural resources are important for food security of a household. Asfawe (2006) who conducted his research work on food security in SNNPR also identified five productive resources that are essential assets that affect agricultural performance such as land, labour, animal power, technological inputs and credit services. Mulumbet (2010) who conducted a research on the Role of PSNP on Women's Food Security in Amhara region also showed that food production of a household depends on access to agricultural productive resources such as land, loan, male labour, oxen and agricultural inputs: improved seeds, pesticides, and fertilizers. Thus, the above studies had more or less similar ideas about the importance of agricultural resources such as land, livestock, loan, house, fertilizer, pesticides and improved seeds are important. However, the importance of each resource may vary from region to region, from household to household, from situation to situation as well as from agro-ecological zone.

### **2.2.2. Food Security State of Amahara Region**

As I discussed in the introduction, Amhara region is the second largest region in the country. It has several resources such as farm land, livestock, rivers (the biggest river in the country is found in this region); the biggest lake Tana, beautiful and biggest water falls in the country and tourist attraction: attractive wild animals and historical places, and other important resources. Amhara region is known for its teff production. However, these resources are not evenly distributed throughout the region. As several studies showed in spite of such abundance of resources, the Amhara region is a region of food shortage due to both natural and manmade problems.

Amhara region is frequently suffering from both transitory and chronic food insecurity problem (Ejiga, 2006:56). Tilay who conducted research on Food Insecurity: Extent, Determinants and Household Coping Mechanism in Gera Keya Werda, Amhara Region in 2004, discussed that the Amhara National Regional State is one of the poorest regional economies in Ethiopia. Moreover, Frehiwot (2007) explained that Amhara region is one of the food insecure prone areas of the country. "In the last ten years the Amhara regional state have been identified as chronically food insecure area and cannot adequately feed its population. In the region, about 2.5 million people suffered from food insecurity and drought problem" (Frehiwot, 2007:9).

Furthermore, according to Amhara National Regional State Food Security Research Assessment Report in 2002/3, 48 *wordas* of the Amhara region are drought-prone and suffer from frequent food shortages and many households are only able to produce sufficient food to meet their food requirements for less than six months of the year. This means that these households are facing food shortage around six month of the year. The above research findings showed that the region is struggling with food insecurity. In the Amhara region, agriculture in depends on rainfall but in most parts of the region it is not raining on time. Due to over cultivation and increased in population size the fertility of the land is reduced and the price of fertilizer is high. Natural hazards are also other factor. Consequently, food production in the region is not sufficient. However, it does not mean that all parts of the region suffer from food insecurity. For example, according to Amhara National Regional State Food Security Research Assessment Report in 2002, western part of the region is better than eastern part.

### **2.3. PSNP**

As far as I know there is not much research works done in Ethiopia on the issue of PSNP. However, there are some studies conducted recently. For instance, Habtamu conducted a research on Impacts of Productive Safety Net Program on Household Welfare and Labour Supply in Rural Ethiopia in 2011. The researcher applied the panel data of the 2004 and 2009 collected by the Department of Economics at the Addis Ababa University in collaboration with Centre for the Study of African Economics at Oxford University and the International Food Policy Research Institute. The study focused only on the impact of PSNP at household level. His analysis presented that PSNP reduces the total consumption and welfare (food

consumption and assets of beneficiary households) P: 101. His study showed that the people who are under the program misunderstood the objective of the program. He discussed that the attitude of the beneficiaries towards work changed and they became lazy and waiting for support. They consume what they get and their asset building is even less than before. The program is meant to be short term and beneficiaries should graduate from the program when they will have assets and able to produce enough food for their families. However, they did not want to graduate from the program. So they consumed what they get, did not work hard and remained poor so that they will get support longer than five years.

On the other hand, Mulumbet conducted a study on the role of PSNP in empowering women in food security by examining the implementation of the program in Jamma *Woreda* of the Amhara Regional State. The result of her study shows that PSNP has contributed in empowering women economically and in social aspects of their life. She also argued that women equally contribute to their community development by their participation in PW and are able to generate income for their households which brought them personal empowerment, community recognition and respect. She further argued that: “women household heads have a better chance to attend meetings as they decide by their own and it is mandatory for them to get up-to-date information. This has given them the opportunity to widen their exposure and information flow which in effect contribute for their self and social empowerment”. As she discussed, woman’s participation in community activity and PSNP has improved as a result of the program contribution.

#### **2.4. Gender Dimension of Food Security and Resource Control**

Earlier, various research works conducted on Ethiopian women and gender related issues show that Ethiopian women in general and rural women in particular are the most food insecure section of the society. For example, Mesay who conducted research on Gender, Household Food Security and Coping Strategy: the case of Meskan *Woreda* of the Gurage Zone in 2008, showed that the food security situation of rural women in Ethiopia is more serious than men. According to Mesay (2008), cultural division of labour is constraining factor that hindered the productive capacity of female headed households. He also argued that lack of access to productive resources such as land, oxen, male labour and loan are the most important factors that hinder rural women’s food production and availability of food for their household consumption. Furthermore, according to him female headed households are more

food insecure and less self- sufficient compared to male- headed households. Moreover, Ejigu (2006) showed that women have less access to resource and children are more vulnerable to food insecurity.

Furthermore, Asfawe who conducted his research work on Food Security Situations and Resource Endowments of Rural Households in D'irashe *Wworeds* in Sothern Ethiopia in 2006 showed that there is a significant gender difference in terms of resource endowment as well as food security situation: women's food security situation is worse than men's. "There is significant difference in terms of number of cattle (including draft oxen) and family size between male-and female-headed households, that is, male-headed households have greater number of cattle and large family size which are but the most important contributors of draught power and labour" (Asfawe,2006: 98). According to him, female-headed households are more food insecure than male-headed ones.

Though there is change over time, in general, several studies showed Ethiopian women have less recourse access and control. For instance, Amare, who conducted a research on livelihood of women in southern region in 2011, showed that "access to resources/assets like livestock including oxen, cow, goat, and others such as poultry by the women who head their households is very low" (Amare, 2011: 69). He conducted his study in two *kebles* of Amaro *woreda*: which were selected from two agro ecological zones in Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region. His background in selecting these two *kebles* was that the problem of food security in these two agro ecological zones was bad and there was a high number of women household heads in these *kebles*. Mesay (2008) and Mulumbet (2010) also showed that rural women have low access to these resources. Resources are important factors of food production. Less access to these resources would affect the availability and access to food. Due to various factors, women have less access to these resources put them food insecure.

Further, in my study (Addis, 2011) on rural women's access to land and their food security situation, women's control over resource and their product is limited. The study was conducted on two different *kebles* and the analysis was a comparison between those two *kebles*. Furthermore, Amlaz (2007) who conducted a research on rural women's access to

land, in Omiya region, also confirmed that rural women's access to land is less than men and especially their control is limited.

Mesay (2008) also showed that female headed households have less access to and control over resources. "It has been proven in the study area that while both smallholder male and female-headed households lack sufficient access to agricultural resources, female-headed households generally have much lesser access and control over resources" (P:74). According to him, female-headed households compared to male-headed households lack important productive assets such as land, labour, plough oxen, and capital which play a critical role in the food security of households. Control of agricultural resources increases food production. As the above studies showed, rural women have limited access as well as control over resources. As a result, their access to and production of food is limited.

## **2.5. Strategies of rural women in Ethiopia**

Different household and different individuals have different challenges and different strategies to cope with. According to Maxwell & Smith (1992), each household and individual members of the household would experience different food security risk and follow different food security strategies. People facing the problem of food shortage make strategic decisions about how to meet their needs. These decisions and actions are what are commonly called coping mechanisms. According to FAO (2010), during food shortage the most vulnerable have been adopting coping strategies such as declining access to food, reducing food consumption, selling household assets to acquire food and switching to less nutritious food groups.

In Ethiopian context, different researchers have looked into the issue of household food security. They have forwarded that different types of strategies are used. The major coping mechanisms include production based coping mechanisms, that are ways of expanding crop production by various means; market-based responses which include purchase of food grain; and non-market-based responses which include institutional and social income transfer systems such as gifts, borrowing grain or cash from relatives or reliance on relief food distribution (Tilaye, 2004). Yared (1999) also noted people do not remain passive at times of food shortages instead they will give immediate and seasonal coping strategies in order to

skip the shortage. According to Mesay (2008), even within the same community male headed and female headed household's coping strategies are not the same.

According to Ejiga (2006), selling of assets like livestock and wood, petty trading, handicrafts, and agricultural diversifications are some of coping strategies of the people in his study area. Asfawe (2006) also identified different types of coping strategies employed by women. "Given their vulnerable positions, women employ different coping strategies to improve or maintain their livelihood security, such as mutual assistance arrangement, risk-minimizing activities and seasonal coping strategies, including reducing consumption on voluntary and involuntary basis, creating link with kin who are food secure, eating cheap and wild foods" (Asfawe, 2006:100). He also clearly stated that coping strategies in his study show gender differences. "Female household heads mostly engage in seasonal coping strategies while male household heads engage in market and labour valued strategies" page 101.

Mesay (2008) argued that household's food shortage coping strategies have different levels. He identified limiting size and frequency of food, borrowing and gifts from relatives and friends, mutual support mechanisms, selling of livestock, selling of firewood, off-farm income, cash for work and relief assistance as the main coping strategies. He also stated "In the later stages of food shortage, households mainly adopt strategies such as asset sales and farm land rental. However, other strategies which are pursued at the early stages of food shortages such as off-farm income, sale of firewood, loans and gifts are also simultaneously used as coping mechanism. Out migration is considered as a last option in times of critical food shortages" (P: 67). All these researches show that there are some common coping strategies employed in Ethiopia as a response of food shortage even though the research areas are in different parts of the country. For instance, selling of properties, reducing the amount of food consumption, selling of firewood, borrowing cash or food stuff, and other off farm activities are common.

## **My Contribution**

My study would contribute to the field by answering the following major questions.

1. What was the level of those studies and whose voice was presented?



Several studies were conducted at *woreda* level mostly using qualitative methodology or both qualitative and quantitative methods. It is common to study at national or *woreda* level by taking sample populations with the help of quantitative methodology. By doing so, researchers come up with generalization to the whole population at national or *woreda* level. However, I strongly believe that food security varies from household to household and from individual to individual. Factors of food production such as distribution, access and control over resources as well as cultural and traditional practices are not the same for each household, kebele and *woreda*. Therefore, based on qualitative method, my study will look deeply into what each household has; who has access and direct control over household property; how each household perceives themselves, how cultural and religious practices affect production and access of food at household level. Moreover, in the studies conducted at household level, women's voice might not be visible as men's voice. This study will highlight on the issue from women's point of view and will present their voice by using qualitative methods.

2. What is the current food security and resource control of rural women and what is the role of PSNP?

Several studies and government reports showed women's right, access and control over resources have improved through time. However, these changes also vary according to place, society, culture, religion, and technological advancement. Some studies also showed that PSNP changes the life of beneficiary women. The role of the PSNP may be influenced by society, culture, infrastructure, current economic inflation, people's understanding about the program support and the type of support offered. Moreover, it is important to look whether the change brought by the program is also changing existing social structure or not and whether the change is long term or not. Therefore, my study would contribute to provide literature on rural women's food security situation and resource control and the role of the program to empower rural women on both DS and PW beneficiaries by considering all the above factors.

3. What are the major coping strategies of rural women in male headed household as well as female headed households?

Several studies identified several kinds of coping strategies. However, these coping strategies may not be the same for women in male headed households and in female headed households even in a given study area. Hence, my study would contribute to document different types of

coping strategies employed by married women and female heads of household as well as among Public Work and Direct Support beneficiaries.

4. What was the intention of the PSNP and what is the program actually doing?

This study would contribute to document discrepancy between intention and the actual work of the program.

In addition, it is important to look in to current situation of the country and regions as well. Different government medias and reports state that the country is on the development progress. They say that the production of food in the country is increased rapidly; health and education in the country is increasing in a promising rate and other aspects of the life of the people getting improved and so on. Though there are changes, as per my knowledge and experience in fieldwork and on the street of the capital, there are lots of people suffering from hunger. The problem of health care centre in the country particularly rural parts of the country is continuing. From my personal experience, I can say that in the rural parts of Amhara region are suffering from food insecurity.

## **Chapter Three**

### **Theoretical Framework of the Thesis**

Theories guide researchers to explore problems in a systematic way. "In an attempt to comprehend the unknown or partially known world, researchers will make use of existing theories as a starting point. It is rare that a research takes place in a theoretical vacuum" (Degefa, 2005: 48). Hence, in this thesis I will focus on Scoones' Livelihood Approach and Kabeer's and Mosedal Empowerment Approach to explain rural women's food security situation, resource control and the role of PSNP to enhance these two. Taking more than one perspectives is important to offset the limitation of one another.

#### **3.1. The Livelihood Approach (LA)**

Maxwell & Wiebe (1999) argue that food security is a subset of the livelihood security. This implies that when we discussed the issue of food security, we are touching the livelihood issues. . Livelihood is the way in which households and communities derive food, shelter and clothing to sustain their living (Chambers & Conway, 1992). Chambers (1988) defined livelihood as adequate stocks and flows of food and cash to meet basic needs. Security of the livelihood includes access to the means to produce food or generate the income to meet those needs. According to Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) 2009, the Livelihood Approach seeks to identify what the poor possess rather than what they do not have and to strengthen people's own inventive solutions, rather than substitute for block or undermine them

According to Ashley & Carney (1999), after decades of limited success in eliminating poverty, new ideas about development are emerging. The Livelihood Approach is one of emerging ideas which firmly placing people and the priorities they define as well as their way of life at the centre of analysis and objective-setting. "The Livelihood Approach is based upon evolving thinking about poverty reduction; the way the poor live their lives; the important of structural and institutional issues" (Pp: 4). Department for International Development (DFID) and several other agencies are revising their development strategies and emphasize the elimination of poverty by using this approach to be effective in their development works.

According to Ashley & Carney (1999), DFID's Livelihood Approach stresses the importance of understanding various livelihood components and factors, including:

1. the priorities that people identify;
2. the different strategies they adopt in pursuit of their priorities;
3. the institutions, policies and organisations that determine their access to assets/opportunities and the returns they can achieve;
4. their access to social, human, physical, financial and natural capital, and their ability to put these to productive use; and
5. the context in which they live, including external trends (economic, technological, demographic, etc.), shocks (natural or man-made), and seasonality (Ashley & Carney, 1999:7)

As I discussed above, I will focus specifically on Scoon's Livelihood approach. Thus, according to Scoones (1998), the livelihood approach can be used as analytical tool at various levels: from the individual level, to household, village, region and national level. A livelihood comprises ability, resources and activities for means of living (Scoones, 2009). He also argued that the ability to pursue different livelihood strategies depend on basic material and social resources that people have in their possession (Scoones, 1998:5). He also argues that these resources may be seen as capital bases and can be divided in to four major capitals: natural, financial, human and social capital.

**Natural capital:** includes soil, air, genetic and environmental resources (P: 5). From these natural resources I will concentrate on soil which is part of farm land and which is the base for food production in rural area.

**Financial capital:** includes cash, credit/debit, saving, and other economic assets such as infrastructure, production equipment and technology which are essential to pursue any livelihood (P: 6). From these financial capitals I will focus on cash, credit and saving services only.

**Human capital:** includes skills, knowledge, ability to labour, good health and physical capability important for successful livelihood (P:6). Here, I will give more attention to ability to labour and good health.

**Social capital:** includes social resources such as social networks, social claims, social relations, affiliations, associations up on which people draw when they pursuit different livelihood strategies (P: 6). Here I want to concentrate on social network and social relations.

Scoones agrees with DFID's components of the livelihood approach (listed above) though he added some more new concepts of in 2009. These concepts are knowledge, politics, scale and dynamics. By politics he tried to demonstrate the importance of the livelihood approach to analyze power within given context.

### **3.1.1. The Use of the Livelihood Approach for this Thesis**

As I discussed above, the Livelihood Approach is about people's choice, strategies used to realize their choice; institutional and cultural influences to achieve people's choice. It is also about people's access to social, natural, financial, physical, human capital as well as their abilities to produce food and to control over all these capitals. This project discusses the challenges rural women face and their strategies to secure their household and resource control. In chapter five rural women's food security, controls over resources as well as their social relationships are discussed. Here, I found that the Livelihood Approach is important tool to analyse rural women's natural capital: land; human capital: labour; financial capital: credit and saving and social capital. Moreover, since the Livelihood Approach is about peoples' choice and strategies to pursue their living, in chapter six, it is helpful to discuss strategies of rural women to their food security. Therefore, the Livelihood Approach is a very promising approach to analyze rural women's choice, ability to produce food, and their strategy used to sustain their lives.

However, the Livelihood Approach has its limitations. According to Ashley & Carney (1999), livelihood framework has limitations such as under emphasising of power-relations. They also argued that though the Livelihood Approach analysis can contribute but measuring changes in livelihoods is difficult so other approaches are needed to understand the complexity of structures and processes. They discussed that in order to minimize such limitation one must integrate other perspectives. And even though, Scoones has incorporated the concept of power under politics in 2009, the issue of power-relation is not addressed well.

Moreover, Lasse (2001) discussed that the livelihood approach has not given much attention to gender and power. According to him, gender is an important arena where power relations exercised. ” Gender is an aspect of social relations and to the extent that relations between men and women are characterized by marked inequality and social domination, they obviously form part of the problem” (P: 4). Lasse has also clearly stated that the livelihood approach do not give appropriate attention to women to address their problem genuinely. Thus, these limitations will be minimized by using Empowerment Approach.

### **3.2. The Empowerment Approach - Kabeer's and Mosedal**

As mentioned above Kabeer's and Mosedal Empowerment Approach was also employed in this project to analyze the role of PSNP in empowering rural women in food security and resources control. Empowerment is defined differently by different scholars. According to Mosedale (2005), in development studies empowerment can be discussed from four aspects (Pp: 244). Accordingly, first to be empowered one must have been disempowered, second empowerment cannot be bestowed by third party, thirdly empowerment usually include a sense of decision making and fourth empowerment is ongoing processes. Thus, empowerment according to Mosedal (2005) should bring change which was not there or should add something to what already existed. It should also be a change according to the interest of those who are supposed to be empowered rather than something derived by others. It should promote one's ability or power which is crucial for the decision making process at household as well as community level and the ability to access, control and use resources and their products. Empowerment also should not be short term, but should continue further.

According to Kabeer (1999:437) ”Empowerment is a process by which those who have denied the ability to make strategic life choice (possibilities of alternatives) acquire such ability (power to exercise choice). According to her, powerful people who can exercise a great deal of choice in their lives are not empowered if they were never disempowered (Kabeer, 1999:2). According to her, poverty has logical ground that shows one was disempowered. Thus, there is a logical association between poverty and disempowerment. Because of an insufficiency of the material means for meeting one's strategic life choice, one's livelihood choice is limited. She also argued that the issue of power is important if ability to exercise choice is constrained by certain deep rooted causes. Likewise, Kabeer also

suggested that "The phenomenon of empowerment can be analyzed through three key concepts of agency, resource and achievement" (Kabeer 2005:13).

**Empowerment and the Concept of Resources:** according to Kabeer (2005: 15), "Resources are means to exercise agency and certain actors have privileged position over others about how rules, conventions and norms are interpreted and how these rules and norms are put into practice". The distribution of resources depends on the ability to define priorities and enforce claims. Moreover, "Resources include material, human and social resources that help to enhance ability to exercise choice" (Kabeer, 1999:3). The distribution of these resources involves the exercise of power. Thus, control and access to resources enhance one's decision making power.

**Empowerment and the Concept of Agency:** according to Kabeer (2005: 14), "Agency has both positive and negative connotation. In its positive implication it is the "power to" which refers to people's ability to make and act on their life choice while in its negative sense it is the power over which refers to the power over other". In its positive sense, it is people's ability to make life choice and to pursue their livelihood even though they face opposition or resistance from others. According to her it may be negative. "It will be negative if actors impose their goal on others against their life choice" (Kabeer, 1999:4). Furthermore, according to her agency which is the ability to define one's goals and act upon them is another dimension of power. She also point out that agency can be conceptualized as decision making.

**Empowerment and the Concept of Achievement:** "Achievement is about the extent to which people have the capabilities to realize potentials for living their lives as they want and fulfil their strategic needs, not only their survival needs" (Kabeer 2005:15). Kabeer defines strategic needs as long term needs which can help to transform a women's life and increase her decision making power, such as economic independence and education while survival needs are basic needs such as food stuffs. Moreover, "Resource and agency together constitute achievement" (Kabeer, 1999:4). According to her achievement is the people's ability to live valued lives as they want to in a given context and involves the concept of power when the failure to achieve the desired life is constrained by others. She also argued that, achievement should be transformative (challenge existing gender inequalities and social values in the community) (ibid).

### **3.2.1. The Use of the Empowerment Approach for this Thesis**

According to Kabeer, access to resources shows the possibilities of entitlements which are subject to cultural norms and rules. The ability to make choice is related to power. In the study area, cultural norms have impact in determining rural women's ability to control or entitle resources. Thus, rural women's access to resources and their ability to control these resources is important to their household security. Therefore, analyzing rural women's access resource involves the concept of resource. In addition, women's ability to control resources as well as the product of these resources in the household level involves the concept of an agency. Thus, to analyse chapter five which is about resources, Empowerment Approach was promising approach to this project.

Further, agency is the ability or power to make decision to define one's own life and to act up on it. Decision making power can vary across culture, geographical location, as well as women's status in the society. Furthermore, according to Kabeer achievement reflects transformative outcomes of a program as empowerment. Moreover, Mosedale (2005) also argued that empowerment should be incorporate sense of decision making power. Therefore, in chapter seven in order to analyze the role of PSNP in improving women's survival and strategic needs and their decision making power, the Empowerment Approach was useful.

Furthermore, in Ethiopia, particularly in rural Ethiopia, women participate in agricultural activities such as weeding, digging, and others. However, societies do not recognize women's labour as equal as men's labour. Moreover, women's contribution to the household and economy as a whole is not equal as men's contribution to the household and economy. Further, according to Mosedale (2005), empowerment should be on going processes. Hence, in order to see whether women's participation in public activities challenges the existing concept of women's labour or not and to evaluate the role of PSNP whether it is ongoing or will it stop when the project phase-out, I found that the Empowerment Approach was important analytical tool.



## Chapter Four

### Methodology of the Project

This chapter presents all aspects of the research project's methodology. It also discusses issues such as methods of data collection, types of data sources, profile of informants, the actual process of the fieldwork, challenges met during fieldwork and ethical considerations.

#### 4.1. The Qualitative Research Method

A research method is processes of collecting data, analyzing and interpreting to realize the objectives of a study at hand ((Tripathi, 2002 cited in Mulugeta, 2009). Qualitative research method involves different data collection tools such as case studies, interviews, focus group discussions and observation (Robson, 1995). According to Creswell (1998), qualitative methods are effective in obtaining information about the values, attitudes, and social contexts of particular populations. He further contends that qualitative research methods are well suited to access particular issues from the informants' point of view and their actual life experiences in their own language (Creswell, 2007). Furthermore, Kvale and Brinkmann (2008) argue that qualitative methods are flexible and help to understand social phenomenon from the participant point of view.

The general objective of the project is to explore the role of Productive Safety Net Program (PSNP) in empowering rural women's resource control and their food security in 029 *keble* in Goncha Siso Enese *Woreda*. Moreover, this project aims to identify rural women's challenges and strategies to secure their household in the area. We couldn't measure and quantify empowerment easily using numbers and it is also relative according cultural contexts and resources available. Rural women's challenges and strategies are relative according to their culture and problem they face. Challenges and strategies of rural women should also be seen from their point of view. Qualitative methods are important to understand the role of PSNP in enhancing women's empowerment; to look at economic, social and political empowerment; challenges they face and strategies they employ to secure their household in the study area. Thus, in my project, I have selected a combination of tools to collect reliable and detailed data, to understand the problem in a deeper way as well as to allow participants to articulate their life experiences in their own view and language.

## 4.2. Data Sources

Data was generated from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data sources were interviews, Focus Group Discussions (FGD), observation and informal conversation. I held individual interview with eight married women and nine female heads of household as well as eight experts for this project. Individual interviews with experts were held in their office after regular work time and during lunch time whereas individual interview with women were held in their houses and fields during holidays. I also did 4 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with 29 people altogether. FGDs were conducted in the compound of Farmers Training Centre (FTC) during holidays. I will explain more about the informants under the heading profiles of informants.

Secondary data sources collected are reports of the *woreda*, national land distribution policy, national food security policy and strategy, PSNP strategy, *woreda* manuals of PSNP, manuals of Amhara Credit and Saving Institution (ACSI), books, journals, published and unpublished masters' thesis.

## 4.3. The Process of Fieldwork

My first task as a researcher was getting permission from the *Woreda* Agricultural and Rural Development Office (WARDO). Since I had a letter from University of Bergen and my supervisor, it was not so hard. People in the office were cooperative and friendly. They gave me permission soon; they helped me in selection of site and they gave me access to necessary information. As soon as I got permission from the WARDO and access to the necessary information, selection of *keble* was done.

After that I went to the selected *keble* with my brother and we also met *keble* Development Agent (DA)<sup>4</sup> expert on our way who ended up helping me as research assistant in *keble* 029 since he was working there. He helped me a lot. He showed the way to Keble 029 and he arranged a place for us to stay. We arrived to the field after walking a long distance (the first

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<sup>4</sup> DAs are agricultural experts assigned by government officials at *woreda* and *keble* level to assist farmers by provide agricultural knowledge and up to date information on soil and water conservation; price, importance and how to use improved seeds, fertilizer and pesticide; how to make homemade fertilizer; how to take care animals. They are also responsible to facilitate supports from NGOs such as PSNP.

time I went there, it took 10 hours for me while it normally takes five to five and half hours for the local people). Even though it was far from the capital of the *woreda*, meeting such a community was exciting for me. In the beginning of my stay I tried to get acquainted with the people, community, environment and cultural context. With the help of my research assistant, informants were selected. I tried to introduce myself, the objective of the project, as well as the objectives of the interview to them. Ethical issues such as informed consent, confidentiality, trust and others were discussed with the informants.

Interview with informants had three sessions. Thus, I visited interview informants three times. That was to ensure the validity of the information and to get as much information as possible about the issues. The first session was an introduction session: I clearly introduced myself and my research to the selected informants. In this session, semi-structured interview, informal conversations and observation were also started. In the second session, when I met informants again, the conversations were more deep, friendly and organized. The third session was to confirm the validity of information I had got from the informants during the first two sessions, and to grasp some aspects that I did not get during the first two sessions.

#### **4.4. Data Collection Methods**

##### **4.4.1. Interview**

As I discussed above, individual interview was one of the methods for generating primary data for this project. Semi-structure individual interview with 17 rural women who are beneficiaries of PSNP and eight experts were conducted using interview guides developed in advance. Experts include the Development Agent expert and *kebele* leader and Agricultural expert (both at *kebele* level), PSNP head, PSNP expert, Land Administration expert, Women's Affairs Office (WWAO) head and WWAO expert (all the latter at *woreda* level). The aim of the interview with rural women was to understand their household security and resource control status; their challenges, their strategies employed to secure their household and resource control. In addition to those points, the interview with rural women was carried out to explore the role of PSNP to enhance their empowerment, their food security and resource control. It was to understand the contribution of PSNP to promote and enhance economic, social and political empowerment of its beneficiary.

Interview with *woreda* PSNP head and *woreda* PSNP experts were undertaken to look into roles of PSNP in rural women's economic, social, political and any other empowerment, PSNP roles in food security and resource control, to assess the level of rural women's participation in public works, in planning and decision making of the community development and activities or trainings provided (if any) to promote women's empowerment. It was also to understand the criteria used to select beneficiaries; the type and amount of transfers; method, time and place of payment as well as the type and distribution of PSNP services. Finally, I explored whether gender concerns are addressed in PSNP as it is outlined in its manual.

On the other hand, the interviews with Development Agent expert, Agricultural expert, *Kebel* leader and land administrative experts were conducted to explore rural women's access to agricultural extension services; to credit and saving service; rural women's participation in community activities; and their control and access to land and other resources in the study area. Further, the interview with *Woreda* Women's Affairs Office (WWAO) head and WWAO expert were conducted to assess their role in and contribution to the effective implementation of PSNP, food security program and strategies; land policy, credit and saving programs, rural women's empowerment in food security and resource control and rural women's challenges. All interviews with rural women and some of the interviews with experts were tape-recorded, with full consent of the interviewees. I also made notes during interviews. In general I would say that interviews with rural women were smoother than the interviews with experts.

#### **4.4.2. Focus Group Discussion (FGD)**

Four focus group discussions were held, one with female heads of household: one with married women, one with men and one with men and married women (both married women and female heads of households). The first three groups had seven group members while the last had eight. The FGDs were conducted using developed FGD guides for the following aims. The first main aim was to assess the challenges and strategies of women in food security and resource control in the study area. The second main aim was to assess the role of PSNP in enhancing women's empowerment for securing food in their households and for controlling resource. The third main aim was to assess opinions of men and women themselves towards women's economic, social and political empowerment. Focus group discussions were conducted voluntarily, freely and people were allowed to discontinue their

participation if they feel discomfort. During discussion with married women, one informant left the discussion. FGD with female head of household was more interactive than with married women. FGD with men and women was the most interactive and interesting one. The FGDs were recorded with the full consent of the informants. In addition notes were taken during interviews and FGDs.

#### **4.4.3. Observation and Informal Conversations**

During fieldwork, observation and informal conversations were employed to get an in-depth understanding about the different situations of rural women and the food security conditions in the study area. Thus, gender roles and division of labour in the household, in the field, in the market place, in the community; main livelihood of the community; rural women's decision making power in the household and social networks and cultural practices were observed during fieldwork. Informal conversations were important to explore the life of rural women, their challenges, strategies, their decision making power and opinion of the rural women towards gender roles and the role of PSNP in their lives.

#### 4.1. Profile of Interview and FGD Participants

The following table depicts the profile of informants and FGD discussants in brief.

	<b>Informants</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Total Number</b>
<b>1</b>	Female heads of household	23-57	Female	9
<b>2</b>	Married women	20-64	Female	8
<b>3</b>	Agricultural Expert	31	Male	1
<b>4</b>	Development Agents expert	26	Female	1
<b>5</b>	<i>Kabel</i> leader	39	Male	1
	Land Administrative expert	43	Male	1
	<i>Woreda</i> PSNP head	35	Male	1
	<i>Woreda</i> PSNP expert	28	Female	1
	WWAO head	48	Male	1
	WWAO expert.	25	Female	1
	<b>Total</b>			<b>25</b>
	<b>Focus Group Discussants</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Group members</b>
<b>1</b>	Female heads of household	24-40	Female	<b>7</b>
<b>2</b>	Married women	30-55	Female	<b>7</b>
<b>3</b>	Men (husbands)	34-39	Male	<b>7</b>
<b>4</b>	Mixed: Men and women		Male& female	<b>8</b>
	<b>Total</b>			<b>29</b>

#### **4.5. Site and Informant Selection**

According to MoARD, (2004), in 2002, Goncha Siso Enese was judged to be one of four chronically food insecure *woredas* in Amhara Region, due to much of their farmland being extremely depleted, deforested and eroded. Hence, it is under PSNP. Furthermore, because of my previous research, I am familiar with some context though there is difference between two research areas. I have also some contacts in the capital of the *worda*. These two reasons inspired me to select Goncha Siso Enese *woreda* as project site. The *worda* has 38 *kebles* and 10 *kebles* are under PSNP. The selection of the *Kebele* was done in consultation with the *Woreda* Office of Agriculture and Rural Development. Out of 10 *kebles*, *keble* 029 was purposively picked up due to its large number of female head households, its distance from the *worda* capital and its accessibility. Informants were selected purposively based on their closeness for the appropriate information and their willingness to participate.

#### **4.6. Data Analysis**

Qualitative data gathered thorough informant interview, FGDs and observation were transcribed and categorized thematically for the purpose of thematic analysis and presentation. Major themes were identified in line with research questions. As I employed different qualitative data collection tools, triangulation of those methods was done during analysis in order to validate findings. This means that issues intended to be addressed were analyzed using findings from informant interviews, FGDs and observations. Primary data as well as secondary data were used to draw arguments at the time of analysis.

#### **4.7. Ethical Considerations**

Informants were provided detail explanation about the overall objective of the study in advance. FGDs and interviews were conducted on the free will of informants. Informant's consent was also confirmed to record their voice during the interviews and FGDs. They were also informed that the information they gave would be kept secret and will not be transferred to a third party or will not be used for any other purpose apart from this study.

#### **4.8. Challenges Met During Fieldwork**

During the fieldwork, I met some major challenges. The first challenge was infrastructure, such as lack electricity, infrastructure, clean water, health care centre and transportation. There was no access to clean water in the *keble* which in turn affected my health. There was no good health care service as well. I was ill due to walking a long distance and lack of clean water in the study area. There was only a small clinic but no medicine and the treatment is only first aid for those who have an accident and things like that. In other words, I could not get treatment there and I had to go back to the capital to get medical treatment.

The second challenge was that informants were not open in the first place. They considered me as a representative of the ruling political party, or as staff of the PSNP. Whenever I asked them something, their answer was yes, nice, and sometimes even they ignored me. However, through time they came to know me and opened up. Furthermore, it was rainy season and it was a bit problematic to move around the fields with my informants. I really wanted to move with them to their fields and to see their activities in the field. However, due to the rainy season the fields were getting slippery, thus I could not move around with them as I wanted. Another challenge I met was getting access to experts and leaders. Interviews with them were cancelled many times. However, it was solved by arranging the sessions during their lunch time, and after work time.

Further, there is also another program called Household Asset Building Program (HABP). Even though its objective and activities are different from PSNP, most of my informants mixed up the two programs. i.e, they mixed the objectives, activities and contexts of PSNP with HABP. When I asked questions about PSNP, their answer was about HABP. It was a big challenge. I discussed this problem with my research assistant and he advised me to relate my questions with specific supports and activities of PSNP. As he told me the local people can easily identify programs by their support and activity rather than by their name. Therefore, by asking more specific questions related to its support and activities, I tried to avoid this problem.



## **Chapter 5**

### **Agriculture and Food**

This chapter will mainly discuss agricultural resources, important crops and animals and the food and culture in the study area. Thus, it will present agricultural resources: natural capital (land), human capital (labour and gender), financial capital (credit and saving), important crops and animals, household consumption, and social capital (social and religious gatherings). As I discussed in chapter three, resources are capitals of the household which helps to generate food and livelihood security. According to Empowerment Approach, the ability (agency) to control these capitals is subject to customs, rules, gender difference and one's decision making power. Moreover, as discussed in chapter two, access to food can be defined as a household's entitlement of resources and ability to transform them into food through production, or purchase or received as gift. This means that a household's access and control of these capitals determine access and availability of food in the household. In that relation, a discussion of informants' agricultural resource in the following section will help us understand their access to and sufficiency of food.

#### **5.1. Agricultural Resources**

Ethiopia is primarily an agrarian economy. According to CSA (2008), agriculture accounts for 43 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Nearly 87% of the country's population lives in the rural areas with its livelihood mainly depending on agriculture and related activities (check if it is the country's or the region's GDP and population). All my informants' economy is based on agriculture. They produce crops for food as well as for income generation. Hence, agricultural resources are to the basis of household food security. The following are major agricultural resources in the study area.

##### **5.1. 1. Natural Capital-Land**

As I discussed in the theory chapter, land is a natural capital. It is also material resource which is the base of one's livelihood. Several studies presented in chapter two showed that land is the base of Ethiopian agriculture and food production. The country has experienced three major different land tenure systems. The first one was practiced before 1974 during the

imperial regime. During that time, the most common land tenure systems were kinship, private, church, and state holding systems. According to Yigremew, (2002), kinship land holding was the most prevalent in Amhara region. The second land tenure system was introduced during the Derg regime (1974-1991). The Derg regime reformulated the land tenure system in 1975 to abolish the kinship, private and church holdings and to distribute land to farmers instead. The third tenure system is underway from 1991 under the current administration. The current government of Ethiopia formulated a national land policy to grant social justice, equity and efficiency to the people. The 1995 Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) gives women equality to use, transfer, administer, and control of land, and also recognizes their right of sharing land in case of divorce and inheritance. In line with the legal provisions of the federal government, the Amhara National Regional State (ANRS) launched a land redistribution scheme in 1996 to ensure the constitutional rights of the peasantry to get land in possession and to bring equality in the society (Source?...2006). Land owners were issued certificates which show the name of land owners and the boundaries of their land. In case of male headed households, both the names of the husband and the wife are written.

In the Amhara region, people can get access to land through formal and informal ways. Formal access to land is obtained through land redistribution while informal access is ensured through inheritance from parents, share cropping, and rent. In the study area, share cropping is a kind of contract between land owners and the landless or those who have little land. In this contract, the landless or those who have little land cultivate the land and they give half of the products to the land owner. According to my informants, in most cases the landless or those who have little land are expected to do all agricultural activities and pay for costs of fertilizers. However, there are some cases in which the land owners also pay half of the cost of the fertilizers. Mostly, the meaning of rent in the study area is a contract in which the owner of the land rents his or her land for one cultivation period and get it back after that. The rent varies according to the fertility and accessibility of the land. As a natural capital, land is the main source of income for my informants. Interviews and FGDs revealed the importance of land.

Interviews with female head of households confirmed the importance of natural capital, particularly land to them. For instance, lack of land is a major challenge to Alem, a 27-year old woman who is a household head. "Now I am a widow but I got married after the 1996

land redistribution. So we had only one *timad* land which my husband inherited from his father. When he was alive, we did share cropping as well as renting land from land owners and we were good. He passed away and I cannot do either share cropping or rent. I have only one *timad* land and I am poor” she said. Likewise, FGD participants in the group of female heads of households all explained that their land holdings are small. A 38-year old divorced female FGD informant told her case to the group as follows. “Before the divorce, together with my husband, I had five *timad*<sup>5</sup> land. At that time I was not such a poor woman; rather I was rich. I remember once that, I even lent 50kg teff to my sister when she needed it. But after the divorce I have only one *timad* land and it is not fertile. That is why I am poor.” The group members know her case; all of them were sympathized with her, and they confirmed that all of them have small land.

Interviews with married women also confirmed the importance of land to them as well. Yeshe, a 42-year old married woman, of them, for instance, said:

*‘Land is important. We have only two timad land while we have 5 children. It is too small to produce crops enough for the household consumption. We are poor since our land is not enough for us. We tried our best by employing share cropping. However, half of the produces goes to the land owner. So I can say that land is the most important factor to produce food.’*

The informants’ views towards land in general indicated that land is the most important resource for them. FGD with married women also showed that land is important to produce food and also it is their main source of income. “How is it possible to produce crops for food without land?”. One informant asked the group, and the answer was “No it is not possible”. She also said that “Land is our means of food, income, everything. Since we are farmers, land is our life.” Similarly, FGD with men and women informants assured that land is the most important resource for them. They expressed the importance of land in various ways. For instance, they argued that if they had enough land, they would be able to produce various types of crops sufficiently. They also maintained that land can be sold while facing serious challenges; and land can be rented out when they cannot plough it by themselves.

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<sup>5</sup> *Timad* is a traditional land measurement unit in Ethiopia; one *timad* is about a half hectare

Though it was a rainy season, which made walking a long distance very difficult, I visited the farming fields of some of my informants.. The size of their land is not uniform and not proportional with the family members of the household. Moreover, those who have more than one *timad* do not have it in the same place, rather it is dispersed here and there. This negatively affected their land management and cultivation efforts. The size and the fertility of land matter for food productivity. Further, the following table which is constructed based on information from my respondents depicts that the size of the land owned by female heads of households is less than that of the land belonging to married women.

**Table 4.1: Resources of Informants**

Informants	Age	Land in <i>timad</i> , 1 timad=0.5hectare	Animals in number						
			Ox	Cow	Goat	sheep	Donkey	Horse	hens
FHH	23-57								
Almaze	23	1			1				1
Tiru	38	1							1
Wobalat	55	4				1			3
Sisay	34	1.5							2
Alem	27								2
Berkie	41				1				1
Sayshe	33	1			1				
Abezash	34	2	1						1
Selam	57								
<b>WMHH 20-64</b>									
Yeshie	42	2	2		3				3
Berhan	53	3.5		1	5			1	
Laqech	27	4	1		4	3			2
Banchu	35	3		1	4		1		2
Negistie	64	3	2		2				
Gojam	51	4	1		2	2			
Sendue	29	5	2		3		1		
Muluken	20	3	1		1				4

NB: The informant's names are pseudonyms

### 5.1.2. Human Capital- Labour and Gender

In rural Ethiopian, gender division of labour is visible. There are some agricultural activities such as ploughing and sowing performed only by men. On the other hand, almost all domestic activities are left to women. Even though women perform lots of other agricultural activities, societies do not value women's labour as equal as men's. According to the livelihood approach, human capital (labour) is an important factor in household food security. Thus, informants' access to human capital (labour) determines their access to food and its sufficiency. Almost all of my informants told me that without labour it is impossible to produce food in their community (Addis, isn't it obvious?). Lack of such important human capital challenges female heads of households in particular. Abezash, a 34-year old woman explained the importance of male labour as follows:

*Man's labour is more important in all aspects of agricultural activity and it will become most important when we come to ploughing and sowing. In our culture ploughing is completely men's activity. Therefore, whatever the household has, there should be men to use their resources and to be rich. For example, I have 2 timads of land and I had one ox. However, I do not have a husband or a son who can plough my land using that ox. So, I just rent out the land for those who can plough it and I sold my ox as well. You know, having such resources do not mean that you are rich unless you can use them.*

I asked her why she did not try to plough her land. She replied "It is not women's job and it is shame for women to plough in the community. So I did not even think about it". If the culture allowed her to engage in ploughing, she said "I think I can do it, I heard that women can plough in other communities. So I can plough. But I am a woman who respects my culture, family and people". For her, women who plough are shameless. From her facial expression, I can say that she feel sorry for them (I suggest you cancel this). She believed that women should not plough also because they have lots of work in their house.

The following excerpt shows how greatly lack of labour challenges Wobalat, a 55-year old female informant,

*Me and my husband had four timad of land and 2 oxen. At that time we were rich and we never faced food shortage. Unfortunately, my husband died in 2006. After his death I suffered a lot. Lack of labour is my major challenge. Even though I*

*have land; I am facing food shortage because of lack of labour. I cannot produce enough food. To produce food, labour is important. In our culture, women cannot plough so I rent out my land for those who have labour. They produce crop but I got only half of the product despite my being the land owner.*

Thus, the above two individual interviews with female heads of household highlighted that lack of human capital (labour) together with cultural gender division of labour is a big challenge for female heads of households in the study area. Though they have land, they could not use it properly to produce food because of lack of men's labour. Consequently, they experience food insufficiency and limited access to food is, and hence they remain food insecure. Through the views and beliefs of the informants, we can understand that ploughing is not women's job and women who can plough are considered to be out of their norm and culture.

During FGDs, almost all informants agreed on the great importance of men's labour. However, during FGD with a mix of men and married women, one male informant reflected that women's labour is equally important as men's labour. His idea was not accepted by some of the group members in the beginning. But he tried to explain it using his own example.

*It is possible to cultivate by digging the land if there is land. To dig the land both women and men are equally important. Even there are lots of women who are better than men in digging the land. For example, my sister is better than me. She can dig for long hours without a break. You know, none of us have oxen. I have two timad land which is not fertile while she has only her backyard. She cultivated onions in her backyard by digging without contribution of men's labour and she got around 3000 Ethiopian birr last year. I plough my land properly and I got around 200 kilos of maize. If I sold it, it would be around 1800 Ethiopian birr. So, we cannot say that only men's labour is important.*

After his explanation, others also shared similar ideas regarding women's labour. After a long discussion, all informants in that group agreed on the importance of women's labour as well.

During fieldwork, I also met one strong woman who cultivates her land by digging. She is 34 years old. As she told me, her husband migrated to the city four years ago. Initially, their plan was that he shall work for two months as daily labourer and then come back to his village with money. But that did not happen. After four months, she heard that he married again in

the city and he was never to come back to her. She tried to survive by selling her oxen and goat. But in the following year, life was too hard on her and she could not feed her two children. Again she sold parts of her land and she started cultivating her remaining land by herself. I had look at her backyard which is full of fruits such as onions and cabbage. She grew some maize, too. I could say that she was not that much poor. Even she said, "today, I am not poor. I can say that my life is actually better than before". Her story apparently implies that not all female heads of households are food insecure just because they are female heads of household.

### **5.1.3. Financial Capital-Credit and Saving**

The Amhara Credit and Saving Institution (ACSI) is an NGO which aims to increase access to lending and saving services and to improve the economic situation of low income, productive poor people in the region. It provides credit services for the group of people who has collaterals such as land, animals or house in the city. Saving services are available to those who can put their own money in ACSI. Credit refers to both taking a loan as well as paying it back. Eight people who have collateral and are from the same community can form a group to take about 15000 Ethiopian Birr<sup>6</sup> loan from ACSI. The group should pay back part of the loan after one month and the whole loan should be paid back after two years. If the group fails to pay back the loan at the end of the second year, ACSI has the power to take over the collaterals.

Interviews with experts demonstrated that those loans are helping the community though, at times, the money as not paid back on time. They explain that there are many households who had taken loans and changed their lives in a very promising way. One expert said "there are households who take loan and buy hens, two female sheep and one female goat. After a few months, all the animals gave birth. After few months, they became many. He [the group leader] also pays his loan back in time. His group in general was good and group members changed their lives or the better and they pay the loans back in time. Therefore, if the group member is wise and strong they can change their lives and can pay back the loan without doubt". I have asked the expert if they support clients to be effective in addition to making loans available. He said

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<sup>6</sup> 15000 Ethiopian Birr is approximately 805 US dollar

*We support clients by informing the group leaders to have business plans before taking loan. Moreover we also clearly inform the leaders how to form a group, about the nature and type of collaterals and when they have to pay back the loan and how to save. Further, keble officers also try to give short explanation during keble meetings, in church gatherings and during registration for loan. Of course, it may not be detailed information but it helps the group leaders to provide useful information for their members. . So, the leaders transmit the information to the members of the group. But we ave not given intensive training about it all as yet. We plan to do so though.*

Women informants have no positive thinking about Credit. During FGD with married women, they argued that it makes them poorer, it has no importance to them and it is used by their men to go drinking. A 51-year old woman FGD informant said "The credit looks mine but after a month I am expected to pay it back through monthly payments. I am not a business woman, how could I pay it back within such a short period". Her case shows that she did not understand the loan properly. 27-year old married woman also discussed very interesting points regarding credit. Here are some of her ideas about it.

*In the beginning it looks useful to us. After taking the loan, at the end of each month we had to pay back part of the loan. Two years later we were forced to pay the whole loan back. But we were not able to do that. So we were forced to pay back by selling land and two goats which were collaterals. The money from our land and goats was not enough. My husband had migrated to the city to work as daily labourer in order to pay the loans back. When we got the loan from ACSI, we were happy but after paying it back, we are left with an empty house. So I do not see the use of it.*

The rest of FGD informants supported the above two cases and forwarded similar ideas about credit.

During FGDs with men, informants talked both positive and negative aspects of credit. They argued that it is difficult to pay back; it is better to have a loan than nothing. During FGD with men, a 36-year old man forwarded his view as follows.

*Having loan is important to pay for fertilizers; to buy cow, goat, sheep or whatever I want; to buy clothes and exercise books for my children; and even to*



*buy food stuffs. I am happy to have it. I like to be in the capital of the worda with my group members and friends to take a loan. We had a good time a least once a month with them: drinkin and eating good food in the city together with friends is a pleasure to me. However, to pay it back particularly after the first twelve months was hard. Because I think in the first twelve months, we, the group members and friends, enjoyed too much in the city and that cost a lot. In addition to my over enjoyment, goats or sheep or cows may die. For example, I bought a cow with 1000 Ethiopian birr with part of the loan I took and it died after three months. So it was hard to pay back the loan. Otherwise getting a loan is good for me.*

All male FGD informants supported his view. They asserted that having loan is good and having fun, drinking and eating good food in the city with their group members and friends is a memorable time to all of them. This also shows that even if men have somehow positive attitude towards obtaining loans, to pay back the loan and to be successful is a challenge to them.

The mixed FGD with men and married women generated a tough discussion among participants. As I mentioned above, men had a positive attitude towards credit services, specifically towards taking loan while married women had a negative attitude. For married women, their husbands' drinking and having fun in the city was a problem but men enjoyed it. During the mixed FGD, married women clearly explained to the men how negatively the loan impacted their households. Their main point was that it is difficult to pay back loans and often collaterals which are the economic base of the household are sold to pay back loans. Further, they discussed that loans give their husbands the means to get drunk. They also said that getting drunk in turn may expose to HIV/AIDS as the drunk men may end up sleeping with HIV infected women in the city.

Over all, it is not difficult to see that the informants did not understand the notion a loan properly, and as a result, they were not successful in making a meaningful use of it. In a way, there seems to be an information gap. If only group leaders are informed about how to make business plan, how to take loan, how to save, and how to pay back the loan, it does not mean that all clients can get proper information. In addition, they are not educated. The question then is: how could it be possible for them to understand and be successful just through informing their leaders and even the members in meetings or churches? According to the

Livelihood Approach, limited access to and control over financial capital affects the food security of the household. Hence, limited access to financial capital affects their food security, access to and control over other resources which can serve as collateral in particular.

On the other hand, FGD with female heads of households indicated that female head informants have less access to credit than couples. The reason behind this was that they own less land and other properties which can be used as collateral for credit. Since their access to credit was limited, they appeared reluctant to discuss the issue in detail. Alem explained it in the following way.

*Land, city housing and animals such as cows, oxen, sheep and goats are collateral to take a loan. However, I do not have any of them. I just have my back yards and two hens. ACSI may allow me to take a loan but nobody wants to form a group with me; how can the group members trust me that I can pay back the loan.. I do not want to say much more while I did not participate in the service.*

Other female head FGD participants agreed with Alem's idea that they have limited access to credit due to limited access to collaterals and they were also reluctant to talk about the issue. Thus, according to these discussants, female heads of households' access to and control over financial capital is less than couples. Accordingly, they have less access to and control over other resources and are less food secure than couples.

#### **5.1.4. Important Crops**

In the Amhara region, local farmers produce lots of crops such as teff, barley, wheat, maize, sorghum and finger millet, beans, peas, chickpea, pluses, lentils, and potatoes. In the study area, all these types of crops can be produced. However, the most important and commonly produced crops include teff, wheat, barley, maize, beans, peas and chickpea. Beans, peas, and chickpea are important mainly to make sauce. Teff, barley, wheat and maize are used to make *enjera* (*injera?*), bread and to prepare local drinks. Among these, producing teff is the most labour intensive activity followed by wheat, maize and sorghum. On the other hand, barley, peas, beans, potatoes and chickpea are relatively less labour intensive. To produce the first, mainly men's labour is important to plough and to sow while the latter can be produced by digging as well.

My informants produce teff, maize, wheat, beans, chickpea, potatoes, sorghum and fruits such as lemon and tomatoes. However, it does not mean that all of my informants have all the above crops at the same time. Most of the female heads of households harvested maize, chickpea and potato while one had a little teff. One informant (a female head) also produced lemon and tomatoes. Most married women have teff, wheat, maize, beans, chickpea, and sorghum. It does not mean that every single married woman has all these crops though. I have asked female heads of households why they produced only such a limited number of crops. They told me that those crops can be produced easily by digging their land if they can get some help from relatives, their sons, or from neighbours in sowing while other crops especially teff, wheat and sorghum require men's labour. Thus, crop production has a gender aspect.

All of my informants confirm that teff is the most important crop. It is an iron rich grain which grows in the middle elevation (1800 to 2200 meters) with adequate rainfall (in the study area, the season goes from end of June to the end of September). Thus, it requires adequate rain so that it grows fast. Teff can have three colours: white, red and brown. Price varies according to its colour. The white type is the most expensive and using it is a sign of richness. Its cultivation is labour intensive. According to my informants, from land preparation to threshing, it takes a long time and it is tiring. It starts with 5-8 times ploughing with ox-drawn wooden plough to obtain a fine soil before sowing it as the seeds are small. Thus, as ploughing is man's activity, to produce teff men's labour is important. Next, they have to go for early manual weeding at 7-10 days after sowing. And then they have to go for sickle harvest. They told me that sickle harvest is very labour intensive since the seeds are small and since they require gentle handling against shattering. And then, they have to thresh it manually using cattle. They also told me that it is not possible to thresh it alone, thus usually they do it in groups by helping each other. After all these labour intensive process, women process it further by taking the grain to the mills. All these activities are labourous and it means that more human capital (labour) is important.

Teff is the most preferable grain to make *enjera*<sup>7</sup>. Data from the *woreda* Agricultural office also indicated that teff is the leading produced all over the *worda* and it the most important

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<sup>7</sup> Enjera is Ethiopian National dish which mostly made out of fermented teff

crop to make *enjera*.<sup>8</sup> *Enjera* is the national dish of Ethiopia mostly made out of fermented teff flour. It looks like bread, except that it is thinner, bigger and round with a mildly sour taste. As a staple food, it is always eaten with different types of sauces. Although teff flour is the most valued grain to make *enjera*,. grains such as wheat, barley, maize can also be used.. In my study area, it will not, however, be considered as proper *enjera* and if one uses these grains for making *enjera*, it is perceived as a sign of poorness, particularly if the area is suitable to produce teff.

To bake *enjera*, teff flour is mixed with water and yeast and it will ferment for several days. The fermentation period vary from place to place depending on the temperature of the area as well as the amount of yeast. According to my informants, it will ferment for a minimum of three days. However, if their *enjera* is finished before the expected day, they bake another even after two days of fermentation. After its fermentation, it will be baked onto a large flat clay plate (in the city a specialized electric stove is used instead).

One of my informants (Sendue: a 29-year old married woman) said ''Teff is our life and it is impossible to live without it but it is possible to live without chickpea. We can replace chickpea by other grains: for instance by peas or potatoes. For me, it does not matter if I do not produce chickpea or lentils or peas for one year but it really matters if I do not have teff''. Furthermore, during focus group discussion, all of my informants agreed that teff is the most important crop for them. During FGD with married women, A 51- year old woman said:

*Having no teff means living without enjera. You may have enjera from other crops like wheat or maize or barley but it will not be proper enjera. Why we need to bother about crops used to make sauces such as peas, lentils, chickpea if we do not have proper enjera. In our community even it is impossible to make enjera if one do not have teff, it must be little portion of teff to make enjera (Unclear). But if we have teff, we can make proper enjera, we can make good dishes from enjera.*

The rest of the group members supported the woman's assertions. Five of them confirmed that their *enjera* is made of teff while two of them made *enjera* mixing teff and maize. From the FGD with female heads of households, similar ideas were obtained regarding *enjera*. The

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<sup>8</sup> It does not mean that it is impossible to have *enjera* without teff all over the country. I know that there is a community in the highlands of Ethiopia that never use teff to make *enjera*. Instead they used barley

group believed that to make proper *enjera*, there must be teff. However, each of the group members explained that their *enjera* is a mixture of little bit of teff and much of maize flour because they are less wealthy households. The female heads told me that the ratio of teff to other grains in their *enjera* is very low and they also use brown teff which is relatively cheaper. Likewise, during FGD with married women, participants told me they also use a portion of brown teff. I have also observed that most of my informants had *enjera* from a mixture of teff and other grains.

The nature of their land, labour, the type and number of animals that my informants have affect the type of crop they produce. That means, if their land is suitable to cultivate teff and if they have enough animals to level the soil to cultivate it, they prefer to harvest teff.

Further, regarding other crops with which to make sauce, my informants also told me that they mostly used potatoes and peas. Female heads of households told me that most of the time, they make potato sauce because it is cheaper and they seldom make sauce from beans or peas. If at all they sometimes make bean or pea sauce, it will not be thick enough. Only one female head of a household told me she used to make chickpea sauce before, but nowadays she hardly makes even potato sauce. One female head informant said that most of the time, she does not make sauce. If she rarely affords to make potato sauce she would serve it to her kids and she eats without sauce herself. In that way, she saves a little more for her children to use it the next day. She would do that because her son complains about eating without sauce. She told me that her daughters are complaining less and she thinks that girls can understand their mother's challenges more than boys. Another group member said that she always sells her maize and peas when it is more expensive in the market and she keeps money to buy potatoes (what she could afford) to make sauce. In that way, she said that she can make potato sauce like twice a week. Otherwise, she could get bean or pea sauce once every two weeks. Other group members reflected her views that she said if they have small amount of bean or pea or chickpea or other crops, they would sell that and buy potatoes (cheaper) so that they can have potato sauce for a long period.

On the other hand, during FGD with married women, one of the group members said that she may sometimes make bean, pea and chickpea sauce. She also said if she has guests to host, she will have to make at least two types of sauce (one from potatoes the other must be from bean or pea). On ordinary days, she makes at least potato sauce; otherwise her husband will be angry at her. Further, she said her household produces bean which is enough for a year to

make sauce to their family. However, she and her husband sell parts of it so as to buy other household needs. She said that they can barter beans with teff as they produce insufficient amount of the latter. Other group members also discussed that most of the time they will have to make a more expensive type of sauce whenever they have guests to host.

Thus, the two FGD discussions showed that the type of crops produced in each household are not similar. i.e. female heads of households produced and used cheaper crops than married women. Moreover, it shows that even when households have to produce expensive crops they would sell it and buy cheaper crops to extend the availability of food for their household. This happens in the face the community's perception that producing cheaper crops is an indication of the household's poor economic status. There is less variety and availability of sauce in households headed by female heads is than in those households of married women. In the concept of food security,, access to and sufficiency of food reflect the food security status of a household. My informants generally have less access to better sauce as well as better *enjera* and they also suffer less availability of sauce as well as proper *enjera*. However, when we compare between married women and female heads of households, married women are better off. Therefore, it can be concluded that my informants in general and female heads of households in particular are food insecure and less wealthy.

#### **5.1.5. Important Animals**

The most important animals in the study area include goats, oxen, cows, cattle (cattle means cows and oxen, I think), sheep, donkeys, horses and hens. According to informants and data from the *worda* agricultural office, oxen, cows, hens, donkeys and goats are particularly the most useful animals in the community. Among these, most female heads of households unfortunately own only goats and hens. Selam: a 57-year old woman informant said:

*It is good to have cows, oxen, goats, sheep, hens, donkeys, horses and others. But to me, I prefer to have first an ox and then if possible a cow, a donkey and goats. These are the most important animals. I used to have four oxen, one cow, five goats, 3 sheep and I forgot the exact number of hens I owned before my husband's death. From my experience, oxen and goats were so good. If you have oxen and goats you can survive without other animals. You can plough your land using your oxen and you can sell your goats for other expenditure since it is easier to feed and raise goats than others animals. Goats take only six months to give birth*

*while a cow it takes nine months. A goat can have more than 3 kids (find the right word, I forgot it) while a cow has only one calf at a time. You can sell the kids of the goat within three months but it takes minimum of three years to sell a calf. Goats' food is simple to provide and less amount than a cow consumes. Therefore, I can say that having oxen and goats is better than having cows and it is better your economic status which is good for your children's future. For instance, if you have goat and oxen with land, then it is easy to find a groom for your daughter. Our community does not care about other animals as much as it cares about oxen and goats. I am not saying that other animals are not important for our life. I know all have their own importance in life. But still, having oxen and goats is more preferable than others. Unfortunately, I have neither of them.*

During focus group discussions, informants explain that they wish they could have oxen, cows, goats, sheep and horses. They also reason out why they prefer those animals. Accordingly, the importance of oxen is related to ploughing their land. A cow provides food such as milk, cheese and butter. Moreover, a cow can give birth to a male calves which eventually grow into oxen. The advantage of a goat, as Selam's explanation above indicated, is that it takes fewer months for it to reproduce and it is also easier to raise and sell it. The importance of a donkey and a horse lies in their value for transportation and loading purposes.

Women house hold heads attach more importance to owning goats and chicken/hens. The reason being that it is less difficult to raise and feed those animals and women can manage easily. The group also argued that having oxen or donkeys means almost nothing to them. During the discussion, a 34-year old woman said "why do we need oxen when we cannot plough and why do we need donkeys when it is difficult to work with them?".

During the mixed FGD with men and women, men stressed the importance of oxen and donkeys. They discussed that if one has oxen, then one can plough the land and oxen are the most important belonging. Otherwise it will be difficult to live. Though the household has other animals, a house without oxen is empty for men. Next to oxen, they prefer to have donkeys for transporting their produces from field to their house as well as from the house to the market. According to them, one can survive with oxen and donkey (this can be an extreme statement. Even beggars can survive). The view of informants during FGD with married women focused on cows. They express the importance of cows in various ways. For

instance a 51- year old woman said 'if you have a cow; you will get another cow or ox soon. You will have money by selling animal products such as butter, cheese and milk as well as her calf. For me, the only source of income is butter'. The first priority for the he informants in this category was owning a cow or more cows.

Both individual interviewees and FGD informants confirm that the amount of land they have matters for the number of animals and cattle they would like to own. They explain that many years ago, they did not bother about fodder for their cattle, because there was a common grazing area for the whole community's cattle. Their only responsibility was just to move their cattle to that area and to bring them back. But nowadays, common grazing areas for cattle are not available at all. The government has given former grazing areas for a group of youth so that those youth can produce cash crops for the market. By doing so the youth have their own income. This is the strategy for the government to reduce youth unemployment and poverty. Therefore, farmers are forced to use part of their own land for their cattle to graze over, and that which has significantly reduced the size of their farmable land.

They also explain that the number of animals they have also matters for their land holding. If they have a large number of cattle, they have to rent parts of their land and have to buy grass to their cattle with the rent money. Or they have to leave parts of their land uncultivated so that their cattle have a grazing area. Hence, there is a direct relationship between having land and having animals: the numbers of cattle farmers can own partly depend on their land size and vice-versa.

## **Summary**

Natural, human and financial capitals are important factors of food production. According to the Livelihood Approach, food security is a subset of livelihood security, and livelihood security depends on access to the means to produce food and generate income. Natural capital such as land resources is one of those means. Households' access to natural capital (land) as well as ability to transform it into food determines household's access to food. Thus, natural capital is a major agricultural resource that determines household food production and access to food which in turn determines food security of the household. Yigremew (2003) studied the issue of land tenure and food security in Amhara region and documented that land is an important resources as source of both food and income. Therefore, limited access and control of land directly affects households' food security. Further, other studies also supported that there is a gender gap for landholding in rural Ethiopia Almaze (2007), who conducted a



research on rural women's access to and control over land, asserted that rural women have limited access to productive resources in general and to land in particular. Similar to this, in my case, there was difference in landholding among individual interview and group interview informants. My informants have limited access to land. Particularly, female heads of households have limited access to and control over land than married women. Hence, those who have small land size have limited access to food. Thus, informants who have less natural capital (land) are food insecure.

Moreover, as I discussed above, human capital is also important to produce important crops and to secure a household's livelihood. In the study area, access to and sufficiency of food depends on production of food by using natural and human capital. However, female heads of households have less access to and control over this capital than married women. This implies that access to and sufficiency of food for female heads of households is limited. Due to division of labour, lack of capital is a major challenge for female heads of households. However, this doesn't mean that women's labour is less important than men's labour and vice versa. Women's labour is equally important as men's labour, a finding which was contrary to some other studies. For instance, a study conducted by Haregewoin (2003) on Gender and Food Security confirmed that women participate in all activities of agriculture except ploughing and sowing but their labour has no value for and recognition by their husbands and the community at large.

According to the Livelihood Approach, financial capital (credit and saving services) are one of the resources that determine a household's livelihood security. Thus, limited access to this capital affects food security of a household. Financial capital is another important resource to secure a household's livelihood. Informants have limited access to and control over credit and saving services and even those who have access are also not successful in using it. Access to this capital for female heads of households is very low due to lack of collateral. Literatures also showed that agricultural resources such as loan determine a household's food security. Therefore, my informants are generally food insecure

According to my informants, teff is the most important crop to make proper *enjera* and its production is labour intensive. To produce it the land should be level. To do the level, most farmers borrowed animals from their neighbours and relatives and they also do lend their animals to others. Thus, as I discussed above, due to less access to natural capital, and lack of human capital, especially male labour, female heads of households have less chance to

produce teff. The less portion of teff in making *enjera*, is a sign of less wealth. Even the colour of a particular type of teff shows the economic status of the household. If the household uses white teff, then it is better off. Other colours correspond to less wealth. Female heads of households use less portion of brown teff. Regarding colour, the same is true for married women. Lack of land, the demand for male labour and less access to financial capital makes teff production difficult. Less production of such important food stuff affects access to food and food sufficiency for a household. According to food security concepts, if a household has less access to food and if it suffers from food insufficiency, then the household is food insecure. Accordingly, although there is a bit of discrepancy, my informants are generally less wealthy and they are food insecure.

Furthermore, regarding important animals, the number and the type of animals they have also affect the type of crop they can produce. They need animals for various phases of their cultivation. For instance, they need oxen to plough their land. In other parts of Ethiopia, horses can also be used to plough land but the nature of the land should be soft. Donkeys, callves, cows, oxen and horses are also important animals at the time of levelling the soil and threshing. The type of animals preferred by female heads of household is not the same as married women and men (Not exactly a gender aspect). The difference in preference is mostly related with their responsibility, gender division of labour, the availability of natural capital (land) and human capital (labour) as well as the nature of the animals owned. Hence, female heads of households preferred a goat to an ox. They know how much ox is important in agriculture; however due to lack of men's labour and difficulty to manage by themselves, they prefer to own goats. Men also prefer oxen, horses and donkeys to because they see more importance in the former groups of animals to fulfil their responsibilities. However, they also know that cows and goats are important in agricultural life. Therefore, gender differences in preferring one animal over the other is mainly related to their responsibility, gender division of labour, availability of other household resources and the nature of animals.

Finally I should say that all of the above capitals (natural capital, human capital, and financial capital) can determine the type and amount of crops the farmers have. In addition, these capitals also can determine the amount and type of animals a household possesses. This means that if the household has a good access to these capitals, it will be possible to produce important crops whether the process is labour intensive or expensive to secure a desired

amount. But lack of access to one or all of the above capitals constraints the production of a desired type and amount by a given household, and this in turn leads to food insecurity.. The availability of important animals such as oxen in a desired number and type together with the availability of other capitals will lead to the production of important crops such as teff which is expensive, staple and more valued. On the other hand, the amount and type of important crop production can determine a household's access to the above capitals. Therefore, there is a direct relationship among availability of each capital; between capitals and production of important crops, capitals and access to important animals. And also there is direct relationship between the -production of important crops and availability of important animals. And all these determine household food security and resource control.

## **5.2. Food and Culture**

Ethiopia is a country where social relationships, cultural practices and religious beliefs have strong values. As a result, the community needs food to maintain those relationships in addition to daily household consumption. The first answer of all my informants to the question "for what do you need food" was for household consumption. "Obviously everybody needs food for daily consumption. It is impossible to live totally without food. So I need food for household consumption: to feed my children as well as myself" a 41 years women informant said. But after talking little bit, they also explain that they really need food for their social and cultural practices as well as religious holidays.

### **5.2.1. Social Capital- Maintaining Religious Beliefs- for religious holidays**

Social capital includes social interactions and social assets of people. According to the livelihood approach, social capital is important to have secured livelihood and food security. In this regard social interaction based on religion is one of the social capitals of the informants. In the Amhara region, religion is strongly present in to people's day-to-day activities. Under the umbrella of religion, people can help each other; share their happiness, sadness and health burdens. It is possible to say that religion governs the people more than government. Their ears are always more open to hear from the church than from the government.

There are many days of the month during which people do not work. Particularly, 12<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup>, 21<sup>th</sup>, 23<sup>rd</sup>, 27<sup>th</sup>, and 29<sup>th</sup> of each month nobody does perform agricultural activities such as

ploughing, digging, weeding, sowing, levelling, cutting and threshing. But on *sickle* and threshing season, they can gather their crop in to one place on those days. Most of the time, they spent those religious days by talking, having fun and celebrating those religious holidays with their friends, relatives and neighbours. There are lots of special religious holidays which the community celebrate either in church or at their houses. By doing these interactions with relatives, friends and neighbours one can build social capital.

My informants told me church is their source of information and communication. They also told me that they meet their friends, parents, extended families, relatives, and they also may meet people, friends, and relatives from other communities at church. Alem (27 years old female heads of household told me that she has met one woman who never seen before). Alem told me that she is from other community coming there to participate in one of religious holiday. She said "When I saw her she was smiling and has a friendly face. I started smiling and talking with her and then we ended up as best friends". Thus, maintaining religious relationship is maintaining social capital. It helps people to get up to date information. It also helps them to share experience. Therefore, in this regard maintaining religious beliefs and holidays is important to build social capital. Building social capital builds their household security.

For the religious holidays, they prepared lots of food and drinks. The community is divided into different groups and on every second week of Sunday they have religious gathering in the church. When one of the groups of the community provides the food and drinks, other groups can go there and have it for free. However, they are also expected to provide food and drink on other Sundays according to their turn. I got the opportunity to celebrate one of the holidays with them and I observed that there were lots of delicious foods and drinks. One of my informants told me about that holiday and she let me to go with her and I went with her. The peoples are kind and when they saw me they were happy and invited me to eat and drink, it was delicious. At that time I started informal conversations with women about how much the food and drink cost; what will happen to the group if they cannot do that; how they value it; and how they measure the quality of foods and other related issues.

A57 year old women told me about rules and regulations of the holiday called *Maheber*<sup>9</sup> in Amharic as follows.

*There are rules and regulations in our mahber which everybody obeys to. Minimum amount of enjera, bread and drink is fixed to everyone. So we have to fulfil at least the the minimum requirement. We always appreciate foods and drinks according to its test. If one bring teff enjera, with at least 3 types of sauces and big bread food will be fine and the group will value it and will not complain any more. Otherwise particularly the group leaders will complain against the person who bring less quality and below the minimum requirement. And it is really a shame for the women who bring less quality food and below the minimum requirement. So we women prefer to borrow from someone else or to reduce our household consumption to make good food and drink for religious holidays.*

During FGDs, both women and men confirmed that the give priority for those days rather than their household consumption. I also can say that the food that I ate was very delicious and quality food compared to their daily food. Thus, through maintaining these religious holidays, informants have social capital.

#### **5.2.2. Social Capital- Maintaining Social relationships-when a member of a society give birth, graduated, weeding and funeral ceremony**

According to the Livelihood Approach, peoples' livelihood and strategy depends on social capital together with other capitals. In the study area, there are many social events such as the celebration of births, wedding, graduations and funeral ceremonies. People are expected to participate on those occasions. Men are expected to participate in wedding and funeral ceremonies at least while women participate in all social events. For example, when a woman gives birth, the ceremony is only for women. It does not include men and even the husband of the woman who gives birth is not active that much and sometimes he may not be there at all. If one of the sons or daughters of the neighbours passed the national examination, the community, particularly women will go with something to that house: either food or drink and they will eat, drink and have fun. But for graduation from university the ceremony is somewhat bigger and men also participate. Wedding and funeral ceremonies are also the same as other ceremonies in terms of food and drink, but they are very big and here men are

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<sup>9</sup> Mahber is a kind of social gathering in which people with the same religious belief participate in it and according to the local people it has religious benefit especially after death.

more active than in the other ceremonies. In each case everybody has to bring at least bread, local drinks or coffee. Thus, participating in such gatherings promote people's social capital.

I got the chance to participate in birth ceremonies, national exam passing ceremonies and graduation. In all case, the ceremonies require lots of food and drinks. They prepared much food and drinks and most of them got drunk and even there were left over foods and drinks. From informal conversation I understood that the value of the household is measured by the amount and quality of foods and drinks prepared for those ceremonies and holidays. During FGDs as well as individual interviews, informants told that they can tell what the household is better or worse off based on the food and drinks they provide for those ceremonies and holidays. In the community, womanhood is also measured by the taste and quality of food and drink for those holidays and social events. 64 years old married woman informants said:

*We tried to do all our bests in order to keep our names and status in the community though we do not have that much. You know you have to show off as you have that much on those days even by borrowing otherwise your status will be lower than even what you have. We women are happy to do so and we feel joyful and happy if we did something good or different from others. For example, for me I prefer to prepare good things for those ceremonies even more than my neighbours do, rather than preparing proper dinner or lunch for myself or my family members. I always started to thinking about how to made, what to prepare in advance and I kept all important things for those days rather than for the day to day consumption. I am happy in doing that and God will pay me back for what I am doing now especially for religious holidays, I will get it after death. I do believe in it.*

Women household heads that are less wealthy were less interactive regarding social and religious holidays and ceremonies. Interviews female head of household demonstrate that they are less interactive in religious and social gatherings. A 57 years old woman said:

*I know how to make good foods and drinks. But I do not have teff to make proper enjera. I do not have money to by oil or butter and bean or pea to make proper sauce. If I had a cow, I would have butter so that I can use it instead of oil. If you do not make good food and drink, your womanhood will be destroyed. So it is better to stay at home. However, if you are not participating, people knows that you are poor but they will not be any rumour about your womanhood. So I*

*preferred staying at home. I would like very much to join in such days with them, but it is a dream. Friendship is based on social gatherings. I do not have friend now. Before I was an active participant of such ceremonies and I had lots of friends who helped me in life and I was also good friend to them. Now I am poor so I could not do that. Of course my old friends invited me sometimes and I was trying to attain social gatherings but it was shameful. Because everybody coming to that gathering had something to give and I did not have anything. Can you imagine it? Trust me unable to do that on those ceremonies and unable to join such wonderful ceremony is really painful.*

I can understand from her facial expression that she was in deeply sad. FGD with female heads of household also asserted that it is difficult for them even to participate on some selected religious as well as social gathering ceremonies. They told me that if they participate, their contribution to the ceremonies is not equal to married women especially in its taste and quality. According to them this is embarrassing and most of the time they prefer to stay home. One of the group members told us "giving less quality food or drink is a shame for her. The gift you take with you will be eat and drink on that time. All the people in that ceremony will taste it and they can identify what you bring with you because even your name will be mentioned when your food and drink starts to serve. So it is challenging to participate and also not to participate".

### **Summary**

The second part of the chapter was about social capital of informants. According to the livelihood approach, social capital is important to the household livelihood. I found out that the social events and religious holidays are important there. Women are more active participant than men for those social events and holidays. When I did my previous research, I have similar experience related with social events and religious holidays. Mulumebet (2010) also found that women are active participants and more responsible than men social relations. Hence women have strong social capital in such activities which is important to their livelihood and food security.

Regarding social capital (participating in social gatherings and religious holiday celebration), there was a gap between female heads of households and married women. Married women were active participant while female heads of household were passive. Interview and FGD

with female heads of households showed that they are selective to such ceremonies and even some of them are out of game. This was because of their economic status. As I discussed earlier because of less access to land, men's labour, credit and saving they are less wealthy. I also discussed above that participating in those ceremonies requires lots of food stuff and drink. That means that they are unable to participate. As a result, they are far from information and communications with other women and men in the community. Therefore, female heads of households have less social capital than married women. This also implies that female heads of households' livelihood and food security is constrained by social capital.

Here also I can say that there is direct relationship between social capital and natural capital, human capital and financial capital. This means that the availability of natural capital, human capital, and financial capital determines one's social capital. Thus, if one has land, labour and financial resource one can produce important crops use to make good food and drinks. Consequently one can participate in religious holidays and social gatherings confidentially and frequently. Then one can have up to date information, communication with and participate in group formation which altogether promote one's social capital. On the other hand if one has little access to natural, human and financial capital it will affect one's social capital. Moreover, having less access to social capital determines availability of other capitals, important crops and important animals. Especially financial capital is directly affected by social capital. Female heads of households in general have less access to all capitals. By far they have less access to all capitals. Therefore, in this regard they are food insecure.



## Chapter 6

### Major Challenges and Strategies

#### 6.1. Major Challenges

This chapter is about rural women's major challenges and the strategies they employ to cope with their challenges. As I discussed in chapter two people facing food insecurity problems will take different actions called strategies to overcome their problem. In Ethiopia, rural women are facing various challenges to secure their household. I also discussed in chapter five the ways that my informants are food insecure. This implies that my informants face lots of challenges. However, it is not possible to discuss all challenges at a time. Hence, I will discuss the following main challenges that my informants faced.

##### **6.1.1. Lack of Resources: natural capital (land), human capital (labour), oxen, financial capital (loan), agricultural input**

According to World Health Organization, food security is food availability, food access and food use. From these three facts food access is about having sufficient economic and physical resources to obtain appropriate foods for a nutritious diet. In rural parts of Ethiopia, agriculture is the base of food security as well as the main source of income. The productivity of agriculture depends on the availability of agricultural resources such as land, labour, oxen, financial resource and agricultural inputs. These resources are the bases of household wealth and the status of the household economic situation can be measured by the availability of those resources in the household. Thus, lack of these resources challenges household economy and food security. Generally natural capital (land) is the most important agricultural resource in the country. In rural area, people have the opinion that if a household has enough agricultural land and oxen, the household is considered as rich.

As I discussed in chapter five, most of female headed households have less agricultural resources than other households. These major agricultural resources are interlinked with each other: lack of one of these resources or capitals affects the availability of other resource (capital). Moreover, as I discussed in chapter five, the landholding size of female headed household is less than male headed household and their landholding size and control over land is affected by gendered division of labour and lack of oxen to plough the land. Alem, 27

years old female headed household heads express that her major challenge is lack of resources. "I am poor: I do not have major agricultural resources such as land, men labour and oxen. Because of this I do not have access to loan" she said. Thus her major challenge was lack of natural capital and human capital. According to the livelihood approach, lack of such capitals affects the livelihood of the household.

During FGD discussion informants confirmed that lack of natural capital (land), oxen, human capital (labour), loan and agricultural inputs are their major challenges. However, there were different views on what resources were most precariously lacking, something which reflects both the informants' material position and their security. Female heads of households stated that particularly lack of natural capital (land) is their major challenge. Married women on the other hand mentioned that their major challenges were lack of natural capital land and oxen while human capital (labour) was not a problem for them. As I discussed in chapter five, lack of natural capital (land) was common challenge of all households with different degree. On the other hand, during men's FGD, informants discussed that lack of access to financial capital (loan) and agricultural inputs are also their major challenges in addition to land, and oxen.

Further, as I discussed in chapter five under the topic human capital (gender and labour) men's labour is a very important factors of household's food security. Next to lack of natural capital (land), lack of human capital (labour) was the second challenge of female heads households. Lack of men's labour challenges female headed household's food security as well as their resource control. On the other hand, for married women and husbands the second challenge mentioned was lack of oxen. Lack of loan and modern agricultural input were the major challenges in the case of husbands. They said that, lack of loan affects their day to day activity and their productivity. During FGD with men, one group member side that "if we have access to loan, we can buy fertilizers and pesticides on time and we can reduce our workload. If we have agricultural inputs such as improved seeds we can produce more within short period. So for me these two are major challenges". Thus, even though there was a difference among informants' major challenges, lack of resources such as natural capital was mentioned by many.

### 6.1.2. Lack of Basic Social Security: Health Care, school, water

Social security is the protection that a society provides to individuals and households to ensure access to health care and to guarantee income security, particularly in cases of old age, unemployment, sickness, invalidity, work injury, maternity or loss of a breadwinner. Here, lack of social security here includes two major aspects: lack of health care centre and lack of schooling. In the study area, according to my informant's lack of health care centre was one of their major challenges. There is no organized and well equipped health care centre nearby their village. They have to travel long distances even to get first aid if something happens. In doing so, they have to pay transportation cost, health service, medical cost as well as their living cost if the treatment takes days. Thus to get health care service one should have money otherwise it will be difficult.

The following story shows how lack of proper health centre drove the household to become food insecure.

#### Story

*I got married 21 years ago. me and my husband had two oxen and four timad of land. We got two timad from my parents and two timad from his parents. For the first five years of our marriage, we were rich and our life was good. I was happy with my marriage life. However, after five and a half years past my husband was not well. He was sick. He was in the capital of the woreda for medical treatment. The treatment did not show progress for a month. His doctor told to him to continue his treatment in the capital. The treatment requires much money that we cannot afford unless we sold our properties or borrowed from relatives or friends. We sold our ox for 850 birr and borrowed 100 birr from my relative and 120 birr from his friend. After that he was in the capital to get better treatment. He had surgery there and after that his health condition showed a bit progress. We were happy but the problem was that we finished the money and he had to continue his treatment until he showed better progress. There was no saving and credit service at that time. Our last option was our land. We sold two timad of land for 450 birr so that he continued his treatment. After that his health showed promising progress. He came back to his home. I was so happy. The saddest thing is that, after two month he was sick again. He had to go to the centre for medical*

*treatment again. Again we sold the remaining oxen and he went to the centre. He was there for three weeks and he had to continue for a month. Again we needed money. I borrowed money from someone using the remaining land as collateral. However, it was not enough and he did not get the necessary treatment. He died after suffering one more month. I was so sad. After that I went through challenges. I could not return the borrowed money. No oxen, no land and no money.*

The story clearly showed she was better off before her husband's health problem. However, after his health problem, they have to sell their agricultural resources in order to get health care. Since there was no good health care centre in the community, his health problem became more expensive to them. Going to the capital and staying there was more expensive to them. If there would be health care nearby their community, they could manage easily. Thus, her husband's health problem together with lack of good health care centre in the community was a major challenge to sustain household food security and resource control. On the other hand, if they were richer in agricultural resources than they had, they may manage his health problem and she may not be food insecure. Hence, there is a direct link between household's agricultural resources and their access to social security. Thus, lack of health care may affect agricultural resource and vice-versa. Other informants also mentioned that lack of good health care centre in the community is a major challenge to them.

All most all my informants also mention that they are suffering from lack access to clean water. They just use the water directly from the river and these rivers are not easily accessible since they are far from the village. Culturally women are responsible for cooking and fetching water. Because of long distance it is not easy for women to fetch. In addition to walking long distance, the edge of the rivers is deeper and slippery which makes fetching water difficult. In some cases men are participating in fetching water. I have got the opportunity to observe men's participation in fetching water particularly when there is special demand for water. For example, when they build a hut from mud both women and men fetch water. Thus, walking long distance to get access to water was also another challenge to informants.

All my informants mentioned that lack of secondary school access in the community is another major challenge for them. There is one primary school i.e. from grade one-six in their community. Therefore their children have to walk a long distance to get secondary school.

They told me that secondary schools are far from their village; their children have to live in the city and rent rooms there. According to my informants, it is big burden for the household and it may also drive the household to become poor. They cannot afford the cost of the room and living cost for their children unless they sell their sheep or goat or land or other properties and after selling some properties Because of such cost it is impossible to educate more than one child from a household and even sometimes one child cannot finish their schooling. They also told me that sending girls for secondary school is problematic. Informants told me that when girls grow up, it is not good to be away from their family. During FGD, informants said that "When young girls are away from family, they may get pregnancy which is not good for them and their family. In our community getting pregnancy before marriage is not good for the girls as well as their family. So it is not good to send girls into the city unless their brother or other relatives are with them". In such case lack of schools particularly secondary schools around their village is a major challenge to them. They wish to have secondary schools nearby their village so that all their children get education. Thus, lack of access to education also has impact on the future of children, especially for girls and the household.

### **6.1.3. Division of Labour**

As already indicated in chapter five, gender division of labour is a major challenge for my informants. In Ethiopia, particularly in the study area, there are certain activities which should only be done by women, while others as considered men's activities. For example, ploughing and sowing are exclusively considered as men's activity while domestic activities such as baking *enjera*, making sauce, preparing drinks, fetching water, cleaning the house, taking care of children, washing clothes, collecting firewood, and delivering food to the field are considered as women's and children's activities. However, in some cases, there is a minor change observed in gender division of labour. As I discussed in chapter five I had a chance to observe the back yard of female headed household with some fruits which are sowed by woman and I also observed a man who collected firewood. I have also observed that some men also fetch water when plenty of water is needed for building of a hut. Moreover, I could see some boys helping their mother in washing clothes, collecting firewood, fetching water and delivered food to the field.

On the other hand, some activities such as ploughing, preparing food and drinks, cleaning the house and taking care of children are still structurally divided along gendered lines. According to FGD informants ploughing is man's activity while taking care of children, preparing food and drinks are women's activities. According to them, it is shame if women are ploughing and if a man is cooking. It was also confirmed during informal conversation with my informants and other people. I also never saw women who plough and men who cook food. During all FGDs, both men and women reflected on their ideas regarding ploughing, cooking and taking care of children. Both women and men FGD informants strongly believed that it is not possible for men to bake proper *injera* and sauce as well as making drinks. Interestingly, men informants also thought that they can take care of children when the children are more than one year old while women do not believe that. Rather women informants said that men cannot take care of children who are less than three years. Surprisingly, all men FGD informants believed that women can plough. One of men FGD informants said that "women can plough if they do not have other household activities, if they are not pregnant and if society does not laugh at them". Other men informants in the group agreed with him.

Interview with Brkie, 41 years old female headed household women asserted that division of labour has great impact on her life.

*After divorce, I had two timad land and one ox though my land was not as such productive and my ox was not good as others. During divorce, productive land and two good oxen was given to my husband since he can plough. There elderly men who divide our property told me that productive land and good oxen should belong to my husband so that he can produce more than me and he can give me money or crop when I need. At that time I agreed because I hoped that he will give to me and his children if he produces more. I also thought he will produce more than me since I cannot plough. But he did not do that I and my children face food shortage. I cannot use my land and oxen properly. I had sold my oxen and share cropped my land for a while. Ploughing is not women's activity in our community, it is men's activity. Even if I have ability to do, it will be a shame for my children and my family if I do that. It is our culture and it is not easy to do something outside of this culture. If I cannot plough, I do not need ox at all, I sold it because I need money to buy food and other stuff to my household. I bought 200 kilo gram teff, clothes to my children, and some other stuff by that money. That*

*money was gone by one year. After one year I suffer a lot. As I told you I used to share crop my land but it was not productive enough. Then after, I continue selling my land year by year and I have left nothing. Now I am poor. However, if I could plough and use the ox to plough my land, I would have food and everything each year.*

I asked a question about her ability to plough. Her answer showed that she can plough but it will not be good for her personality in the community. She said that: "I can dig my land and can plant so I do not think it will be a hard job for me but people will laugh at me. I wish I could plough and people stop laughing at me so that I can keep my ox and I could produce food by ploughing my land". Thus, such cultural division of labour is a major challenge particularly for female headed households. It has an impact on food security as well as resource control of household

#### **6.1.4. Divorce-unfair division of resources**

Divorce is a major challenge of households particularly for women because of unfair division of resources. In Ethiopia, in most cases divorce is processed by mutual consent the two parties by selecting three elderly men. In such processes of divorce, these three elderly men have the power to decide who will take what resources. The family law of the country gives equal property right for both men and women. Chapter four of Revised Family Code Proclamation No.213/2000 stated about dissolution of marriage. Article 74, 2 of Revised Family Code of Ethiopia says that "No distinction shall be made concerning dissolution whichever the form according to which the marriage is celebrated". Moreover, Article 76 is about conditions of decision for divorce and it says that "Marriage shall dissolve by divorce where: (a) the spouses have agreed to divorce by mutual consent and such agreement is accepted by the court; or (b) the spouses or one of them made a petition, for divorce, to the court". Article 82 of the code is about the power of the court. Under this article, sub article 5, says that "from the time of the petition for divorce brought before it, the court shall immediately give appropriate order regarding the maintenance of the spouses, the custody and maintenance of their children and the management of their property" (FDRE,2000)

However, before its order to be functioning, there are some steps to go through. Thus, if there is petition for divorce, the court should pursue the following steps before its order. First, the court shall speak to the spouses separately or jointly with a view of persuading them to

renounce the petition for divorce and solve their dispute amicably. Second, where the attempt made has tailed or is likely to fail the court may direct the spouses to settle their dispute through arbitrators of their own choice. Third, where the spouses did not agree to settle their dispute through arbitration, the court may dismiss the parties by giving them a cooling period of up to three months. Finally, where all the efforts made have failed, the court shall pronounce divorce within one month from the receipt of the reports or arbitrators (FDRE 2000, 15).

As I heard from informal conversations and interviews, in most cases whenever there is divorce, the village people will always go through the first step and the second step. That means dissolution of marriage is done by arbitrators. The arbitrators are three elderly men mostly who take part during wedding proposal of the two parties. When these three elderly arbitrators process divorce, they have full power to do divide resources between two spouses. As a tradition, mostly their decision is acceptable by the two parties even if they are not fair. According to women informants, these arbitrators often are not fair in doing so. For example, one of divorced woman interviewed who I asserted that the arbitrators who resolved her divorce were unfair. She said that:

*Our arbitrators were three elderly men chosen by both of us, and who were participated in our wedding. When we chose them, I thought they are good for both of us because I knew all three men before. They all are respected men in our village. However, at that time my x-husband becomes too close to them: they drink together in the city, they sit together in the village and church, working together. They gave me some money and they gave all the good things to him. Fertile lands, two good oxen, our house, two donkeys, and other lots of good things given to him. They explained that oxen and donkey is not good to me since I cannot plough. They also told me that feeding and managing of oxen and donkey will be difficult for me. Culturally, when there is divorce, woman should leave her house; sometimes even her village depends on the case; and go back to her family's village and search other shelters to live. So based on that, our arbitrators convinced me even by using proverbs, to leave my house otherwise it will be out of culture. They told me he will give me money instead of oxen, land, house and donkey. But that money I got was not equivalent with all these properties. I complained to them on time that is not enough, but they promise me that they will*



*force him and he will give me the extra money after one year. Then I accepted what they say, because once I chose them and I said to the court I will be obey to the arbitrators. After a year, I asked them, but their response was not what they promise to me. I realized that they are biased and they keep the advantage of my ex-husband. Today, he is rich, he has everything: oxen, donkey, house, goat, land. But I am poor due to divorce because I did not get what I had exactly as they were unfair.*

During FGD with female heads of households, all of the participants reflected that divorce challenges women in various ways. One of the FGD informants said that "I can say that women get less resource than men during divorce. For example, when I divorced with my husband, I left most of kitchen things in the house and I had only few. I can remember I had only one clay pot and when my child breaks it, I had nothing to make sauce. But before divorce I had around 5 in different shape and size. I had big house when I was married and after divorce I left it for my husband and I started to live in my brother's small extra hut". Other group members also shared her idea and they confirm that most of the time women left her house and things whenever divorce happened. Moreover, during mixed FGD married women, they also said that mostly divorce resolved traditionally. The group also mentioned that mostly woman gets less than man.

On the other hand, FGD with men, participants it is quite normal for them if women get less land and animals than men. One of the participants explained that why it is normal as follows. "It is normal because women cannot plough by themselves so what will they going to do with it. They will give it to somebody else. So it is better if her husband have it instead of to giving it somebody. The same is true for some of animals such as oxen and horse. What will women going to do with it? Nothing unless giving it to somebody or sells it right?" He answered his question and asked others to confirm it. Other participants also reflect the similar ideas.

As we learned from informants and FGD participants, the traditional process of divorce resolution is unfair. Moreover, as we learned earlier from Brkie's case, even when women get resources such as land and oxen, there is control and management problem because of gendered division of labour. Mesay (2008) also argued that cultural division of labour is constraining factor of female headed households to enhance their household. Thus, unfair

division of resources together with gendered division of labour challenges divorced women and put them in trouble.

## **6.2. Major Strategies**

In human nature, irrespective of the level of response, it is common to react to any type of difficulties (Tilaye, 2006). Accordingly, I will discuss the following four major strategies of that my employed to enhance their food security and resource control.

### **6.2.1. Brewing local Drinks**

Brewing local drinks is women's activity. Both wives and women in female headed household heads brew local drinks in their households. However, the purpose and usage of brewing local drinks is not the same for both. In male headed households, mainly the purpose of brewing local drinks is for household consumption while in female headed households it is mainly for sale. Thus, it is major strategy of women household heads to overcome food shortage and other household challenges. They brew local drinks in their house and they sell it in the markets on market days. They also sell it in their village and capital of the *woreda* on ordinary days. *Tela* and *arkie* are the common and famous local drinks.

During informal conversation, I found that women brew local drinks as a survival strategy to tackle their challenges. Interview with one informant in a female headed household also confirmed that brewing local drinks is a strategy of poor women particularly young women who are able to prepare drinks. During FGD with women and men, informants reflected that brewing *arkie* is the most important strategy of female headed household. *Arkie* is a distilled beverage. First germinated barely or wheat, gesho leaves and water are kept for five to six days. After that *kita* : a bread made of teff, wheat, maize, barley or other cereals is added and then it is kept for another three or four days so that the mixture can ferment well. After that they boil the mixture using equipments made of wood and clay until it gives *arike*. *Arike* has high alcohol content and its colour look like water.

One FGD women informant said that "for woman household head who has little land, cattle and littel access to loan is not easy to get food or money to buy food and other household stuff. So, if they are able to brew *arkie*, it is the only strategy to get money and to live. I have one sister whose life is depending on brewing *arkie* for the last nine years". Other two informants, who know her sister, support her idea. An Interview with a 41 years old also

asserted that brewing local drinks is the survival strategy of female headed households. She said that:

*I started brewing arkie two years after of my divorce. In the first two years I tried to live by selling my land and ox as well as borrowing crops and money from my sister and other relatives. But I cannot return back the money and crop that I brewed. At that time, nobody was there to help me, to lend me even to talk with me. After that it was difficult for me and my children. Then I learned from my neighbour and I started brewing arike. It has a good market in the capital of the worda and during holidays. I brew in every two weeks like 10-15 litre. The price of one litre arike is not fixed it may goes up and down, most of the time its price ranges from 10-15 Ethiopian birr. It is hard work and tiring to me. But it is my source of income, so am doing it as my daily life.*

In the community, brewing local drink for sale is a sign of poverty for the household. Most of the time wives do not sell it officially in public even though they are poor. However, there is a rumour that wives also sell *arkie* by using a hidden selling system. There are two hidden ways of selling local drinks by wives. The first one is by giving their *arkie* to women in female headed households based on an agreement. In this agreement, women in the female headed household should act as the owner to sell it. The married woman who brews *arkie* should accept reduced price of her *arkie* by two or three birr from the ordinary price of it, so that the women selling it get a few birr from each litre. In such a way married women can sell and get money from local drink. This is because they do not want to be categorized as poor by the society. The second one is selling in the market far from their community so that no one can spot them doing it. This shows married women are not free as female heads of households to use brewing local drinks as a strategy to enhance their household food security.

### **6.2.2. Selling Firewood and Charcoal**

In the capital of the *worda*, there is shortage of charcoal and firewood to cook. Therefore, the village people provide both charcoal and firewood to the urban people. Culturally, collecting firewood either for household consumption or for sell is women's activity. Women and children are supposed to carry to the market and sell charcoal as well as firewood. There are women household heads whose income depends on selling firewood and wives who sell both charcoal and firewood to cope with food shortage. I have got the chance to observe married

who sell firewood as well as charcoal in the market. I have also observed one woman in female headed households who collect firewood in the field. Thus, selling firewood and charcoal is a strategy employed by both married women and female household heads in the study area.

### 6.2.3. Spinning of cotton

In Ethiopia, all most all rural women can spin cotton and it is also an important way of measuring one's womanhood, urban women also know it and can do properly. Culturally, mothers are responsible to teach their daughter how to spin cotton. In the rural parts of the country, a good wife can spin cotton and she will provide traditional cloth called *gabi*<sup>10</sup> for her husband as well as traditional costume dress and *netla* for herself. If she cannot provide these traditional cloths, the husband's family and friend will not give respect and value for her. A very good wife also may provide *gabi* and *netla* to her father in-law and mother in-law respectively. The groom's family may take into consideration girl's ability of spinning cotton and other household activities when they select a girl for their boy. It is possible to buy the spin cotton and to have this traditional cloth. In is also possible to buy *gabi* directly from the market.

In my study area, spinning cotton is a measure of womanhood as well as coping strategy for women to deal with their life challenges. Poor women are spinning cotton for sell not to themselves, or not to their mother in-law or father in-law. They spinning the cotton day and night and sell it in the market and in their village for village people. They also make contracts to spin cotton. This contract is between woman who spinning cotton and another person who want *gabi*, dress or *netla*. This contract is based on a fixed price for *gabi* or *netla* or dress and half of the price is prepaid. However, according to my informants such a contract is not good for woman who spinning cotton. Though it is problematic, they do it if they do not have something to eat.

One of woman household head informant told me that "it is problematic because the people who gave contract are smart and they make their *gabie* or *netla* too big which required lots of cotton and of course time taking. Whenever I am running out of food, though it is not good I agree to do it. They came to know how much I need that money so they forced me to reduce the price. Sometimes, they just gave me half price when I take the contract and then they

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<sup>10</sup> *Gabi* is Ethiopian national cloth made of cotton and half a *gabi* is called *netela*.

were not willing to pay half while I gave all the spun cotton. But on the market, I can sell it for a relatively better price”.

During FGD, both men and women informants confirmed that spinning cotton and selling it is a sign of poverty. They also discussed that mostly spinning of cotton for sale is performed by old women, divorced or widowed women or sick women who cannot go and work outside. The price of spin cotton is cheap. According to one female heads of household informant, she bought one kilogram cotton by 30 Ethiopian birr and after spending her time as well as labour; she may sell it for about 40 Ethiopian birr. She said that sometimes she cannot sell it because it has less demand since every woman do it at least for their consumption. She also said that she cannot walk long distance: to the capital of the woreda where to sale it. But still she is spinning cotton to cope with her life challenge. Other participants of the group shared her idea regarding its price and demand. The group also said that married women are doing it for their family and to show their womanhood.

#### **6.2.4. Migration**

Traditionally, men were the one who migrated from the village to urban areas to work as daylily labourer. I did not meet women who migrated as daily labourer in order to cope up with their challenges. However, as I heard from informal conversations, now a days, young girls also migrated in to urban areas of the country as well as outside of the country. During FGD with men, the informants discussed about seasonal migration as survival strategy to cope with food shortage. The group reflected that seasonal migration is mostly men’s survival strategy. One of the FGD informant believed that this is because men are hard working, capable to walk long distance, to carry heavy stuffs, less emotional for things, less sensitive for hunger, cold, sun and rain. He also said that ”women are not as capable as men to migrate and to get money in such a difficult situation. So for women, it is better to stay at home and take care of children, fields as well as animals other than migrating”. The group members had similar ideas regarding migration as men’s survival strategy.

On the other hand, women FGD informants believed that mostly men do not migrate because of their strength and their less emotional nature. It is because most of us are pregnant; fathers cannot treat children as mothers; fathers cannot breast feed children; men cannot be good cooker as women to feed their children. They also believed that the house will be messed up if women migrate. Otherwise women can migrate and bring money as men and even more

than men. They also explained how women can bring more money than men. One of the participants from married FGD said that "women are good in keeping money but men may spend it on drinking and sleeping with other woman in the city. But for women it is not common to go outside and spend money like that". Another women FGD informants also said that sometimes men's migration is bad. She said that "They may flirt with other women; may get new marriage; may get disease such as HIV/AIDS; and they also may give money to other women. But women are more responsible for the family's happiness not for themselves". The group also discussed about girls migration to the capital of the country and outside of the country. One women FGD informant said that "girls are successful in keeping money and they are able to do even more than men do. For example I know one girl from my parent's village who migrated to the city and changed her family's life. She bought nice clothes, she paid to buy fertilizer and she went again. I am sure next time she will be back with good money". The group was in support of her idea and they also discussed that they heard about another girl who migrate to Middle East.

During mixed FGD, there was debate about migration as survival strategy. As I discussed above there was a difference between men FGD informant and women FGD informant. However, finally men FGD informants agreed on some of women FGD informant. For example fathers cannot feed children as mothers feed and men cannot cook proper foods.

### **Summary**

As I discussed in chapter three, according to the livelihood approach, the livelihood of a household depends on capitals available, ability to generate income from them and strategies adopt in pursuit livelihood. According to this approach, livelihood of a household also depends on institutions, policies and organisations that determine their access to capitals, opportunities and the returns they can achieve. Thus the informants' livelihood depends on access resources and their strategy they employed to enhance their lives as well as traditions and cultural constraints. Less access and control over land, oxen and social security, gendered division of labour, traditional way of divorce resolution were major challenges of my informants.

There was a difference in challenges of married women and female headed households. Lack of men labour is major challenge for female headed households. Culturally, ploughing land, using and feeding oxen are men's activities. Due to lack of men's labour, it is hard for female headed households to use their land and oxen by themselves rather they rent and sale their

land and oxen. When they rent their land, their control over that land such as which type of crop should be planted, the application of fertilizer, improved seed and pesticides is diminishing which in turn affect the productivity of the land. Moreover, female headed households also lose half of the products of their land when they rent it. Hence, female headed households are forced to lose their control over land, its product and oxen which affect household food security situation as well as resource control. Lack of productive resources such as land, oxen and others due to divorce also challenges them badly. As I discussed it under the title divorce, unfair division of properties also has impact on women's resources control and household food security. Lack of agricultural resources and social security such as health care centres and schools challenges both wives as well as female headed households. The relationship between social security and food insecurity is goes both ways. Thus, illness of family members may drive the household to sell properties which result in lack of control over resources and then lead the household to food insecurity. Likewise poor or insecure households who have no resources to be sold will lack health care.

According to Maxwell & Smith (1992), each household may experience different coping strategy according to their level of food insecurity. Mesay (2008) also documented that even within the same community, households employed different strategies. Moreover, As I state above, according to the livelihood approach strategies of a household influenced by institutions, policy and culture. Hence, strategies of my informants were constrained by traditions and culture. Accordingly my informants employed different types of strategies according to their resource and they can do to enhance their household. Thus, female headed households are free to employee all strategies I discussed above as much as they can while there are cultural restrict on married women to employ what they want and can do. Culturally, selling *arkie* and spinning cotton are only for female head household though married women employ in hidden. Asfawe (2006) argued that strategies employed by female headed households differ from married women. Almost all the strategies employed by women are time consuming, labour intensive and not very profitable.

I found that migration is manly men's (male headed household) strategy even though girls may do it. I also found that migration is a challenge as well as a resource for married women. Hence, as a strategy, husbands can migrate to the city seasonally as daily labourer and bring money, cloths and food stuffs for the household in order to cope with their challenges. On the other hand, this seasonal migration of husbands to the city challenges married women by creating problems such as loneliness of married women and children; lack of men labour in

the household; HIV/AIDS and even divorce which complicated the life of the household. Regarding migration as strategy, there was clear gender difference. Female heads of household do not use it as a strategy. Literature from Asfaw (2006) also confirmed that there is clear gender gap in strategies employed to cope with food insecurity.



## **Chapter Seven**

### **Analysis of the Role of PSNP**

This chapter will present an overview of the program's manual, and its role to enhance food security and resource control of rural women. As I discussed in chapter three, the role of the program will be analyzed from an empowerment perspective. This chapter also will highlight different viewpoints of Public Work (PW) and Direct Support (DS) beneficiaries towards the role of the program. All of my informants are beneficiaries of PSNP. They are either PW or DS beneficiaries. PW beneficiaries are those who are able to participate in labour intensive public works while DS beneficiaries are those who are unable to participate in public works or without the ability to supply labour to public works activities.

From my informants all DS beneficiaries are female heads of households, I never found male DS beneficiaries. As I discussed in chapter five, female heads of households are less wealthy than married women as a result of having less capitals than married women. The difference was especially visible regarding human capital i.e. labour. Further, we also have learned from chapter five that female heads of households have less social capital than married women. Moreover, in chapter six, we have learned that challenges and strategies of female heads of households are not the same as married women. The first major challenge of female heads of households was lack of human capital while natural capital was for married women. As a result female heads of households have more tendencies to be DS beneficiaries than married women. All these differences reflect on beneficiary statuses, their view, and the benefit they get from PSNP. Therefore, this chapter will compare the view of the two groups of beneficiaries (DS and PW). Further, in this chapter I will compare the intention of the PSNP project to its realization.

#### **7.1. Overview of PSNP –Analysis of its Manual**

Initially, the support system of PSNP emerged as emergency aid. It provided food stuffs such as rice, wheat, oil, flour, and sugar to poor people. However, the government of Ethiopia decided to shift the support of the program from food aid to cash. Therefore, the government of Ethiopia decided to revise and develop new PSNP within the framework of National food security program (MoRAD 2006:1).

## **Objective of PNSP**

According to MoRAD (2006: 7), the general objective of PNSP is "To provide transfers to the food insecure population in chronically food insecure woredas in a way that prevents asset depletion at the household level and creates assets at the community level". Further, according to the manual, as part of government food security program, PNSP objectives are linked with ongoing government food security programs in food insecure *woredas*. Targeted *woredas* are thus supposed to integrate PNSP interventions with other food security programs and development interventions.

## **Targets of PNSP**

The program targets those *woredas* which are identified as chronically food insecure areas. The food insecurity situation within *woredas* is not even. Thus, in one *woreda*, some of its kebles may face chronic food insecurity while other *kebles* are not chronic. Even from one *keble*, all households of the *keble* may not face chronic food insecurity. Therefore, from target *woredas*, only chronically food insecure *kebles* are targets of the project and from targeted *keble* only chronically food insecure households are targets of the project. Thus, beneficiaries of PNSP are households who face chronic food insecurity. According to its manual, women form a special target group (at least 50% of the beneficiaries of the program should be women). The manual also mention that the project will give trainings for women to empower them. The study area was judged as a chronically food insecure woreda in 2002.

## **Components of PNSP**

The program has two components: Public Work (PW) and Direct Support (DS). According to its manual, the Public Work component should arrange community based labour intensive activities to provide employment for chronically food insecure people who are able to work. The main principles of Public Work activities are as follows.

- works must be labour intensive and use simple tools as much as possible,
- both administrative and community targeting should be used to identify labour able abided food insecure household who can participate in the program,
- the community should participate in the selection, planning, monitoring and evaluation of the projects,
- public works should be designed to enable women's participation and priority should be given to works schedule flexibility which can reduced women's regular work

burden (Revised Ethiopian PSNP Manual, 2006 ). This means that women can arrive one hour or half an hour later than men to public work activities and also can leave one hour or half an hour early than men from work place. However, there is fixed hours of work to men and women.

Basic soil conservation, repair of buildings, community access roads, spring development, resettlement (settlement of households to a new place so that they can get farming land), dams and river diversions are among the activities mentioned as public work in the manual.

On the other hand, according to the manual (page 27), DS component of the program is a mechanism for delivering assistance to households who are labour poor and do not have any other form of support. Some households who qualify for DS are supported by other poor households (for example poor old parents who have nothing by themselves are supported by their poor sons and daughters), while others have no support at all. DS beneficiaries are selected through strict criteria. Physically incapable persons, pregnant women, lactating mothers in the first 10 months, orphaned teenagers, and elderly people may be categorized as DS beneficiaries. According to the manual, physically incapable persons and elderly who have no supporter and cannot participate even in lighter works will get direct transfer from the program. However, pregnant women, lactating mothers and teenagers may participate in lighter works after which they will get transfer. The Community Food Security Task Force (CFSTF) determines who is eligible to DS

### **Selection Criteria of PSNP**

The program manual, (page 23) states that administration and community targeting systems should be applied to select eligible participant's to the program. Thus, according to the manual both Communities Food Security Task Force (CFSTF) and *Keble* Food Security Task Force (KFSTF) administrative bodies should be involved in all steps of selecting beneficiaries. There are initial selection criteria to select beneficiaries. These are:

- Those chronically food insecure households who have faced continuous food shortages (usually 3 months of food gap or more) in the last 3 years and who have received food assistance prior to the commencement of the PSNP programme.

- Households who suddenly become more food insecure as a result of a severe loss of assets and are unable to support themselves (last 1-2 years); and
- Any household without family support and other means of social protection and support.

Having made the initial selection based on the basic criteria, the following factors are used to refine the selection of eligible households:

- Status of household assets: land holding, quality of land, food stock, etc;
- Income from non-agricultural activities and alternative employment;
- Support/remittances from relatives or community members;

The CFSTF is responsible for selecting beneficiaries by using the PSNP Targeting Guidelines and the targeting criteria. A needs' assessment is also used to categorize beneficiaries as PW beneficiaries or DS beneficiaries. After selecting the beneficiaries, CFSTF should display the list of beneficiaries in public for at least a week, in order for it to be commented upon and endorsed by the general meeting of the village residents. According to the manual, the village residents should have meeting once a month at church or around their village or at *keble* farmers' training centre. Moreover, according to the manual, CFSTF should update the list of beneficiary September/October of each year to correct errors of inclusion and exclusion. It also says that by undertaking additional needs' assessment in April/ May of each year beneficiaries may be included in the program if a household has fallen chronically food insecure due to drought, crop damage, increased prices and animal disease.

### **Graduation from PSNP**

In each year, an assessment of households should be made to make a decision whether the household should stay in the program or not. During the assessment, if they identified a household that should not stay in the program, then the household is eligible to graduate from the program. According to the manual CFSTF is responsible for determining the prospect of graduate households. According to the manual, a household has graduated when, in the absence of receiving PSNP transfers, it can meet its food needs for all 12 months of a year and is able to withstand modest shocks. The asset of the household should be 4200 Ethiopian birr or more times number of its family member to graduate from the program. For example, if the household has 4 family members and if its total asset is equivalent to 16800 Ethiopian birr, the household is eligible to graduate from PSNP. Livestock, agricultural tools if there is

any, trees, capital; saving, shop or store, sewing machine, and cart are some of the assets of the household which are taken into account to select graduates. Graduation from PSNP is a long term processes and requires the integration of other food security interventions so that the household can get other supports. Hence, graduated households could continue getting support from food security interventions other than PSNP and they are eligible to other food security program supports.

According to the PSNP manual, PSNP will address gender equality issues as a criteria in selection and should also support particularly the participation of women in CFSTF and KFSTF. The manual also says that if public funds are providing safety net mechanisms, women should have equal access to the resources from the programs, i.e. the cash or food transfers as well as the assets created. Moreover, the manual says that FHHS and women in polygamous households would be treated with priority if they fulfill other eligibility criteria of the program. Further, the manual says that PSNP will reduce women's regular work burden, enable them to participate and increase their access to productive assets. It also allows late arrival and early leaving of women from public work activities. The PSNP manual says that selection of projects will be driven by the local planning process, which will include input from both men and women as well as equitable representatives from vulnerable groups in various committee and task forces. Thus, the manual allows the involvement of women in planning, implementing and monitoring of the project as well as in selecting beneficiaries and graduates.

## **7.2. The Role of PSNP to Enhance Rural Women's Food Security**

In the study area, PSNP started its first phase in the area in 2004. The first phase was a five year short term plan. Its main objective was to cover six month food shortage for five years and to build household assets for beneficiaries. Moreover, the program intended to expand and improve infrastructure and public services such as health care centres, schools, supply of clean water, dam and road. The PSNP aims were that the beneficiaries should build household assets and overcome food shortage within five years. All the beneficiaries should graduate within five years. However, its first phase was not successful, and it was decided that the project should continue to its second phase which will last until 2014. In the *keble* studied, according to the *worda* PSNP office information, in 2005 the total numbers of PW and DS beneficiaries were 7962 and 455 respectively. In 2008 the total numbers of PW and DS beneficiaries were 7951 and 450 respectively. Still in 2008 three PW beneficiaries had

graduated and eight had died, while five of DS beneficiaries had died. In 2009 the total numbers of PW and DS beneficiaries were 7202 and 454. In 2009, 740 PW beneficiaries had graduated while five of them had died. Currently, there are 7086 PW and 455 DS beneficiaries in the *kebel* studied.

Graduated beneficiaries are supported by other food security intervention programs such as Amhara Credit and Saving Institute (ACSI), Community and Civil society Institute (CCI), Household Asset Building (HAB) program which collaborate with PSNP to overcome food insecurity in the *woreda*. HABP is part of the government food security program. HAB is implemented from 2010-2014 as a complementary program to PSNP and for graduated beneficiaries. It helps households by providing loans. According to the woreda PSNP director, with collaboration between these programs and Food Security Program, all beneficiaries of PSNP will graduate in 2014. According to him, its beneficiaries could not graduate in 2009 as expected by the project and government. He told me that "according to the plan, at least two-third of PW beneficiaries and one third of DS beneficiaries should graduate in the middle of first phase and by 2009 all PW beneficiaries should have graduated. However, in the middle of the first phase no one graduated". I asked him a question about the possible reasons for the failure of first phase. According to him, the possible reasons are drought, soil erosion and flood, infrastructure problem and the geographical nature of the *woreda*; but also implementation and administration problem.

During the interview with the PSNP expert, I found out that the project was not full family targeted. This means that PSNP did not incorporate all family members of the household: if a household has five family members, PSNP supported only two or three family members of the household. The expert also told me that its aid was not enough for six month to incorporate all the family members. She also said that the beneficiaries misunderstanding of the project was another problem, in particular the way they came to understand the loans provide by PSNP in collaboration with Amhara Credit and Saving Association (ACSA) was wrong. "In the beginning beneficiaries believed that if they do not pay on time, they hid their properties, they consume it instead of building asset and paying back it then the government will not take it from them. They spent the loan for daily consumption but not for the targeted business plan they showed us before taking the loan. Consequently their household asset building was not successful" she said. According to her all these were challenges of the project to attain its objective as it intends. "In spite of its problem, around 420 households

graduated in 2009. However, currently these households are still not successful in overcoming six month food shortage” she said. As I discussed in chapter two, Habtamu (2011) who conducted a research on Impacts of Productive Safety Net Program on Household Welfare and Labour Supply in Rural Ethiopia also confirm that the people who are under the program misunderstood the objective of the program. He discussed that as a result the working nature of the beneficiaries changed and they became lazy and waiting for support. They consume what they get and their asset building is even less than before.

### **Program realization**

In spite of all above problems, PSNP has contribution both at the household and community level to enhance food security in the *worda* since 2004. I will discuss its major contribution specifically in the *keble* studied. In the community level the construction of two small dams, repairing the old class rooms of primary school and first aid health centre as well as building new rooms are some of the major contributions of PSNP. Moreover, the program helps the community in land and soil conservation such as hill side tracing, mulching of degraded areas, building of one small bridge, water ponds, and resettlement<sup>11</sup>. Furthermore, the program contributes in watershed management and repairing huts for households who have no access to labour. It also creates strong social connection through PW and loan groupings. In collaborating with other NGOs such as ACSA and Household Asset Building (HAB), PSNP provides and facilitate loan and saving service to the beneficiaries. Further, the PSNP also contribute at household level to enhance food security and asset building of beneficiaries. Through public work activities, PW beneficiaries get paid as daily labourer. Thus PW beneficiaries can buy food and other stuffs to their household. The PSNP also support DS beneficiaries by providing money to them directly. Likewise, they can buy food stuffs to their household with that money.

## **7.3. Informants’ View point towards the PSNP and their Eligibility**

### **7.3.1. PW Beneficiaries Viewpoint about PSNP and their Eligibility**

Here I will discuss different views points of beneficiaries on the program. As PW and DS beneficiaries are different categories, their activities, type of support from the program and their views are different. As I discussed above, PW beneficiaries participate in public work

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<sup>11</sup> New settlement- transportation of people to a new place by providing basic needs for the purpose of their better life.

activities while DS beneficiaries do not. Therefore, their views towards public work activities may not be the same. As I discussed in the methodology chapter, I had three interview sessions with each interviewed informants. During these three interview sessions, different informants had different views towards the role of PSNP. In the first interview session, most of my informant's views were positive. They said that it is fine, it helps us a lot, so on and so forth. However, during second session, their view was not like that as they started to explain about its problem as well. The view of PW beneficiaries about the PSNP and their eligibility is presented below.

The view of Banchue, 35 year old married women (PW beneficiary) about PSNP was as follows. "PSNP is a foreign aid organization that comes to help poor people like us". Her answer was short and she said that she does not have idea about it. I asked her how she was eligible for the PW program. She replied that she does not know.

*One day, it was Sunday. There was a meeting in the community. During that meeting, there were new experts from the worda. One of them told us we will get aid from a foreign organization and from the government to have food during shortage. I remember that he also told us that we have to work what they will order and we will get money for that. In the next Sunday, our keble leaders said to my husband that our three family members are on the list to get aid. What I know is this".*

She told me that she knows that there are other households who have three family members and all of them are eligible to PW. She also said that it is not clear how only three of their family members are eligible while the total numbers of their family are five.

Further, during FGD with married women, informants discussed that they do not have an idea about how they are eligible. One of the FGD informants said that "I do not know how I am eligible. At that time I asked my neighbour Yeshe why it was not the same to all and in some household all of family members are eligible while in some only few are eligible. But she said she did not know. I also asked my husband on that night but he did not know the answer". Other FGD informants also reflected similar ideas regarding selecting criteria and also they did not know if appeal is possible or not. Further, FGD with men also confirmed



that they do not have idea about how to become beneficiaries of the program. All men FGD informants were PW beneficiaries. One of the group members said:

*I was not in church when the keble manger talk about the program. I went on Saturday to other community for funeral ceremony and I came back on Tuesday. My wife told me that there was information about something that she did not understand. Then I went out of my house and I asked Beyzen (my nearest neighbour). He told me that there will be a kind of support and only three of my family members are registered to get that support. Then I tried to ask him about what kind of support we will get, when we will get it, who selects only three of my families while we are 7, who of us will get the support. But he did not tell me in detail. I was also thinking that this support may not be healthy. Lots of questions run through my mind such as what if, if they may want me for solder? Or will they help only three female members of the family. Why? What if, if they will take more from us? But no one answered these questions. Then I went to the keble leader to get more information al about these and other confusions. He just say 'congratulation your three family members will get support'. He was not willing to say more. I went back home.*

All the above informants view showed they did not know how they were eligible and also they were confused about the program. In this case it may not be easy to facilitate the projects support as the program intended. I asked the director of the *worda* about selection criteria and he replied as follows.

*According to its manual, based on selecting criteria Worda Councils, Worda Food Security Task Force (WFSTF), Worda Rural Development Office (WRDO), Worda Food Security Desk (WFSD), Worda Office of Finance and Economic Development (WOFED), Keble councils, KFSTF and CFSTF in collaboration with PSNP should select households in the community as DS beneficiaries and PW beneficiaries to provide its aid. However, the selection of beneficiaries was not based on criteria. Since it was time to run to save people's life, we just selected randomly because they were suffering from hunger. It was for all of the households but the number of family members to be under PSNP should be selected based on the criteria and we did it randomly.*

He tried to demonstrate the reason why they did not follow the manual in selecting beneficiaries. One of his reasons was that the community food insecurity situation was serious and they were in a hurry to improve their situation and to achieve the aim of the project. On the other hand, one of the PSNP experts stated earlier, one of the problems of the project to achieve its objective was the community's misunderstanding of the project. He also stated earlier the program was not successful in its first phase as a result of program implementation problems. As my informants stated above, they do not have clear information about the program and how they became eligible and even they were confused. Therefore, selecting beneficiaries without criteria and participation may not be a solution to provide PSNP support more rapidly. As I discussed my informants' view above, the community people were not aware of the support and how they are selected as DS or PW. I also found out that the community people also did not participate in selection as well as approval of beneficiaries as DS or PW. Since the support was not organized well and there was a lot of confusion, beneficiaries were not participating actively in the process.

Moreover, his argument showed that the manual of PSNP was not applied to select beneficiaries in the study area since all households need support during that time. Further, there was no set of criteria to decide how many family members should get support from one household. However, though the support was for all of the households in the *kebele*, the criteria could have been applied to categorize beneficiaries into DS and PW fairly and to select beneficiaries from a family properly. Experts mentioned that implementation and administration problems as reasons for the program's failure in its first phase. The PSNP may have been more successful in its first phase if the officials had followed its manual in selecting beneficiaries and if community people could participate in selection as well as approval of beneficiary selection and categorization. It could minimize problems of the project.

### **7.3.2. PW Beneficiaries Viewpoint towards Contribution of PSNP**

Above I discussed PW beneficiaries' view point towards their eligibility and the intention of the manual. In this section, I will present their viewpoint towards the contribution of PSNP at their household level. The view of Berhan (53 years old woman PW beneficiary) regarding the role of PSNP to her household was as follows.

''The program helps us in various ways. When it started to help us, we were five family members. Three of us were registered as PW beneficiaries. At the beginning my husband and I could work for 15 days per month and we will get 150 Ethiopian birr per month. It is not much for five family members but still it helps little bit. The program also helps us by teaching how to conserve the soil''. She also said that the program help the community by building one common dam, by repairing their children's class room at the school, by filling the edge of the river, and by developing a water pound for the group. During interview, I asked her if there is any advantage she got personally from the program and she answered the question as follows. ''The program has an advantage for me. I can buy food stuffs by the money and I can feed my children. It is difficult to see your children be hungry. After working 15 days per month, I will have 150 Ethiopian birr to feed my child. So it is good though it is tiring''. She also told me that she would appreciate the role of the PSNP in group forming. In order to perform public work activities, the beneficiaries form a group. The group is consisting of eight households which are living with the same area and the group will perform public work activities together.

*Group forming for the purpose of public activities is important to have friends. I am benefited from forming group. My group members are good. They inform me in advance whenever there is new information such as funeral, wedding, graduation and other social activities. They also help me whenever I face problem. For example, if I do not have something to offer for guest, I will borrow from one of my group members rather than others. The reasons I will ask my group members is that I am close enough with them and I am sure they will keep secrete. When there are some cultural or religious celebrations, I can celebrate with them. We have fun outside of working time. If there is some event that we are expected to take something, then the group member can go together by contributing equally and this is better than going alone. Alone is costly. We can go to markets and to the city together. Then the journey will be full of talk and fun sometimes even I do not realize the distance whenever we are together. And in the city, I will not worry about getting lost, because we are in group and it will great to ask someone from the city in group about market or bus station or any other office. I can share my problems to one or my entire group member and we can*

*fiend solution together. This is what I get from the PW group members given by PSNP.*

Interview with Laqech (27 years old woman PW beneficiary) also confirm that group formation for the purpose of public activities is the most important benefit she gain. She told me that it is the really good for the household as well as for her personally. She said:

*The group is like family. If there is any problem in our group, definitely we will share it. Before this group formation, I was new to the keble so I only have one friend. Earlier, if my only friend is not there or sick or not interested to go to church, to funeral ceremonies and other social gatherings I will not go even though I want to go. If I am not interested to go, she has to stay at home though she wanted to go. It was like that. Because I was young and shy to went alone. If we stay at home, nobody will tell us if something happened and will happen in the community. If we are absent from some gatherings, people will be upset on us. However, after being a member of the group, we can participate in each and every gathering. Because all of the group members will go together and all of the group members have responsibility to inform each other about events and other information related when and where the public work activities will perform. Even we group members develop more and more rules regarding our social interaction, how much the group should contribute during funeral, wedding, and other social gatherings. Our group members help each other. So I am happy to live with this group forever. I hope our group will continue working as a group even when the PSNP stops its function here.*

FGD with husbands also confirm that being a group member of PW activities is the best way of organizing them together, helping each other, and having fun. One of men informants said that "with this group member, everything is possible. We help each other. For example, my group members help me when I repair my hut; I helped one of my group members in ploughing his land because he was late to sow and we can cover each other even during PW activities". Other group members also supported his idea. Further, during FGD with married women was also discussed the importance of group formation and they said that it is even more important than what they earn from the program.

## Gender Issues

In relation to gender issues the manual says that PSNP will address gender equality issues as criteria in selection and supporting particularly the participation of women in CFSTF and KFSTF. The manual also says that if public funds are providing safety net mechanisms, women should have equal access to the resources from the programs, i.e. the cash or food transfers as well as the assets created. Moreover, the manual says that FHHS and women in polygamous households would be treated with priority if they fulfill other eligibility criteria of the program. Further, the manual says that PSNP will reduce women's regular work burden, enable them to participate & increase their access to productive assets. It also allows late arrival and early leaving of women from public work activities.

When I interviewed the experts and directors of PSNP, the director believes that they can reduce gender inequalities by early leaving and late arrival of women beneficiaries from public works. He also said that "late arrival and early leaving of women beneficiaries from public works will reduce work burden of women and it is applied as it is one form of gender sensitivity of the program". However, women PW beneficiary informants' point of view regarding late arrival and early leaving of women beneficiaries were contrary to the director. They told me that it does not reduce women's work burden, rather it increases work burden to women. The view of Yeshie (42 years old PW women informant) was as follows:

*I weak up before my husband and my children awake to prepare breakfast and to do other activities. For example, if I do not have enough water, I will fetch and cook breakfast before in the early morning. If I do not have enough enjera, I have to bake it in the early morning. After cooking breakfast, I will continue cleaning of my house, dishes, as well as the room for our cattle. After that I will cook lunch and will take to filed and feed my children. After that I will continue cooking for dinner. So my late arrival to the public work is not to take rest, rather to taking care of children, to clean house and to prepare lunch. My early leaving is also not to relax, rather to prepare dinner, to feed children and to do other stuffs. Therefore, late arrival and early leaving of women is not for women's advantage. Moreover, the time of late arrival and early leaving is not enough to do such stuffs and I could not do my activities well on the day of public work day. Because of this, sometimes my husband gets angry and my children cry. My husband shouted at me 'you were leaving before me to do this, where were you? I need food I am hungry I was working while you leave, so why don't you finished' and so on. But*

*if I would leave with him, he would not say this and he will wait for the food without shouting on me and I could say I was at work with you. He would understand my burdens if we would leave together, he could notice that I am working while he is taking rest after coming back to home together. For me it creates problem rather than solving my problems.*

This shows that late arrival and early leaving does not necessarily reduce women's burden.

## **Conclusion**

As I discussed above, according to the view of beneficiaries and experts, the manual of the PSNP is not fully implemented as its manual says to select eligible beneficiaries. For instance, beneficiaries were not selected according to the manual; beneficiaries were not participating as the manual, there was no any intention to make 50% of its beneficiary women during selection of beneficiaries; and beneficiaries were not clear about the program as the program intended. Moreover, according to the above PW beneficiaries, they do not know the selection criteria, *or that* they have the right to appeal. Thus, there was information gap about the selecting criteria as well as how to appeal. Officials also stated that program implementation and administration problems were the reason to the program failure in its first phase. Both interviews with officials as well as interview with beneficiaries show that manual was not implemented as it says.

The PSNP contribute to the life of the beneficiaries. The program does contribute to PW beneficiaries and the community in different way. From its contribution almost all PW beneficiary informants mentioned that PSNP helps their household by its support and more importantly by forming group. Most of them even mention that this group forming will continue for forever to help each other, to work together, to celebrate religious and social events together. According to their view this group is like family to the participants. This means that the program helps the community to promote social capital. According to the livelihood approach, social capital is one of the bases of livelihood security and food security. Thus, the PSNP helps the livelihood and food security of the community by promoting social capital. A study by Mulumebet (2010) also confirmed that the project contributes to the community.

According to empowerment approach, to be empowered, one should be disempowered previously. In this regard, as we learned earlier some women were not that much interactive

before the group forming. For example, Laqech and her friend were shay before. As a result they used to be absent from church and other social events. Now as they are member of a group, they become active participants of the church and other social events. This shows that they are socially empowered. Thus I can say that women who are eligible for PW beneficiaries get social empowerment by creating unity. As the Laqch said, the group members started to develop rules which they did not have before. Thus, they can exercise power to implement their rules i.e. beneficiaries decision making power to certain level. This is political empowerment. Therefore, the PSNP empower PW beneficiary women socially, economically and politically to certain extent. However, the intention of the program was not social empowerment because the manual does not say anything about social empowerment.

However, there was also gender gap in participation and selection of beneficiaries. According to women PW beneficiaries' viewpoint, the mechanism to empower them or to reduce women's work burden is not effective. During FGD with married women (PW beneficiaries), the view of informants reflected that late arrival and early leaving of public work activities is not reducing their burden. Furthermore, the PSNP manual says that selection of projects will be driven by the local planning process, which will include input from both men and women as well as equitable representatives from vulnerable groups in various committee and task forces. Thus, the manual allows the involvement of women in planning, implementing and monitoring of the project as well as in selecting beneficiaries and graduates. The participation of women in such issues can help to empower women politically. But they did not participate in all of these. Thus, gender issues were not addressed genuinely as the program intended. Contrary to this finding, Mulumbet (2010) showed that beneficiaries participated in the process of beneficiary selection and other related activities of the program.

### **7.3.3. DS Beneficiaries Viewpoint**

Above I discussed the view points of PW beneficiaries towards their eligibility to the PSNP and about the contribution of the PSNP to their household. Since PSNP has two types of beneficiaries, now I am going to present the other (DS) beneficiaries' view point towards their eligibility and the contribution of PSNP to them.

#### ***7.3.3.1. DS Beneficiaries Viewpoint towards their eligibility***

As I discussed above under the title components of PSNP DS beneficiaries are those who are not able to participate in PW activities because of being physically disabled, or if they do not

have any one to support them or if they are sick. Pregnant and Lactating women may be categorized as DS beneficiary for short period of time. They are directly supported by the PSNP. Thus their situation is not similar to PW beneficiaries. The views of DS beneficiaries about PSNP and their eligibility were as follows.

Interview with DS beneficiary showed that the eligibility criteria was not clear to her. "I do not know why I am selected as DS beneficiary. I heard that there is a organization who will going to help me from the *keble* manger and I am getting its aid. I know others are working as a group and get money. But I have no idea why I am getting that and why they are suppose to work to get money. And I know that my neighbourhood gets three times I get. I do not know why" she said.

According to DS FGD informants, PSNP is an organization that gives aid to poorer people like them. Regarding the selection criteria, they do not exactly know why they are selected as DS beneficiaries. One of the FGD informants said that " I was sick and I do not have any one who help me. In the church, the *keble* leader told me that I will get some money and other supports from PSNP so that I can feed myself. I think, he felt empathy for me that I do not have anyone and he gave me the chance". Other two informants also support her idea. Almost all of DS informants believed that was because of kindness of the program and the *keble* leader that they get support. Thus, DS beneficiaries did not know about selection criteria even if the manual says beneficiaries should participate and should know the eligibility criteria. There was a gap between what the manual says and what implemented.

### **7.3.3.2. DS Beneficiaries Viewpoint towards Contribution of PSNP**

Above I discussed that the viewpoint of DS beneficiaries towards their eligibility. In this section I will present the view of DS beneficiaries regarding the contribution of PSNP to them. During discussion, DS beneficiaries reflected that the PNSP program has various roles to secure food security in the community. However, they feel that they are not part of that community. One of the DS informants said that "PSNP helps farmers to protect their agricultural land, to build dams to their crop and their livestock, and it also teaches them how to collect and feed their livestock. But for DS it only gives money". The group also thought that being a member of PSNP PW group is a base to get loan. One of the informants argued



that DS beneficiaries are not eligible to get loan since they are not able to have group. 'DS beneficiaries are poor; they do not have anything not even a hen. Nobody wants to form a group with DS beneficiaries who do not have properties and cannot do public work activities as well as other household activities. So how it is possible to get loans while has nothing. I think DS beneficiaries are not supposed to get loan'' she said.

In chapter five, we learned about Selam (57 years old woman) who has been a head of her household since her husband died. As she told me after her husband died, because of gender division of labour she was not able to control her resources. As a result of lack of properties as well as male labour, when PSNP started its support she was selected as DS beneficiary. Thus lack of labour and other resources led women to be DS beneficiaries which also affect their access to loan.

DS beneficiary informants believed that the PSNP has contributed to their live in both negative and positive ways. Selam (57 years old DS beneficiary household head women) explained how PSNP contribute to her life as follows.

*PSNP is good for poor people like me. It gives money even if it is not enough to feed all family members. I did not have anyone to support me. I was all alone. However, I do not have any group member to share my idea, to borrow things, and to go with them somewhere. Before PSNP started to group people, I had three friends even though I was poor. But after the program comes, these three grouped with other members and they ignore me as soon as they get their group. I do not want to blame them, because their work is together with that group, their loan is together with that group so they have to stick with their group members not with me. I lost all that I have, friend means everything for me. Today I am going to funerals alone, church alone, market alone and I do not have anyone to tell me what is going on there and here, there is nobody to tell me who is sick, who died, who give birth, and who graduated. In most cases I heard if I saw them when they are back from an event. Sometimes I hate life, you know that in our culture we are celebrating together, going to church, market, and somewhere else together but I am alone. Now a days I prefer not to meet anyone, I do not have such close friends. Even I tried to be with other DS beneficiaries since they are my type but it is not easy to find them. All my neighbours are PW beneficiaries so it is really*

*difficult. I do not have any assets, I do not have access to loan, because I do not have property to form group and I do not have PSNP group. Sometimes I feel that nobody will notice me if I die or get sick. Trust me nobody will notice me, once I was sick and nobody visited me.*

Thus her view shows that, she does not have social relationship as earlier which is not good for her life. Thus, she is socially disempowered.

Interview with other DS beneficiary women also shows that PSNP helps her to survive though she feels disempowering at the same time.

*I was married. When PSNP came to support the community I and my husband were PW beneficiaries. It helped us a lot. We had groups; we had got money while we were working. However, after two years my husband was sick and he passed away. I was also sick and I cannot work properly. So I sold my properties through time. Since I couldn't work, I was not a group member anymore. Therefore, PSNP put me as DS beneficiary and help me to survive. But you know I miss my groups, I wish I could be a member still. Since I am sick I need company. While my husband was sick, our group members were with us and lots of people visited him. I wish my friends could be with me and people could visit me like him but nobody is doing that. Now I am isolated person. Apparently, I survive because of the support of PSNP. She said*

Moreover, one of the DS beneficiaries said that " I am alive because of the support of PSNP. But it helps PW beneficiaries more than me. It helps them to conserve their land, how to feed their livestock, they also have group which make them strong". Other beneficiaries also supported this idea. Though all DS beneficiaries acknowledge the role of PSNP to their individual life, they consider that they are not part of the community since they do not have group, land to conserve and livestock to feed.

I asked the director of the *worda* PSNP about this issue and his answer was as follows. Interview with the director of the *worda* also conform that DS beneficiaries do not have group while the group of PW beneficiaries is strong. "Since they are not able to take part in public work activities, they do not have group" he said. He also said that the group formed by PW beneficiary is strong because their credit and saving access is also easy for those groups and they have relatively better economic situation which is good to get loan. But it

does not mean that DS beneficiaries cannot form groups to take loan or to celebrate events together with other people in the community. ” I think their problem is their economy” he said. ”They do not have any property to take loan in group so they do not have group. If they are able to work and form group, in the first place they wouldn’t be DS beneficiaries. But there is no restriction to them to form social group with their neighbours and relatives” he also said. This shows that for DS beneficiaries, their economic situation together with their social disempowerment by the program challenges their life. DS beneficiaries’ access to a loan and access to have household asset is also limited since they do not have group, collateral and information.

I asked him if there is any measure to organize DS beneficiaries among themselves. His answer was there is no measure to take and there is also nothing in the PSNP manual about this. Moreover, since I did not find a man DS beneficiary in the *keble* studied, I asked him if there is any men DS beneficiary. His answer was that there is no man DS beneficiaries. I also asked him, if all of DS beneficiaries are women, and if there is anything special to DS beneficiaries such as training or any other attention to them. However, his answer was there is no special attention to them other than supporting them directly. From this I can conclude that DS beneficiary’s social connections are weak and they became isolated from the community. They are socially disempowered. Their future after 2014 is also questionable. It will be difficult for them to continue their lives if they do not have household assets and access to loan. Even though, different problems put them in to the category of DS beneficiaries, PSNP has both positive as well as negative impact on their life. Contrary to this, as I discussed in chapter two, according to (Mulumbet, 2010) PSNP improves the lives of all beneficiaries. She further argued that ”women household heads have a better chance to attend meetings as they decide by their own and it is mandatory for them to get up-to-date information.

## **Conclusion**

According to the livelihood approach, social capital is one of important factors for household security. Likewise, in the study area social capital is strong to help each other. According to the view of DS beneficiaries, the contribution of the PSNP program to them is not equal to PW beneficiaries and they feel that they are disempowered and excluded from different social gatherings. According to empowerment approach, empowerment is when it contributes to

basic and strategic needs and when there is transformative change in the life of women. Here there is not significant transformative change and asset building on the life of DS beneficiaries. Rather, their social capital is declining. Therefore, we cannot say they are empowering economically, socially or politically. However, it is possible to say that the program helps them economically to some extent. DS beneficiaries are women heads of household. I never found married women and men under this category. Thus, women heads of households are disempowered even though the program helps them. On the other hand, according to Mulumbet (2010), the PSNP is contributing to all of his beneficiaries as a whole which is contrary to this finding.

Further, as I discussed above, DS beneficiaries and PW beneficiaries has differences as well as similarities in their perspectives towards contribution of the program. Both PW and DS beneficiaries appreciate economic contribution of the program to fulfil basic need i.e. food. Both of them has sense of get paid. Both of them do not know how to be part of the program. Their major difference lays on the contribution of the program at community level and group formation for public work activities i.e. PW beneficiaries appreciate it by considering themselves as part of the community while DS beneficiaries do not. There is also difference between the manual of the program and the actual implementation of the program.

## Chapter Eight

### Conclusion

In this chapter, I will highlight the major conclusions of the thesis. I will conclude the analysis chapters in line with challenges, strategies, empowerment and disempowerment of rural women.

#### 8.1. Challenges and o Strategies of Rural Women to Secure their Household

Limited access and control of land, labour, credit and saving, division of labour, lack of social security: basic health care and divorce are major challenges of informants of this study. As I discussed in chapter three, according the livelihood approach, resources are a base of household security and these resources can be considered as capitals. In chapter five four major capitals (natural, human, financial and social capitals) of informants were discussed. Accordingly these capitals are bases of food security of informants. According to Maxwell & Smith (1992), access to food depends on the entitlement of resources and ability of household to transform resources into food through production or purchase. This study has showed that limited access and control of these capitals are major challenges of rural women in the studied *Keble*. There was a direct link among capitals and informants food security situation. Hence, those who have limited access and control to the above mentioned capitals and agricultural resources are insecure and who have better access and control over capitals and resources are better off. Female heads of households have less access and control to these capitals than married women. Particularly, limited access and control of natural, human and financial capital are the major challenges of female heads of households.

Regarding natural capital (land), all informants expressed (both during individual interviews and FGDs) that their life depends on land. Further, as I discussed in chapter two, Degefa (2005) also argued that crop production depends on access to arable land and its size. Land holding size among my informants has a gender dimension. The minimum and maximum land holding size of female head of household FGD informants was zero and two *timad* respectively. On the other hand, during FGD with men (husbands) I came to know is that the minimum and maximum land holding size was two and six *timad* respectively. In line with this finding, Yigremew (2006 &2007), and Almaz (2007) confirmed that women household

heads have less access to land resources. Thus, limited access and control to natural capital: land is a major challenge to secure their household.

As we learned earlier, according to the livelihood approach, human capital is important factors of household security. In the study area, human capital: labour is important factors of food security. Because of division of labour in agricultural activities to produce food, human capital: labour has clear gender dimension. Thus, female heads of households have less access to human capital: labour than married women. Therefore, female heads of households' availability and access to food is limited. Because of the combined effect of limited access to land and labour, female heads of household face food insufficiency. Mesay (2008) also showed that labour is important resource to produce food and gender division of labour affect food security of female heads of household. Thus, limited access to human capital: labour was another major challenge particularly for female heads of households. However, it does not mean that being female heads of household is food insecure. It does not mean all female heads of households are food insecure either. For instance, one of my informant (female heads of household) is cultivates her backyard by herself and she is better off. According to this study, it also does not mean that female labour is less important than male labour. As I discussed in chapter five, one of the FGD discussion clearly showed that female's labour is also important as male's labour and equally valued as men's labour.

Financial capital: credit and saving is also important factors of food security. There is a gap between married women's and female heads of household's access and control over loan. Due to lack of properties for collateral, female heads of households have limited access than married women. As regards control over financial capital husbands are better than wives. There were also different perceptions about loan taking. Women's view towards loan taking was more or less negative while men's view was positive. In general, my informants have problem with financial capital (credit and saving) and in particular female heads of households have limited access to financial capital. Hence, limited access and control over financial capital was a challenge.

As I discussed in chapter six, lack of social security: basic health care centre was also major challenge to my informants which may push them to sell out their resources and put them household food insecurity. As I presented in chapter six, there is only one small health care centre in the community. In order to get the health care in the capital of the woreda or in big cities which are far, they must pay for the transportation, for their food, and for the treatment

itself. To do so, they may sell their properties (crops, land, animals and house in city if there is any) or they have to borrow money from friends or relatives. This limits access and control over natural, financial, social and other capitals which are base to secure household. Therefore, limited access to health care centre is another challenge to the informants.

The process of cultural divorce resolution is also another challenge of rural women. It leads them to have less access and control over capitals and other resources. According to family law of the country, women have equal property right as men have. It also gives equal division of properties to both men and women during divorce. However, divorce mainly resolved by men elders. As I presented in chapter six, mostly this type of divorce resolution may not be fair. According to informants, usually oxen, house and land especially fertile land goes to men in such divorce resolution. The rationality behind it is that women may not use properly these two as men do. This limits women's access to and control over different capitals. In such a way, cultural divorce resolution challenges women.

Furthermore, there was gender difference in how men and women perceived important animals and crops. For men's, the most important animals is ox while it was not most important for the women. On the subject of important crop, all my informants acknowledged that teff is the most important and costly in terms of fertilizer and most labour intensive. In addition, more animals are needed to level the soil. Teff is also a sign of household economic status. However, coming to what type of crop would like to produce; there was a difference between married women and female heads of households. For married women, since they do not have problem of human capital: labour, they would like to produce the most important crop: teff. On the other hand, as teff is labour intensive (mainly men's labour), it is not easy for female heads of household to produce it. Therefore, female heads of households prefer to produce other labour cheap crops even though they acknowledge its importance.

In the study area, social and religious events have strong value and they are also show economic status of the household. Moreover, they offer an opportunity to women to show off their womanhood to the society. Social capital of informants can be promoted through participating in social gatherings and religious events. In order to participate in social gatherings and religious events, one should having food and drink or either of the two. My informants especially women make a strong effort to make good food and drinks to those holidays and social events. The reason is as explained above, that amount and qualities of

food and drink have impact on how they are perceived in the society. It is a sign of the household's wealth and it also matters for the future of their children: to get good grooms and brides. Women are more active participants than men for those social events and holidays. Mulumebet (2010) found the same result in relation to community activities such as *maheber* and others. She argued that women are active participants of *maheber* and other social and religious activities and they have more responsibility than men on these areas. As I discussed in chapter five, there is extravagant foods and drinks are presented on those events even if most of the households are food insecure. Female heads of household have less social capital than married women. Thus, social and religious gatherings are more challenging to female heads of households than married women.

As we have learned in chapter six about informants' strategies, brewing local drinks, selling of firewood and charcoal, spinning of cotton and migration were mentioned as major strategies. There were similarities and difference among female heads of households and married women. There was also gender aspect regarding migration as a strategy. Female heads of households can employ all these strategies as far as they have the resources which include financial, human and material resources. There are no cultural constraints to them. Coming to married women, they cannot use brew local drinks and spin of cotton for sale as free as female heads of households. If they employed these two strategies, their social status will be undermined. Selling charcoal was a main strategy of married women and for few female heads of households who have a son as it requires mainly men's labour. Migration is a strategy mainly employed by men in the study area.

## **8.2. Empowerment and Disempowerment**

In chapter seven I have showed that are some difference between what the PSNP manual says and how it is put into practice by the people in charge. There is also difference between the perspectives of PW and DS beneficiaries regarding the role of PSNP to beneficiaries and to the community. For PW beneficiaries, the role of PSNP is seen to have an impact on individual, household and community level. As I discussed in theory chapter, according to empowerment approach, in order to say one is economically empowered, there must be a contribution in survival as well as to the strategy needs. To what extent does the PSNP enhance these needs to rural women? As I presented in chapter seven, the PSNP helps PW women beneficiaries to get paid by participating in public work activities as daily labourer



and direct support. Thus, PW beneficiaries can buy food which is basic need when they get paid from the PSNP and can survive. There is also sense of get paid in PW women beneficiaries. Moreover, in chapter seven we have learned that the PSNP contributes to the community level by building one small bridge, water ponds, constructing two small dams, repairing and building rooms of primary school and first aid health centre. It also helps the community in soil conservation. In this regard, the PSNP helps its beneficiary to enhance strategic need to some extent. Therefore, PW women beneficiaries, as part of the household and part of community the PSNP improve their strategic need to some extent. As I discussed in chapter five, fetching water from a long distance was a time taking and labour consuming and tiring women's activity. Thus, especially construction of two water ponds by the PSNP helps PW women beneficiaries somehow to save their time and labour to fetch water from long. Therefore, it seems that PSNP enhance a certain level of economic empowerment of PW women beneficiary.

Group forming for the purpose of public work activities was significant advantage of PW beneficiaries the get from the PSNP. The group has strong connection outside of the public work activities. In this regard, PW women beneficiaries can have the room to exercise social empowerment and to some extent political empowerment. As I discussed in chapter seven, PW women beneficiaries, especially young informants were not socially active before they get the chance to form a group for the public work activities. After getting the chance to participate in public work activities as a group, they become active participants of social gatherings and religious holidays. In the group there is also a room to practice decision making power when they decide how to act in the group whenever there is social gatherings and religious holidays. They have their own rules and regulations to decide minimum requirement, when and which time shall the group meet, who bring what and which part of the group bring what for some social gatherings. In this sense, PW women beneficiaries can exercise limited political empowerment. Hence, PW beneficiaries are empowered socially and to some extent economically and politically. Therefore, PSNP enhance social and somehow economic empowerment to PW women beneficiaries which helps them to have access and control over resources and capitals particularly social capital. According to the Livelihood Approach, social capital is important to secure household. Thus, PSNP helps PW women beneficiaries to enhance their household food security by empowering them economically and socially even though social empowerment was not the main intention in the program.

On the other hand, for DS beneficiaries get paid as direct support from the PSNP. DS beneficiaries can buy food and other basic needs with that money even though it is not enough. In this case, can create sense of get paid for DS beneficiaries. For DS beneficiaries the role of the program is just for their survival. DS beneficiaries cannot build household asset for their future and they do not have access to loans and group formations. This shows that DS women beneficiaries are not equally empowered as PW women beneficiaries.

PSNP contributes to fulfil basic needs to its beneficiaries as a whole. However, according to empowerment approach, if its contribution is only at survival level, we cannot say that there is empowerment. Therefore, DS beneficiaries are not empowered economically. More importantly, DS beneficiaries do not participate in PW activities and in group formation. According to DS beneficiary informants, their participation in social and religious gatherings have declined due to the program. This shows that they are socially disempowered though the PSNP does not have an intention to do so. In this regard both social empowerment and social disempowerment were unintended consequence of the program.

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# Appendix

## Interview and FGD Guide

### Interview Guides for Women Beneficiaries

1. How many family members do you have?
  - a. How many male family members do you have? How many female family members do you have? Do you know their age?
  - b. Who helped you? How? Whose help is most important? Why?
2. Do you have animals?
  - a. How do you get? How many animals do you have?
  - b. Which animals is the most important? Why?
3. Do you have access to credit and saving service? why?
  - a. Who is eligible to take loan? What are the criteria to be eligible? How? Why?
  - b. Who is eligible to save money? What are the criteria to be eligible? Why?
  - c. Do you think that access to credit and saving service is important? How?
4. Do you have agricultural land? How do you get it?
  - a. How much is it in *timad*? Is that enough? Why?
  - b. Is it productive? Did you use agricultural input? Which agricultural inputs? Who gave you? How much was its price?
  - c. How many kgs did you produce each year? How many kg did you produce last year? Which crops do you produced? Which one is the most important? Why?
5. For what purposes do you use the crops? How?
6. Have you ever faced food shortage?
  - a. When did you faced? Why?
  - b. Was that saviour? Why?
  - c. Was that lack of food stuffs for family members? Which food stuffs?
  - d. Was that lack of food stuffs for community based activities? Which activities?
  - e. Was that any other problem other than above? What? How? Why?
  - f. Who suffered more? How? Why?
7. What were your challenges at time of food shortage?
  - a. Was that unable to feed your families anymore?
  - b. Was that your children? How?



- c. Was that unable to pay back loan? How?
  - d. Was that unable to plant your land? How?
  - e. Was that community? How?
8. What strategies have you employed to cope up food shortage?
- a. Was that daily labourer? Who did that? Why?
  - b. Was that engaging in other activities other than agriculture? What type? Who engaged? Why?
  - c. Was that selling of assets? Which type? Why?
  - d. Was that borrowing? From whom? What? How?
  - e. Was that reducing of number of meal? For whom? Why?
  - f. Was that gifts? From whom? What? How?
  - g. Was that migrating to the city? Who? Why?
  - h. Was that aid? From whom? What? How?
9. Were you beneficiaries of PSNP?/ Are you beneficiaries of PSNP?
- a. How did you get the chance to be beneficiaries?
  - b. Who gave you the chance to be beneficiaries? What were the criteria? Why?
  - c. Who is /was beneficiaries from your family member? Why?
10. What are/were the benefits of PSNP?
- a. What benefits do/did you get? How?
  - b. Are/were the benefits satisfied with your need? How?
  - c. What benefits do/did get your household? How?
  - d. Are/were the benefits satisfied with your household needs? How?
  - e. Who is/was the most satisfied with the benefits in the household? Why?
  - f. What benefits do/did get the community? How?
11. Do you observe any changes in your household after being beneficiaries of the PSNP?
- a. What are the changes you observed? How?
  - b. In what ways and how the changes are important to you? To your household?  
To the community?
  - c. Will changes continued to the future? Why? How?
12. Do you think that your participation in PSNP build your capacity? If so,
- a. How do you express your capacity building? Why?
  - b. In which way your capacity is build? Socially? Economically? Politically?  
How?
  - c. Are there any other ways of capacity building? What? How?

- d. In which level your capacity is build? At household level? At community level? How?
- e. Does your capacity building help you to your household food security? In what way? How?
- f. Does your capacity building help you to your resources control? In what way? Which resources? How?
- g. Does your capacity building change your role and status in the household? In what way? How?
- h. Does your capacity building change your role and status in the community? In what way? How?
- i. Have you build household asset as a result of your capacity building? Which assets? How?
- j. Who has more power to mange those household assets? Why?
- k. Can you take any measure on those assets to satisfied household needs? Your needs? How? Why?
- l. Are there any other family members whose capacity is build? Who? In which way? How?

### **Interview Guide for Experts**

1. How do you start the project?
2. What was the main objective of the project?
3. Was there any needs assessment? If so,
  - a. How was that?
  - b. Who did the needs assessment?
  - c. Whose needs were given priority? Why? How?
4. Do/did women involved in the planning, needs assessment and any other activities of the organization?
  - a. How many of planners was/is women? Why?
  - b. How was their participation?
5. How many beneficiaries do/did you have?
  - a. Do you have benefice's data?
  - b. How many male and how many female beneficiaries do you have? Why?
6. How do/did you select beneficiaries?
  - a. What is/was your main selection criteria? Why? How?

- b. Who participated in selecting of beneficiaries from your organization? From household members? From community? How was that? Why?
  - c. Who is/was eligible and who was not eligible in the household? In the community? Why?
  - d. Was/is there complain for not being selected as a beneficiary or otherwise? Who were the complainers (Female/male)? How was that entertained?
7. Is/was there any priority to women? If so,
- a. How do you express the priority?
  - b. Why is/was it? How is/was it?
  - c. Do you believe that women are adequately pulled as their priority? Why? How?
  - d. How do/did realize the priority? Why?
8. What are/ were the main benefits of PSNP to its beneficiaries?
- a. Are/were benefits equally distributed? Why? How?
  - b. Are/were all those benefits satisfied household needs? Why? How?
  - c. How did/do you evaluate satisfaction? Was there any feedback from beneficiaries? How was that?
  - d. Which of those benefits are/were based on women's need? Men's need? Both men's and women's need? Community needs? Why? How?
9. Do/did you observe any changes on the lives of beneficiaries? On the lives of community? What are/were that?
10. Do/did you observe any changes in capacity building of beneficiaries? What are/were that?
11. Was there women's capacity building in your action plan? If so,
- a. How do you explain women's capacity building?
  - b. How is/was it? Was it economical? Social? Political? Or any other way? Why? How?
  - c. How do you explain women's economic capacity building? Women's social capacity building? Women's political capacity building? Other capacity buildings if there is/was? Why?
  - d. How do/did you implement it?
  - e. Is/was it effective? How? Why?
  - f. Which capacity building is/was more effective? Why? How?
12. Are there households that "graduated" from the PSNP in the woreda? If so,

- a. How they graduated?
- b. What are/were the criteria to be graduated? Why?
- c. Are/were the criteria the same for women and men? Why?
- d. How many? Are FHH in the list? Why?
- e. Do you believe that FHH will be able to build asset after graduate?

### **FGD Guides**

1. How is life?
2. How do you understand food security/insecurity?
3. Who is food secure/insecure in the community? Why?
4. What are the major challenges of food insecurity in the community? How?
5. What are the major coping strategies of food insecurity in the community?
6. How do you understand resources? What are there?
7. How do you understand resources control? Why?
8. Who are the most appropriate to control resources in the community? Why?
9. What is PSNP? What are its objectives?
10. Who are the beneficiaries of PSNP? How they are selected and why is that? Is/was the selection criteria fair? How?
11. What are the major benefits of PSNP to households? To community? Why?
12. Do you think that PSNP is helpful to achieve women's food security and resource control in the household and community level? How?
13. Have you ever heard about women's economic, social and political or any other capacity building? From who or where? How? How do you understand these capacity buildings? Who give you women's capacity buildings? How do you women achieve capacity buildings?
14. Do you think that PSNP is effective on these women's capacity buildings? If so, how? If not, why?
15. How do you evaluate PSNP?
16. What are your major suggestions to achieve women's food security and resources control at household and community level?
17. What are your major suggestions to achieve women's economic, social and political capacity building at household and community level?