

**UNDERSTANDING THE STATUS OF WOMEN THROUGH
GENDERED PERSPECTIVE-
A STUDY IN AWASH, AFAR ZONE 3, ETHIOPIA**

Final Project Thesis



Submitted by:

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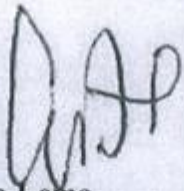
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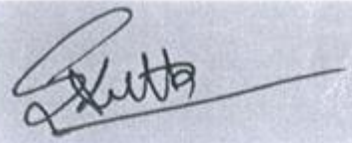
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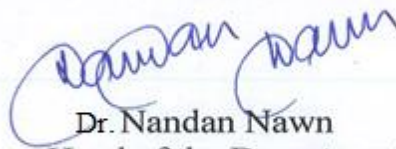
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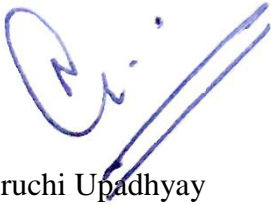
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This is to certify that the work that forms the basis of this project “**Understanding the Status of Women through Gendered Perspective- A study in Awash, Afar Zone 3, Ethiopia**” is an original work carried out by me and has not been submitted anywhere else for the award of any degree. I certify that all sources of information and data are fully acknowledged in the project report.



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List of Abbreviations

ABE	Alternative Basic Education
CDA	Community Driven Approach
CEDAW	The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
EDHS	Ethiopian Demographic and Health Survey
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
FHH	Female Headed Household
GAD	Gender and Development
GAM	Gender Analysis Matrix
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNI	Gross National Income
GoE	Government of Ethiopia
GPI	Gender Parity Index
GTP	Growth and Transformational Plan
HDR	Human Development Index
HH	Household
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
MCH	Mother- Child Health
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MHH	Male Headed Household
MoFAP	Ministry of Federal Affairs and Pastoral Development
MoJ	Ministry of Justice
MoRAD	Ministry of Rural Agriculture Development
MoWA	Ministry of Women Affairs
MoWR	Ministry of Water Resource
NAP GE	National Action Plan on Gender Equality

NPP	National Population Policy
NPW	National Policy on Women
PaSACCO	Pastoral Saving and Credit Cooperative Organization
PASDEP	Plan for Accelerated and Sustainable Development to End Poverty
PCDP	Pastoral Community Development Project
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
KII	Key Informant Interview
RLI	Rural Livelihood Program
SACCO	Saving and Credit Cooperative Organization
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WAD	Women Affairs Department
WAO	Women Affairs Office
WFP	World Food Programme

Abstract

In the name of culture and traditional norms majority of the girls in Afar region are victims of male domination and exploitation. This study examines the social structure of (agro) pastoral societies in two different villages in Awash, Afar zone 3 that keeps women deprived from having equal social status with men. The existing socialization process has also spread gender stereotypical beliefs in the younger generations which escorts them directly towards their traditional roles set by the society. Being a patriarchal society the power is automated in men considering women as inferior beings. Such unequal power relations hinders access, decision making power and participation of women in all sphere of life in addition with burden of extreme work load. From the primary data collected in the field results suggested that the high loyalty of the community towards its customary law and culture promotes social evil like early marriage followed by early birth. The study is focused to understanding the socio-economic and socio-cultural status of women and the issues and challenged faced from the gender norms of the society.

Key words: Women, Culture, Patriarchal Society, Unequal power relation, Decision Making

Chapter 1

1.1 Introduction

United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) Human Development Report (HDR, 2016) defines human development as, *"The expansion of people's freedoms and capabilities to lead lives that value and have reason to value. It is about expanding choices. Freedoms and capabilities are a more expansive notion than basic needs."* Country like Norway are ranked as the top in human development whereas country like Afghanistan ranked under low levels of human development. Human Development Index (HDI) was developed by Mahbub ul Haq a Pakistani Economist as a tool to categorize countries as developed, a developing or an underdeveloped country. The three main development indicators: Income, Health and Education are used to categories the level of human development of a country. Norway is above in line of human development as it gives people more freedom and opportunities to live lives they value in terms of living a healthy life, access to knowledge and decent standard of living and opportunities for income for all equally. On a contrary in countries like Afghanistan the schooling rate remains low specially for the girls that translates into poorly educated mothers who can neither survive long nor can easily raise as healthy citizens and these two factors lead to low opportunities to income for which it remains low in HDI. When citizens of a country are unable to meet their basic rights to meet their standard of living inequality becomes visible. This applies to most of the countries in Africa amongst which Ethiopia falls under the low human development.

Ethiopia is famous for its unique cultural heritage, diverse culture comprised with 77 ethnic groups and Africa's oldest independent country with a population of 105 million (Ethiopian Demographic and Health Survey EDHS 2016). Despite the progress made in the country in the last 20 years it still is ranked 174th out of 188th country (UN HDI 2015). The life expectancy has increased to 64.6 years, expected years of schooling increased to 8.4 years and Gross National Income (GNI) increased to 134.7 per cent. Though the Ethiopian constitution is seen progressive in nature, the oppression remains in the capacity of government. The literacy rate in Ethiopia remains significantly low. According to UNESCO (2007) the male literacy is 49.13 per cent compared to 28.92 per cent female. The Gender Inequality Index ranks the country 116th among 159 countries which indicates gender disparity hindering the country's human development to improve. The

strong correlation between the gender equality and economic and social rights fulfillment needs to be understood by all beings in a country. Around 85 per cent of the Ethiopian population reside in the rural areas who are deprived and lagging behind to find development in their economic, social and cultural spheres. Women remain more marginalized than the rest of the population. Afar one of the ninth regional states of Ethiopia with a total population of 1.7 million people amongst which 90 per cent are pastoralists and agro-pastoralists. Earlier pastoralists have traditionally been highly marginalized. Governmental organizations are making extensive efforts for the pastoralists reaching out to the most inaccessible areas of the country to serve them with basic social services and economic infrastructures.

Pastoral Community Development Project (PCDP), a 15-year integrated project funded by International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) and World Bank, is functioning under the Ministry of Federal Affairs and Pastoral Development (MoFAPD). The aim of the project is to bring changes in the pastoralist's life giving them opportunities to improve their standard of living and well-being from the challenges they have been facing from the past. Afar being a drought prone region has put the pastoralists in extreme level of destruction in their livelihood in the past. The PCDP has been trying to remove the vulnerabilities in these communities by building resilience to climate change related droughts. The Government of Ethiopia (GoE) has been emphasizing in basic service delivery, including health, education, water supply and agricultural services in its budgetary allocation to help the pastoralists improve their livelihood. The GoE development strategy in the Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP) has four broad objectives –

- 1) To maintain at least an 11 per cent average real growth in the GDP
- 2) To expand access to and ensuring quality of education and health services and achieving MDGs in the social sector
- 3) To establish suitable conditions for sustainable nation building through creation of a stable, democratic and development state
- 4) To ensuring the sustainability of growth by realizing all the mentioned objectives within a stable macro-economic framework.

The PCDP-3 intends to fulfill all these objectives of GoE by providing basic social services to underserved pastoral and agro-pastoral communities and helping the communities to strengthen

their economic livelihoods in addition it is also focused in increasing the access to and quality of infrastructure such as roads, water and sanitation. It has been successful in providing access to public services and supporting the livelihood of pastoral and agro-pastoral communities in many ways through Community-Driven Approach (CDA) and Rural Livelihoods Program (RLP) being two major components of the project. PDCP beneficiaries are spread around various regions of Ethiopia. Afar is one of the region where PDCP facilitates by focusing in the communities need and demand of various social services. Water points are built putting focus on the women's workload, education, health services, saving and credit cooperates under PDCP to enhance the communities for development. Yet there remains a huge gender disparity in these communities where women's voice remain unheard. Looking at the socio- cultural barriers women face PDCP is in process of mainstreaming gender into their project as one of the major component to empower women in Afar.

The present research conducted in Afar state Zone 3. Women in Afar are further marginalized than the rest of the population. For instance, the literacy level of women remains significantly low than rest of the country despite various social services provided in the area. The Gender Parity Index (GPI) for net attendance ratio in secondary school is extremely low i.e. -0.29. 74 per cent of the women have no access to mass media where their source of information remains to be very poor. About 85.1 per cent of the women in Afar do not access to health services rather give birth at home (EDHS 2016). Gender Equality and Women Empowerment remains as a big question for the government in these areas where community participation and women's access to resources are mediated through men. It is very important to liberate women from male-dominated cultures where they face severe discrimination on their day to day lives. The GoE is highly committed to banning harmful traditional practices. Through extensive awareness programs there is reduction in the practice of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) but child marriage still remains high in Afar. The Ethiopian Constitution, Article 35 states The Rights to Women but majority of the women in Afar are unable to meet their basic fundamental rights and forced to follow their customary law. Kabeer (2001) states "the aspects of tradition and culture which are so taken for granted that they have become naturalized". Women living in a certain social structure since generations internalize their subordinate status and view themselves as someone of lower value where their sense of rights and entitlements are diminished. Therefore, Cultural Relativism and Universal Human Rights do not come together until some issues are properly dealt with.

This study mainly focuses on pointing out the status of women and the challenges they face every day in the pastoral communities. The basic objective of my study is to see the status of women from gendered perspective in Awash, Afar Zone 3 to highlight various issues and challenges associated with it. For this study, the Gender and Development (GAD)¹ approach has been followed which includes the use of various Gender Analysis framework² which focuses not only with the biological inequalities in ground but the social roles, reproductive roles and productive roles that lead to gender inequalities. This theoretical framework helps to understand the socially constructed and maintained relations between women and men focusing on the subordination of women, which helps us understand the problem of unequal power relation to enhance both women and men as full participants in decision making. Therefore, GAD approach enables to redress the disparities in access to resources, equal rights and opportunities, equal participation involving both women and men to look at their development problems. Gender equality is about both men and women. Men play a crucial role in the gender mainstreaming process. Their positive participation comes before the women for gender equality to be successful. Sex disaggregated data is presented in this study keeping in mind empowerment of women is not possible without men in male dominated societies. Gender gaps needs to be made smaller for women empowerment to proceed. A woman is empowered when she is able to make her strategic life choices which is possible when she is able to take control over her own life and over the resources around her. This study has been conducted by integrating the gender perspective which will help future researchers and development organizations to promote equality between women and men which will help taking women empowerment forward.

This chapter includes an introduction to the topic including the research objectives, research questions of the study. A literature review in the second chapter will help to familiarize the context of the study. The third chapter illustrates the various methods used to conduct the study. Chapter four presents the findings on the socio-economic and socio-cultural status of women which includes a proper sex disaggregated data³ and the social structure of the community in the study area. Issues and challenges of women in the study area is presented from the findings in the fifth

¹ GAD approach was developed in 1980`s by a group feminists to focus on the social or gender relations between men and in society and seeks to address issues of and control over resources and power.

² A guide to Gender-Analysis Framework by Candida March, Ines Smyth and Maitrayee Mukhopadhyya, Oxfam

³ Data that are collected and presented separately on men and women, UNESCO, 2003

chapter. Chapter six points out the policy interventions and its implication and the final chapter has the conclusion and recommendations provided.

The basic objective of my study is to see the Status of Women from gendered perspective in Awash, Afar Zone 3 in order to highlight various Issues and Challenges associated with it. To fulfil broader objective there are three sub-objectives which are as follows –

- a) To understand the status of women in Awash, Afar Zone 3 with special attention socio-economic and socio-cultural perspectives
- b) To understand the various challenges faced by women in Awash, Afar Zone 3**
- c) To identify the gaps and challenges in the implementation of various government policies related to gender

Based on the research objective the following research questions will be answered.

- 1) What is the income and expenditure pattern of women in Awash?
- 2) What is the pattern of ownership of women in Awash? What socio-cultural barriers limit the women's right to property?
- 3) What is the existing division of labor between men and women in Awash? How do gender stereotypes affect the socio-economic status of women in the community?
- 4) What leadership and decision making roles do women play at household and community level?
- 5) What is women's level of participation and representation in local bodies of governance?
- 6) What are the perceptions of parents regarding better education and health facilities for women/girls in Awash?
- 7) What socio-cultural barriers limit women/girls access to better education and health facilities in Awash?
- 8) What development strategies can be proposed to improve the status of women in Awash?
- 9) What are the existing schemes and programs for women in Awash?

1.2 Significance of Study

Some progress in achieving equality in the urban areas is able to be seen but in rural areas majority of the women are in crisis. The gender parity index remains extremely low in Afar region. The findings from this study will help in understanding the real cause of gender disparity in the grounds of (agro) pastoral societies in Awash, Afar zone 3. The result examined through gender analysis following the Gender and Development approach will help the local level decision makers to have a clear picture about the status of women and the root causes challenging leading them to remain depowered (or disempowered). Through the sex- disaggregated data provided in the study it will also help the projects and program in implementing the right interventions to achieve gender equality and women empowerment in the research area. However, if the ground realities are overlooked implementation of gender related policies and programs will not contribute in reducing the existing gender gaps of such vulnerable areas.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted in December 10, 1948 by the General Assembly of the United Nations translated into more than 350 languages worldwide and more than 100 African Languages. For instance let's take all the rights stated in Article 1 to Article 30 (Innate freedom and equality, Ban on Discrimination, Right to life, Ban on slavery, Ban on torture, Right to recognition as a person before the law, Equality before the law, Right to effective judiciary, Ban on arbitrary detention, Right to public hearing, Right to the presumption of innocence, Right to privacy, Right to freedom of movement, Right to asylum, Right to a nationality, Right to marriage and family, Right to own property, Right to freedom of thought and religion, Right to freedom of opinion and expression, Right to freedom of assembly and association, right to take part in government, Right to social security, Right to work, Right to rest, Right to an adequate standard of living, Right to education, Right to participate in cultural life, Right to social and international order, Duties and limitation and Salvatory clause respectively). According to law and constitution these rights define equality, justice, liberty and fairness for all. These human rights are defined as rights inherent to all human beings, whatever nationality, and place of residence, sex, national or ethnic origin, color, religion, language or any other status. Every one of us are equally entitled to the human rights without any discrimination. People living in rural areas have equal entitlement to human rights as those who live in urban areas. Women have equal entitlement to these rights as men do. Although declarations were adopted by many countries, it has still been difficult to make it consensual or universal in most of the vulnerable areas. The biggest issue is seen for the inclusion of principles is the contrast with some cultures and beliefs. Specially countries which are still rooted to religion who disagree with these declarations as their laws which are based on religious creeds that have been followed for years by their ancestors. In such cases it's specially the women living in rural areas in many parts of the world face severe deprivations (U.N. Women, 2007). Whereas some countries do respect their human rights as they are based on cultural habits and customs. Countries like Africa advocate that the Declaration ignores historical and cultural issues that are specific from each country so they move on with their own charter i.e. African Charter on Human and People`s Rights, Islamic Declaration of Human Rights that guarantee the rights of women as equal to those of men.

In order to promote and protect human rights and the fundamental freedoms of individuals or groups human rights are expressed in the form of treaties, customary laws, and general principles and other sources of international law that is guaranteed by the government. But again these customary laws do not promote equality for women. In some parts of developing countries women are still excluded from reaching their right, right to life. This is where cultural relativism and universalism oppose. Where right and wrong is defined by social norms. According to Jack Donnelly cultural relativism holds that culture is the principle source of the validity of a moral right or rules. When people are allowed to set their own moral code of conduct, they choose to commit actions that is defined as good in their personal morality. The concept of cultural relativism is difficult to coexist with the notion of universal human rights. For example, women in some cultures undergo female genital mutilation regarded as clean and pure. One culture may believe that there is some moral justification for this practice where the impact on the women`s health does not come in as morality. Cultural relativism has made it difficult to say which culture is right or wrong. Cultural relativism has the advantage of teaching individual tolerance but again until the humanity is willing to grow up and learn from each other, there are potentials for harm in this idea as humans ultimately choose what is right for them in their culture that they are following since years. Customary laws have come into existence from the concept cultural relativism

According to Muna Ndulo the source of law in most of African countries are customary law. Majority of the people perform their personal activities subjected to customary law which has a huge impact in personal law as it was developed in the patriarchal era where some norms conflict with the human rights norms which mandates the equality between men and women. The human rights activists and traditionalists debate on the compatibility of customary norms with human rights in the international conventions and the national bills of rights in national constitutions. In real grounds the customary law are used to justify treating women as second class citizens. On one side the African constitutions provide provisions for equality, dignity and prohibiting discrimination based on gender whereas at the same time the customary laws are recognized without solving the conflict between the customary norms and human right provisions. The customary norms extend the sense of being natural and part of the way things are or should be which does not allow women to be entitled to exercise their human rights and fundamental freedoms. The courts should react to African customary law norms that discriminate against women. The role of legislation plays a crucial role in fighting for gender equality. The court is

responsible to interpret the norms keeping in mind the human rights norms that show the traditional social and economic relations which discriminates women by customary law.

Yet again from customary norms comes in the “Honor Killing”, a Patriarchal Violence in the name of ‘Honor’ (Aisa Gill, 2006). It refers to the murder of family members, mainly the females perpetrated to reclaim family honor and pride which is the most extreme form of honor based violence against women of a community, highly practiced in Islamic countries like Pakistan, Afghanistan, Libya, Middle east and north Africa and majority of the Muslim countries (Kulczycki A, Windle S, 2011). The victims are predominately female and the perpetrators are usually male relatives (fathers, brothers, husbands, and occasionally sons) (Stewart, 1994; Wikan, 1984). The United Nations estimates that 5,000 women worldwide are victims of honor killing each year. The pressure of the community often drives the families to commit these crimes to save their prestige. The male community elders guide these activities which makes it very complicated for this practice to stop. The cultural relativism allows them to follow these acts where international community, government and non-government organizations involvement are limited in effectively. The community`s constructive involvement is significant to stop these practices. Without their support no level of international awareness, laws can save the lives of these women. The most successful ventures emerge when the community involves itself constructively through the empowerment of women (Human Rights Pakistan). In a country like Nepal women are discriminated for being natural. Recently the parliament of Nepal has criminalized an ancient Hindu practice called chhaupadi that banishes women from the home during menstruation and after childbirth. Yet the law is unenforceable as it is related to a deeply entrenched belief system that is harder to change (Pema Lhaki, Women`s right activist, 2017). In order to bring stability and equality in a society from there so called unavoidable situations, we need to equip them to increase their self-esteem first. This is what women empowerment is all about. First step is to define justice in themselves before the society before the law.

To bridge the gender gaps and to achieve sustainable development in all societies many strategies are in ground termed as Gender mainstreaming. Gender mainstreaming is globally accepted by national and international agencies as well as non-governmental organizations as a strategy to promote gender equality. To promote gender mainstreaming UN MDG`s and SDG`s have been set. In September 1995 at the World Conference for Women in Beijing, China, the Beijing Platform

for Action focused on “Gender Mainstreaming” which has been recognized worldwide to achieve equality between men and women. The focus is not only on women but also on men, women, children and society in general. Men play a crucial role in the gender mainstreaming process. Their positive participation comes before the women for gender equality to be successful (UN Pakistan). Especially in stereotypical societies that are based on socially constructed norms, practices and beliefs. Negative Stereotypical beliefs obstructs an individual’s ability by limiting their choices and opportunities (UN Women). They are roots to branching gender discrimination. This directly effects on the mental and physical integrity of women and deprive them from equal knowledge, exercise and enjoyment of rights and fundamental freedom (CEDAW committee). The gaps can be reduced by allocating adequate resources for programs that target the elimination of gender stereotypes through advocacy and awareness raising campaigns and educational curriculum development. A lot is being done and a lot still needs to be done. Stereotype is a hidden bias and considered as a big elephant in the room of gender inequality (UN Women Africa). Gender gap exists in health, nutrition, education, literacy, job opportunities, income, ownership of land, success to credit, access to resources. It is high in the vulnerable areas but the existence is universal. As Hannan, 2000 states, “Since women are almost always excluded or disadvantaged in relation to men in their access to social and economic resources and decision-making, inputs to identify and redress the imbalances have tended to focus on women rather than men. It is however increasingly recognized that more attention must be given to men as well as women and the relations between them, in order to achieve equality.” Gender is socially constructed meaning of the differences between females and males which allocates unequally social power and privileges to women and men and shapes their identities and perceptions, interactional practices and the forms of institutions (Jecinta Okumu 2012). The assessment of how and why gender differences and inequalities are relevant to the subject under discussion, identifying where there are opportunities to narrow these inequalities and deciding on the approach to be taken is the first step in gender mainstreaming strategy. “Men are the gatekeepers of current gender orders and are potential resistors of change. If we do not effectively reach men and boys, many of our efforts will be either thwarted or simply ignored” (Kaufman in Ruxton, 2004).

To achieve gender equality it is very important to ensure that the women’s voices are heard. Activities where women are numerically dominant including their domestic work needs high attention. It should be understood that there is a difference between women and men’s priorities

and it is not necessary they share same needs and perspectives. In vulnerable societies there is inequality in political powers where access to decision making is lower for women, Inequality within household where access to resources is limited for women, difference in legal status and entitlements where majority of the men are entitled for the land and various other assets, gender division of labor within the economy where women are mandated to hold only the household occupation and considered unproductive, discriminatory attitudes which are often grounded in gender stereotypes. All this combine together which brings in the political, social, economic, cultural, religious factors together for consideration. All these factors are create a chain system which are interrelated to one another. Improvement in one factor follows another which can be seen as a feedback loop for bringing in gender equality (Jecinta Okumu, 2012).

As discussed earlier high levels of illiteracy among women and pervasive patriarchal attitudes are the issues present barriers to women's access to employment, political participation and justice. The need of women empowerment to fight back for the gender equality is both a challenge and an opportunity. Empowering women to take initiatives in rural development has been an essential first step to eradicating poverty. Enhancing social and economic inclusion of women is major (UN Women Executive Director, Phumzile Mlambo Ngchuka, Africa). From promoting good governance, to encouraging participation, to accessing funds through microfinance, gender mainstreaming will play a crucial role in rural development to meet the goals in developing countries. The role of women in rural areas in developing countries has tripled with child bearing, caring for the family, caring for the elderly, spending hours gathering wood for fuel and water, processing and producing food, farming and/or being engaged in family businesses that produce very little income, but enough to support the family and survive. Greater agriculture production, improved sanitation, better health, and nutrition and increased school enrolment rates, particularly for girls are essence to women empowerment and change.

To achieve gender development education is a key towards the reduction in gender disparities. Equal access to schools for both girls and boys will promote women empowerment. There are still high rate of dropouts seen due to poor educational system, early pregnancies and many other difficulties that girls encounter. Unless a focus is made toward the educational system itself, not only the number of girls vs. the number of boys in school, but what is taught and how it is taught to the two groups, no goals can be achieved (Aikman et al. 2005). It is very important to consider

what is being taught to girls, their expectation in getting education. The needs should be considered according to their social background making sure that their curriculum allow them to participate equally in learning. Government should consider making policies to punish any kind of offensive activities by the teachers and students could help strengthen the educational system in certain communities. Most of the people may be first generation learners and they require proper guidance and career counselling which will enable them to move forward. Giving priority to education will aware them to family planning, health care, and empowerment of women automatically if done right.

Women face various challenges and obstacles to participate in any kind of activities they wish to due to the cultural barriers, limited education, experiences, threats by male counterparts, household obligations and responsibilities, lack of access to mass media, lack of trust and many more. This limits them from self-development which is a huge barrier to any further development to occur. Interventions need to consider collective awareness building; capacity-building and skills development to bring change and empowerment that enable women`s general wellbeing (UNDP India, 2008).

One of the big barrier to development for an individual and a community who are still reluctant to their tradition and values is the lack of basic information. In rural places people are completely unexposed to the outer world`s reality it is because they do not have enough information, information that will help them bring change in their perspective and well-being. Information Communication and Technology (ICT) is considered to influence the pattern of living, interacting, marketing, cooperating etc. Increasing the accessibility of rural regions to ICT`s is a promising policy option for developing the rural regions (OECD, 2006). Information has the strength to influence and it increases exposure to individuals and rural communities as a whole. Every individual should have the right to information (RTI) as stated in the act. Lack of access to information and technology affects people in general and in most cases women are the most affected. Information facilitates women self-dependency and safe guard her privileges. It is a weapon to women empowerment and development (Nazia Shafi, 2010). It helps women to access information on issues like domestic violence, harassment, family planning, and get an insight of the real world out of their imagination. Information is at the heart of education, information is the basis of health, information defines every aspect of production, distribution and exchange, and

information defines social relationship at all levels (Noah Samara). ICT`s is advancing the world with tremendous opportunities for human development widening the gaps between have and have not`s between men women and men. Number of constraints women have encountered in many parts of Africa especially in rural areas in accessing even the basic information so accessing information using ICT`s may also not be easy in grassroots levels. To adapt to ICT the first step is to provide access to basic information and knowledge in grass root levels. Efforts need to be made to create access to basic information. Technology can be a game-changer for women and girls. It can make the 21st century a women`s and girls` century (UN Women).

Gender Situation in Afar

In Afar region the population of men highly outnumbers women due to the prevailing harmful traditional practices, including FGM, discrimination against girls in food allocation, early marriage as young as 7or 8 years, rape, abduction followed by rape, and other practices related to health and well-being. As a result, fewer girls than boys survive into adulthood (Sida 2003).

Afar women are considered to be “the invisible hands” of the household economy and they remain unrecognized in the policies and practices of the state institutions. They are the real keepers of the livestock`s and are responsible for the overall work involved in feeding and milking goats. The pastoral women are key actors in household livelihood production and fulfill the basic needs for their household.

Majority of the women`s access to resources and community participation is mediated through men in Ethiopia. The gender roles are constructed within the cultural norms where majority of the work load is on the women`s shoulders. Even when the women have access to their own income, they spend it on the betterment of their families. USAID focuses on increasing women`s social, economic and political status in the rural areas. They aim to promote gender equality to improve their access to economic opportunities and education, supporting the women to be healthy, equitable participation in the society. The root causes in this region for gender disparity are domestic violence, child marriage practices and FGM. Even if girl`s enrolment are increasing with time majority are unable to continue due to distance, personal security, early marriage and economic challenges. Periodic droughts and weak infrastructure and services constrains pastoral development in this area. Being a pastoral community, they lack diversification of livelihood opportunities which contributes to their low resilience capacity and vulnerability in the households

(IFAD). As mentioned above afar is a drought-prone region with a limited and unreliable period of rainfall each year, temperatures in Afar can average over 40 degrees. Ensuring access to safe water in these conditions is particularly difficult (CARE 2017). Lack of market access, inadequate health facilities and basic services are also the challenges faced by the vulnerable groups especially the women and children.

Women's access to information technology is minimal, with no access even the radio, the most widely available information source for the majority of the rural population. Their participation in the media is extremely low. The rural radio ownership of only 12.8 per cent is generally limited to men, and when the men go out of the house, they remove the batteries, hindering women's utilization (EDHS 2016).

Below are the data provided by Ethiopian Demographic and Health Survey 2016:

- According to the EDHS 2016 the wealthiest households are concentrated in urban areas (89 per cent). In contrast, approximately half of the rural population (46 per cent) falls in the lowest two wealth. The wealthiest households are concentrated in Addis Ababa (100 per cent) and the poorest households in the Afar Region (74 per cent).
- Educational attainment of the female household population with no education is 61.8 per cent, completed primary is 2.1 per cent and completed secondary education is 0.1 per cent whereas for the male household it is 48.2 per cent, 3.2 per cent and 0.8 per cent respectively (EDHS 2016).
- Gender Parity Index for the Net Attendance Ratio in secondary school is very low in Afar that is 0.29 (EDHS 2016).
- 74 per cent of women in Afar have no access to Mass media whereas for men 63.3 per cent (EDHS 2016).
- Internet usage increases as level of education increases. Only 25.3 per cent of men use internet on a daily basis whereas no data is provided for the women for the same. (EDHS 2016).
- Employment status of men is higher than compared to women 69.7 per cent and 22.7 per cent respectively (EDHS 2016).
- In the data provided for age of 15-49 the men and women who have never had sexual intercourse is 17.7 per cent and 14.2 per cent only (EDHS 2016).

- By region, married women in Afar have the lowest use of modern contraception is 12 per cent and 19.7 per cent women of age 15-49 can ask their husband to use a condom (EDHS 2016).
- 80.5 per cent of do not discuss about family planning to any health worker or consultant (EDHS 2016).
- The under-5 mortality rate is highest in Afar (125 deaths per 1,000 live births) (EDHS 2016).
- 85.1 per cent of women give birth at home in Afar region (EDHS 2016).
- 68.5 per cent women in Afar agree that their husband are justified hitting or beating of their wife (EDHS 2016).
- Despite of the physical or sexual violence experience by women, 82.4 per cent do not wish to share or seek for help (EDHS 2016).
- 100 per cent women and 98.8 per cent men have the knowledge of FGM yet 91.2 per cent go through the circumcision (EDHS 2016).

A study done on Ethiopia by Sida (2003) on profile on gender relation shows that the women are highly underprivileged. Being a patriarchal society, it keeps women at a subordinate position where religion and culture is an excuse and these excuses have been supported by laws and legislation. Although many policies and campaigns have been kept forward to deal with reduce the disparity, national actors have been found to lack capacity particularly human resources, gender desks are severely understaffed, and there is a large room for competence building in these areas. The involvement of men in gender equality work needs serious consideration as both sexes need to work together to ensure success. To achieve gender equality actors of development should not stay aside of the beliefs and traditions of the people they are working with, but rather try to embrace and understand those beliefs, target influential religious leaders and cooperate with them (Hopkins, & Kirit, 2006). Women's low status in education, income and time constraint for self-advancement have kept them away from participating in employment.

Compared to earlier days pastoralists have adequate infrastructure and provision services like education. The GoE has given special attention in the education sector in pastoral areas yet there are challenges faced by girl's to attend school due to societal setting which keeps them home to help their mothers and other cultural beliefs like early marriage and insecurities. The federal and

regional governments in Ethiopia are taking major efforts to reduce gender inequality in education in Afar region. UNESCO-IICBA has launched a project “Retaining Girls in Lower Secondary Schools and Increasing their Learning Outcomes” in four regions in Ethiopia including Afar addressing the challenges girls face in class rooms, school environment families and communities in large. Under the Ministry of Education there is a strategy in process, Pastoralist Education Strategy to accelerate the provision of quality basic education to pastoral communities across the country. UNICEF’s new country Programme Document (CDP) 2016-2020 aims to increase the access to education for at least 225,000 children in the pastoralist/agro-pastoralist areas by 2020 (Revisions of Pastoralist Education Strategy in Ethiopia 2016).

An Assessment on Gender was done by Gender Equality and The Knowledge Society (GEKS) 2015, Helina Beyene, provided with the quantitative and qualitative data covering various dimensions considered for gender equality

Dimension 1- Enabling Policy Environment.

The GoE has recognized the critical role of women’s empowerment in achieving its development goals and kept forward the support of various legal and policy reforms to achieve it. In order to attain gender equality the constitution should be strong to prohibit the gender discrimination and guarantee the equal rights to women.

The Constitution of Federal Republic of Ethiopia exposes the equality of men and women in the social, legal, economic and political factors. The Article 35 of the constitution ensures women’s equal rights to men, a mandatory action as a remedy for historical discrimination against women and explicates the state’s obligation to eliminate traditional customs that harm women’s minds or bodies (SIDA 2015). Article 42 ensures their equal right for equal work. Women are usually under cultural and religious pressures despites of Article 34 stating the right to choose and agree the customary and religious laws. But it has been observed that when women react under the circumstances they face from the religious law and takes it up to the legal court they face challenges from the religious courts. The religious courts tend to uphold the patriarchal values.

The Family law of Ethiopia has revised many penal codes in order to readdress gender based discriminations. In 1960 the code permitted marriage at age 15 declaring the husband the head of

family. In 2000 the family law revised permitting the legal age of marriage to 18 ensuring equal power in the family administration and in decisions of family property.

In 2004 the Penal Code has been revised addressing the issue of violence against women. The sexual violence against women were stated punishable by law and anyone found doing Harmful Traditional Practices and FGM were to be imprisoned for six months. Despite of these changes in the code this penal code has been criticized for its lack of provisions against domestic violence and provides no clear legal provisions.

Affirmative Action Policy exists to provide special attention to women ensuring their participation with men in political, social and economic life as well as public and private institutions as stated in Article 89(7).

The Ethiopian government is a signatory to multiple international legal instruments. The Convention of Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), The Beijing Platform for Action, The Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, The International Conference on Population and Development. All these international instruments are there to bring in gender equality globally.

Growth and Transformational Plan (GTP) considers the promotion of women, youth and other vulnerable groups in accomplishing its development goals. Emphasis is more on increasing female enrollment and number of female teachers in school and ensures the vulnerable women's ability to participate in non-farm income generating activities. It plays a significant role in gender mainstreaming.

The National Policy on Women (NPW) and National Plan for Action on Gender Equality (NAP-GE) policy was framed to address the gender issues in public policies setting main priorities to eradicate poverty, empowerment of women and girls, reproductive and health rights, rights in HIV/AIDs, education of women and girls, discrimination and violence against them and create gender sensitive indicators gathering sex aggregated data. Ethiopian Women Development Packages were adopted by Women Affairs addressing the same considering the implementation of NPW and NAP- GE.

Plan for Accelerated and Sustainable Development to End Poverty (PASDEP) envisioned gender equality and planned to make women participants to be benefited from information and technology

by increasing their access to information and technology and alternative livelihoods for the women with vocational education and training.

Despite of all these policies and law created for gender equality the gap remains in the implementation. The government lacks the capacity to address the complex problems the women of Ethiopia face (SIDA 2015).

Dimension 2- Health Status:

In 2014 the percentage of health facility births was seen 10 per cent in Afar (SIDA 2015). Ethiopia also has one of the highest rates of FGM in the world. It is spread widely within the ethnic groups with Afar having the highest prevalence rate of 91.8 per cent (EDHS 2016). Many NGO's and local institutions have been working to address the cons of FGM yet the traditional beliefs encounter especially in the rural areas.

Dimension 3- Social Status

Gender based violence is very common in Ethiopia. Women and girls face economic, physical, sexual violence, including rape, beatings, sexual harassment and economic deprivation. They are vulnerable to Harmful Traditional Practices, early marriage and FGM. EDHS 2016 shows that wife beating is justified in many parts of the country. One of the main causes of poor academic performance and school dropouts among girls in Ethiopia is violence against them. The study also shows that the women have tremendous domestic workload especially in rural areas where 78 per cent of water and 81 per cent of firewood collection is carried out by women which is known to be unpaid and unproductive.

Dimension 4- Economic Status

Economic status shows the women's ability in the knowledge society. They are excluded from the economic sectors that provide them higher income and opportunities to improve their skills with full participation in every fields including information and technology. Female unemployment is significantly high in Ethiopia especially in the rural areas. Most of them in rural areas were unemployed due to heavy domestic duties and pregnancy.

Dimension 5 Access to Resources

Despite higher rate of home ownership among rural women, they have lower access to sanitation facilities. 52.1 per cent rural women use fields and forests as toilet facilities. Women's access to Internet and cell phones is extremely low which creates barrier to their ability to participate in the knowledge society and women empowerment. Their access to such resources interlinks their ability to earn income. GTP has aimed to increase women's ability by accessing them saving and credit services which will enable them to have alternative source of income. There is no sex-disaggregated data available in Ethiopia for the use of transportation by women but their access to electricity is scarce in rural areas.

Dimension 6- Opportunity and Capability

The rural women in Afar and Somali regions have the highest illiteracy rates which creates a barrier to opportunity and capability for further self- development.

Chapter 3

Research Methodology

3.1 Reflecting on the field experience

My research journey as a field practitioner started from The Energy and Resources Institute School of Advanced Studies (TERI SAS), Delhi India. I have always been passionate and emotionally driven towards interacting with vulnerable people around me with a motive to contribute towards them in any ways possible. But at one point I came to realize emotions alone isn't enough to bring a sustainable change. This thought of mine led my journey to TERI SAS. What gave me the confidence to choose Ethiopia for my major project was the knowledge and skill I have received from my University to conduct field practicum. The Education I have received as a field practitioner has empowered me in ways.

I instantly applied for the internship vacancy that IFAD had provided without being reluctant or having any second thought. I got selected and it was like a dream come true. I remembered what my father always told me. *“Because of your pro-social behavior one day you will be in Somalia where there are millions of people who need help from people like you.”* Yes of course the destination may not be the same, but the purpose remained. It was my family who made me realize I do not belong at a Bank I belong here. Their positive attitude and belief in me made me realize where my strength lied. And my strength lied in socializing, socializing with the rural communities which has always been a part of me since my childhood. As I was half equipped with my emotions for rural development my masters in TERI equipped me to this extend that I did not have to think even for a second to go to a whole new country for a research. Though there is still a long way to go to become a real researcher.

For three weeks I stayed in front of my laptop restless, waiting for Mr. Damena Lema my supervisor from PCDP to reply to a mail regarding my visa issues. This was the only time I remained in a state of paranoia. All my classmates had started with their internship and I was still waiting for my internship to start. In fact, in dilemma “Is it going to even going to start?” But still in positive hopes I spent my time surfing the internet, googling about how my study area looked like, how the people lived there and what activities I can do with the communities throughout my

time in Afar. With a very limited data and picture online I started filling my bags with color pencils and drawing pads, earing's and bags, packets of chocolates etc. keeping in mind the activities I could conduct in the field with the communities.

Finally, I got my visa in hand. I packed my bags with all the experience and learning I gained from my family, my professors, the communities around me and flew to Ethiopia on the 22nd of January 2018. As I landed to Ethiopia I was surrounded with nothing but positivity that was the minute I said to myself "I am ready." First few days I began exploring Addis Ababa the capital city of Ethiopia. Surrounded with big buildings, gorgeous girls, beautiful historical churches and mostly the delicious traditional food. What fascinated me the most was the little coffee stalls you come across in every foot step you take. In every traditional restaurants you enter you are assisted to wash your hands before and after your meal.

After a few days spent strolling around in the streets of Bole my interaction with IFAD country office officials and Pastoral Community Development Project officials started. I was warmly welcomed and facilitated by the respective officials. On 25th of January I reached to Semera the capital of Afar Region to officially meet our colleagues at Pastoral Community Development Regional Office. We had a very productive interaction followed by the traditional Nepali Tika Ceremony. My field area was located in Awash district of Afar located 230 km from the capital where the majority of the population was occupied with pastoralists and agro-pastoralists. As we started our journey to Awash from Addis Ababa big buildings slowly started to disappear, barren land, tiny huts and huge number of cattle started to get visible. Alas we reached Awash Fintale in Afar zone 3. I travelled to Awash Fintale with PCDP team who remained in the field with me for 4 days. To give a brief understanding about how the project was facilitating the pastoralist's and agro-pastoralists we travelled to different PCDP beneficiaries. This field visit helped me understand the cultural context and the livelihood of the people in these communities. The first day in the field with the PCDP team was filled with excitement. We had some informal interaction with few households which helped me draw a slight picture about how I can move forward. I was given few instructions to maintain my code of conduct during my research in the selected area. I was advised not to take any pictures of pastoral couple or a family together as it was restricted in their culture. I was advised to dress in Amharic clothes which I was gifted by the PCDP team at the regional office so that the community would welcome me freely and it would have built better

interaction. With all this in mind I started structuring my work to start with my research in Aurebeto and Aeva village. As the PCDP team left I gave myself two days to get familiarized with the market, food and people in Awash Fintale. Since there was a language barrier to conduct the research in the communities I was in search for a translator who could facilitate me with my research. One of the colleagues working for PCDP in Awash helped me look for a translator. After few struggle finally one translator came in sight who was able to speak English and Afaric.

I prepared myself for the field. Buckled myself in my track pants, t-shirt and my sneakers we started our journey to the field, Aurebeto village located 15 kms from Awash fintale. We hired an auto (Three-wheeler) which is commonly known as Bajaj in that area and headed to the field. As we started moving towards the village the roads slowly started disappearing, surrounded with plain dry lands, trees all dried up with only branches remaining, completely deserted from which I concluded “Reaching the Unreachable” was the suitable description given by the project. The real adventure began when I stepped into the village and saw a little running swiftly in fear and shedding tears. It was heartbreaking to know it was her first experience to have seen someone who did not look like the rest of them around her. I was awestruck with what I witnessed. But again this is when you know you are positioned in the right place do conduct your research right? I believe every new thing you learn begins with an experience. It is applied for the little girl and me. It was not only a new experience for the community for having me there but also a whole new experience for me to be there. It is understood why they were not familiarized with my presence. I did have the choice to dress like them, but I choose to look different to start my research as an awareness “Everybody is born free and equal.” It is very important for societies who are deeply rooted in their culture to understand that there are different people living in the world with different culture but still remain equal. Gender inequality remained in these societies for several reasons for which they are not to be blamed. Amongst them one is because they are unexposed and unaware about the minor facts that exists out of their community. Let’s keep ourselves in their situation would we not have remained in the same position if we were amongst them. If I approached them being one of them it would rather enhance their stereotype and my research would remain in the same circle. My first week in the village started with extensive rapport building where we turned into friends in not less than 3 days. A baseline survey was conducted in the beginning to have a clearer picture of the area. As time passed the communities would be waiting for me, as I’d reach I would be surrounded with people in excitement to have their pictures clicked and zoom through

their own photos which was again their first time to experience this. And of course I managed to take many couple and family pictures. My research in Aurebeto ended in 30 days but I promised the community I would come back before I left for Addis.

I moved forward to another village called Aeva located 30 km from Awash Fintale. This village was adjacent to the asphalt road. We used the public mini bus till Awash Arba which is located 15 km from Aeva then took another public mini bus to reach the village. Despite of being agro pastoralists these two communities followed the same culture. It did not take me much time to socialize with this village as I was able to share with them my experience from another village through pictures I had taken of the pastoralists and the activities we had done in Aurebeto. From the starting day of my visit in Aeva I made friends. This proves how significant is experience sharing and how it leads a community to change when they see change in other communities that follow similar culture as they do. We would walk long hours to reach to the market near the factory area located 6 km from Aeva to find a vehicle to return back to Awash Fintale. Despite of having a road, transportation still remained a problem.

Besides conducting long hours of interviews and focus group discussions I spent my time socializing with the communities. I would play games with the community to enhance community participation. I would conduct activities with children, women and men to aware them about education, health, sanitation, role play etc. I would spend my time babysitting the little kids when their mothers were occupied with her household chores. I have many things to share but to cut down short this experience for me is really a life changing experience. I have learnt and learnt a lot. After spending 55 days in the villages my research came to an end. The emotions remained high on both the ends. The emotional attachment that remained between the community and I was unavoidable and heart rending. I felt like home surrounded with so much love and positivity. I could see the hopes of change in the little children.

Of course, it is worth to mention I survived without the internet throughout my stay in Awash. Due to political issues in the country the government had shut down the internet in all areas except the capital. Ethio-Telecom is the only source of internet in Ethiopia. Despite of having the internet shut off due to political reason internet facilities still remain limited and poor in the country. Which made me understand why it took three weeks for me to receive an email from PCDP before my arrival to Ethiopia. I can frankly say the very few drawbacks that I came across from the internet

problem was to connect with my family and my professors. Rather this experience kept me more focused to my goal and research. It brought a positive change in me in many ways.

As a conclusion, *all the photos in the village was taken in consent of the people* and as a good bye note in the communities we gave them a copy of all the pictures we had taken of them as a memory. This opportunity I have received from IFAD- MDP Win Win Partnership has changed my perspective towards life. Every time I spend my time with different communities I get a life lesson but this time it was different I realized there is so much more I have to be thankful of. I feel fortunate of being a daughter who was given the full right to make my own choices. Despite of the culture that still exists in Nepal where girls are stereotyped with certain roles and behavior my mother and I am are not one of them. Of course, I seek for advice and suggestions before I decide but more importantly I get to decide. I got to decide to come to Ethiopia besides the disturbing pictures that is spread all over the internet about Afar. I am able to access to all my rights without even asking for it.

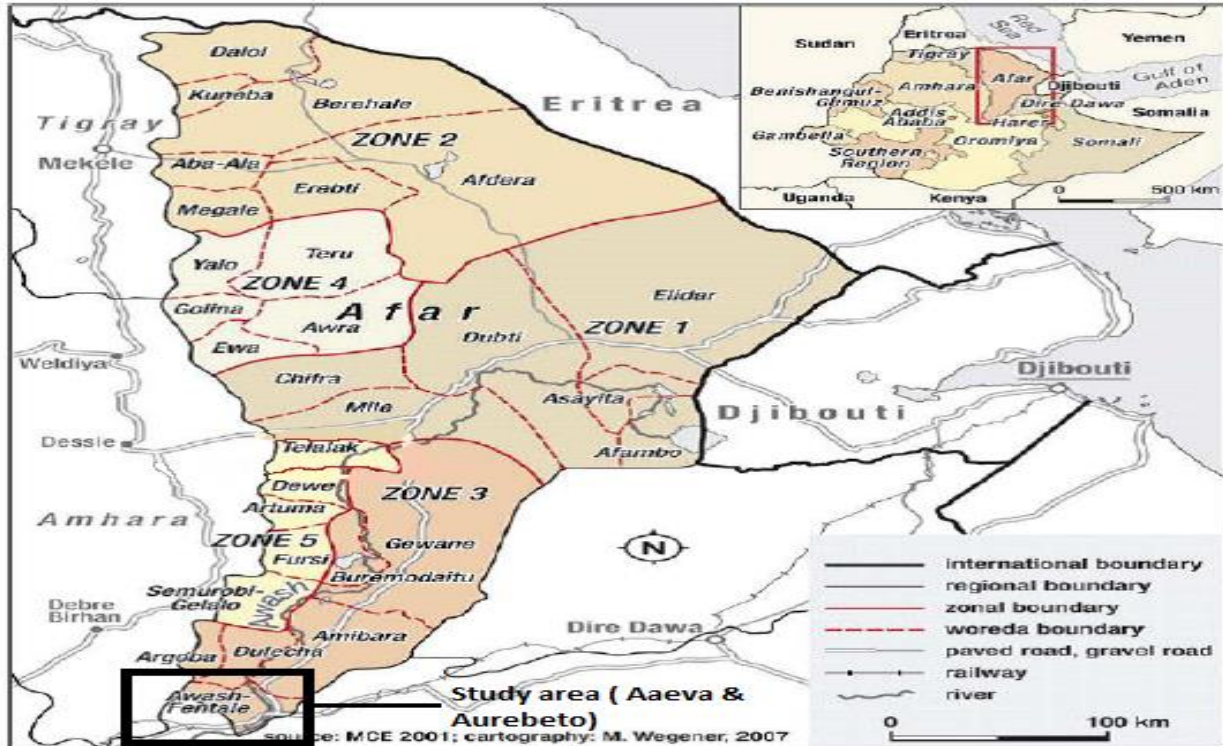
The first question that I encountered from everyone I met in my return from the field was “How was it, did you face any challenges?” My response was and still remains it was as beautiful as I imagined and no challenges are worth mentioning when it is outnumbered with many good memories and learning. Therefore, I believe in making every Experience, Education for me.

3.2 Study area

This study was conducted in two villages of Awash Fentale under Afar Zone 3 namely Aurebeto (pastoralist) and Aaeva (agro-pastoralist).

Awash Fentale wareda locates in north western part of Afar with 5 main kebeles and several sub-kebeles with 1 city administration. The distance of Awash district (230 km from Addis Ababa and 370 km to Semera the capital of Afar).

The total population of Awash is 198,751 (45.16 per cent Female and 54.83 per cent Male) with 85 per cent pastoralist and 25 per cent agro-pastoralist. The population of studied villages Aaeva (52 HH) with the total population of 325 (170 Female and 155 Male). Aurebeto (42 HH) with total population of 275 (123 Female and 152 Male). Due to missing statistical data in the national statistics the demographic data may not be accurate



Map 1: Field Location 1

3.3 Research Design

The research design applied for this study is a mix method of both quantitative and qualitative. More focus is given to the qualitative approach. The aim of using this approach was to capture and real experiences from each respondent. Their reasoning and attributions gathered from the various interviews have been quantified in pie-charts and tables with narratives from ground. Perspectives of both female and male on various gender related issues have been interpreted in the study. Therefore, shedding light to the missing sex disaggregated data I came across during my literature review my strategy of this study also focuses in giving the readers sex-disaggregated data to reflect issues existing in ground.

Sampling and Sample Size

A Random Sampling of total 40 household (HH) from two villages were selected with equal ratio of Female and Male i.e. 20 Female and 20 Male between the ages of 15-45. Total population of the 40 HH indicates the population of female outnumbers the male. Excluding the respondents, the Female population is 166 compared to 104 Males from the sample HH interviewed. The selection was not planned before entering the Kebeles (village). My translator and I would first convince

the HH respondent if they could give us time of 1 and half hour for the HH interview. An appropriate balance of female and male was attempted for the same. Similarly, two types of data sources was used; primary and secondary data. More focus on the findings has been illustrated from primary data collected in the field. Secondary data for the field remains limited considering this to be the first research conducted in the two villages. Various other research methods and tools were used to collect primary data for the study.

3.4 Methodological Framework

I have used Gender analysis frameworks (Harvard Analytical Framework, Moser Analytical Framework and Gender Analysis Matrix) to carefully examine the gender relations in the area. Household Interviews. Various (PRA) Participatory Rural Appraisal tools; Resource map, Seasonal Calendar, Daily Activity Clock, Key Informant Interviews, Focus Group Discussions, Life History, Observation and Participatory observations, Stakeholder meetings and various activities/games were conducted in the field to extract useful data.

Harvard Gender Analysis Framework: This framework was used to examine the various productive and reproductive activities women and men performed in the area in order to understand the gender-based division of labour. It also indicates the gender-based access to resources and control over the use of resources and the benefits of the use of resources for both women and men in the society including the influencing factors.

Moser Analysis Framework: Through the use of this framework I have identified the various practical and strategic needs of women that development interventions should look at considering that women and men needs vary. This framework has helped me to understand the practical and strategic needs of women in my study area.

Gender Analysis Matrix: The GAM has helped me examine the various impacts of development interventions have on women, men, house and community. The data collected through this tool was identified by the community members themselves.

3.5 Methods and Tools used for Data Collection

Household Interviews: The HH interviews were structured and semi- structure in nature (See Annexure 1). Each household interviews would take approximately 2 hours to complete. There interviews are main basis of the findings presented in this study. Considering women to have very limited time sometimes we came across challenge to find female respondents for the interview.



Source: Fieldwork by Author

Resource Map

Resource map was drawn as a tool to help in giving better insight into the location and the kinds of resources in the community. I was unable to make a gendered base resource map due to some socio- cultural barriers in ground.



Source: Fieldwork by Author

Seasonal Calendar

Seasonal Calendar was used to analyze the time related cyclic changes. Specially to understand their migration pattern and livelihood.

Gender related Daily Activity Clock

Through this tool I was able to understand the different kinds of activities carried out by female and male in one day respectively.

Key Informant Interviews (KII)

A total of 16 Key Informant Interviews were conducted with various influential people in the community to understand what is going on in the community. Data was collected from the people who had more knowledge about the



Source: Fieldwork by Author

Focus Group Discussions (FGD)

A total of four focus group discussions were conducted for the study. Two with a group of female and two with male respectively. The FGD was followed by a coffee ceremony to encourage participation of the women. A special focus for the discussion was put on women's decision making and ownership.



Source: Fieldwork by Author

Life History Interviews

Two life history interviews were taken during the research from the elder members of the society. My respondent for this interview were an elderly woman and an elderly man. The aim of this method was to understand their experiences regarding the topics in the study. This helped me with an overview of the status and the roles of women from the past.



Source: Fieldwork by Author

Stakeholder meetings

Semi-Structured Interviews were used to collect data from the various stakeholders at the woreda (district) level. In the Awash woreda/district administration representative from Education office, Health Office, Water Office, Agriculture Office, SACCO office and Women's office were interviewed to understand the ongoing programs for the pastoralist and agro pastoralist development.



Source: Fieldwork by Author

Observation

This was one of the important part of my research as this method helped me understand the life conditions of the people in the village. I would observe people's daily life, sit with people, eat and drink coffee coverage and spend my time socializing with them.



Source: Fieldwork by Author

Participant Observation and Activities

This was the most crucial part of my research. This research method helped me find rich qualitative data's from the ground through participation. In order to use this method I conducted few activities I had planned earlier before I came to Ethiopia. I would often visited the school and played different kind of games with children. Various activities were conducted to gain rapport and trust throughout my research. My findings from this research methods are incorporated in my studying the various chapters.

Activity one- "Draw you dreams" this activity was conducted in both the schools in Aurebeto and Aeva where students were given drawing pads and color pencils to draw what they dreamed of being. This helped me to understand the participation varying between the boys and girls. It was their first experience to get exposed to Art, Colors and drawing yet the data collected through this method was extremely useful.

Activity two- Another activity conducted in the field was to notify the significance of the Reproductive role of a mother that is undervalued in the community. Two participants (A Mother and A Father) were chosen for this activity where a group of children were lined up and the participants were blind folded. Separately each participant had to recognize their children from group in the line without looking. Among the two participant only the mother was able to recognize her child by only touching. Through this activity I was able to practical make the community understand the value she played as a mother. Gifts were distributed to both the participants appreciating their time and patience.

Activity three- To enhance community participation women and men of the community were encouraged to come together. It surely wasn't easy to get both the sexes together due to the cultural barrier that existed. But the main purpose of this activity was to break the stereotype and it was a success. Men and Women were positioned in a circle and they were asked to pass the ball rotationally, as the music stopped each member who had the ball would be disqualified. The last person with the ball would be a winner. This activity helped me aware the community slightly about their existing no such harm if male and female got involved in something together.

Activity four- "Gem and Stray" this activity was conducted for to analyses the participation of women and men in different age group. The result from this activity is included in the findings.

Activity five- Seeing the skill of women in making jewelries. Raw materials were provided to a group of women to prepare jewelries that I purchased to bring it back with me. My purpose for this activity was to aware the women about their skills and built their capacity for IGA. This activity will be explained in detail in the paper.

Activity six- "International Women's Day." I was fortunate to be in the field for my research to celebrate 8th of March. The women, children and men were given awareness about why this big day was celebrated for all the women worldwide.

Activity one:



Activity two:



Activity three:



Activity four:



Activity five:



Activity six:



Chapter 4

Status of Women in Awash, Afar Zone 3 – Socio-Economic and Socio-Cultural Perspectives

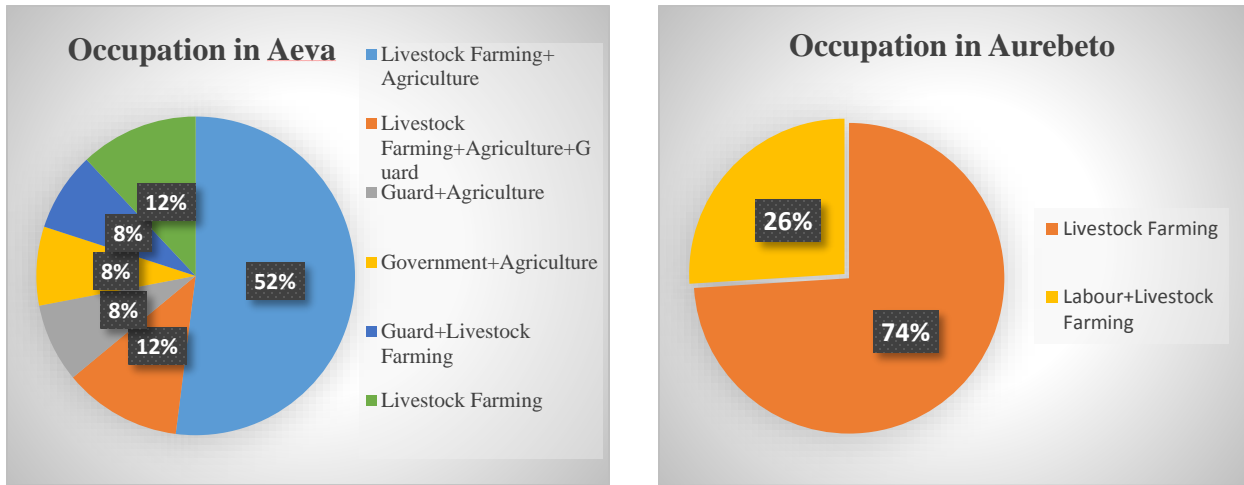
This chapter includes the socio-economic and socio-cultural status of the women in Awash, Afar Zone 3 especially in two villages namely Aurebeto and Aeva. This part of the paper will help us understand the disparities existing in the lives of women in the pastoral and agro-pastoral society. This will give us a basic comprehension that women are facing with regards to their education, employment, income, wealth compared to the men in the society. The existing gender roles and power relations are also explained in the chapter. To understand about the socio-cultural status of women the social structure and the customary law of pastoralist and agro-pastoralists incorporated.

4.1 Socio-Economic Status of women:

4.1.1 Occupational Breakup of Households

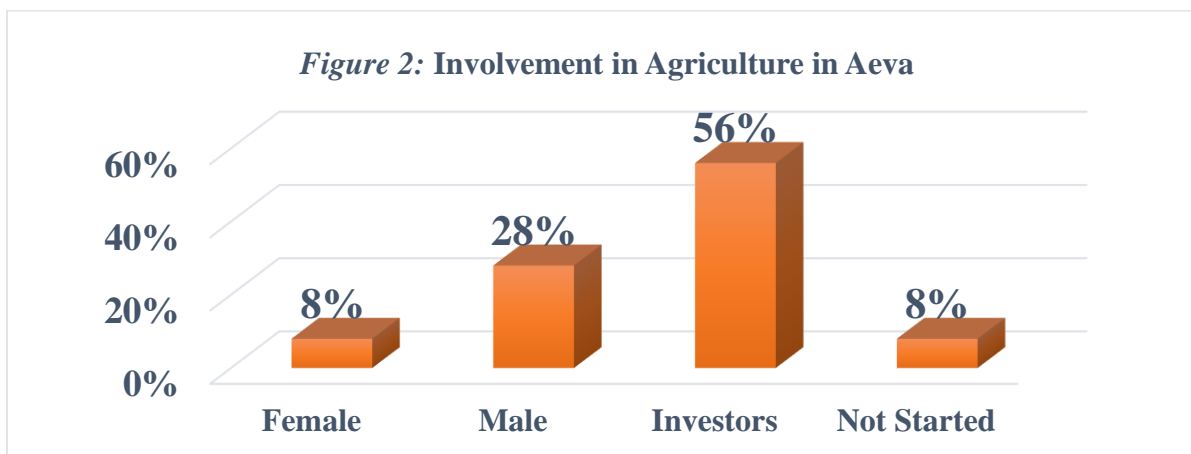
Livestock provides a backbone for majority of the households in Aurebeto and Aeva. As shown in following pie-chart drawn from the statistics collected from the sample villages in Aurebeto 76 per cent of HH are livestock farmers whereas 52 per cent of HH in Aeva are livestock farmers and agricultural farmers (*See Figure 1*). 26 per cent of the pastoralist's are involved in construction of school by PCDP as temporary occupation in Aurebeto and 28 per cent of agro-pastoralists in Aeva are guards at the sugar cane farms of Kesam Sugar Factory located 6 km from the village as their permanent occupation. 8 per cent of the households have people involved in government services with occupation as chairperson of the community and community mobilizer where as it is 0 per cent for pastoralist's in Aurebeto from the sample survey.

Figure 1: Occupational Breakups of Households



Source: Fieldwork by Author

80 per cent of the total women interviewed in both the communities held the occupation as housewives, 8 per cent agricultural farmers (See Figure 2) and 2 per cent from the FHH (divorced woman) do guarding at the sugar cane field and trade (sell tobacco). In the MHH it is usually the male members who have opportunities to earn income. From the statistics collected from HH interviews in Aeva 56 per cent of the land is given to the investors to do agriculture from which they receive certain percentage of profit by the end of 6 months and only 28 per cent of males are directly involved as farmers.



Source: Fieldwork by Author

4.1.2 Income and Expenditure

As shown in the figure above (See Figure 1) 74 per cent of the pastoralist's in Aurebeto do livestock farming with an average income of 1209 birr per month whereas 52 per cent of the agro-

pastoralist's are involved in Livestock farming and Agricultural Farming which gives them an average income of 2868.66 birr⁴ per month. The source of income in the pastoralist's community is not diverse as compared to those of agro-pastoralist in Aeva. Due to lack of other income generating opportunities the pastoralist community income solely depends on selling their livestock whereas in Aeva they are advantaged with agriculture for income.

Milking is carried out by women in these communities, their only source of income comes from selling the milk. They take full control over the milk either to keep it at home for family consumption or to sell. Currently through the information collected from the interviews it was noted that the productivity of the cattle were low and the milk was kept for home consumption only. Women in these communities solely depend on the income of their husband.

The expenditure pattern in both the communities differ only by a little. As shown in the tables below the average expenditure of HH in Aurebeto is 1180 birr whereas for Aeva it is slightly higher i.e. 1200 birr (*See Table 1 and Table 2*). The HH in Aeva spend comparatively less in food compared to HH in Aeva. Regarding health we can see the HH in Aeva spend more on health i.e. 300 birr compared to Aurebeto as they are not facilitated with a health post in their community, reported they travel 6 to 7 km to the nearby market to receive health benefits. In some cases women sell the small cattle in case of emergency when their husband are away and also have the culture of borrowing money to fulfill the needs of the family which cannot be met from the husband income.

⁴ 1 USD= 27 Ethiopian Birr

Table 1: Expenditure Pattern in Aurebeto

Aurebeto	Average Expenditure per month in Birr
Food	780
Health	200
Education	50
Transport	150
Total	1180

Table 2: Expenditure pattern in Aeva

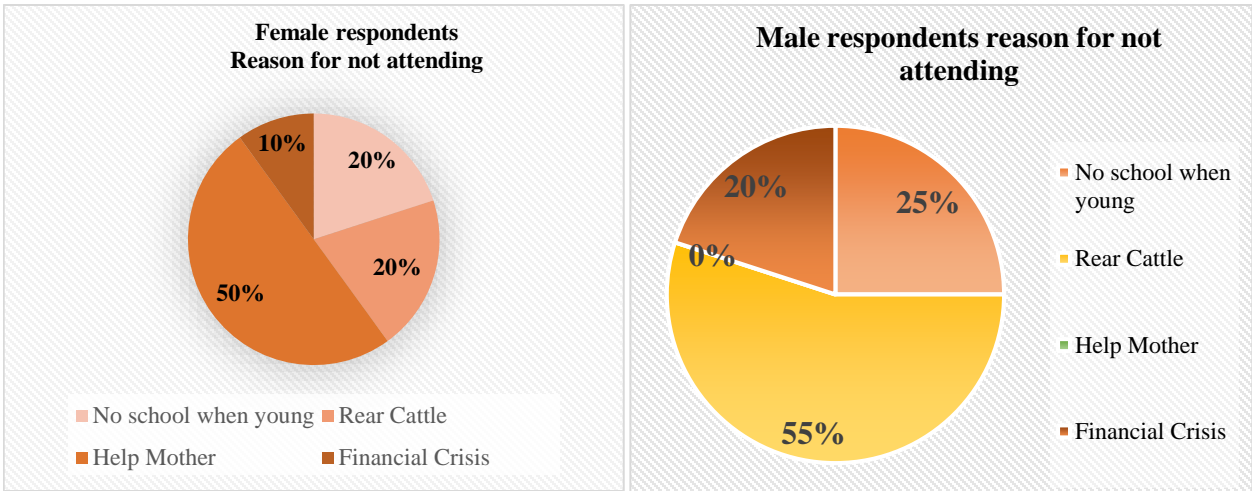
Aeva	Average Expenditure per month in Birrr
Food	750
Health	300
Education	50
Transport	150
Total	1200

4.1.3 Level of Education

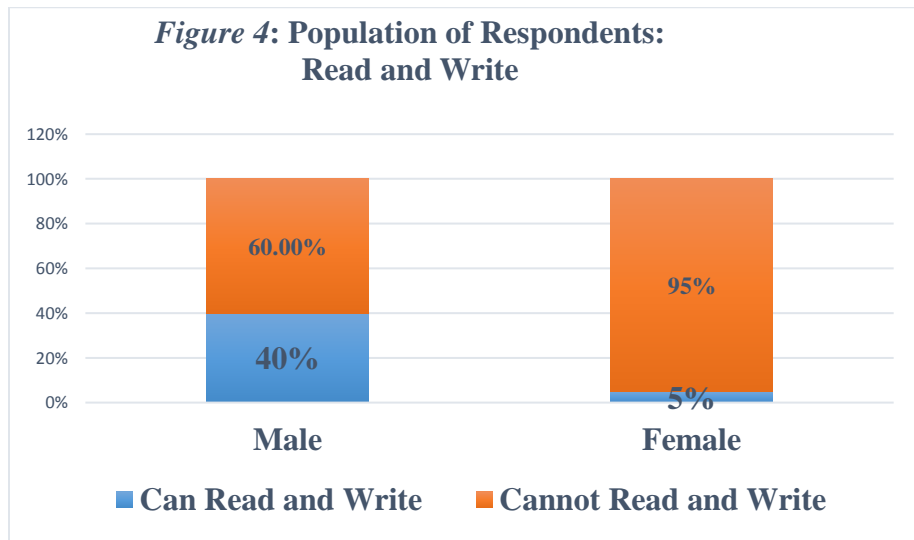
The literacy rates in the two communities is significantly low. Out of the total sample respondents from the HH survey in both the villages 0 per cent of the females have never attended school compared to 15 per cent male, which is also the dropout rate. Amongst the members of the HH 6.53 per cent are enrolled in primary school, 1.08 per cent are enrolled in secondary school⁵, 7.07 per cent drop outs, 26.08 per cent of children from 0-10 were not enrolled and 59.23 per cent above the age of 10 were illiterate. As shown in the pie-charts (*See Figure 3*) below 50 per cent of the females justified helping mothers and 55 per cent of the male respondents justified cattle rearing as their reasons to not attending school. Other reasons such as not having schools in their past and financial crisis also contribute to the poor literacy figures in these communities. Amongst the total respondents only 5% of the female are able to read and write compared to 40% of males. From the 5% female reported to have never attended school but can read and write only Quran (*See Figure 4*). The educational status of the women is significantly poor in these communities which also remains low for the men. It can be clearly observed that the low levels of literacy has affected the awareness and bargaining power of these communities.

⁵ According to EDHS 2016 the Gender Parity Index for net attendance ratio in secondary school is only 0.29 in Afar Region.

Figure 3: Respondent’s reasons for not attending school



Source: Fieldwork by Author



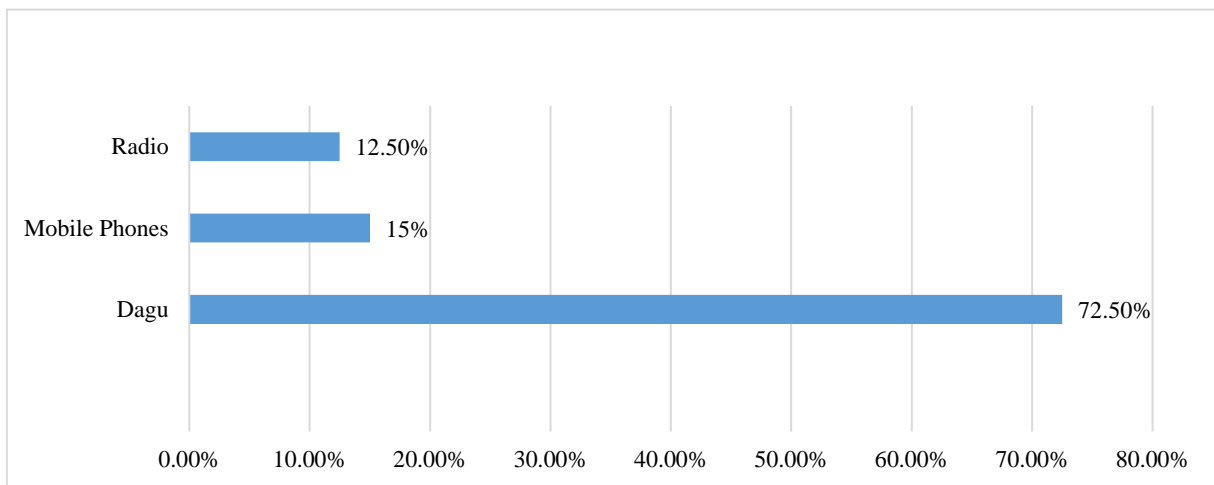
Source: Fieldwork by Author

4.1.4 Source of information

The EDHS 2016 reports 74% women in Afar region have no access to mass media compared to 63.3% men. Majority of the people in Afar possess a traditional communication system which is known as “Dagu”. “Dagu” translated to mean “news” is their system to exchange news. The information is exchanged immediately when someone travels back and forth to other areas. The person has to pause and engage in exchanging the news which is spread to the entire community

then after. The pastoralist and agro-pastoralist consider “Dagu” as their modern news of communication and describe it as their telephones. Anyone in the community fails to disseminate the information through “Dagu” or false information is punished within the customary law in the Afar culture. 15 per cent male in the HH own mobile phones and 12.5 per cent own radio as shown in the graph below (*See Figure 5*). Regardless of the ownership due to lack of electricity, expenses, poor availability of batteries and limited broadcasts in Afaric language these medium seem less effective in these villages.

Figure 5: Source of Information

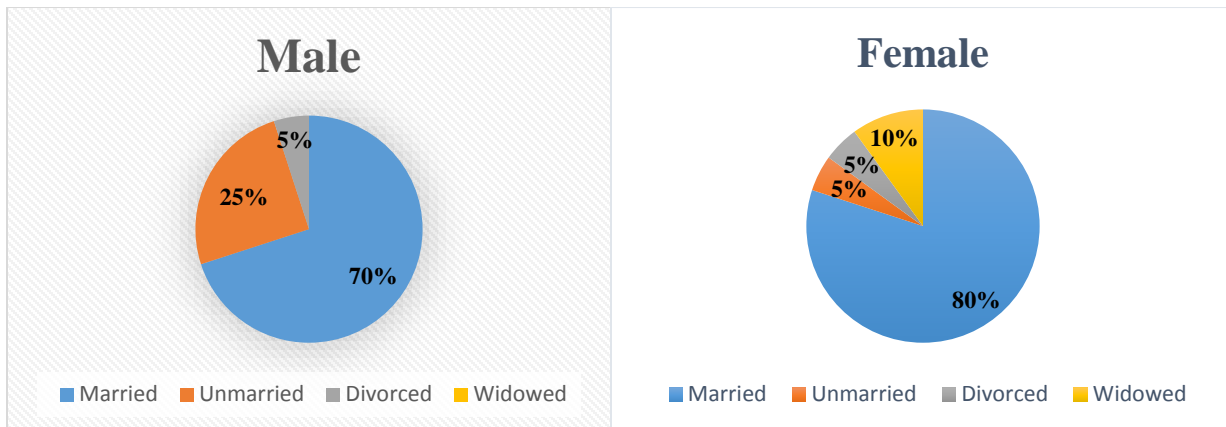


Source: Fieldwork by Author

4.1.5 Marital Status

As shown in following pie-chart drawn from the statistics collected from the sample villages 80 per cent of female are married compared to 70 per cent male (*See Figure 6*). Both communities in Aurebeto and Aeva practice cross-cousin marriages known as Absuma. The rule states that a man marries the daughter of his paternal aunt and cannot marry his father-brother’s daughter. Cross-cousin marriage are mandatory in pastoral societies whereas a father-brother replaces the biological father and marry the widow of his deceased brother. Following their traditional norms early marriage is socio-culturally accepted in these communities supported by their customary law. As the below pie chart shows 25 per cent of the male are unmarried it is because they are held back waiting for their Absuma to grow whereas it is the same for the 5 per cent unmarried female. (*See Figure 6*).

Figure 6: Marital Status of the Respondents



Source: Fieldwork by Author

4.1.6 Assets and Ownership

In pastoral system one’s herd size directly defines his wealth and status. Livestock farming being the primary source of income in both village’s cattle are considered major assets for all the HH. They consider their cattle as insurance against future income shocks. From the statistics collected from the sample in two villages the total number of camel, cow, goat, sheep, donkey are 607, 407, 1047, 310, 31 respectively (*See Table 3*). On an average each man in a household owns 15 camels, 10 cows, 26 goats, 7 sheep’s and 31 donkey. According to Afar culture inheritance of property is through male line.

Table 3: Asset ownership of household

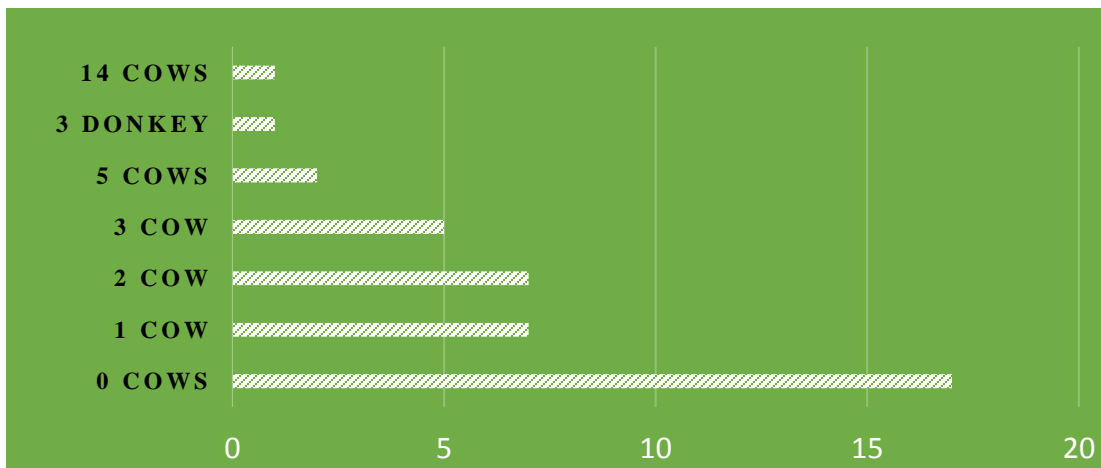
	Total	Average ownership
Camel	607	15.175
Cow	407	10.175
Goat	1047	26.175
Sheep	310	7.75
Donkey	31	0.0775

Source: Fieldwork by Author

Women’s ownership to cattle is very limited. As in the Afar culture inheritance of the property is through male line, women are owner’s of the cattle given to them as bride price. The bride price totally depends on the wealth of the male family. From the data collected from each HH the below

graph shows 16 women have no ownership of cattle compared to 1 women who owns 14 cows as her bride price (*See Figure 7*). These asset of women are controlled totally by herself which is used by her to sustain family and to meet the needs of her children. During emergency situations these cattle are also sold by the women without taking decision by her husband.

Figure 7: Ownership of women (Ginna-O- Saga)⁶



Source: Fieldwork by Author

4.2 Socio-Cultural status of women

4.2.1 Social Structure

The social structure of the pastoral community is hierarchal in nature. Aurebeto and Aeva both have a social organization similar to every other pastoral societies in Afar. Each locality is identified with a clan. Settlements in these communities are composed of a mixture of clan. Pastoralist in Aurebeto belong to *Ablek Haysamale* clan and Aeva belong to *Keiti* clan. Members of a kinship group within a particular clan live within the same boundary to support each other socially, economically and politically in times of crisis. The clan leader of the society has full authority over his clan followed by the religious leader. He accesses the leadership status, strengthens the decision making and overall credibility in the society. In case of death of clan leader the inheritance of the position to lead the clan goes through his son but in case the son is not eligible with enough qualities to take the leadership responsibilities election is arranged where all the male members of the society raise their hand to make the right choice. Socially, culturally

⁶ Bride price is termed as “Gina-o-Saga” in Afaric language.

and politically the Afar societies are organized on the basis of clanship which forms their indigenous institutions which are male dominated and exclude the women in any kind of decision making processes in the society.

4.2.2 Social Institution

These communities follow patriarchy as a form of social organizations where male members are the head of the family, where the socio – cultural institutions are organized following male leadership around which only male power is above all. The clan leaders, religious leaders and a group of men govern the behavior and expectations of the individuals in the community. They follow their customary law as their customary institution to meet the needs of the community where the social interaction is high between the male members. Being a patriarchal society the effective functioning of the customary institutions depend on the elder men members of the society who have the authority to impose penalty over those who do not follow the rules and norms made in the society. As the pastoralist’s entire wealth depend on their cattle all the penalties are imposed by killing cows.

The Afar people consider their customary law is their legitimate property. There are five customary law within Afar practiced in five different zones. Aurebeto and Aeva located in Zone 3 follow their own customary law which is known as “*Dubnek-Weima Madah.*” This customary law followed by the pastoralist’s have their own kinds of punishment for different kinds of activities. They believe some activities are good and some are bad in the community. Even when the good activities are not performed well there are range of sanctions imposed which is understood as “Commission and Omission” in the society. The customary laws of these pastoralists have their own unique behavior for which they believe their law remain beyond the law of government shown in the *Table 4* below.

Table 4: Unique Behavior of “Dubnek-Weima Madah”

Unique Behavior 1	Inescapable	If one member from the clan commits a crime and runs away the compensation is bared by the whole community.
Unique Behavior 2	Analysis	Before imposing sanction to the individual the crime is analyzed whether it was

		performed purposely or not. Without the analysis no individual is punished. No cows are killed.
Unique Behavior 3	Witness	If an individual has witnessed any other individual taking a wrong step and remains in silence, even he is punished by the law.
Unique Behavior 4	Neighbors	When a crime is known it is the neighbors in the compound who are investigated and punished if stayed in silence.
Unique Behavior 5	Wrong accusation	In case of any false statement imposed over an innocent individual over stealing of cattle, he is punished for putting wrong accusation.
Unique Behavior 6	Failure of committing crime	Even when an individual fails to commit a crime, he is still punished for trying

Source: Fieldwork by Author

Natural Resource Management

Institutions are formed for natural resource management within the customary law of Afar zone 3. Each clan manage its resources collectively based on customary principles. Accordingly herd management follows rotational grazing patterns when rain fall is normal for successive season's clan members are instructed not to use reserved pasture areas these areas are made accessible to the members only after other areas have been exhaustively used. Despite women playing a key role⁷ in practicing natural resource management their knowledge and skill is not considered as a key contributor to customary law enforcement. Their role over natural resource management has remained unnoticed. For example: If someone cuts down a tree that gives shadow to the community his cows are killed as compensation for the crime. The following *Table 5* shows the rules drawn in the “*Dubnek-Weima Madah*” that are considered as violation if committed:

⁷ Women's role described in the next section.

Table 5: Rules and Punishment for NRM management

Crime	Compensation
If a pond is only for drinking purpose and someone is seen doing other activities besides drinking	12 cows
If someone keeps the well door open	12 cows
Any vessel taken away from an individual without his permission (Thirst is important)	1 cow
If someone enters restricted area for grazing cattle	1 cow

Source: Fieldwork by Author



4.3 Gender Roles

Gender roles are a set of societal norms dictating what types of behaviors are generally considered acceptable, appropriate or desirable for a person based on their actual sex. Gender roles are usually constructed on the conception of masculinity and femininity. The specifics regarding these gender expectations vary among cultures and societal settings. In the pastoral communities different roles are performed by the women and men. Harvard Analytical Framework and Moser Gender Analysis Framework was used to identify the various reproductive and productive roles of women and men in Aurebeto and Aeva as mentioned below

4.3.1 Women in (Agro) Pastoral society

Through observations and interviews it was identified that the women are expected to perform task that fit their biological characteristics. The reproductive roles of the (agro) pastoral women include bearing and rearing children, preparing and serving food, collecting firewood and water, grinding grain, washing, cleaning, collecting grass for small stock. Their productive roles include cattle rearing, looking after of the small stock animals, constructing homes (Ari), feeding the young cattle, making wooden vessels to store camel milk, milking, cultivation and weeding crops from the agricultural farms. Below are the pictures taken from the field of the women in Aurebeto and Aeva performing their respective reproductive and productive role:

Table 6: Different Roles of Women in Awash

	<p>Bearing and rearing children Due to the traditional gender roles existing in the communities (agro) pastoral women are observed as nurturing. The entire responsibility of to take care of children is in the hand of women. Men do not contribute in nurturing the children as it is believed it is only a mother's role.</p>
	<p>Collecting water (<i>Leh</i>) :On an average women collect 7-8 jars of water everyday which they use it for drinking, cooking, washing, cleaning, bathing.</p>



Construction of homes (*Ari*)

Women provide shelter for their families. Ari construction solely depends on the female members of the society. Female members of the society voluntarily help each other to construct the house. The materials such as sticks (*Haluwey*) and hay (*Aisoita*) is collected by the women and it takes them about 5-6 days to build the Ari. Once it is constructed the group of women sing, dance and celebrate.



Collect wood

Women collect wood for cooking and barn making purposes in an interval two days as per the requirement. They travel 2 -3 hours for the same.



Processing (Grain Grinding), Preparing and feeding

Women are responsible to process, prepare and serve food to their family in their household.



Livestock Management

Women are responsible for taking care of the small cattle in the HH. They travel 5-6 km to Gurmuli to collect grass to feed the younger ones in order to increase their productivity and value. Women are also involved in rearing their cattle to support their spouse.

Source: All pictures and data in the table from fieldwork by Author

4.3.2 Men’s role in (Agro) pastoral society

The men in Aurebeto and Aeva perform the role of rearing cattle, especially rearing of camels, milking camel, restocking, Livestock marketing. As shown in the table above (*See Table 1*) some men in Aurebeto are also involved in temporary labor construction activities where as in Aeva some men are into agricultural farming and guarding. Due to the traditionally constructed gender roles it is justified that women have more work load then the women in these societies. In such societies the involvement of men in household activities is seem to be affected by the cultural orientation.



Source: Fieldwork by Author

(A man rearing his camel in Aeva)

4.3.3 Gender Division of Labor

In both the communities of Aurebeto and Aeva it has been understood that the traditionally set gender roles have burdened the women in these societies. Men do not participate in domestic work including child rearing, these tasks are considered to be exclusive domain of women. (4) Women and girl's face additional time and work burdens will all the domestic and reproductive duties and also are equally active in livestock production yet these roles go unrecognized. Daily activity clock was developed by the male and females (*See Table 7*) which shows women work long hours for 15- 18 hours a day compared to 10-14 hours a day for men. Despites of men rearing cattle from the morning it was reported that they would get time to rest and sleep in the area where their cattle were grazed.

Table 7: Daily Activity Clock

<i>Time</i>	<i>Activities</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Activities</i>
	<i>Women</i>		<i>Men</i>
<i>5:00 am-7:15 am</i>	<i>Wake up Prepare food (Kinda Kita) and coffee coverage and serve breakfast</i>	<i>6:00- 7:15 am</i>	<i>Wake up and get fresh Eat breakfast</i>
<i>7:15 am to 8:30 am</i>	<i>Milk goats House cleaning Fetching water</i>	<i>7:15 am to 8:30 am</i>	<i>Milk camel and separate small camel</i>
<i>8:30 am</i>	<i>Eat Breakfast</i>	<i>8:30 am to 5: 30 pm</i>	<i>Rear camel</i>
<i>8:30 am to 9:30 am</i>	<i>Manage cattle, separate small goats</i>	<i>5:30 pm to 6:30 pm</i>	<i>Rest</i>
<i>9:30 am to 5: 30 pm</i>	<i>Rear cows and goats</i>	<i>7:00 pm to 8:00 pm</i>	<i>Dinner</i>
<i>5:30 pm to 6:00 pm</i>	<i>Fetch water</i>	<i>8:00 pm to 8:30 pm</i>	<i>Socialize</i>
<i>6:00 pm to 6:30 pm</i>	<i>Wash dishes</i>	<i>8:30 pm</i>	<i>Sleep</i>
<i>6:30 pm to 7:00 pm</i>	<i>Prepare dinner (Kinda Kita) and boil coffee coverage and serve dinner</i>		
<i>7:30 pm to 8:00 pm</i>	<i>Separate small goats</i>		
<i>8:00pm to 8:30 pm</i>	<i>Dinner</i>		
<i>8:30 pm</i>	<i>Sleep</i>		

Source: Fieldwork by Author

**Incase the women in the household does cattle rearing, her daughter or sister help in preparing lunch for the children and other members in the house. In most cases men having more than 3 kids*

(son and daughter) do not rear cattle but spends his time chewing khat⁸. It was observed most of the men were resting and chewing khat after 12:00 pm until evening with his male folks.

In the focus group discussions with women and men, workload of women justified by both male and female of the communities in Aurebeto and Aeva. The male do not deny women having work burden as it is socio-culturally accepted in the pastoral societies.

4.4 Decision making, Leadership and Participation of women

4.4.1 Decision making power

The social structure of the pastoral societies regards the decision making power in the hands of male. It is usually the husband who takes overall decision of all the activities in the household. As owners and income generators, male in these communities are positioned significantly higher. In the MHH big decisions over marriage, birth, male education, male circumcision is taken by the husband in the HH. Whereas women consider themselves to be dependent beings of the HH where they are privileged to only take decisions with regards to their reproductive roles such as nurturing their children, cooking, cleaning, collecting water and wood etc. Women take decision over the female child until she is married whereas for her male child until he is 8 year old. The husband has full decision making power over his son as he starts to support his father to rear cattle. His training begins as a pastoralist when he reaches the age of 8. Men take decision over their son's education; whereas women take decision over their daughter's education. Economic decisions is solely controlled by the husband in the HH where as women have full power to decide how to spend the money allocated by her husband for household purpose. Sometimes when women sell their cattle they own as bride price they use it to fulfill the need of her family and children. The decision making power in FHH (divorced women) is controlled solely by her. She has the freedom to remain on top and free to make her life choices. Usually in MHH women with more number of kids have a voice in the household. Younger women choose to remain in silence as in afar culture women who give more birth have some position in the society and in front of his husband. In MHH women need decision from her husband to step out of the area .i.e. to visit market and relatives but do not

⁸ Khat; is a plant contains alkaloid cathinone which makes physiological dependency on human and causes excitement and loss of appetite. This is a very common culture in all over Afar region.

need permission to rear cattle. Below are some of the statements collected from Focus Group Discussions with female and male members of the villages (*See Table 8*).

Table 8: Statements on decision making from Focus Group Discussions.

Female FGD	Male FGD
“Without his decision, I cannot dare to sell his cattle”	“We cannot question the money wife uses that we have given for household purpose.”
“Before I use the money he commands where to use, how much to use.”	“Some women have property from marriage, if she sells this property she can use for her kids and herself.”
“Husband give us money by selling his cattle for food and kids treatment.”	“Even if we give her 2000 birr, she may use 800-1000 birr for home, from the remaining she can buy cattle for home but not do unnecessary expense from that money.”
“If I sell my cattle I buy some food and clothes for my children and myself.”	“When someone has marriage proposal for daughter they contact Abba, Abba calls outsider to discuss, wife cannot come in the meeting and the final decision we make we share to the wife.”
“When husband agrees to get his kids married, women’s refusal does not matter.”	“We are owner of the property, we make all the decisions in our HH.”
“In case of cash shortage I request husband and he decides to sell cattle or not, if he decides not to sell I borrow money from other women in neighborhood.”	“In case of any decision to gift cattle to someone husband decide, wife can only decide to give wheat and maize.”
“Most of the owner of property is husband and we come from parents, he is husband so income is controlled by him.”	“Decision to sell is in both hands.” (Husband who has more than 5 children)
“If husband is not home I take permission from his father to sell cattle for money.”	“Usually husband give money to wife for household purpose, when she finishes the money she asks again, he may want to sell another or not.”
“My husband and I have joint decision over selling cattle.” (Aged women who had 9 children)	“If I go far area for long time she can sell the cattle in most urgent case other time she has to wait for me.”
“I am the husband, I am the wife, and I take all the decisions.”(FHH, Divorced women)	“Husband should control the activities of son and wife should control the activities of daughter.”

It is therefore justified from all the HH survey’s by the female and male both “Men take decision, women should obey.” (*See Figure 11*) The ownership of property that is in the hand of men give them this position to mediate decisions over a women’s life.

4.4.2 Participation

The participation of women within their household level remains higher compared to any activity out of their boundary as their decision over mobility is in the hand of their husband. Women participation is significantly low in any governmental activities due to the household burden they bare. Socio-culturally women are restricted to take part in any local community meetings. It is considered as shame to the male partners if his wife shows up in the meetings. As the decision making power over any activity of women remain in the hands of men, their interest of participation is automatically driven down. Even if women take part in the governmental meetings they are bound to remain silent in presence of their husband. According to the customary institution if any women is seen taking part in the meeting the husband will have to pay compensation of cow for her act. The socio-cultural setting of the pastoral community does not allow women participation in any public domain. Below are some statements from the Focus Group Discussion with female and male (*See Table 9*).

Table 9: Statements on participation from Focus Group Discussion

Female FGD	Male FGD
“Culturally we are not required in community meetings until government invites us.”	“When there is cultural meeting no women are allowed only men participate and decide, This is our Afar culture.”
“If we speak in front of husband in community it is shame.”	“When someone’s wife comes to meeting the husband has to pay cow as per our customary law.”
“Culturally we cannot take part in community meeting, we attend government meetings but do not speak over our husband.”	“In cultural meetings we bring the cooked food because women cannot show up.”
	“Women have more household activities she cannot attend.”
	“Women come in government meeting but more priority for males.”

During my research I had conducted an activity as a part of my qualitative data collection to observe the participation of women in the community. The result from my observation clearly shows that older women who had more number of children were more active and freely participating whereas the younger married women were hesitant to participate. Though the old women were unable to complete the task compared to the young women. **Figure 8** below shows the activity conducted in the community to understand the level of participation of women.

Figure 8: Activity to examine level of Participation in various age group



Source: Fieldwork by Author

4.4.3 Leadership

As the social structure of the pastoral society gives the power to men to lead, the leadership of women is considered unquestionable. Due to the cultural setting of the communities women are not allowed to be on top of the men. Women and men both accept to see women leaders only in the government level and consider it to be taboo within the culture if any women is seen in leadership position within the community. Following clanship as their social organization only elderly men are considered to be clan leaders and no female can take any position as a leader. Within HH level husband are considered to be leaders and wife as followers in the pastoral communities. It is also believed that women are not capable of being leaders because all their decision are driven from the male.

“Expect government women cannot be leaders.”(HH Interview, Female)

“Within government it is good to have women leader but within our culture it is useless and not possible.” (HH Interview, Female)

“Women leader is good but in our culture it is not possible. It is easy for women if there was a women leader.”(HH Interview, Female)

“We cannot have women leaders culturally” HH Interview, Male

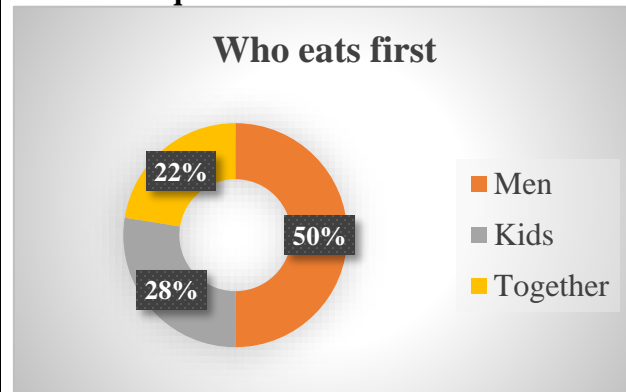
“We are never seen women leaders, how will we know it is good or bad.” HH Interview, Female

4.5 Gender relation in Access and control over resources

It is usually the social environment in which an individual live in shape their behavior, attitude, emotions and perception about themselves and everything else happening around them. In pastoral societies their cultural setting automates the male counterpart to be above the women. Men's ownership of cattle defines their power over the women (i.e. More cattle = more wealth = more power). Gender relation can be understood as a culturally defined system that regulates male/female interactions, the

relation of power where there is hierarchy and one gender dominates the other. Pastoral women are powerless in a relationship. The unequal gender relation affects the decision making, participation and leadership of the women in the society where women's access to and control over resources remains very limited. The bargaining power of women in the community also remain very low. Assessment of access to and control of resources has been done in the study area through the gender analysis tool.

Box 1: Unequal Divison of Food



From the HH interviews it was studied that in Afar culture women and men cannot eat together. It is usually men who eat before everyone else in the HH 50 per cent. Therefore, Unequal gender relation leads to unequal food distribution.

4.5.1 Land and Livestock

Within pastoral system any property owned by the male automatically moves along the male lineage. Majority of the livestock and land are entitled for the male of the society. In these societies women have access to the property of their husband but access not necessarily mean control over it. Despites of women having a huge role in livestock management they do not have control over disposing the livestock owned by their husband for income. The have the responsibility but do not have the rights over the ownership. Milking which is carried out by women is exclusively under her control either to feed the household or to sell it for income. Women's ownership and control over assets show a positive relationship. Noted that ownership and control over assets have a positive relationship, women who have their own livestock as bride price are fully under her

control which she uses it for her family. It was found from a stakeholder meeting in with the administrative office that land registration is underway in Ethiopia. Divorced women are slowly being privileged with land entitlement which is not the same for the women in MHH. Therefore title deeds to both wives and husband will increase women's access and control over land. From the HH interviews in Aeva 28 per cent of male are involved in agriculture where their wives are responsible for weeding and cultivating crops yet control over such productive resources are solely under husband.

4.5.2 Finance and Credit Services

*“We borrow money from neighbor when we are economically deprived.” HH
Interview, Female*

The primary source of income is livestock for the pastoral society. Women are given certain amount of money from the income as household budgets which is used to manage the HH. In my interviews both women and men reported to have more power to save and not waste money like men spending on chewing chat yet due to cultural belief they still believe the husband has the ultimate authority on how to manage and spend money.

*“Within that money I will send it to my family and use it for my kids and husband.” FDG
Female*

*“We do not have to sell cattle, I use it for home consumption and help my family.” FDG
Female*

PaSACCO an IFAD funded component of PCDP is an entry point to empower women and increase their participation to access to finance services. In Aurebeto and Aeva there are 45 and 13 members respectively who are members of the PaSACCO. Members of the women association have access to saving and credit from the provided by PaSACCO from which they are given opportunities to establish income generating activities to be economically empowered. From the focus group discussions it was studied that due to cultural and traditional aspects in the society women more likely to spend their income on the household well- being.

4.5.3 Market

“The male can move from one place to another from one country to another but females cannot go out from home without permission” KII, Religious leader

“Even if I have to send my daughter who is married I have to take her permission from her husband first”. HH interview, Female

“Earlier we were needed permission to even go to our relatives in the neighborhood, now a days women need permission only to go outside from the village area.” Life History, Female

Women’s access to market is prohibited in Afar culture. They are bound to remain in their community territory due to the cultural belief. It is usually men who visit the market to meet the household requirement. In some cases women visit the market in groups but not without the permission of men. In Aurebeto people have no access to road they have to swim through a river to reach the market in Awash Arba (15 km away) and in Aeva women visit the market around Kesam Sugar Factory (6 km away) in groups where as it is usually men who travel to market in Saburi (20 km away), Awash Arba (20 km away). During my HH survey when asked about *what were the possible reasons of argument that occurred between husband and wife?* Majority of the answers evolved as *“If we go out without his permission.”*

4.5.5 Natural resources

Day to day women in the pastoral societies have a significant role in using the natural resource. They are responsible for collecting water, firewood and fodder and they have full control over how they want to use these resources for their household. On an average women collect 7-8 liters of water for household purpose and walk long hours to collect wood for cooking purpose. Their husband do not contribute in taking the share of their heavy burden as it is considered as only women’s task. It is usually the daughters who help their mother’s to access to these resources and share the work burden. Women also travel long hours to collect grass for the small stock cattle in the HH.

4.5.5 Social services

Government provides public services to the pastoral communities such as school and health services for the social development of the society. Pastoral women have minimal access to these kind of services due to the social structure they live in and the socio- cultural norms they are bound to follow. It is believed in Afar culture that a women cannot move to areas without a male company. They require permission from their husband regarding any kind of movement and travel. Decision making power and control of finance completely hinders the woman to participate in the public spheres. They are usually not advantaged from the social services around them due to the restriction in their lives made by the societal norms.

Chapter 5

Women in Awash: Issues and Challenges


This Chapter discusses the various challenges women face in Aurebeto and Aeva. This chapter will help us understand how the gender stereotypical beliefs exists in such societies which have been deeply rooted in their culture. The chapter starts with the definition given to female and male in the society. We will further also look into the effect of socialization of gender stereotypes in the younger generations in the society.

5.1 Gender Stereotype

5.1.1 Perception of the concept of “Male” and “Female”

It is very important to understand how much a community understands about the sex and gender difference. Throughout my study I had a question included in my HH interviews, FGD's, Key Informant Interview on, *“How do you define a Male and Female?”* The result indicated that there was not a single individual who was able to define the biological difference rather it was directly associated to the traditional gender role expected from men and women in the society. Pastoral women are expected to act, speak, dress and behave in a certain way and vice versa. (*See Box 2*). The gender stereotype that exists has caused unequal and unfair treatment in the pastoral society for women where male are looked up as superior beings. The following (*See Box 2*) show how clan leaders and religious leader in Aurebeto and Aeva define Male and Female.

Box 2: Respondents Perception of Male and Female

	<p>“Male are the ones who rare camel, who have ownership and property rights, who receive the property of his father, who take decision, who control income, who can travel long distance and who cultivate crops. Female are those who do household activities, fetch water, fetch wood” KII, religious leader in Aeva</p> <p>“Male are those who rare cattle, decision makers, good leaders and female are those who rare their children and does household activities.”</p>
<p>Afar women (Saimara) - Braided hair covered with self-knitted scarf (Musar) wrapped around in printed skirt (Arabbe) with striped purple t-shirt (Alil Kamiz) on top and feet covered with plastic flip-flops</p>	
<p>“Male has value, male is superior, they can move from one place to another from one country to another but females cannot go out without permission and should stay down so there is vast difference.” KII Religious leader in Aurebeto</p>	<p>Afar men (<i>Labha</i>) – Wrapped around in white cloth (<i>Marto</i>) beneath, with printed shirt on top with a white scarf (<i>Yurosaro</i>) around their body and feet covered with plastic sandals.</p>

Source: Fieldwork by Author

The pastoralist’s and agro- pastoralists women are bound to perform all the reproductive roles which match their femininity character which has led them to being dominated, oppressed and exploited but at the same time it is also accepted by women themselves. Their biological factor of women bearing children has defined their roles in the society where the man is considered head of the family whose roles are considered his personal willingness. Having a clan- based institution (agro) pastoralist’s keep men on top which is accepted by the women. The unequal gender relation and gender stereotype existing in the society bounds women to perform roles that are defined keeping their female characteristics into consideration which has led them to being economically exploited, socially suppressed and politically passive. Because of the socio-culturally defined gender roles in the pastoralist societies, women have lost their ability to make strategic life choices

and remain at the bottom of the hierarchical system of the society, i.e. even more marginalized than the rest in the society. The (agro) pastoralist societies are dominated by men and the gender power relations and stereotype beliefs are carried over to next generations through the process of socialization which has defined women as dependent and men as independent and strong which has led to unequal division of labor in these societies. This process of socialization reinforced gender inequality in these societies which for them remains unnoticed.

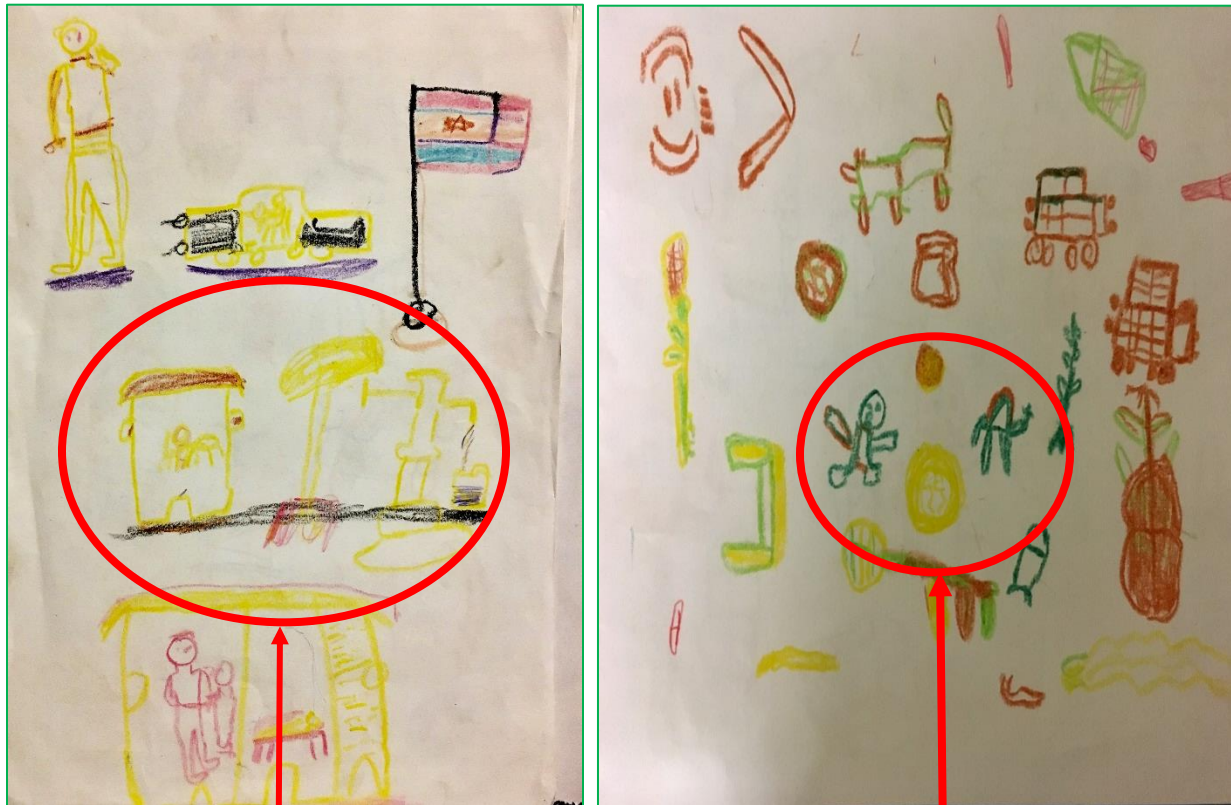
Gender stereotypes are related to cognitive processes because we have different expectations for female and male behavior and the traditional gender roles help to sustain gender stereotypes (Burr V. 2000). The traditional roles for men in a pastoral society is to earn a living for his family and have the power to decide, lead and participate in all public and private spheres whereas for women it is to remain home for cooking, cleaning and taking care of the children. These kind of gender stereotypes pervade the pastoral society where women remain oppressed. The culture of the pastoralist influences the stereotypes through the information they receive from their parents, peer, religious leaders, and clan leaders (*See Box 2*). In these communities gender stereotypes exists in such a way that despite the protection for women there are no punishments sanctioned for women in the customary law. *“Women cannot make any mistake, they should be gentle and respectful.”*

KII, Clan leader. Taking gender relations in account in the pastoral communities it is usually the male to male relation that takes place in the social system where the power relation is in the hands of the men. This creates imbalance in the gender relation where the interaction between male and female is minimal which gives rise to imbalance in gender roles and enhances the gender stereotype in the society. We learn our gender roles by the agencies of socialization, which are the teachers of the society (Isabella Crespi, 2004). In these societies men are considered to be more superior because of the property and ownership rights they are entitled with. The inheritance of property goes through the male line which directly leads the son to have a closer relationship with his father. During my HH interview I had a question about *who were you close to when you were young?* As a result majority of the females were close to their mother and males were close to their father as it is believed in the society it is a mother’s responsibility to make her daughter ethical and vice versa. Gender socialization is how children of different sexes socialize into their gender roles and taught what it means to be male or female (Macrae, C.N., Stangor, C., & Hewstone, M., 1996). In the process of gender socialization parents are considered to be the primary influence on

the gender role development. Gender stereotypes in the pastoral society is carried over from generations to generation which results in its existence among the youth.

Through an activity conducted in Kebena Primary School in Aeva with a concept of “Draw Your Dreams” where students were asked to draw their dreams it was observed that gender stereotyping existed even within the children of the society. (See Figure 9 and Figure 10)

Figure 9: Dreams of Boys

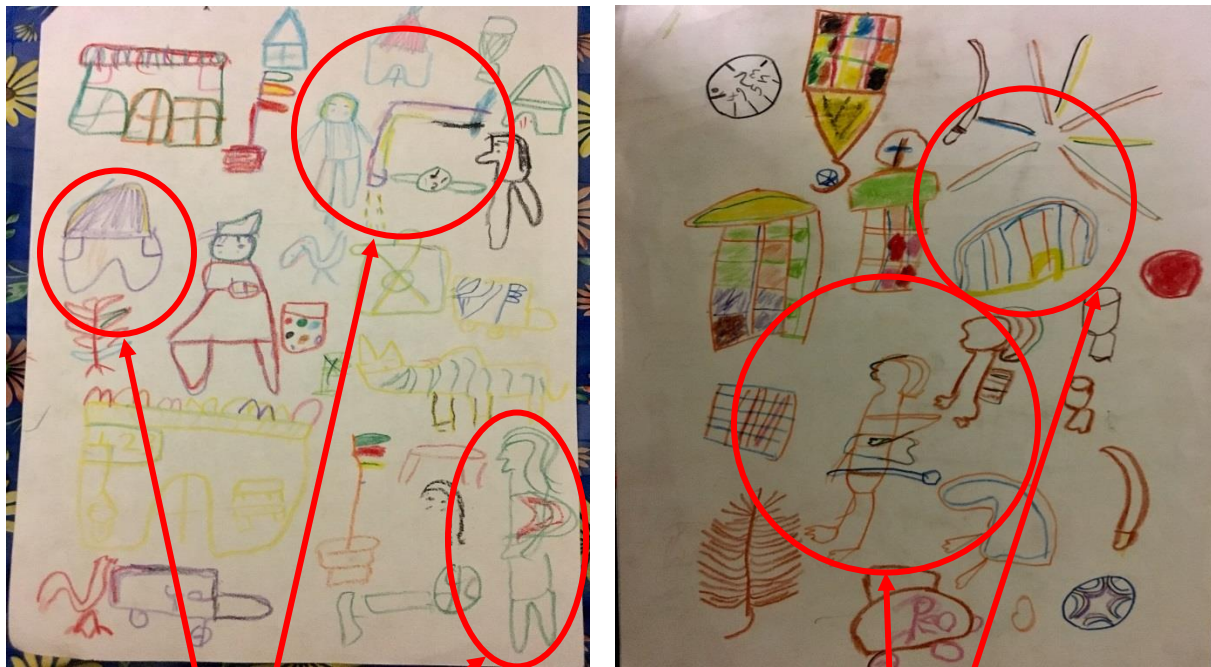


Source: Fieldwork by Author

Ali a 6th grade student dreams of being a doctor, having a car and a clinic but despite of having his dream, he believes his wife should remain inside her house doing her household chores i.e. Fetching water.

Syed a 5th grade student has a dream to own large number of camel like his father and rear them.

Figure 10: Dreams of Girls



Source: Fieldwork by Author

Halima a 5th grade student has the dream of helping her mother to fetch water, construct home for herself and collect wood.

Fatima a 4th grade student has similar dreams of building her home and collecting wood.

In **Figure 9** we can see the existing gender stereotype belief in the young boys driven from the socialization process where Ali is bound to think a women's role remain within her household and Syed's dream revolves around the traditional role set by his cultural norms.

In **Figure 10** we can see Halima and Fatima remain in the vicious circle of performing her household chores which is a result of the cultural influence from the family and the society.

5.2 Unequal Division of Labor

The cultural aspect of gender in the pastoral communities keep women to perform household chores like cleaning, cooking, washing clothes and everything else that relates to sustaining the household such as fetching water, collecting wood, constructing homes. As mentioned in Chapter 4 which talks about the various roles of men and women in the communities, women have a bigger burden working 15-18 hours per day compared to 10-14 hours for men. Through observation during the HH interviews the women are not even privileged to take their husband's name. It is considered to be against Afar culture. The imbalance in gender relation is absolutely visible in

the pastoral society. Interactions between the male and female members in such societies are defined by their culturally set norms and rules. Imbalance in the gender relation has led to imbalance in gender roles which results to unequal division of labor where women have heavy workload to perform. The unequal power relation leads to oppression on women where gender gets connected to sexuality, the socio-cultural misinterpretations determine the gender difference (Shaji George Kochuthara, 2011). These gender roles restrict a man to perform any actions that is defined feminine and vice versa. Due to gender stereotypical belief existing in both women and men there is an existence of unequal sharing of work (*See Box 3*). Considering the social structure of pastoral system the connection between the couples is so weak that there is no involvement of men in the housework and childcare. Gender stereotypes in these communities exists in such a way that donkeys are considered feminine as it only is able to perform tasks of women such as fetching water and wood whereas camel are considered masculine animal which only male can be entitled to have ownership of.

A short survey was conducted during the research choosing a random sample of 20 (equal ratio of female and male) from Aeva as Agree/ Disagree questionnaire survey using some stereotypical

Box : Statements on division of labour

“Culturally Afar women have more workload than men” (*HH interview, Male*)

“If husband work for household it's a shame for us in the community.” (*HH interview, Female*)

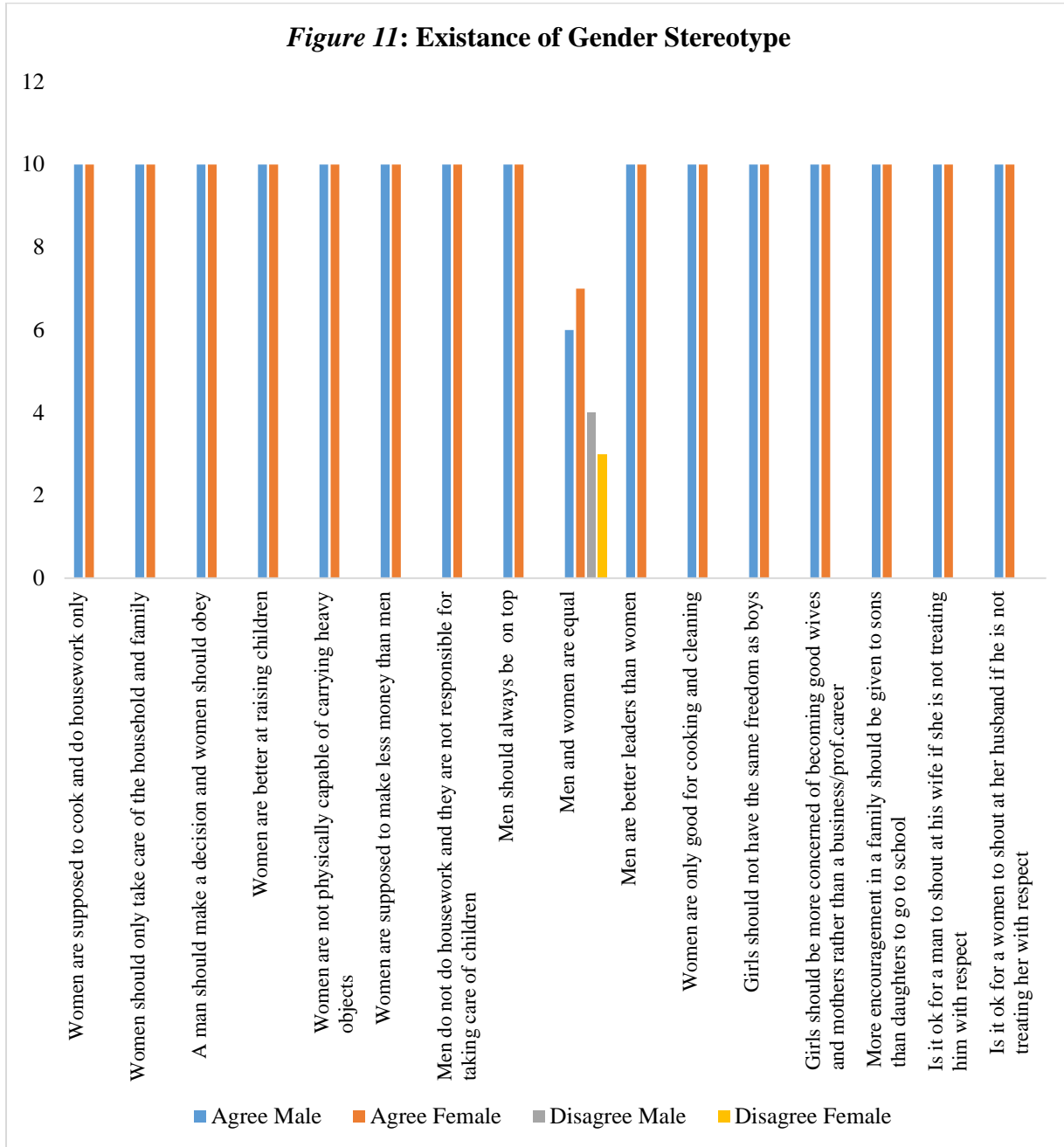
“Some foolish men help at home. He doesn't have mind doing women's work.” (*HH interview, Female*)

“Only a mother is responsible to nurture her children” (*HH interview, Female*)

“Men sleep and rest even while rearing cattle” (*HH interview, Female*)

Source: Fieldwork by Author

statements to analyze the perception of both female and male. The result from this survey is shown in the *Figure 11* below.



Source: Fieldwork by Author

The above figure shows that majority of the female and male agree upon all the stereotypical statements in the survey. The socio-cultural setting of the society has a huge impact on women as well as men. Women consider themselves to remain at home doing their household chores and rearing children. The traditional belief socialized in the society has not only affected the men but

has also affected the psychology of the women. Women perform roles of carrying wood and plenty liters of water in a day, walking down hours to rear cattle, they bear multiple number of children, construct homes yet it is agreed by both women and men that they are not capable of carrying heavy objects and are not physically strong which clearly shows their roles are under-valued due to gender stereotype in the society. 40 per cent of the male disagree to male and female being equal in the community compared to 30 per cent of the female. The male believe that they are superior to women whereas the female say they are unequal within the culture. Culture and religion in these communities have become an excuse to gender equality where women lose their ability to become empowered.

5.3 Challenges in Livelihood security of Women

Economic opportunities remain very limited for the women in these societies. Milking is exclusively controlled by women, which is also the only source of income to sustain their livelihood. There are certain barriers that challenge them to perform milking such as:

- a) Poverty
- b) Illiteracy
- c) Climate change
- d) Mobility
- e) Domestic workload
- f) Ownership

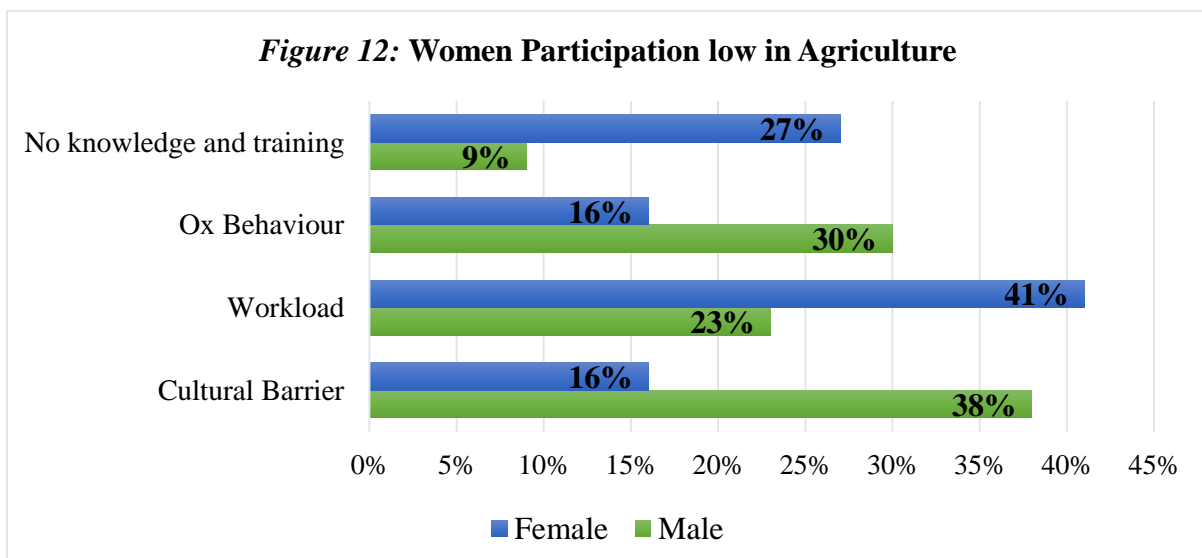
- a) Poverty: Women are responsible for keeping their family members healthy. Due to very poor economy of the household the milk they get from the cattle are rather kept for home consumption than sale. Having limited food availability milk keeps the children comparatively nutritious for which women compromise over selling the milk in the market.
- b) Illiteracy: Almost all the women in Aurebeto and Aeva are illiterate and have never attended school. They lack numerical literacy which keeps them away from getting involved in any marketing activity for which they depend highly on their husband.
- c) Climate change: Afar is a drought prone area. The livestock remain vulnerable during the climate change and their productivity is significantly low during the dry season for which the little amount of milk produced is used for home consumption rather than sale. Also

during the dry season the milk rates are extremely low i.e. 1-2 liters of milk produced is sold at 12 birr per liter which does not help them to sustain economically.

- d) **Mobility:** Afar culture does not allow the women to travel far areas. This is a huge barrier for women to be involved in any marketing opportunities such as milk selling. They are supposed to remain within their household and cannot make the choice of moving here and there without the permission of their husband. Mobility is a big challenge to women’s life in the pastoral societies.
- e) **Domestic Workload:** The traditional roles of women in Afar keep them occupied for 15-18 hours a day (*See Table 7*) which does not give them to participate in any other spheres of life. Their daily work burden keeps them away from performing alternative activities to earn income.
- f) **Ownership:** As discussed in Chapter 4 ownership of property remains in the hands of male. Male have full control over their livestock which sometimes hinders the decision of women to access through his livestock for milk selling purpose.

5.3.1. Women’s participation in Agriculture

As discussed in Chapter 4 (*See Figure 2*) shows that in Aeva women’s participation in agriculture farming is very low compared to men (i.e. 8 per cent compared to 28 per cent male). The below statistics collected from the HH interview sample from Aeva shows what has led to the low participation of women in Agriculture (*See Figure 12*).



Source: Fieldwork by Author

The above figure indicates 27 percent of the women do not participate in farming because they lack knowledge and training to do agriculture. During a stakeholder meeting with the Agriculture Office at District level it was stated that the first step taken for agro pastoralists was land ownership mainly to the males of the household and the divorced women and second was training to do agriculture. Training is provided to the agro pastoralist's once or twice in a year but no special training given to women. It was also clarified that there were neither any gender policies adapted to look into the gender issues nor any women farmer organization to help the agro pastoral women in the society which keeps their participation low. 38 per cent of the male compared to 16 per cent female justify cultural barrier as their reason to low involvement in farming. The Afar culture restricts women to mobility and also their access and control over resources like land is low due to no ownership entitlement for women. 16 per cent women compared to 30 per cent male justify ox behavior that is difficult for women to get involved in agriculture. Figure 2 shows 58 per cent of the agriculture is performed by the investors in their land. Due to lack of technology both women as well as men participation in agriculture is low.

5.3.2 Violence and Discrimination against Women

Customary laws of pastoralists are known to be the laws that protect women from harmful actions like rape, pregnancy and abduction. "Dubnek Weima Madah" the customary law of Afar zone 3 has certain customary principles where punishment (*Eranna*) is sanctioned when an individual commits a crime against another (**See Annexure 3**). The compensation of cows remain higher in number when a women is killed compared to men justified women to be the ones who give birth and keep the social status of the husband high. There is a compensation of six cows in cases of suspicion as per the customary law but it was noted that females are not allowed to suspect and in any case they do, the customary law does not apply. But when a husband suspects his wife for keeping any kind of contact with other man where the man has to pay compensation to the husband and divorce is declared. Women are discriminated in such a way that they cannot call for divorce instead have to leave to her family's house in case of any kind conflict but cannot have a voice.

According to European Institution of Gender Equality "*Violence against women*" is understood as a violation of human rights and a form of discrimination against women and shall mean all acts of gender-based violence that result in, or are likely to result in, physical, sexual, psychological or economic harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary

deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life. When a girl/women is raped and made pregnant she is unable to access to formal justice structures to meet her human rights instead she has to follow her customary laws where compensation of cows is the justice her family receives. Any minor conflict occurring between the husband and wife remains within the household. In extreme cases if any kind of violence is mediated through a third person to the head of clan the husband is punished through the laws made by the custom but no cows are compensated for such acts. The customary laws of pastoralist directly discriminate the women of the society. Being a patriarchal society where women are not a part of any conflict resolution (*Edolinu*) directly reflects to violence against them. Their participation for justice is not constructed in the customary principle for which she faces all forms of discrimination in silence. There are “Makadun” a group of people who are above the clan leader who are consulted in case of emergency and complicated cases that cannot be dissolved within the customary law. Such complicated cases are communicated to government by the “*Makabun*” where a culprit is prisoned by the governmental law. But these complicated cases do not reflect to any discrimination against women. (See **Annexure 2** for the various customary principles of pastoralists subjected in “*Dubnek Weima Madah.*”)

In a stakeholder meeting with the WCYA at district level reported that there was a complaint committee made for pastoral women in case a girl wanted to marry someone else rather than following her Absuma system. But it was identified that none of the women in the sample knew about such complaint committee. It is because customary law support Absuma system and women follow it is as their culture. Also during a Key Informant Interview with the community mobiliser in Aeva it was stated that in case women face any discrimination from their husband they can report to the WCYA but again not a single woman is aware about such complaint committees. The government has taken such actions to enhance women’s right and justice should come in serious consideration and should be institutionalized keeping women’s socio-cultural structure in mind.

5.4 Women and Access to Education

The overall enrollment rate in Aurebeto and Aeva is significantly low. Out of the total HH sample only 6.53 per cent children are attending primary school compared to 1.01 per cent in secondary level. The dropout rates are higher compared to the enrollment that is 7.07 per cent. Amongst the HH sample respondents 0 per cent females had never attended school compared to 15 per cent of

male, which is also the percentage of dropout. It is usually their socio-economic condition of the people that has led them to dropout. The challenge in education remains for both female and male in these societies.

During a key informant interview in the primary school (Grade 1 to 5) in Aurebeto it was reported that 65 students are registered in the school out of which 22 are girls but the school attendance remain significantly low due to the migration pattern of the families. Below is a statement given by a HH respondent in Aurebeto:

*“If we have no relatives in the area our children migrate with us, he misses school.”***HH Interview Female**

In order to increase the enrollment of the pastoral children USAID provides a school feeding program where children are provided with 25 kg corn/per students in two months. The scheme was structured to provide students mid-day meals on a regular but during the observation in Aurebeto it was evident that the 25 kg sack was given to the HH whose children were registered in school. Due to the visible lack of proper implementation of the feeding scheme the students were encouraged only to benefit the HH consumption. The school currently functioning in Aurebeto lacks of proper infrastructure, not enough trained teachers and highly lacks in receiving proper educational facilities. PCDDP is in process of upgrading the school by constructing a new building as a contribution for proper infrastructure. Currently the school in Aurebeto runs with one class for all Grade 1 to Grade 5 students.

Comparatively in Aeva the school is functioning well with a proper learning environment for the children in the community. Kebena primary school (Grade 1 to 8) is a school built by PCDDP to provide the children their educational rights. Students attended school from neighboring villages are more in number. During a key informant interview in Kebena Primary school it was noted that the attendance of the girl's remained very low compared to boys. The male female ratio among teachers and student remain unequal. Out of 146 students 40 are girls and 106 boys compared to 7 male teachers and 1 female teacher. Dropouts remained high after 8 due to lack of secondary school near the area. In 2018 there are 11 students out of which only 2 students are girls. To increase the enrollment of girls in school WFP provides 4 liters/per 2 girls each month. It was reported due to improper toilet facilities, mensuration issues led to high dropout rate of girl's after 5th grade also parents disapprove girl's education due to traditional beliefs say's the school teacher.

From the study following are some factors identified contributing to low participation of pastoralist's in Aurebeto and Aeva:

Socio-economic constraints: Pastoralist's have their own way of living. Their wealth is defined by their cattle. Most of the young boys and girls are responsible in herding their cattle also their movement pattern does not allow them to remain in school. The school is not facilitated with enough stationery materials which hinders the families to expend on school related expenditures. Often girls are obliged to remain at home to help their mothers with household activities. These are some major obstacles to children's basic education in these societies.

Socio-cultural constraints: Pastoralist's are deeply rooted with their tradition and norms. The attitude of parents towards education does not support the willingness of the children to participate in school. Most of the parents have the misconception about education that gives them fear about losing their traditional values and customs. With the fear of losing their tradition and their cattle boys and girls remain uneducated.

School related constraints: Lack of learning materials and proper school facilities affects the performance of both girls and boys in pastoral communities. They have sports has their subject in their curriculum but no equipment's no playground. Parents are reluctant to send their children to school because of lack of separate toilets in the schools (*KII, Kebena School, Aeva*). The inflexibility of school calendar is one of the major constraints in the school. PCDP has a plan to add school calendar as a part of their project component considering the communities mobility pattern.

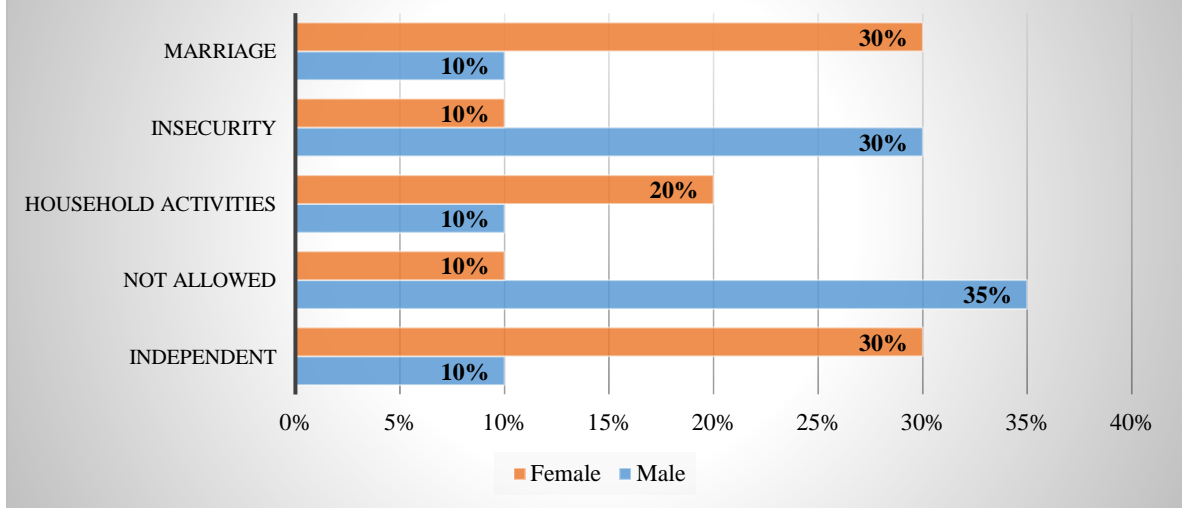
“Uniform in a school is very important it will help in changing attitude of community.”

KII, Kebena School, Aeva

5.4.1 Perception on Girl's Education

Gender inequality existing in these societies makes women and girls more vulnerable to attaining education. From the study it was identified that parent's preferred sending their son's to school rather than investing on their daughters. The statistics data collected from the sample shows the perception of parents regarding girl's education (*See Figure 13*)

Figure 13: Perception of Parents on Girls education



Source: Fieldwork by Author

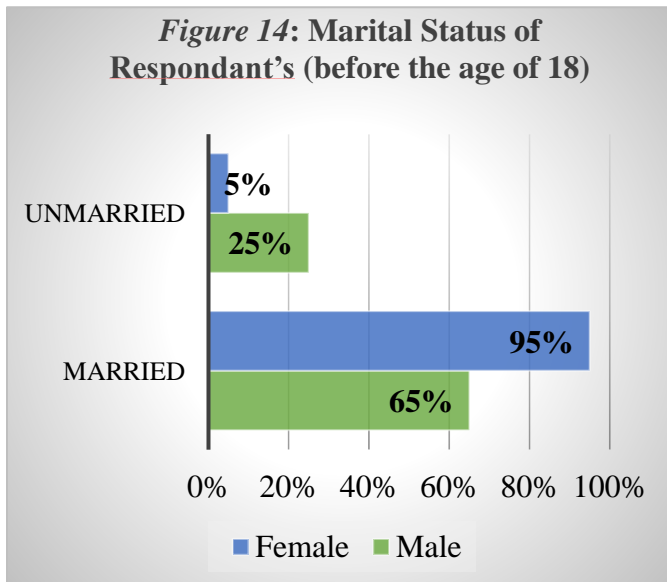
The above figure shows that majority of the parents do not value girls education due to the traditional norms in the pastoral societies. Their traditional gender roles keep the girls within their household domain to perform their chores. 20 per cent of the mothers believe their daughters should remain in the HH to help them with their domestic workload compared to 10 per cent male. There was also a positive response identified from the parents where 30 per cent of the mothers think if their daughters pursued education they will not have to depend on their husband compared to 10 per cent male.

Taking note of the different perception of parents regarding girl's education the following factors were identified that inhibit the education of girl's in Aurebeto and Aeva.

5.4.2 Factor affecting the girl's education

a. Existing Marriage Practices

Afar culture follows cross-cousin marriage system which is famously known as “*Absuma*”. The women in pastoral societies are subjected to arranged marriage regardless of her desire and choice. The whole community supports early marriage in order to have large numbers of children for division of work. The customary law of pastoralist's support early marriage and if any individual dares to marry someone outside of this marriage system has to bare the compensation made by law. In the above figure (*See Figure 13*) 30 per cent of the mothers support early marriage over girls education compared to 10 per cent male. The rule of *Absuma* states that a man marries the daughter of his paternal aunt, she keeps her daughter ready for her brother's son. In Afar culture



Source: Fieldwork by Author

cross-cousin marriage is almost mandatory. They believe this marriage system is stronger than getting married to someone outside this system. Due to this deep rooted tradition followed since generations women lose their right to marriage, freedom, choice and education. Early marriage is a considered global problem and in rural areas of Ethiopia it is very common because of their traditional beliefs. Ethiopian revised family code 2000

Article 2 states that the legal age of

marriage is 18 years for both girls and boys. But as a result from my HH interview not a single individual is aware about this law or to some extent their customary law does not allow them to understand the construction of such laws made by government. Women suffer to access to justice when they are bound to follow their customs and culture. Majority of the respondents in Aeva and Aurebeto were married before the age of 18 (*Figure 14*). 5 per cent of the female respondent and 25 per cent of the male respondent reported unmarried justifying that their *Absuma* were young and they were in line waiting for them to grow. It was also identified that a 12 year old girl would

be married to a 35 year old man through the Absuma marriage system. Therefore child marriage has inappropriately affected the women and girls in pastoral societies. Below is are some statements given supporting early marriage.

“I prefer early marriage it reduces burden of rearing cattle and burden of mothers in household.” HH interview, Male

“Early marriage is good we can have children and family support.” HH interview, Female

“I am against love marriage, if my daughter marries her absuma I will get lots of respect from him because I am his father’s sister. I will not get same respect from unrelated person.” HH interview, Female

b. Existin pattern Division of Labour:

Traditional roles of the women in Afar keep them with a lot of work burden. Due to imbalance in the gender relation there is no culture of sharing work between male and female. The household chores are thought low in their culture. A mother prefers to have a daughter so she can distribute her work and feel less burdened. Work load is a big obstacle that girls in the communities face which does not allow the girls to be in school rather they are nursing their younger siblings and helping mother with her household activities. It was observed in the communities that young girls were collecting water, firewood and also cooking (*See Figure 15*). In case a HH has no other female member or daughter her sister travels to her area to support. Either ways a girl’s life is surrounded around her household chores which hinders her opportunity to be in school and educate herself.

Figure 15



Source: Fieldwork by Author

A young girl preparing Kinta Kita in Aeva.

c. Existing Gender Stereotypes

Gender inequality in the pastoral society has risen from the stereotypical beliefs rooted in the people. When a baby girl is born it is considered disappointment for the family. To the contrary there is a celebration in the community when a baby boy is born. I feel lucky to evidence this during my field stay in Aurebeto where celebration starts with gun shots for a boy child where as they choose silence when a girl is born. Men being the head of the household prefer to have son because he can rear his camels and own his property when he dies. The repression against women start at her birth and then it is socialized in every next generation of the society where all the girls and women think low of themselves. Son are given more priority to education as it is believed that a daughter may contact other men in her school area and go against her culture. Afar culture does not give girls and women freedom to movement and travel holding the fear of being raped and pregnant. “Dagu” being the only source of information for pastoral society, women are also hindered from such restrictions and gender stereotypes to exchange information. The men are more privileged to sharing and receiving information as a result of their mobility. With the fear of being suspected keeping any kind of contact with others the women chose to remain in silence. Because of the role she plays as a wife and mother they are undervalued. There are various expectation from girls and boys stated by the respondents in Aurebeto and Aeva. The below table are some stereotypical statements made by the respondents about what they expect from a son and a daughter.

Table 10: What are the different expectations from a son and a daughter?

Daughter	Son
“A daughter is expected to have a good marital status.”	“A son is expected to rear his camel and get education”
“A daughter should get a good husband.”	“A son can take fathers property.”
“If a daughter makes contact with other boy before marriage it is a big shame.”	“A son should be strong like his father.”

Source: Fieldwork by Author

Therefore, the traditional attitudes, beliefs and practices reinforce harmful gender roles has led the women’s participation in education to be low. Women fail to reach out to their rights and fight for justice because of the social structure they live in. Education not only is a right in itself but it is means of realizing other rights of an individual.

Aeva village is distributed on the two side of the asphalt road. The primary school is located on one side of the village where children have to cross the road to attend school. Most of the members of the village explained their fear to send their children to school as a result of vehicles running down the road in full speed. So we managed to solve one of their problems (*See Figure 16*)



Figure 16

A drive slow board with a village identification constructed for the safety of the children while road crossing to school.



5.5 Challenges to poor health of women

“Health is Wealth”, statement is agreed by all the respondents in the sample. Yet the health of women remains poor in these communities. Their understanding and knowledge about the remaining healthy is limited. As per the observation personal hygiene and sanitation of the communities is quite poor. 37.5 per cent of the HH had private toilets compared to 62.5 per cent open defecation. Health post services are provided for the communities to access to proper health care. The Health Bureau facilitates the Aeva and Aurebeto with a health extension worker trained by Save the Children specially for the women to aware them about the benefits of having a private toilet, cleanliness, wash, environmental hygiene, family planning, breastfeeding, child nutrition, health center delivery. Earlier typically less healthcare services were available compared to now for the pastoral societies. But due socio cultural barriers the women’s health still remain poor. The following factors were identified as contributing to poor health and poor access to health services in the pastoral society:

- a) Excess Birth
- b) Traditional Healing Culture
- c) Work Burden
- d) Unequal distribution of food
- e) Lack of labour saving technologies

a) Excess Birth

The data collected from HH sample indicates on an average a HH has 6-7 children. A 15 year old girl is already a mother and by the time she reaches 20 the number is doubled. In pastoral system, women who give birth to more children are comparatively better positioned in the society. Also women tend to give birth with a fear of exogamy⁹ that exists in Afar in case she is not able to satisfy him with his demand. Reported from a *Life History Male* it was stated that earlier there was birth spacing for 2 years if a boy child was born, not considering the health of wife rather the son to remain healthy with enough milk and proper care. This statement is enough to understand how ignorant men have remained regarding women's health. But now birth spacing remains far sighted in these communities, "Men's habit of Chew Khat increases sexual desires" (*Life History Male*) which also has led to excess birth. Therefore, women always remained vulnerable and still remain.

There has been progress in Ethiopia where the maternal mortality has reduced by more than 30 percent in five years, with 412 deaths per 100,000 live births in 2016 (MOA, 2017). Yet women in pastoral societies remain vulnerable to maternal death due to early marriage and excess birth. In Afar culture family planning and access to contraceptive is considered a religious taboo. According to EDHS 2016 married women in Afar have the lowest use of modern contraception that is only 12% and 80.5% do not discuss about family planning to any health worker. Below are some statements provided by respondents regarding family planning. (*See Box 4*)

⁹ Exogamy- Custom of marrying someone outside the community, clan or a tribe.

Box 4: Perception on Family planning and excess birth

"Family planning is forbidden by Allah, birth is the permission of Allah" HH Interview, Female

"Women who give more birth, get more respect from husband." HH Interview, Female

"Family Planning is against our culture" HH Interview, Female

"Women who cannot give birth are useless." HH Interview, Male

Source: Fieldwork by Author

b) Traditional Healing Culture

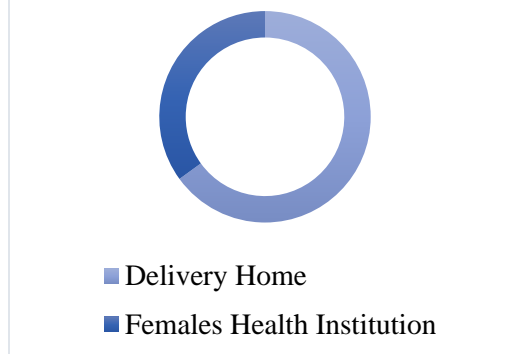
Earlier pastoral societies were underprivileged from accessing to health services. Identified through my reseach in Aeva and Aurebeto earlier people in Afar used their traditional forms of the healing that still exists in their life termed as *"Ina-daila"* and *"Afar-daila."*

"Ina-daila" is known as all the mothers who are able to treat their children (below 10 years) in any kind of sickness through herbs where as *"Afar-daila"* is known as the treatment provided by a group of people who are cultural doctors for the pastoralists who provide treatment to the above 10 years population. The main factor that has held them back from reaching to health services rather following their traditional healing is their economic status.

Women are responsible for the health and well-being of their children, in any case they wish to visit the Health post, private clinic or health centers they either have to borrow money or sell cattle for their extra expenditure. Therefore their economic crisis does not allow them to understand the benefit of using the health facilities around them.

Health post constructed by PCDP in Aurebeto and Gurmuli (5-6 km away from Aeva) has one male nurse each to facilitate them with basic medication. 70 per cent of the women

Figure 17: Home Delivery vs Health institution



Source: Fieldwork by Author

from the sample responded that they were uncomfortable and in shame to get themselves checked by male nurse and doctors compared to 85 per cent of male responded the same. Health centers provides all the women free service during delivery up to 10 days but due cultural and religious restrictions pastoral women prefer giving birth at home (*See figure 17*). Understanding this sensitivity health extension workers are provided to facilitate them with awareness on Post Neonatal and Antenatal Care.

In some cases where HH prefer to receive health services from the health post it is usually the male child who is facilitated, the girl child is cured at home with herbal treatments.

“We are modern doctors for our children.” HH Interview, Female

c) Work Burden

As discussed earlier women face from excess work burden in pastoral societies due to the traditional roles they are bound to perform. In such cases women prefer to give more birth specially baby girl for division of work which does not allow them to realize the disadvantage that occurs to their health from uncontrolled birth. It is same for the husband where his need in having more kids lies for his distribution of work in rearing his cattle. It was reported by majority of the females in the sample that they suffer from serve back pain, kidney pain and displacement of abdomen due to their workload. Work burden is one of the risk factors for women`s health.

The below *Figure 18* shows is the data collected from the HH regarding their preference over small family or large family.

Figure 18: Preference of small family and large family

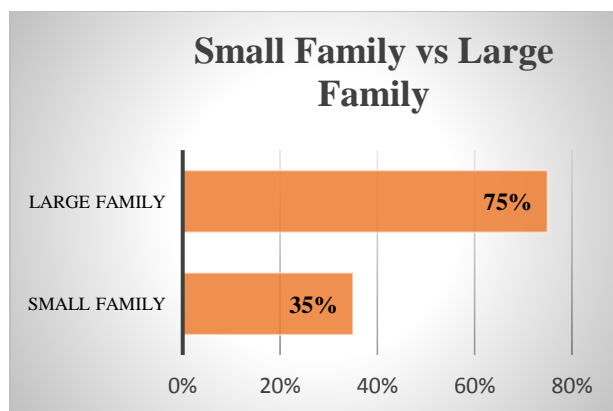


Figure 18: 75% of the HH prefer to have a large family compared to 35% small family.

“We need large family to rare cattle`s and distribution of work so we can reduce our burden and relax.” HH Interview, Male

“Small family is good we will not be economically exhausted.” HH Interview, Female

d) Unequal distribution of food

The dietary pattern in these communities is observed to be poor. There are very limited number of food they consume daily to have enough nutrition. Afar culture does not allow the husband and wife to eat together (*See Box 1*). According to culture a women is bound to serve her husband and her kids before herself. This is due to the imbalance in gender relation that leads to unequal distribution of food where women cannot meet her dietary needs. Having limited amount food to consume for the entire household she may get to consume only the remaining. While preparing the daily activity clock with the female it was also found that women and young children who rear their cattle eat only breakfast in the morning and stay hungry throughout the day.

Therefore, the challenges women face resulting to their poor health status is mainly due to the socio cultural barriers they face in their daily lives especially from the imbalance in gender relation and the traditional gender roles that are stereotyped. Extensive awareness in the community is needed for the women to remain in a good health position. Spreading knowledge on health issues for both men and women is the starting point of the solution for the well-being of the women and the community as a whole.

e) Lack of labour saving technology

Women usually cook food inside their homes. Majority of the households reported cough as a common sickness in women and children due to the smoke inside the house.

Chapter 6

Gendered-based Policies in Ethiopia: Gaps and Challenges

Earlier pastoralist's lived quite isolated from other population and solely depended on their livestock. Considering their vulnerability GoE designed policies for pastoralist's to keep them away from being marginalized. In order to assimilate the pastoralist into the national identity, Government, International organizations and NGOs have encouraged sedentarization¹⁰. This transition has occurred from drought and the demand of development by the pastoral population. Nevertheless livestock being their primary source of income, mobility still remains important to both the pastoral and agro-pastoral communities. Their need for livestock herding remains the same as they still depend on their livestock products for income and consumption. Although the studied population is settled household, they tend to move once or twice during the dry season in search of rain area and grazing land. Though the process of sedentarization has enabled some pastoralists to engage more in agriculture to alleviate food insecurity their priority and ability to live out of pastoralism still seemed poor. As I witnessed during my study these communities in Awash are facilitated with service delivery from the efforts made by government projects like Pastoral Community Development Projects. These services and alternative livelihood income opportunities like agro-pastoralism, trade and wage labor has encourage these population to be settled but lack of livestock productivity, land degradation, scarcity of feed and fodder, still remains a huge barrier to adaptation to this new livelihood. One traditional coping strategy for these societies in times of poor production and scarcity is to restock their cattle. Livestock is still their important source of subsistence while agriculture is providing them security in terms of food. The pattern is likely to gradually change but development is still long way to go. But one of the major barriers that has hindered these communities the most is the gender inequality that still exists to an extreme level. As discussed in previous chapters it is clear that women in Awash have remained in the bottom line of development. Despites of the service delivered for these settled population, women are not receiving benefit from it. The social structure of the pastoral community has not changed with the sedentary life they have chosen to live in. It seems gender

¹⁰ Sedentarization is the process of formerly nomadic populations settling into non mobile communities, and applies to foraging populations, livestock keeping pastoralists, and other occupational or ethnic groups that were for- merely mobile such as Roma (Meir, 1997; Salzman, 1980)

equality is far sighted in the pastoral society. The traditional gender roles and power relations do not seem to change in the sedentarization process due to the existing stereotypical beliefs. Women are double marginalized and underserved. Due to the socio-cultural barriers women empowerment in the Awash is a challenge. Women take the highest share of the enormous suffering and exploitation. The application of the gender biased customary laws have kept the women in the subordinate position and often not allow them to reach to their rights. Being a deeply rooted patriarchal society power is assigned to men both at home and community level. Inequality of opportunity, right, responsibility, role and access to and control over resources is visible in the research area. Therefore, gender gap existing between men and women in socio-economic indicators has put a negative impact on the overall development in Awash. The process of correcting such gender disparity in a society should be led by improving the condition and status of women which is termed as women empowerment. In such cultural context proper policy implementation should be done extensively for interventions to succeed.

Policy implications

Policies undoubtedly play a crucial role in guiding the choice making process, identifying the problems to be addressed, establishing parameters and proper institutions. Ethiopia has many policies written on papers putting gender equality and women empowerment into consideration yet remains in having high Gender Inequality Index. There are efforts being made but a lot is still needed to be done for a developing country like Ethiopia to meet its goals set for Gender Equality and Women Empowerment. Following I will be discussing on the current Ethiopian government policies and other implementing bodies dedicated towards achieving equality and empowerment.

The Constitution of Federal Republic of Ethiopia exhibits the equality of men and women in the social, legal, economic and political factors. According SIDA 2015, The Article 35 of the constitution ensures women's equal rights to men, a mandatory action as a remedy for historical discrimination against women and explicates the state's obligation to eliminate traditional customs that harm women's minds or bodies Article 42 ensures their equal right for equal work. Women are usually under cultural and religious pressures despites of Article 34 stating the right to choose and agree the customary and religious laws.

Ethiopia has also made a commitment to The Beijing Platform for Action (PFA) dealing with the critical areas like education, social service and health, including sexual and reproductive health,

the HIV/AIDS pandemic, the burden of poverty on women, violence against women and girls, and the development of effective and accessible national machineries for the advancement of women. The National Policy on Ethiopian Women formulated by the Women Affairs Office (WAO) now known as Ministry of Women Affairs (MOWA) in 1993 precedes the PFA but with the commitment to focus on the critical areas concerning to improve the lives of women based on the economic and socio-cultural context. It is formulated to facilitate equality between men and women, creating conditions for rural women to get benefits from all social services like education and health and eliminating stereotypes and discriminations that hindered women from equality and established its National Action Plan on Gender Equality (NAP-GE) to ensure gender-equitable development. The seven priority areas chosen were: Poverty and Economic Empowerment of women and girls, Education and Training of Women and Girls, Reproductive Rights, Health and HIV/AIDS, Human Rights and Violence Against Women and Girls, Empowering Women in Decision Making, Women and the Environment and Institutional Mechanisms for the Advancement of Women.

Following the provisions made in the policy the Women Affairs Department (WAD) has been established in various ministries and agencies at federal level, zonal level and the woreda level in order to implement the policy with the objectives derived made in the national policy. The policy states to have made agreements with the NGOs to incorporate gender mainstreaming, advocacy, capacity building and creating grassroots women movement. During various stakeholders meeting at the woreda level with respective administrative personnel it was visible that there were no such structure that dictated any formal relationship with the women affairs office in Awash. To my surprise it was mentioned no such women policies was followed by the women affairs itself. There is a huge barrier in the ground levels to meet gender equality due to lack of awareness within such sectoral departments. Understanding the concept of gender mainstreaming remained significantly weak due to which such policies remain inapplicable in ground but beautifully described on papers. Ministry of Women Affairs needs to look over the issues where the woreda level women affair offices lack knowledge of such big policies made for women to meet equality.

In addition to the meeting at women affairs office at woreda level it was reported the presence of a complain committee particularly functioning for the pastoral women where they could approach in case of any form of discrimination they faced in the community regarding forced marriage and

other harmful practices. Such information I received were not yet received by the women in communities of my study area. My stakeholder meetings were conducted at the end of my research in the field. I had a question on my HH interviews regarding existence of any kind of complaint committee. I received zero responses from both women and men. There lied a gap in me to understand this situation where I was unable to recognize whether it was the improper awareness spread in the committee or it was the negligence made by the respective officials. Government needs to strictly analyze the situations pastoral women face where they do not have the right to movement and travel which does not allow them to reach out to their basic rights and justice. Access and mobility should be considered for the pastoral committee where they are not able to travel 20 km to reach out for their justice for which they still remain marginalized.

The Gender Mainstreaming, Follow up and Evaluation Department in the MoWA has the responsibilities to assess the impacts of the projects undertaken by various governmental and non-governmental organizations to provide them appropriate guidance to ensure the benefits to women. According to the policy it is described there are Women Affairs Department (WAD) in all the respective Ministries to help address gender issues.

The Ministry of Rural Agriculture Development (MoRAD) is working in teams with the WAD on different projects to provide training for rural women, distributing extension packages and introducing labour saving technologies such as improved stoves. During the stakeholder meeting at the Agricultural Office at woreda level it was reported that there were no women policies or any gender mainstreaming strategies undertaken to address gender issues. Neither there were any separate trainings provided to the agro-pastoralists in Aeva nor any labour saving technologies for women for both the pastoral and agro pastoral women. No women farmer's organizations were formed to empower the women with knowledge and training for agriculture. In fact the training remained insufficient also for the men in Aeva where majority of them had given away their land to investor which is again a great challenge they were facing in their livelihood which needs to be seriously overlooked. The GoE has also introduced land reforms to promote gender equality in land rights including the land registration programme that will require the names of both husbands and wives on certificates. This issue remained complex and invisible in the grassroot levels. In addition to the meeting with the Agricultural Office it indicated that land certification was still under process though the lands were already given to the agro-pastoralists. Only divorced women

were considered for the entitlement but the entitlement for the women in MHH would only remain for the husbands.

WAD in the Ministry of Water Resources (MOWR) has been playing a significant role to develop water resources which aims to ensure gender issues to be addressed in all development plans, programs and projects considering the time women spend in fetching water. Looking in to the positive change evidenced in the study area, women were benefited from the water points and hand pumps provided from various projected facilitated by the Water Office. Through the GAM (See Annexure 2) it indicated that it benefited not only the women but the men and the entire community. The women reported that their mobility to collect water had reduced by 80 per cent-80 per cent, men were benefited to shower by the pump and the community as a whole were provisioned with clean water for drinking but due to the imbalance in gender relations the roles of women remain the same.

The Ministry of Education known as the Gender and Equity Department aims to mainstream gender in all activities for Education. It aims to focus on increasing the enrolment of girls providing them with leadership training and also awareness creation for the community leaders and several stakeholders. In collaboration with other partners like PCDP infrastructure services are facilitated for the pastoral societies. PCDP is focused in providing infrastructure to the pastoralist and agro-pastoralist who are settled. In Aurebeto a primary school is under construction by the support of PCDP but there is a school currently functioning with the support of government which lacks in infrastructure and lacks proper skill and training provided to teachers as discussed in Chapter 5. Where as in Aeva the school is functioning well but the enrollment rate still remain high especially for the girls. The little boys are in the field rearing their cattle whereas the girls are forced to remain home to do her household chores. There is a school feeding program provided by USAID to increase the enrollment rate but due to poor implementation this scheme has not brought any improvements. The girls are provided with Oil by WFP to reduce the dropout rates but this has also not brought any improvements in the enrollment. The girl's dropout due to socio-cultural issues they face in the society. The government fails to provide the school with proper facilities to enhance quality education. Reported by the school teachers mensuration remain a big problem for the girls as there are no proper toilet facilities provided for boys and girls separately which leads to high dropout rates. Lack of sanitation facilities is visible in ground. The schools are built with

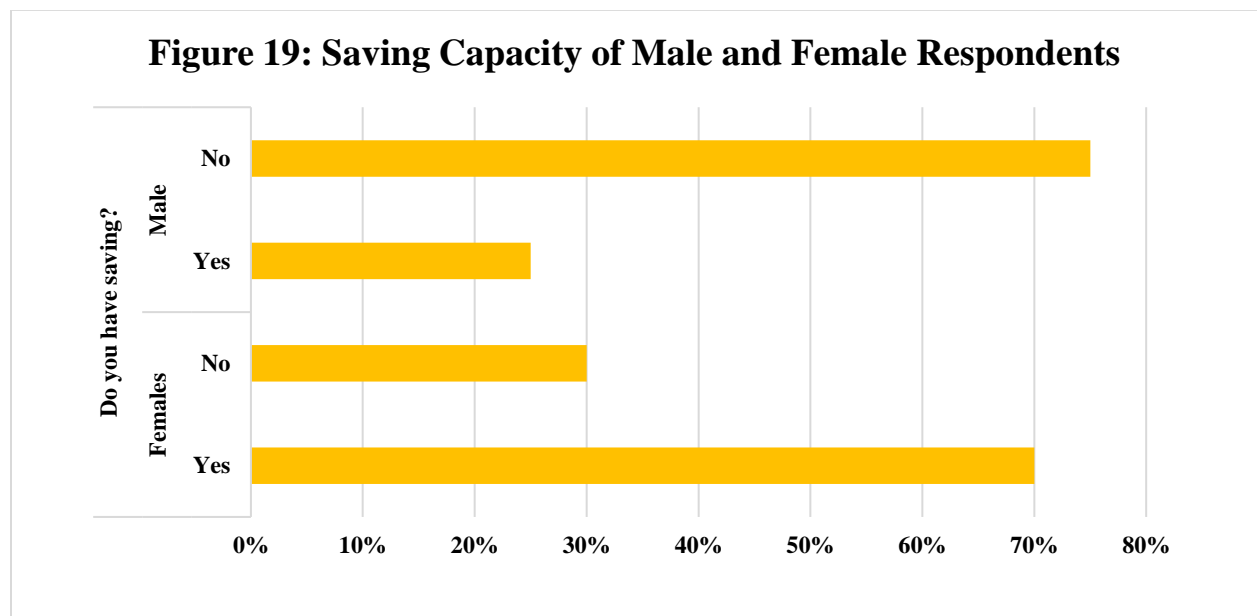
good infrastructure with the support of projects like PCDP but government supervision is lagging behind. During a stakeholder meeting with the Education Office in Woreda level it was identified there were 17 primary school, 1 secondary school and 4 kinder garden in Awash. The female male ratio of teachers remain unequal i.e. 42 female compared to 108 male. Adult education facilities were also provided by the education incorporated with numerical literacy. It was found that the educational office was not properly functioning and there were no collaboration with the women affairs office (WAO) to deal with gender issues. Education being a backbone for every individual needs real dedication and focus in the pastoral societies. The community mobiliser in Aeva stated *“No one knows the value of education in our communities, mothers keep their daughters to do their household work and men send their son to rear cattle, benefit of education is needed for the community and awareness to men is required.”* Being first generation learners it is understood that knowledge about education remains low in the pastoral areas but there is a serious need of the government efforts to create extensive awareness for the community to bring flexibility in their cultural mind set. Gender stereotypical beliefs were seen not only on the elders of the community but also the youth (*See Figure 9 and Figure 10*). I believe gender should be included in the curriculum for the pastoral children to bring change. It was very sad to see how poorly the schools were equipped. The curriculum has sports but there is no equipment or play grounds for the children. There is a school but no school bags, no water bottles in fact no pen to write with. Education is a focal point for change and this fact should not be ignored. If we want change in a community, if we want growth for a community it starts from providing them proper quality education. Majority of the students in Aeva dropout after the 8th grade because there are no secondary schools in the nearby area. With the restriction on movement for the girls in the Afar culture they are affected more from these kinds of facilities that lag behind which needs to be noticed. Interventions should focus on Scholarship schemes, Uniform facilities, school clubs, school calendars and other basic facilitates should be looked upon for enrollment to remain high. Girls usually do not get to participate in schools because of the household chores they are bound to perform. Alternative Basic Education Centers are highly encouraged to given them their Educational Rights. It is sad to know that the officials at woreda level are not aware about such big policies like National Women Policy and National Education policy which are specially developed to be implemented in rural areas. If these issues are not properly considered in all levels

of the government and development organizations the future of the pastoral community remains dark. Therefore, Illiterate.

The Ministry of Health is focused with gender issues as one of its main component. The Health policy is developed with special attention to the health needs particularly for women and children. Primary health services like Mother-Child Health (MCH) and reproductive health services are given high focus with construction of health posts and health centers. In Aurebeto PCDP has built a health post to meet the communities' requirement to remain healthy. The health posts were seen to be poorly functioning. There is solar panel but not functioning. There is a fridge for medicine but works without electricity. Throughout my 30 days of visit in Aurebeto the Health Clinic remained closed. In my stakeholder meeting with the Health Office in woreda level it was reported that there were no proper support from the government and insufficient budget remained a big problem. Another big challenge reported by the woreda office was there were no programs in collaboration to work for health. Keeping in mind the cultural setting of the pastoral women they were provided with a health extension worker for awareness on pregnancy, hygiene and sanitation, family planning, breast feeding, child care etc. Yet family planning is huge barrier in the studied area as discussed in Chapter 5. Culture and tradition is not only an excuse for these communities but seems like also for the officials and agencies working for the pastoral communities. Looking at the social structure that dominates in these areas policies and programs should focus highly to aware the men of the community keeping in mind that all the decisions about a women's life is taken through them. Efforts should be made effectively in ground to make the women understand their benefits of health. Not a single woman went to the health centers for delivery. Policies and programs have failed to understand their freedom of movement to reach out for such facilities.

GoE put in place policy and legislative measures to empower women from access to credit facilities. Ministry of Finance in collaboration with PCDP and IFAD has established PaSACCO to help women income generating activities. It was found in my study that women were considered to have real saving skill followed by a borrowing culture. Despites of many women being members of PaSACCO their knowledge remained very limited about saving and credit facilities they were receiving. In my stakeholder meeting with SACCO official in woreda level it was reported that awareness about the benefits of such cooperatives had not properly reached in the grounds. Also women's numerical illiteracy remained a huge challenge. It was visible that women did not have

enough knowledge about this facility which they were a part of. The women associated head said “Some women come to me asking for back their money because they are not being benefited from it.” Because of the lack of awareness women were found using the money they received from the cooperatives for the well-being of the family or used by the male to buy his cattle. Such kind of initiatives are really strong to economically empower women especially when they have the skill of saving. “We do not have banking system our wife’s are like bank, we deposit and withdraw.” FGD, Male. The following **Figure 19** is data collected from the sample which shows the number of female and male who have the culture of saving in Aurebeto and Aeva.



Source: Fieldwork by Author

The National Population Policy (NPP) focuses on the issue of gender and aims to look into the important role women play in population control. Implementation of such kind of policies remain a big barrier in Ethiopia as there is no special functioning body in national or regional system to register birth, marriage, divorce which makes it difficult to get an accurate demographic for development. The country really needs to look upon this issue as it helps to explain the fertility levels of a society, education, employment etc. According to the revised family code 2000 the legal age of marriage in Ethiopia is 18 years old but child marriage and excess birth remains high especially in areas where culture remains prevalent to follow such marriage system which is also one of the major issues identified during the study. Equality in marriage is therefore in blurred lines in the rural areas.

In September 1981 Ethiopia also signed the CEDAW so women were equally enjoy their rights free from any discrimination against her. The WAD in Ministry of Justice (MOJ) worked with the objective of protection human rights of the women and the children to abolish any kind of violence and discrimination against them but no strong evidence were found in the grounds. In fact as mentioned above in this chapter the women in the study area were not aware about any complain committing they could access for justice. Before I left for the field I was strictly instructed to me not to raise the issue of Human rights during my study. But I failed to follow the instruction provided. I ended up asking all the respondents if they were aware about such rights like Right to Education, Right to Freedom and Choice, Right to Marriage. All the answers stated no. Therefore, Women Rights, Human Rights, Children Rights were seen far from existing in the lives of pastoralist's and agro-pastoralists population.

Ethiopia also has a broad country plan known as GTP developed to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) which considers the promotion of women, youth and vulnerable groups. Great emphasis has been put upon increasing the enrollment and number of female teachers in school and ensures the vulnerable women to participate in income generating activities. GTP plays a significant role in achieving Gender Equality and Women Empowerment in Ethiopia if gender mainstreaming in all programs and policies are done right.

As I read through the existing policies and programs I sense positive change. It meets all the requirements that escorts towards Gender Equality and Women Empowerment. Although all the policies and institutions are appropriately placed at the country level for women's development the outcome remains minimal in Awash. In order to effectively implement these policies and strategies to encounter with positive change and progress all the stakeholders should come together to combat the huge gender gap remnant in grassroots level. An exceptional need lies in establishing a district sectoral coordination unit for local development programs to succeed. Capacity building for Women Affairs Office and all the other sectoral bodies is lacking to comprehend on the sensitivity of gender in such vulnerable communities. The solution to all the distress lying in the lives of women in pastoral communities are expansion of education, cultural changes and building law enforcing capacity of the government.

Chapter 7

Conclusion and Recommendation

7.1 Conclusion

The field work was conducted in two villages in Awash District, Afar region of Ethiopia. Based on the primary empirical data collected shows gender inequality is extended largely in the (agro) pastoral societies. Gender bias is extended in such a way that women are easily exploited. The findings illustrate how the women are victims of double deprivation.

After a long-term fieldwork in Awash, it is understood that earlier pastoral communities lived in isolation and adaption to the sedentary life is a slow process. Many development interventions are making efforts to ensure these societies are given opportunities to improve their livelihood. But the lives of women remain underdeveloped. We define women empowerment as improving the social, economic and legal strength of women ensuring they have equal rights with men. Keeping this in mind I have analyzed the socio-economic and socio-cultural status of the women in Awash. According to my findings, women in Aurebeto and Aeva are suffering from the denial of freedom even within their households due to the social structure which positions the men as the head of the society, head of the household, head of every aspect of a women's life. Basically, they have an unequal and inferior status that does not allow them to access to justice within their family itself. It is agreed by the policy makers and developmental agencies that by increasing women's access to education, health, legal rights and economic opportunities will greatly improve the socio-economic role of a women. Through my study it is identified that the social institutions, norms, traditions, customary laws of the (agro) pastoralist determine women's freedom of choice where their access to resources are mediated through men. These kind of existing institutional framework in the society has constrained the decision-making power and the participation of women in both private and public spheres. Therefore, due to lack of decision making power in women the interest of women's participation and leadership is low-lying.

The question about self-empowerment arises when a woman is unable to take control of the very little things she does in her regular life. Her sense of self-worth, self-respect and dignity is invisible because of the social status that is given to her by the society. The study indicates oppression on

women starts from the womb due to the gender stereotypical beliefs constructed in such patriarchal societies. By this, I mean the preference for the male child is strong for the (agro) pastoralist's followed by their customary institution where the ownership entitlement is done through the male line. The reproductive role (child bearing) of women is considered significant only in the case when she is able to give birth to a male child. She is therefore socially recognized from her underclass status. *"We get love from our husband if we give birth to a boy"*. Such gender norms that privilege men's control over women, inhibits the women's ability to make her decisions based on their own fertility preference.

The study also shows the relationship between men to men is stronger which leads in shaping the patriarchal norms. It is clearly notified from the study that traditionally men have the right to discipline their family members. The unequal gender relations and gender stereotypical beliefs have led to unequal division of labour in a society. This makes the dependency of women higher. From the findings of the study shows gender stereotype does not only exist in the elders of the society. Due to the socialization process of the (agro) pastoral societies the gender stereotypes exist among the younger boys and girls where they are driven towards following their traditional roles respectively. They learn from what they see and what they are taught by the family, by the society this is the process of socialization.

The marriage system of the (agro) pastoralist's societies is supported by the customary law. Considering customary law as their legitimate property, young girls are indoctrinated into the morality of marriage which leads them towards maintaining their traditional gender roles constructed in the society. Such socio-cultural factors hindering women's development should be overlooked by the policy makers, government and the development agencies.

As a conclusion my major findings indicate that is the culture and gender stereotypes beliefs in the (agro) pastoral societies has led women to remain vulnerable in all social, economic, political factors required for empowerment. Being a patriarchal society, the gender gap has come from both side. The existing social structure in the society has broadened the gender gaps. Therefore, this concludes there are miles to go in order to reach the goal of gender equality and women empowerment.

7.2 Recommendation

As discussed in the study from the two villages it indicates that there is inequality in political powers of the (agro) pastoral women where access to decision making is low, Inequality within household where access to resources is limited, difference in legal status and entitlements where majority of the men are entitled for the livestock, land and various other assets, gender division of labor within the economy where women are mandated to hold only the household occupation and considered unproductive, discriminatory attitudes which are often grounded in gender stereotypes which has led to early marriage, poor education and poor health. All this combine together which brings in the political, social, economic, cultural, religious factors together for consideration. And all these factors create a chain system which is interrelated to one another. Improvement in one factor follows another which can be seen as a feedback loop for bringing in gender equality and women empowerment.

Based on the results of the study the following strategies and recommendations are forwarded:

Although policies and institutions concerning women's development are in place there remains a huge gap in implementation in the ground.

- a) **Multi Sectoral Coordination Unit and Capacity Building:** There is a special need in coordination that seems weak at district level offices. Gender being such a sensitive topic development is not possible alone. As revealed in the study Women Affairs Offices and other respective offices in the woreda level lacks in proper coordination and collaboration which has led to failure in bringing change in ground. Capacity building and training programs for all the stakeholders for better understanding of the existing gender issues, gender policies and gender programs is highly needed and this will help enhancing gender mainstreaming effectively in the region.
- b) **Effective Complaint committee:** It was reported through the stakeholder meeting conducted with the Women Affairs Office in woreda (district) level about the existence of complaint committee for (agro) pastoral woman in case of any kind of exploitation and discrimination. This type of committee plays a huge role in enhancing women right issues. Women Affairs should keep in mind the restriction on women's movement in the culture. The first step to increasing awareness among women about their existing rights is to reach

out to them. Advocacy in grounds should take place in order make the complaint committees effective.

- c) **Birth and Marriage Registration:** Excess birth and early marriage remains a big barrier in rural areas that exploit the rights of women. Efficient and compulsory registration system should be established by the government in order to control birth and early marriage. The legal age of marriage in Ethiopia is 18 but these laws fail to be implemented in societies that support early marriage by custom if unregistered. Also, the National Population Policy aims to look into important role women play in birth. Until registration is established issues fertility level, employment, education will remain invalid in the country. Registration is a necessity which will help children access services and protects them from rights violations, such as early marriage. ¹¹
- d) **Empowered women can empower women:** a need for the identification and association with local women who are working in this field. These women could be potential gatekeeper for empowering other women in the region. A strategy must be formulated to do it at larger scale. This can be done through expertise sharing¹², identifying women leader and forming women self-help groups, women and girl`s friendly space. Moreover, university students should be involved for dissemination of the gender-related awareness.
- e) **Extensive awareness programs on Harmful Practices:** Culture should not be used as excuse by the community and respective agencies to understand the factors harming women and girls. Extensive awareness programs for family planning, early marriage should be constructed.
- f) **Improving Both Girl`s and Adult Women Education**
- Alternative Basic Education (ABE) - Visible in the study girls and women have very little opportunity for attending school due to their traditional roles and other socio-cultural barriers. (ABE) was launched by the Afar Regional Bureau aimed to accelerate primary school enrolment by making it more accessible and conducive for the pastoral

¹¹ Majority of the respondents in study are unaware of their age.

¹² Success stories from women around them will help them realize the little necessary steps they need to take to empower themselves as empowerment of a women starts from her. There are many achievements made by women in other adjacent areas whose success if delivered will lead to change.

- women. As it provides flexible schooling hours and school year calendar girls can find time for school and fulfill their household responsibilities. ¹³
- **Quality Education-** Huge constraint lies in the quality of education in schools existing in the area. Partnership between various organizations working for quality education will help improving the current school scenario by providing them child friendly space, school uniforms, school bags, proper stationary materials, sports equipment, playground and all basic requirements.
 - **Gendered Budgeting-** Gender and Equity Department aims to mainstream gender in all activities for Education. As it focuses to increase the enrolment of girls in the country it should have a proper gender budget allocated to combat the problems faced by girls which leads to dropout. Mensuration being a huge barrier reported during the study the GoE and the concerned ministries should allocate budget into providing them proper toilet facilities. Male/ Female teachers ratio should also be overlooked by the Government. Scholarship schemes are also highly encouraged to increase enrollment.
 - **Curriculum –** Looking at the skills that exist in the girls in the (agro) pastoral society curriculum like Art and craft and Pottery should be introduced. Putting gender into the curriculum is necessary in societies where gender stereotypes exists throughout the society. Nobody is ever too young to understand gender. ¹⁴
- g) **Training and sensitization campaign for pastoral and agro-pastoral men:** Extensive training and sensitization for men about gender equality, women empowerment, education, health is crucial for development in such patriarchal societies. Awareness in men regarding various issues that creates gender inequality is needed to build the gender gaps existing in the society.
- h) **Livestock Management and Marketing skills (agro) pastoral male and female:** As (agro) pastoral societies define their wealth through the number of cattle they own, excessive number of cattle have kept the pastoralist's youth deprived for which the priority for them lies in spending their time in the pasture rather than in school. Livestock management and marketing skills for both female and men provided will help them have a productive number of cattle. As women have control in milking increasing marketing skills

¹³ Adult literacy also highly recommended.

¹⁴ Activity one mentioned in chapter 3

and training can empower them to work together in groups. It should not be overlooked by the government and development agencies that the markets in awash are mostly established by Amhara population so language remains a huge barrier for pastoralist as majority of them are unable to communicate in Amharic which hinders them from being market-oriented.

i) **Advocacy with the Clan leader and religious leaders:** Clan leaders and religious leaders are placed on top in the social institution of (agro) pastoralists. The whole society follows and respects these people who are considered influential members putting this into consideration extensive awareness about policies and gender issues should start from involving these people who can play the role of mediators and bring change in the community.

j) **Empowering through already existing interventions:**

Improvement in the already existing interventions in the area can help empower women. Such as:

- School employment: Providing opportunities for women to be involved within the school will empower them and their involvement in school activities will help in increasing the significance of education. School feedings schemes can be assigned as duties for the women in the community.
- Traditional birth attendant- External support to train the women of the community to preserve their traditional knowledge and skills should be overlooked by development agencies and government. Majority of the women prefer delivering at home and believe in traditional healing where women call themselves “modern doctors for our children” “Ina-Daila”, Women from the communities can be extensively trained as Traditional Birth Attendant. This may improve the well-being and reproductive health in many ways.
- Saving and Credit Cooperative (SACCO) – Numerical Literacy, proper awareness and training programs for the women to improve their understanding about the benefits and use of saving and credit should be the first priority. This will enhance economic empowerment and income generating activities of women. (*See figure 19*)

- k) **Extensive Agricultural training:** Need of Extensive agriculture trainings should be provided for both women and men in the community. Majority of the MHH have given away their lands to investors due lack in skill and resources. Trainings should including seed saving, farming techniques, usage of modern technology in low cost, crop selection and rotation and marketing. Separate training for women is encouraged.
- l) **Dissemination of law and human rights information**
Dissemination of law and human rights information should be extensively spread across areas where women are deprived from accessing to justice.
- m) **Strengthening and capacity building on already existing skills of women:**
(Agro) Pastoral women have their own skill maintained traditionally. Building houses, making wooden vessels to store milk, jewelry making these skills existing in signify their capacity in handicraft. Capacity building and trainings in handicraft, pottery (such as jute bags, wooden fans, school bags, water pots, garden pots etc.) is encouraged.¹⁵
- n) **Hygiene and Sanitation:** Ethiopia has its own traditional hand wash practice followed by the culture. These cultural values can be enhanced in awareness of Hand Wash Practices for rural areas to change behavior.
Also through my findings from the community mensuration is considered natural for men and women. Interventions should focus on these positive aspects existing in a community. Organizations empowering women through making of sanitary napkins should be considered and communicated with.¹⁶
- o) Convergence of various international and national development organization and central and regional government is very crucial. The international and national organizations should formulate rigorous advocacy strategies with the government at every level.
- p) **Introducing Labour saving technology:** MoRAD aims to introduce labour saving technologies such as improved stoves. These labour saving technologies will help to lessen

¹⁵ -Refer to Activity five mentioned in chapter 3.

-Pastoralists are rich with leather. They have skills to make Afar cultural shoes out of cow skin, same skill can be enhanced through skill development to produce other leather products such as hand bags/school bags and belts for income generation

-With the existing skills of making wooden vessels capacity building and skill development activities to make wooden baskets and jute bags to support efforts of UN Environment to beat plastic pollution can empower women

¹⁶ Sanitary napkins distributed to young girls during interviews

the burden of work for women and also save energy fuel. Involvement of women in making such useful technologies is encouraged.

q) **Mass media:** Use of mass media to increase public awareness.

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Annexure 1

Household Interview Questionnaire

Basic Information

- I. Location
State:
District:
Kebele:
House Identification No/ Name:

- II. Name of Respondent
Age:
Sex: M F
Caste/Clan:
Ethnic Group:
Mobile/Permanent/
Agro-pastoralist/ Pastoralist

- III. Date of Interview:
- IV. Time Started:
- V. Time Finished:

This includes people who share expenses, i.e., cook, sleep and eat together.

- 1. How many people live in your household?
- 2. Details of family members:

Name	Sex	Age (in completed years)	Relation with respondent	Marital status	Education/ literacy level

3. How many family members are earning?

Details:

Name	Agricultural Occupation	Occupation	Nature of occupation	Female Contribution (Monthly)	Male Contribution (Monthly)	Total Monthly income (estimate)

4. How many Women in the household earn an income? (Agriculture, Livestock or others)
5. How many Men in the household earn an income? (Agriculture, Livestock or others)
6. Since when did you start farming?
7. What are the main contribution of Male and female members in farming lands?
8. What are the sources of water for Agriculture?
9. What crops do you grow? How much of the grown crops are for consumption and sale?
10. In case of women participation in agricultural farming how much of the money from the sold product goes to women?
11. Do you participate in farming in other`s land for income?
12. What kind of schemes do government or other institution provide for agricultural farming?
13. Are women farmers given any separate training? Same for the men
14. How much money does the household spend on:

(a) Food (per month)

(b) Fuel (per month)

(c) Health services (per month)

(d) Education (per month)

(f) Transport (per month)

(g) Water (per month)

(i) Other (specify).

Housing Characteristics

1. Who is the head of your household?

Name and relationship to respondent:

- a. Woman
- b. Man
- c. Joint

This does not refer to decisions for daily food budget, but occasional decisions like what to spend the savings on, travel to visit a relative, sending children to school, etc.

- 2. Who has the final word on decisions that concern the household members?

Name and relationship to respondent:

- a. Woman
- b. Man
- c. Joint

This is either the one who contributes the most money to the household expenses, or the one who mainly provides daily needs such as food.

- 3. What is the type of construction materials are used to construct the house?

- 4. Who builds the house?

- 5. How much time does it take to construct the household?

- 6. From where do you get the building resources/ materials?

- 7. Who collects the materials to build the house?

Welfare Indicator

- 1. Does every member of the household have at least three set of clothes?
- 2. Does every member of the household have at least one pair of shoes?
- 3. What is the average number of meals taken by household members per day?
- 4. When the meals are cooked who get to eat first?

- a. Children b. Women c. Men d. All equally

Asset and Ownership:

- 1. How many livestock? Camel___ Cow___ Goat___ Sheep ___ Donkey___
- 2. How do you recognize your herd of cattle?
- 3. How many do men/ women own?
- 4. What other assets in the household?
 - a. Cash b. Mobile c. Radio d. Jewelry e. Dishes f. Others

- b. Do you own any land/property?
- c. What do you know about property rights?

Education

1. Can you read or write?
2. Have you ever attended school?
 - a. Yes
If Yes, till which grade
 - b. No
If No, why?
3. Do all your children attend school?
 - a. Yes
If Yes, till which grade
 - b. No
If No, why?
4. How do you value education?
 - a. High b. Moderate c. Low
5. Do you think education makes life better?
 - a. Yes b. No
If Yes, How?
6. Education is a life changing factor?
 - a. Agree b. Disagree
7. What do you think about girl`s education?
8. Educating girls is equally important as for boys, they should pursue equal education as the boys? Do you agree?
9. If you get a chance to educate yourself at this age would you?
 - a. Yes b. No
10. What is basic source of information in your household/ community?
 - a. Radio b. Newspaper c. Magazine d. Others
11. Do you have any access to news? (News about your area, News about your country)?
If yes, how?
12. Have you attended Madrasa?
 - a. Yes b. No
13. Have you heard about “Right to Education”?
14. Are you satisfied with the school your children attend?
15. What do you want your children to be in future?
 - a. Pastoralist
 - b. Doctor
 - c. Engineer

- d. Agriculturist
- e. Pilot
- f. Accountant
- g. Banker
- h. Teacher
- i. Nurse
- j. Waiter
- k. Sweeper
- l. Driver
- m. Shop keeper
- n. Other (specify)

Marriage

- 1. Are you married? a. Love marriage b. Arrange Marriage
- 2. How many wives?
- 3. At what age did you get married?
- 4. Who took the decision for your marriage?
- 5. Do you know marriage before the age of 18 is against the African Law?
- 6. What are criteria's of marriage for you as a girl/ boy?
- 7. Do you think marriage at early age was a right choice for you?
- 8. Are you aware about Right to Choice and Right to Freedom?
 - a. Yes b. No
- 9. Do you consider early marriage a barrier for you to pursue education?
 - a. Yes b. No
- 10. At what age do you think your son/daughter get married?
- 11. If you had a choice at what age would you prefer to be married?

Health and Sanitation

- 1. "Health is Wealth"
 - a. Agree
 - If Agree, why?
 - b. Disagree
 - If Disagree, why?
- 2. Personal hygiene and cleanliness is an essence to a healthy life.
 - a. Agree b. Disagree
- 3. What type of toilet facility does the household use?
 - a. Private Toilet b. Open Defecation c. Others

4. How many times a day do you brush your teeth?
 - a. Once b. Twice c. More d. Not at all
5. How many times do you take bath?
 - a. Every day b. twice a day c. Once a week d. twice a week e. Others
6. How many times does your child/children take bath?
 - a. Every day b. twice a day c. Once a week d. twice a week e. Others
7. How is the health condition of the HH member?
 - a. Good b. Satisfactory c. Bad
8. What are the common sickness in your household?
9. Is there any acute/chronic disease within the HH?
10. Do you have a health post near your area? If yes how many male/female assistant are present at the health post?
11. For Females: In case of male nurse are you comfortable to share your personal health problems?
12. For Males: In case of male nurse are you comfortable your wife sharing her personal health problems?
13. How often do you visit the health post and for what purpose?
14. Does your economic status keep you away from visiting the Doctor/ Health post/ Hospital?
 - a. Yes b. No c. Sometimes
15. What services do you receive from the health post?
16. Are you satisfied with the service you get from them?
 - a. Satisfied b. Not Satisfied
17. In case of any sickness do you prefer going to:
 - a. Health post b. Traditional healer
18. Where do you prefer to deliver your babies?
 - a. Health post b. Home
19. Are you aware about Health Extension worker?
 - a. Yes

If yes how often does he/she visit your community and what services does she provide?
 - b. No
20. For Females: How do you define your monthly cycle (Menstruation)?
 - a. Natural b. Painful c. Disgusting d. Others
21. For Males: Are you aware about the monthly cycle (Menstruation) of a women?
 - a. Yes b. No

What do you think about it?

 - a. Natural b. Disgusting c. Painful d. Others
22. What do you use during your monthly cycle?

- a. Cloth b. Sanitary Napkins
- 23. Are you aware about Sanitary Napkins used during monthly cycle?
 - a. Yes b. No

Access, Resource and Control

1. What energy sources are available for the household?
2. If you must fetch fuel for cooking, who fetches it?
3. Who is responsible for fetching water for the household?
4. How much water does your household require per day?
5. For what purpose do you use the water fetched from the water point?
 - a. Cooking b. Cleaning c. Washing d. Drinking e. Others
6. Who is responsible for the use of water fetched?
 - a. Female b. Male
7. Who has control over the income of the household? (Where to use, for what to use, Misc. expense)
 - a. Female b. Male c. Joint
8. Do you have any saving?
 - a. Yes b. No
9. Do you have the cultural of borrowing cash? If yes, from whom, under what condition?
10. Are you aware of SACCO by PCDDP (Saving and Credit Cooperative)?
 - a. Yes b. No
11. How often do you visit the market?
 - a. Everyday b. Once a week c. Twice a week d. Others
12. Who visits the market?
 - a. Female b. Male
13. How far is the market from the kebele?
14. How do you travel to the market?

15. Do you need permission by male/female before leaving the household? (Market, Relatives etc.)

Leadership, Participation and Decision Making

1. Do you talk to your husband before you buy?
 - a. Clothing for yourself. Yes No
 - b. Clothing for the children. Yes No
 - c. Food items. Yes No
 - d. Any other items for household Yes No

2. Does your husband help with child care? (Putting them to bed, playing with them, helping them with homework etc.)
 - a. Yes b. No c. Sometimes

3. Does your husband help with any housework?
 - a. Yes b. No c. Sometimes

4. Who makes the overall decision for the household?
 - a. Female b. Male c. Joint
5. For Males: Do you think all the decisions taken by you are always correct?
 - a. Yes b. No

6. Do you have the right to take decisions in family matters?

7. Do you have the right to take decision for your child`s education, health, marriage?

8. Do you attend any meetings in the community?
 - a. Yes b. No

9. Are there any women leaders in your community?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

If no, do you think it is necessary to have a women leader for a community?

10. Who has the final decision over child bearing/ Family Planning?
 - a. Female b. Male c. Joint

- b. Do you agree a small family is a happy family?
 - a. Agree b. Disagree
 - If Agree why?
 - If Disagree why?
- 11. Is there any women group in the community?
- 12. Are you a part of any women group?
- 13. How do you select your clan leader for your community?
- 14. Who are the group of people that make up this community?
- 15. How do you participate in local decision making process?
- 16. Would you like to become more active in decision making process?
- 17. What supporting programs has been provided to girls/women from any other organization?
- 18. In case of any violence against women, is there any complain commity?
- 19. Excluding the time you are asleep, how many minutes of leisure (free) time (time for yourself) do you have each day?
- 20. How many minutes of leisure does the man (the men) in your household enjoy each day?
- 21. Do you have any official citizenship as an Ethiopian?
- 22. Do you vote in local or community election?
- 23. Do you vote in Municipal election?
- 24. What are your future concerns for you and your family?
- 25. What are your hopes for the future?
- 26. What are the five major problems in your household/ community that you wish improved?
- 27. What are the five great things about you?
- 28. What are the five best traditional practices/activities in your community that you wish to promote?

29. What are the five least best traditional practices/ activities in your community that does not entertain you?

Migration

1. How many times have you migrated to another place?
2. In case of migration (Mobile tribes): How do you access to resources (Health, Education) when you migrate to other areas for grazing and water? Traditional
3. Do your children migrate with you during dry season? If yes, how to they manage to attend school?
4. Who takes care of the agricultural farming when you migrate?
5. How happy are you as a pastoralist?
 - a. Very happy
 - b. Happy
 - c. Satisfied
 - d. unsatisfied

Gender related:

1. What would the world be like without women?
2. Who talks more, men or women?
3. Should boys and girls be brought up differently?
4. What things can men do that women cannot, or vice versa?
5. Do men or women have easier lives?
6. Are there different expectations for sons and daughters?
7. Who is more successful in business, men or women?

8. How do you think women are treated in the following area:

Fairly Unfairly

Employment
Health
Education

Agree Disagree

Women are supposed to cook and do housework only

Women are as intelligent as men

Girls are as intelligent as boys

Women should only take care of the household and the family

A man should make a decision and a women should obey

Women are better at raising children

Women are not as strong as men

Women are not physically capable of carrying heavy objects

Women are supposed to make less money than men

Men do not do housework and they are not responsible for taking care of children

Men should earn more money than women

Men should always be on top

Men and women are equal

Men are better leaders than women

Men have more power over women

Women are only good for cooking and cleaning

Girls are not smarter than boys

Girls should not have the same freedom as boys

Girls should be more concerned with becoming good wives and mothers rather than desiring a professional or business career

More encouragement in a family should be given to sons than daughters to go to school

It is ok for a man to shout at his wife if she is not treating him with respect

It is ok for a women to shout at her husband if he is not treating her with respect

Gender Roles:

1. What are your roles in the household?

The action or fact of maintain or supporting oneself

-Productive Role (for income etc.)

Shop or any other income generation activities (Jewelry etc)

- Reproductive Role (Child rearing, cooking, washing, cleaning, building shelter etc.)

2. As women have heavy workload at household level, how do you manage time for farming?

Gender Responsibilities:

1. What are your main responsibilities/Duty for the household as a Father/Mother?
2. Do you think only a mother is responsible for nurturing their children?

Gender Relation:

1. What kind of relation do you and your spouse (Husband/Wife) hold?
 - a. Very good. b. Good. c. Satisfactory
2. How much time/alone do you spend with each other?
3. How often do you argue (fight) with your spouse? What may be the reasons for argument?
4. When you were young who were you close to?
 - a. Mother b. Father c. Sister d. Brother?

Annexure 2

Gender Analysis Matrix

GAM: Impact of Water Facilities in Aurebeto and Aeva

	Labour	Time	Resource	Culture
Women	+Work burden from collecting water reduced by 80%	+Saves time +More time to perform other HH activities + More time for children	+Easily Accessible + Near to reach	-No change in gender role
Men	+Do not have to walk in search over river for bath	+ Save time	+ Enough water to take bath by the pump	-Women`s responsibility
Household	+Women`s Security	+ Women can give more time for child care	+ Enough water for drinking, cooking, cleaning.	- Daughters can easily help mothers in collecting water
Community	+Learnt about benefits about such services	+No problem of Thirst	+ Water available for all	+No restriction for any one. +Facility for everybody

Annexure 3

“*Dubnek-Weima Madah*” The customary principles are on the basis of crime made by 4 parts of the body of an individual mentioned in the table below followed by the punishments sanctioned.

Reproductive organs (Sexual Harassment)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Rape 1. Pregnancy 2. Suspect
Tongue (Verbal Harassment)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lying 2. Scolding 3. Wrong accusation 4. Creating conflict between other two
Legs (Physical Harassment)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Kicking
Hands (Physical Harassment)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Killing 2. Boxing 3. Stealing property 4. Destroying property
Crime	Punishment
1. Loss of life	Killing male: 101 cows Killing female: 150 cows (because they give birth)
2. Wound	Scratch/scare- 2 cows Cuts two hands: 50 cows Cuts two legs: 50 cow
3. Weapon	Aiming with gun: 55 cows Preparing gunshot without aiming: 14 cows Witness denial- 2 cows Take one bullet from others: 12 cows Take away someone`s knife: 12 cows Take away someone`s stick- 12 cows
4. Intercourse	Rape- 12 cows Suspension- 6 cows (only men are allowed to suspect and the one with whom the wife has been suspected has to pay the cows) Pregnancy: 12 cows to the original absuma 4 cows for mistake if it is the same absuma who got her pregnant.
5. Cattles	1 camel stolen: 1 cow + 1 camel 1 cow stolen: 7 cows 1 goat: 1 cow + 1 goat 1 sheep: 1 cow + 1 sheep Donkey: 1 cow+ 1 donkey
6. Language	Verbal abuse: 3 cows

