

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
COLLEGE OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

**Gender and Agricultural Production in
Ethiopia: *The Case of Gozamen Woreda, Amhara Region***



By

Anteneh Bassazene

July, 2008

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A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Addis Ababa
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Advisor: Yigremew Adal (Asst. Prof)

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Title

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DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

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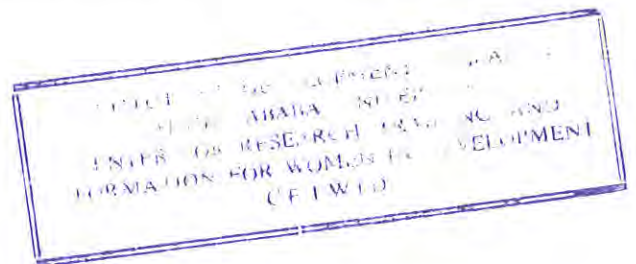


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Acronyms

ACSI-----	Amhara Credit and Saving Institution
ADB-----	Asian Development Bank
ANRS-----	Amhara National Regional State
ARDB-----	Agricultural and Rural Development Bureau
BoFED-----	Bureau of Finance and Economic Development
CSA-----	Central Statistical Agency
E.C-----	Ethiopian Calendar
EPRDF-----	Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front
EPLAUB-----	Environmental Protection, Land Administration and Use Bureau
FAO-----	Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations
FDRE-----	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
GDP-----	Gross Domestic Product
GDRC-----	Global Development Research Centre
GRF-----	Gender Roles Framework
ILO-----	International Labour Organization of the United Nations
OSSREA-----	Organization FOR Social Science Research for Eastern and Southern Africa
PAs-----	Peasant Associations
SNNPRS-----	Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State
SSA-----	Sub-Saharan Africa
USAID-----	United States Agency for International Development
WAO-----	Women's Affairs Office
WID-----	Women in Development

Glossary

Akumada-----a sack like container made from skin of cattle used for transporting grains

Araki-----a local alcoholic drink

Awedema-----a threshing field

Beray-----crop threshing activity

Debo-----a festive group labour to carry out certain agricultural tasks

Gauda-----backroom

Gulgualo-----preparation of the land after ploughing

Kolella-----small basket usually made up of bamboo that women use it for carrying
grains and other marketable goods to the market place

Tella-----a local bear

Timad-----a local unit of measurement for farmland which can be ploughed by a pair of
oxen in a day. One timad is equivalent to 0.25 hectare

Abstract

Since recently, gender issues have drawn the attention of many scholars. As a result, there is an increasing interest to assess and investigate women's place and role in society with the aim of devising a sound solution to the problems they encounter. The major objective of this study is to closely examine the contribution of wives in agricultural production and their access to and control over resources vis-à-vis their husbands in Gozamen woreda.

To achieve the stated objective, a cross-sectional survey design was employed with a mixed approach of data collection and analysis. Both primary and secondary data were collected. These included both quantitative and qualitative data and information. The study employed a multi-stage sampling method to select sample kebeles and households. Since the woreda is naturally stratified into three agro-ecological zones, one kebele was purposively selected from each agro-ecology. Then, households having married couples were targeted for the study. To this end, 5% of sample households having married couples were drawn from each kebele. Accordingly, 37, 57 and 22 (a total of 116) households were selected from Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa, and Dessa Enesie kebeles, respectively through systematic random sampling technique. Survey questionnaire, key informant interview, FGDs and observation were major tools to collect primary data. Books, theses, journals, official documents and credible internet sources were also major sources of secondary data.

By using the methodology described above, intra-household dynamics in gender division of labour and gender differential access to and control over resources were examined. The division of labour in domestic spheres is found to be rigid in most of household provisioning tasks while, in productive spheres, there found to be greater flexibility in sharing tasks. Nevertheless, rigid gender division of labour was found in some farm tasks like ploughing, sowing and applying fertilizer. Moreover, wives' direct involvement in cutting and threshing was reported to be minimal. Their domestic work load, cultural norms and beliefs and women's perception of themselves as "physically weak" were the major factors influencing them from involving in some farm activities. As far as access to and control over resources is concerned, the study found out that although land is presumably jointly owned by spouses, making decisions on how to use this critical resource is dominated by husbands. Wives' access to and control over other resources considered in this study (like agricultural extension and credit services) was found to be minimal as compared to their spouses.

In spite of their significant contribution, wives in the study area are not seen as farmers or at least not active farmers. The gender division of labour and the differential access to and control over resources are inversely related in the sense that women contribute more labour but enjoy less privilege in access to and control over resources vis-à-vis their husbands.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Various socio-economic activities performed by people are characterized by a certain kind of division of labour, among which the gender dimension is more apparent. In the process of social and economic development, people specialize in particular tasks and hence it is socially accepted that there are men's tasks and women's tasks (Yaekob, 1999). Although societies divide these activities to sexes differ from one culture to another and from time to time, a gender division of labour exists in all societies (Melese, 1994).

Such division of labour is perceived to be 'natural' because it has not shown any change for generations (Boserup, 1970). According to Boserup (1970), in many societies, "...the traditional division of labour... is usually considered natural in the sense of being obviously and originally imposed by the sex differences in itself." Moreover, it has been believed for so long that any attempt to change or modify the defined gender division of labour is regarded as "inducing an upset into the accepted natural order" (Addis, 1990 cited in Yaekob, 1999).

It has been observed that women, like men make major contributions in economic, social and political development. As far as women's economic role is concerned, their agricultural contribution comes at the forefront (Boserup, 1970). Although women's contribution is critical, there is a general tendency of obscurity and inadequate recognition of their roles. This is mainly due to the wrong assumption that 'what would benefit one section of society (in most cases men) will be trickled-down to other section of society (in this case women)'. Due to this generalization, the role of women in productive activities is unusually recognized and remunerated for long (Sintayehu, 2003). This had led rural women to have a limited access to and control over resources (notably land, capital, agricultural inputs, credit and extension services). As a result they are placed at the bottom stratum of society. What is more, in patriarchal societies, there is a traditional perception which greatly affects their place in society and economy (Charlton, 1984).

Historically, the backbone of Ethiopia's economy like many other developing countries is the agricultural sector, which absorbs significant labour force out of which women make almost half. It is documented in many literatures that, Ethiopian rural women play a significant role in crop and livestock production in addition to their reproductive and community roles. However their relative access to and control over resources is limited vis-à-vis men. This is believed to contribute its part to the sector's low performance (Yaekob, 1999).

In recognition to the above fact, gender issues, especially the case of gender and agricultural production, have drawn the attention of a good deal of academicians, development planners and practitioners. As a result, there is an increasing interest to assess and investigate women's place in society with the aim of devising a sound solution to the problems they encounter. This study, therefore seeks to assess the contributions of women in agricultural production, gender differences in access to and control over resources, and the factors influencing the gender division of labour and gender differential in access to and control over resources in Gozamen woreda. In doing so, there are different gender analysis tools and techniques to make women visible in development interventions. A thorough gender analysis is a critical starting point for any program/project that aims to be more gender sensitive.

Gender analysis is a tool to better understand the realities of women and men, girls and boys. It aims to uncover the dynamics of gender differences across a variety of issues. These, principally include gender issues with respect to activities (gender division of labour), access to and control over resources, and those factors that influence gender division of labour and gender differential in access to and control over resources. This is done in order to identify the developmental needs of women and men (GDRC, 2002). Several gender analysis frameworks exist today. For the purpose of the present study, however, the Harvard Analytical Framework or also called the Gender Roles Framework (GRF) is used. Its detail is presented in the literature review section of the paper.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

It is widely demonstrated that rural women as wives, as well as men are engaged in a range of activities essential to household welfare, agricultural production and economic growth. Yet, their substantial contribution continues to be systematically marginalized and undervalued in

conventional agricultural and economic analysis while men's contribution remains the central, often the sole, focus of attention (Jiggins, et al, 2000). This may be due to the age-old assumption that "men are the farmers and women play only a supportive role as farmers' wives" (Williams, et al, 1995). However, it is a plain fact that almost half of rural farmers are women in almost all agrarian societies making significant contributions in agricultural production. Therefore, the incorporation of gender as an analytical variable in economic development in general and agricultural development equation in particular is becoming a necessity (Feidstein and Poats, 1989).

Ethiopian rural women are making a significant contribution to agricultural production and to ensuring food security. According to one study, about 87% of women in Ethiopia are engaged in agriculture, contributing about 50% of income based on subsistence agriculture (Zenebe, 2005). Moreover, according to a study done by the Ministry of Agriculture (1992), women are responsible for about 40% of all agricultural labour in Ethiopia (cited in Frank, 1999).

In Amhara region and in many other parts of Ethiopia, agricultural production can be characterized by labour-intensive and utilizing little, if any modern technology (Frank, 1999). In this case, the household labour in general and women's labour in particular becomes important. It is documented that Ethiopian rural women spend longer hours in productive and reproductive tasks. In Amhara region, they spend between 14-17 hours per day in the unremunerated, tiresome domestic chores and productive activities (ANRS, 2005). Despite this fact, however, their role in agricultural production is invisible. In addition they have been subjected to various forms of gender-based discrimination which in many ways have had impact on economic, political and social status of women in the country.

One of the major forces that reduces and jeopardizes women's involvement in agricultural production is the cultural norms and beliefs of the society concerned that have worked against women. Their role is usually considered as a wifely duty and taken as secondary. Their limited access to and control over key factors of production is the other major cause. Ethiopian rural women often face difficulties than men in gaining access to and control over resources due to various reasons although it is culture-and time-specific. The extent of these cultural and material discriminations against women in the study area and its implication should be identified and examined.

Given women limited access to and control over resources and the various obstacles preventing them from benefiting from the fruits of their labour, it can be estimated that the majority of the 27 million people living in chronic poverty in Ethiopia are rural women (FDRE, 2001). In Amhara region, it is estimated that 33% to 47% of the people is living in absolute poverty, out of which the majorities are expected to be rural women (ANRS, 2005). Their poverty is related to their limited access to and control over resources. Although there have been efforts to ensure women's access to key factors of production in agricultural development policies and programs, the issue becomes not only a question of whether rural women have access to key inputs, but whether they have control over resources and benefits.

As a result, gender has proved to be the most useful category to disaggregate the farm household and analyze intra-household behavior in decision making (Feidstein and Poats, 1989). It is also a point of entry to understanding intra-household relationships and decision making and to recognizing where intra-household relationships have an important bearing on farmers' decisions and activities (Ibid). Knowing this dynamism is a key in undertaking any development intervention. This provides a basis to make locality specific gender analysis. However, in planning for and implementing agricultural development interventions, the household is generally taken as a unit of analysis and male heads of households as the principal decision makers and the sources of information. The roles of household members other than male heads are frequently ignored (Ibid). This has its own implication for the sector's performance.

Moreover, many literatures on gender and agricultural production focus on women in female headed households and treat them in relation to men in male headed households. Almost all of the above facts about rural women apply to women in female headed households. The situation of women (wives) in male headed households is not adequately addressed. This study, therefore attempts to fill this gap by describing the ranges of activities undertaken by wives as well as husbands, and examining the nature of the division of labour in the agricultural production and wives access to and control over key factors of production vis-à-vis their spouses specifically in three selected rural kebeles of Gozamen woreda so as to make the role of these groups of women visible. In doing so, the study sought to address the following major research questions:

1. What are the ranges of household maintenance and agricultural activities undertaken by wives, as well as their spouses? What is the nature of the gender division of labour in these spheres?
2. What is the nature of the gender differential in access to and control over resources?
3. What factors do influence wives from participating in some agricultural activities and what determines the gender division of labour in the agricultural production?
4. What is the implication of this gender division of labour and the gender differential in access to and control over resources to any agricultural development intervention?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 General Objective

The general objective of the study is to assess the contributions of wives in agricultural production and their access to and control over resources vis-à-vis their husbands.

1.3.2 Specific Objective

The present study has the following specific objectives

- Describing the ranges of activities performed by wives, as well as their spouses (the gender division of labour) in the domestic and agricultural production spheres.
- Assessing the gender differences in access to and control over productive resources.
- Explaining the factors that influence gender division of labour in agricultural production and the gender differential in access to and control over resources.

1.4 Significance of the Study

Until the last few decades, it can be said that the issue of women in general and their position in and contribution to society in particular had deserved very little attention (Regassa, 2000). Since in very recent decades, gender issues have been articulated by many academicians, development planners and practitioners. The present study will, therefore contribute to the theoretical and empirical body of knowledge available on gender and agricultural production.

It is known that agricultural development interventions affect women and men in different ways. Nonetheless, many development planners and practitioners have often failed to consider women's contribution to the agricultural sector. This is mainly due to lack of data. In almost all agrarian societies, accurate information on women's role in agricultural production is sketchy at best (Sachs, 1996). Only by the collection and analysis of gender disaggregated data will development strategies target women as active and equal partners in agricultural development. In Ethiopia in general and in the Amhara region in particular, the contribution of women in the sector is not systematically studied. This study, therefore, hopes to fill this gap in the woreda in particular and in the region in general.

It is also important to note that women and men have different activities and different levels of access to and control over key factors of production in the farm households. This study tried to generate baseline information on issues related to women's activities, their relative access to and control over resources, and the factors influencing their activities in the sector to those who are interested to undertake any development intervention aiming at promoting women's contributions in the sector in the woreda. The study also seeks to contribute to the better understanding of gender relations and gender roles in agricultural production. Moreover, it will serve as a springboard for further research on the issue.

1.5 Scope and Limitation of the Study

It is known that there are different groups of women on the basis of their marriage status. Although all of these categories of women deserve attention, this study however limits itself to women in male headed households and threats them in relation to their spouses. In doing so, the role of wives in the agricultural production, their access to resources vis-à-vis their spouses and the factors that affect their participation in farm activities were examined.

Furthermore, most studies on gender and agricultural production in agrarian societies often mention the potential role of marriage patterns in shaping the gender division of labour in agricultural production. This is also true in many parts of Ethiopia where there is a system of polygamy (in both cases polyandry and polygyny). This particular study recognizes the interface between marriage patterns and gender roles in agricultural production. However,

due to the fact that the study area is characterized wholly by a monogamous marriage pattern the study does not dwell on this issue.

In principle, productive resources may be broadly defined to include not only material and financial means of production (land, labour, capital, farm inputs, services like extension and credit) but also social relations and knowledge which may be employed in the processes of production. Nevertheless, the study gives full emphasis to these material means of production particularly land, farm inputs (chemical fertilizers, selected seeds and pesticides), extension services and credit.

In conducting this study, some challenges were faced. In some systematically selected farm households, either the husband or the wife or both were not available at the time of data collection. Data collectors, therefore had been forced to give appointment and come back to interview them as the data need to be gathered from spouses. This incident took much time than expected. In addition, lack of transportation facility in one selected kebele also took much time during data collection. The other challenge was the difficulty to get literature on the nature of the issue under consideration in the study area. This gap was off-setted by relaying on key informants.

1.6 Organization of the Paper

The study is organized in to six chapters. The first chapter is an introductory chapter that encompasses the background, statement of the problem, objectives, the significance, and limitation and scope of the study. Chapter two has the literature review part of the paper. It also includes brief discussion of the analytical framework used in the study. The methodology used in the study is elaborated in chapter three. Chapter four provides basic facts and figures about the study area. Findings and discussions of the paper are included in chapter five. This chapter includes issues like the labour force in the farm households, the activity profile of wives and husbands in both domestic and productive spheres and factors affecting wives to undertake certain productive activities, and the gender differential in relative access to and control over resources. Factors influencing women's access to and control over resources are also examined in this particular chapter. The study reserves the final chapter for summary and conclusion.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Definition of Key Terms and Concepts

The following terms and concepts are frequently used throughout this paper. They are defined in such a way that they can convey the intended message.

Access to resources: refers to the freedom or permission to use the resource, perhaps with some decision making once access is obtained (Feidstein and Poats, 1989).

Control over resources and benefits: implies the power to decide whether and how a resource is used, how it is to be allocated and share the benefits (Ibid).

Resource: are those key factors of production in the agricultural production including land, farm inputs (like fertilizer, selected seeds, and pesticides), and services like credit and agricultural extension.

Gender Analysis: refers to a multitude of methods and approaches that look into the roles and relationships between women and men, and their access to and control over resources (Zenebe, 2005).

Gender division of labour: means an overall societal pattern where women are allotted one set of gender roles and men are allotted another set (FDRE, 2001).

2.2 The Concept of Gender, Gender Roles and Gender Relations

Gender has been defined in a variety of ways, both in research and among the general public. Gender involves men as much as it does women. It is more than the differences between women and men, and the term means different things to different people. Early definitions of gender were given to distinguish social and biological aspects of the differences between women and men (Ishengoma, 2005). However, these early writings emphasized the differences between gender and sex. Barbara Rogers, for instance explained that sex is a physical distinction between male and female while gender is a social difference between men and women (Rogers, 1980). This concept also refers to those aspects that are shaped by

social forces or to the meaning that a society gives to biological differences (Ishengoma, 2005). In viewing gender in terms of gender division of labour, Rogers stated that “[i]n taking the division of labour between men and women in different societies we are taking almost exclusively of gender roles rather than sex roles [which is] determined by cultural rather than biology” (Rogers, 1980). To strengthen this argument, Ellis (1980) as quoted by Regassa (2000) states that,

...it is misleading to refer to the division of labour between women and men as the ‘the sexual division of labour’ with its overtones of causation by the biological differences between the sexes. An alternative [and best way of expressing it] is to refer to the gender division of labour.

Almaz (1991) also argues that “[t]he socially learned pattern of behavior that differentiate men from women in a given society are referred to as one’s gender roles. Gender is then a learned behavior, usually related to one’s sex; but sex status does not necessarily determine gender role.” These assertions are recognitions that division of labour between the two sexes is socially, not biologically determined. As a social construct it is subject to change. The cross-cultural variations in the gender division of labour reveal this fact.

Gender is a social relation. This aspect of gender is best explained by Elson. She stated that “[g]ender relations are the socially determined relations that differentiate male and female situation. ...Gender relations refer to the gender dimension of the social relations structuring the lives of men and women, such as the gender division of labour and the gender differential access to and control over resources” (Elson, 1995). Gender relations, argues Elson are women’s roles in relation to those of men (and vice versa), rather than women’s or men’s roles separately. Gender is central to the way a society is organized. When we speak of gender, we are concerned with social relations between women and men. It governs relationships. In other words being a woman or a man results from socialization. Like the family, religion, race and other social institutions, gender affects the roles men and women play in a society. Gender also establishes patterns of behavior through interaction with other institutions. It also functions in a similar manner to organize society (Ishengoma, 2005).

Gender involves differences in power. Gender orders social relationships in such a way that some individuals have greater power than do others. It is because of this power differential between women and men, in every society the roles women and men assume accord women

fewer opportunities and privileges (Ibid). One form of expression of this power is the power that manifest in to a body of customs, beliefs and social practices that are accepted without question (Shortall, 1999). The different norms, values and rules dictate women and men to behave, act and enjoy in certain ways in their day to day life. These are strong powers that maintain the power relations that existed in a given society. This power relation exhibits itself in the division of labour and the differential access to and control over resources between women and men (Workwoha, et al, 2004)

Gender is a cultural construct. Gender is organized differently in different societies. Accordingly, the expectations for women and men vary throughout the world (Ishengoma, 2005). These differences are perhaps most clearly illustrated in inter-cultural comparisons of what is considered male and female work.

Some conceptualizations of gender implicitly argue that gender roles are stable. However according to Moore, although the relations between men and women are socially constructed, it cannot be assumed to be fixed and predetermined (cited in Regassa, 2000). Gender roles are dynamic and ever changing. They can be changed over time with changes in various factors.

2.3 Gender Division of Labour in Agricultural Production

We know that in every society, women and men do different things, have access to different resources and benefits and have different responsibilities. Such differences are rooted in social organizations and are supported by cultural beliefs and values (Feidstein and Poats, 1989). However, despite the persistence of such beliefs about what people do or should do, these roles are in flux and often differ quite markedly across cultures, space and time.

Like in other economic activities, there is gender division of labour in agricultural production although the pattern of this division varies across time and space. Ester Boserup (1970) is considered to be the pioneer in attempting to associate variations in gender roles in agricultural production with the level of population density and the agricultural technology being used. According to her, in sparsely populated regions like Africa, there is hoe cultivation where women do play a dominant role. She goes on arguing that, in regions of

high population density like Asia there is plough cultivation where men do much of the agricultural tasks. Nevertheless, her assertion that “Africa is the region of female farming par excellence” is severely refuted by several empirical findings. While both sexes participate, though not always equally, in agricultural production and reproduction, the bearing and nurturing of children and other tasks associated with nurturing family and community are predominantly the responsibility of women in many African societies (Davison, 1988). Consequently, women, in contrast to men often have a dual labour burden.

Recognition that male and female responsibility for production and reproduction tasks in farming vary from one society to another has encouraged the understanding that such activities are socially defined, not sexually determined (Feidstein and Poats, 1989). As a social construct, gender roles are mutable and responsive to other changes (Sintayehu, 2003).

In early writings of gender related roles, it was wrongly suggested that the pattern of gender roles in African agricultural production were rigid (Ibid). However, it was documented that gender-based division of labour is subjected to change through time due to various factors. The introduction of cash crop production and ploughing, the application of modern agricultural inputs, and the abolition of the customary land tenure system are some of these factors that can change the traditional gender-based division of labour in agricultural production (Sintayehu, 2003; Dejene, 1995; Yaekob, 1999; Boserup, 1970; and Getaneh, 2004). The introduction of cash crop production, for example has attracted men in to the commercial agriculture as a result women relegated to domestic chores and subsistence farming (Sintayehu, 2003) although there are some writers who argue that this has not happened in some societies. Hence, the boundary between gender specific tasks in economic in general and in agricultural production in particular can get blurred. Tasks previously performed by men alone can be well accomplished by women and vice versa.

Yigremew (2001) associated the division of labour with the unequal ranking and rewarding of tasks as performed by the different gender categories. This results, he argues, in power inequality. Moreover, Huntington observes that in many African societies “[m]en have power and control over the fruits of women’s labour because tradition gives men a position of authority over women. ...Men get their wealth, their livelihood and their leisure from women’s labour” (cited in Overholt, et al, 1991).

The socio-economic structure of rural Ethiopia is characterized by having a division of labour marked by a traditional line where certain jobs are reserved for men and some others for women (Yaekob, 1999). According to Yigremew (2001), “the gender division of labour in the grain producing highlands of Ethiopia is similar to Boserup’s “plough cultivation” where men assisted by draught animals, use the main farming implement, the plow, while only the manual operations are left to women.”

2.4 The Role of Women in Agricultural Production

Ancient history of human civilization has revealed that women were the first agriculturalists who discovered the means of planting crops in the homestead (Deri, 1989; cited in Yaekob, 1999). This traditional responsibility has remained so for generations and women still undertake various agricultural activities in many agrarian countries (Yaekob, 1999). In light of this fact, many literatures have begun to explain the dominant role of women in the sector. Easter Boserup (1970) was the first who tried to make the contribution of women visible. Although many writers have criticized Boserup’s thesis that ‘Africa is the region of female farming par excellence’, they have not ignored the fundamental premise that women’s labour is central to African agriculture (Tiruwork, 1998).

High level of rural poverty with a fragile agro-ecological environment makes the contributions of women’s productive activities to the household and the community a crucial element in the survival of the rural population (World Bank, 1995). Some statistics indicate that women account for 70 per cent of household food production in Sub-Saharan Africa, 65 per cent in Asia, and 45 per cent in Latin America and the Caribbean (Brown, et al, 1995). Data from UNECA (1996) also indicates that women in SSA are responsible for 70-80 per cent of food production, 50 per cent of livestock raising and 60 per cent of marketing (cited in Yaekob, 1999). Constituting almost half of the total population in almost all societies, women’s contribution in socio-economic life is far more significant than what has traditionally been acknowledged (Nahusenay, 2004). They play reproductive, productive and community roles which have critical importance to sustain societal life.

According to the study undertaken by FAO (1985) in different regions of the developing world, the role of women in agriculture was found to be much significant although has

remained unremunerated. In Asia, for example it is recognized that women provided much of the labour for the production of the staple crop, rice. An in-depth study in Nepal, for instance indicated that women perform 66 per cent of the labour involved in planting, 75 per cent of that required for weeding and all of the cleaning and the storage of rice (FAO, 1985). The study in Nepal further noted that in the production of wheat, women constitute 66 per cent of the work, for maize 94 per cent, for oil seeds 85 per cent, and for millet 94 per cent (Ibid). In Pakistan, 50 per cent of women were involved in wheat production, hoeing and harvesting; up to 85 per cent in threshing and 95 per cent of cleaning the garden (Ibid). This study, moreover estimated that in Peru and Chile, women's agricultural contribution can reach up to 21 and 10.4 per cent respectively (Ibid). The study confirmed that in some African countries women are active in ploughing as it is illustrated in Swaziland that 59 per cent of the ploughing is undertaken by women (Ibid).

Nonetheless, it is culturally assumed in most agrarian societies that "...men are involved in production activities and women are responsible for domestic works. Due to this categorical generalization and other factors, the role of women in productive activities is usually unrecognized" (Sintayehu, 2003). According to Mead, there is a predominant belief that "men bring food and women prepare it" (cited in Boserup, 1970). This belief has commonly been used to describe the role of women and also men in many agrarian societies including Ethiopia. However, this assertion ignores the role of women in production. For Boserup (1970), "...the surmise that the provision of food is men's prerogative is unwarranted."

Historically, agriculture is the mainstay of the Ethiopian economy serving as a source of food, employment, foreign exchange and raw material for industries. It accounts the lion share of the country's GDP and absorbs the largest labour force. The 1994 national census has shown that out of the total population, about 85 per cent are rural people who depend on the agricultural sector in one way or another for their livelihood (CSA, 2005). 47.7 per cent of the total population is a female population, out of which 43.2 per cent is economically active. Out of this economically active population, 88 per cent is a rural labour force (Ibid).

Ethiopian rural women, like their counterparts in many developing countries make significant contribution to agriculture and to ensuring food security. The agricultural sector in the country is largely based on plough cultivation with the exception of some areas where there is

hoe cultivation. The rain-fed Ethiopian agriculture is based on a large scale use of household labour (Dejene, 1995), and hence women's contribution is vital for agricultural production. In addition to carry out reproductive and community roles, rural women participate actively in wide ranges of agricultural tasks in different ways.

It is noted that over 50-80 per cent of the labour force required in crops and livestock production as well as environmental rehabilitation is provided by women farmers in rural Ethiopia (Alemayehu, 2001). A survey result in three regions of the country revealed that, the time and labour input of female farmers in crop production is found to be 50, 52 and 34 per cent in Amhara, Tigray and SNNPR respectively (Wudenesh, 2003). In addition, their role in livestock production is reportedly 48, 52 and 77 per cent respectively in these regions (Ibid).

Ethiopian rural women are actively involved in various farm activities such as seed cleaning, land preparation, sowing/planting, weeding, applying manure, hoeing, scaring of birds, harvesting, preparation of threshing ground, collection and pilling, winnowing, transporting and storage (Alemayehu, 2003). Nevertheless, the level and type of women involvement in the sector varies from place to place. In areas of plough cultivation, for example there is a cultural taboo against women ploughing and sowing (Dessalegn, 1991) although Frank (1999) observes that in some areas of Amhara Region, women were seen ploughing.

According to the study conducted by Poluha (1980), in two woredas (Dangila in Gojjam and Dodota in Arisi), out of the ten identified farm activities (land preparation, ploughing, sowing, weeding, manuring, cutting, threshing, collecting, transporting and grain storing), more than 60 per cent of the sampled women are substantially involved in seven of them (cited in Yaekob, 1999). The same study also revealed that some women performed ploughing and sowing which are traditionally taken as male tasks (Ibid).

Moreover, women's participation in agricultural production differs in different agro-ecological zones. A study conducted by Yaekob (1999) in Arba Minch Zuria Woreda, for example found out that there is a general tendency of men dominance in the majority of crop production activities in 'kolla' areas, while women's participation increases as one goes towards 'woyina dega' and 'dega' areas. Variations in socio-economic activities also determine women's involvement in agricultural production. In Dorze of the Gamo highland

communities, for instance men dominate weaving, while women dominate farm activities (Getaneh, 2004). In agro-pastoralist societies like Tsemako, women are the dominant actors in agriculture while men are preoccupied with herding of cattle (Melesse, 1994). Dessalegn (1991) observes in his comparative study of rural women in Wollo and Wolayita that women in Wollo undertook all tasks with the exception of ploughing and sowing while the participation of women in farming is very limited in Wolayita.

In the Ethiopian mixed farming system, crop production goes hand in hand with livestock production. Here also, women's contribution is significant. In Amhara Region, for example women are often responsible for herding, watering, supplying fodder, barn cleaning, milking and milk processing (Frank, 1999).

2.5 Differential Access to key Factors of Production

The relationship between women, work and resources is important for rural women whose economic success or failure often depends on their differential access to and utilization of resources (Tiruwork, 1998). "The degree of access to and control over resources within a society play significant roles in differentiating members of a society in policy and decision making processes" (Zenebe, 2005). In Africa, by and large, women are the major food producers. Women's relation to key factors of production (such as land, labour, modern agricultural inputs like fertilizers, improved seeds and pesticides, and services like agricultural extension and credit) is therefore, a critical factor in their ability to produce food and generate income for themselves and their families (Davison, 1988).

Despite their contribution, women's access to and control over land and other resources vis-à-vis men is limited (Sachs, 1996). Some statistics, for example indicate that women worldwide own only 2 per cent of the land, receive only 5 per cent of all agricultural extension services and constitute only 7-11 per cent of the beneficiaries of credit programs (Siwingwa, 2005). Despite their limited access to productive resources, African women in general contribute a substantial portion of the GDP in most SSA countries (SSA). The percentage ranges from 26 per cent in Mauritius to 43 per cent in Ghana (Asiedu and Lien, 2005). On average, women account for about 35 per cent of the GDP in SSA, much higher than that of women in South Asia and Latin America which is about 28 per cent (Ibid).

In general, however it can be argued that lack of access to and control over resources by African women in particular is the single most important cause of gender inequality in the continent (Tamale, 2005). In addition, it is revealed in many empirical studies that women's lack of access to and control over resources reduce their net productivity (Zenebe, 2005; Tiruwork, 1998; Ishengoma, 2005; Fong and Bhushan, 1996). What is more interesting is that, the major problem of women even with access to resources is their inability to effectively and efficiently use the resource. The disadvantageous position of rural women in relation to access to and control over key factors of production is caused by a complex set of interactive factors (Yigremew, 2001). Chafetz (1983) maintains that gender-based division of labour in most cases reinforces the superiority of men and this leads to the ownership of resources by men (cited in Sintayehu, 2003). However, as some literatures indicate access to and control over resources, alike the gender division of labour varies across time and place.

In rural Ethiopia, like other developing countries the great majority of women do not have access to and control over resources. Even women with access to resources do not have actual control over the resource (Zenebe, 2005). This makes the status and condition of rural women one level worse than that of other members of the society despite their significant contribution and role in the country's agrarian economy (Ibid). Yigremew (2001) argues that the disadvantage experienced by rural women in Ethiopia in terms of access to and utilization of resources are varied and complex. These may include, among others, gender division of labour, some cultural values working against women, limited membership in Peasant Associations (PAs), smaller size of the household land, gender biases of local officials, and lack of access to critical resources and services.

The domination of agriculture in most developing countries suggests the importance of land and other resources as basic tools of rural development. Zenebe (2005) argues that nothing is more important in a society where rural population make up the overwhelming majority than the availability of productive land. Access to land through ownership or secure tenure is essential to improving agricultural productivity and strengthening the livelihoods of rural households (FAO, 2004b). Moreover, land, unlike other agricultural resources is an entry to access to other resources. It is the "most valued form of property, for its economic, political and symbolic significance. It is a productive and livelihood sustaining asset" (Zenebework

and Yared, 2000). It is also a source of income, offers employment, and determines household power relation and decision making (Njororari, 2005).

However, land is not equally accessible to all farmers in rural areas in many agrarian societies. Here, it is worth mentioning one astonishing figure from Uganda:

While Ugandan women are responsible for 60 per cent of cash crop production and 80 per cent of the production of food crops, only 7 per cent of the registered land owners are women. This means that Ugandan women till and toil on the land that they neither own nor control (Tamale, 2005).

Nonetheless, in many countries, access to land varies considerably depending on sex and socio-economic status (FAO, 2004b).

Women are of course an integral part of the farming household. Yet, they usually have limited access to land. As some empirical studies indicate, women even with access to land cannot effectively and efficiently use the resource. This results in “paradoxical exclusion of women from other agricultural resources” (Zenebe, 2005). According to FAO study, it is usually difficult for women to keep control of the land obtained through land reforms. They may find it difficult to cultivate the land or to take care of the crops if they have no control over other productive factors such as labour and tools (FAO, 2004a). Without secure title to land, women are often denied membership to cooperatives and other rural organizations, and are thus unable to enjoy the benefits of such membership (e.g. access to credit, training and advice) (Ibid). Owing to societal norms that prohibit rural women from ploughing in highlands of Ethiopia, women as result depend on male labour for both access to resources and for production activities (Yigremew, 2001). Yigremew also states that in Ethiopia, land is allocated to a household as a unit and in the name of the household head. In highland Ethiopia, he argues, land is controlled by the husband, while production is a joint venture.

The other critical resources for farmers are the agricultural extension services (like advices and trainings). These services nevertheless, are often provided by men agents to men farmers on the erroneous assumption that the message will “trickle across” to women (Fong and Bhushan, 1996). In fact, these authors argue, agricultural knowledge is transferred insufficiently or not at all from the husband to the wife. Moreover, the message itself tends to ignore the unique workload, responsibilities and constraints facing women farmers (Ibid). What is more interesting is that, in Ethiopia, “there is a stereotypical view among

development agents that women are ‘weak farmers’, hence, women’s agricultural information needs are not adequately addressed” (Yigremew, 2001). This author also argues that the reasons accountable for this disadvantageous position of women are that there are cultural perceptions that extension programs should address men, nearly all development agents being men, it is inappropriate and even difficult for these agents to be talking to women alone (Ibid). This totally ignores the major contribution of women in the agricultural production.

The other critical resource that can enhance agricultural production and productivity is credit. Access to credit services is essential for farmers that enable them to purchase production and productivity enhancing inputs like chemical fertilizers, selected seeds and pesticides. Both women and men farmers require access to credit and savings facilities for their specific needs. When farmers have few financial options, they cannot purchase seeds or fertilizers, nor can they invest in new farming technologies to increase their production (FAO, 2004b). Apart from access to credit, women may lack facilities for training, and counseling on what to do with the credit (Ibid). There is evidence that women use credit as effectively as men, when it is available, and that their repayment rates are generally much higher than men (Bage, 2008). Yet women have more limited access to formal financial services than men. Overcoming the constraints to women’s access to convenient savings, credit and credit-financed inputs is essential for improving their capacity to raise productivity in rural development activities (Ibid).

2.6 Factors Affecting Women’s Participation in Agricultural Production

There are a number of factors that affect women’s participation in agricultural production activities. Demographic factors (like age of women and number and characteristics of children in the family), economic factors (such as the size of the farm land and access to key factors of production), and the socio-cultural factors (such as attitudes toward women’s work and culturally ascribed roles of women) have been used to explain the levels and trends of women’s labour force participation. These factors are briefly discussed below.

1. Demographic Factors

These factors include a multitude of interrelated issues that affect women's involvement in agricultural production activities. Since women's productive roles are undertaken side by side with household maintenance tasks and reproductive roles, their farm participation is constrained by the time requirement for such tasks and roles. It is documented in many literatures that most of women's time is spent in strenuous and tiresome domestic chores and other reproductive roles like child bearing and rearing (Yaekob, 1999). The women's work in their houses is fundamental to the survival of their families although remains unremunerated. Some household jobs must be done every day, for example cooking, fetching water, collecting firewood or cleaning; some are done occasionally like washing, preparing local drinks or grinding just to mention a few. These family responsibilities take the women's time to participate in agricultural production activities.

In addition, childbearing and rearing can have different effects on labour force participation: it prevents women from working; it can affect the quality and quantity of women's work; and it can influence the type of work performed by women (Zeidenstein, 1979). Factors such as age and number of children can affect women's participation. It is generally believed that the more dependent, small aged children a family has the less probability of the women to participate in farm activities as she is responsible for childrearing. Other related factors such as availability of hired labour also affect women's involvement in agricultural production activities. According to Boserup (1970), the availability of hired labour is one factor for the release of women from agricultural activities in the plough culture areas.

2. Economic Factors

The other determinant of women participation in farm production activities is related to their access to and control over key factors of production. It is revealed in many studies that most African women are active actors in agricultural production. And hence their relation to factors of production such as land, agricultural inputs, labour and services like agricultural extension and credit is a critical factor in their ability to produce food and generate income for themselves and their families (Davison, 1988). However, their access to these resources is limited. The recognition of the household through males (husbands) is one major factor usually cited for such limited access to resources. Worsen than this "...rural women's

disadvantageous position in respect to access to resources is compounded by their lack of control over the use and management of such resources” (Yigremew, 2001:5). Such lack is one of the reasons for women’s low levels of contribution to agricultural production.

Institutional factors also affect women’s participation in agricultural production activities. By ignoring women’s role in production, governments target information, training and credit programs to men in rural areas (Sachs, 1996). This male bias is reflected in the assumption that farmers are men and therefore agricultural technologies and inputs are channeled through men (Ibid). By quoting Staudt (1982), Yigremew noted that “bias against women farmers was apparent and commonplace in agricultural policies throughout Africa” (Yigremew, 2001). Etenesh also shows that (1999; cited in Yigremew, 2001):

...agricultural knowledge...is noticed to be very much dependent on the cultural ideology that ‘women cannot use the plough’. ...Such gender allocations of agricultural tasks and asymmetrical valuation of farm activities is the outcome of socialization in determining the way women and men should relate in production.

This has resulted, argues Yigremew (2001) “in the belief that women could not act as fully independent agents in relation to agricultural production”. According to Wudenesh (2003), in traditional Ethiopian agriculture where a farmer is considered to be the male, women farmers in the small farm households are quite often left in the transfer of improved agricultural technologies.

3. Socio-cultural Factors

Cultural factors are the most proximate determinants of women’s place and status in a given society. In many societies, women have a subordinate status. It is documented in many studies that men feel that women’s work is marginal/subsidiary to what men do and consider it as wifely duty rather than work. Similarly, women as well as men consider that men are responsible to perform ‘heavy’ and ‘important’ tasks and they therefore are in charge of every privilege in the household. On the other hand, women are believed to engage in ‘less important’ works as a result they enjoy less privilege. This is so believed in spite the lack of a parameter that measures a given work to level it as either ‘heavy’ and ‘important.’

According to various studies that base themselves on direct matrix ranking and pilling method, the time and labour demand of a given task is taken to differentiate the nature of the

work done by women and men. Accordingly, it is revealed that the longer the time and the more labour a certain task requires the more heavy the activity is (Workwoha, et al, 2004). Moreover, some activities could be performed along side with other activities. So, it can be argued that the more overlapping and repetitive the work, the heavy it is (Ibid).

This is in one way or another related to the patriarchal system that favors men. Powerful male supremacy norms dictate that a woman's status be defined only through the men who are responsible for her: father, husband, brother, son (Safilios-Rothschild, 1985). Within such a context of patriarchal values, women's work and economic contributions tend to be viewed as supplementary and auxiliary to men's work and breadwinning function (Ibid). An implicit assumption is made that the woman is basically a mother and housewife; any productive work she carries out is considered socially secondary, an extension of her primary function, and thus it has tended to remain unnoticed, more so in the case of rural women (Reddy and Rani, 1982). In societies of rigid system of patriarchy, the norms, values, and social structures, creates mechanisms that hide rural women's contribution to Third World agriculture, especially among the poor, and maintain the image of female dependency on men (Safilios-Rothschild, 1985).

2.7 Gender Analysis in Agriculture: Analytical Framework

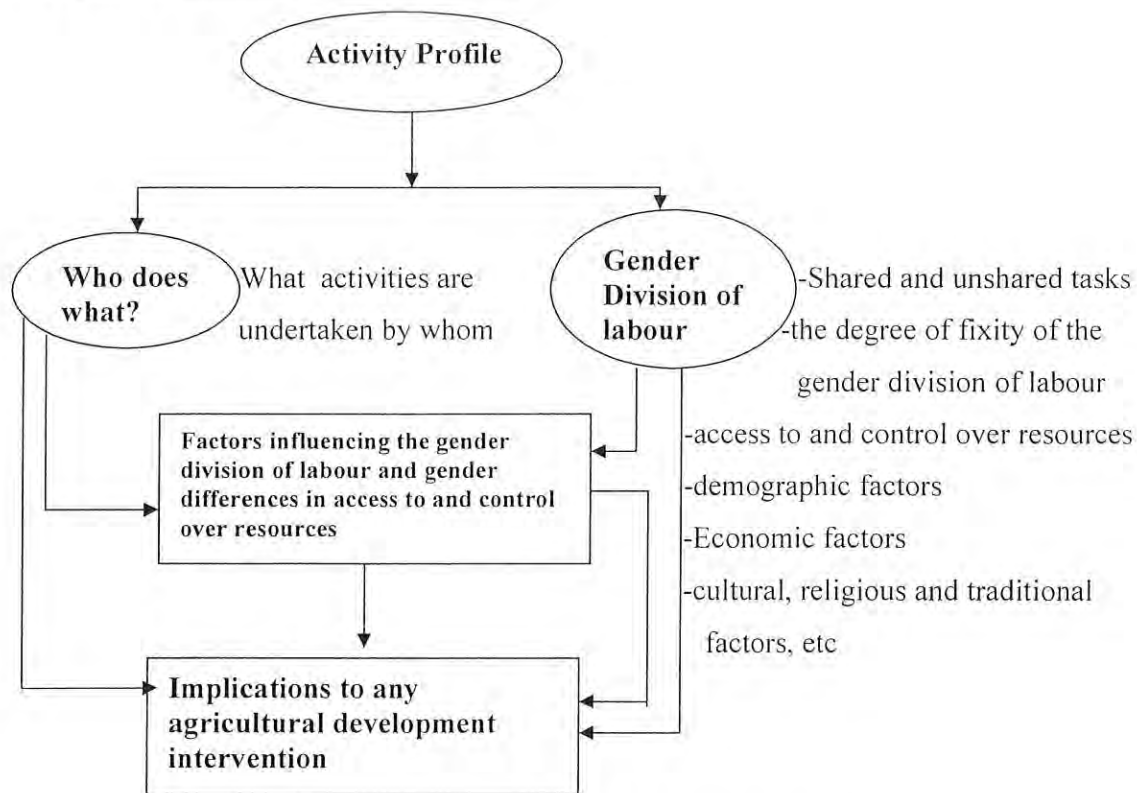
Women have not been visible for development planners and practitioners for long. According to Overholt, et al (1991), “[w]omen are key actors in the economic system, yet their neglect in development plans have left untapped a potentially large economic contribution.” This has necessitated to make a gender analysis to illuminate women’s contribution to the economic development of a nation. In light of this fact, gender has proved to be an essential variable for analyzing the roles of women in economic development in general and in agricultural production in particular. Thus, gender analysis reveals the roles and relationships of women and men in society, and the inequalities in those relationships (Williams, et al, 1995). It helps to understand the relationship between the two sexes and its effect on the division of roles and responsibilities, access to and control over resources and benefits and the power relations and decision making (Workwoha, et al, 2004).

Today, there are different types of gender analysis frameworks. They are step by step tools for carrying out gender analysis which help to raise questions and analyze information. These gender analysis frameworks are not distinct or mutually exclusive; rather they are adopted to serve a particular situation. For the purpose of the present study, however, the Harvard Analytical Framework, also called the Gender Roles Framework (GRF) is used to shade light on the contribution women farmers in Gozamen woreda. It is one of the earliest gender analysis and planning frameworks. It is developed by the Harvard Institute for International Development in collaboration with the WID office of USAID (ILO, 1998). One of the aims of GRF is to demonstrate the contribution of women in economic development (Ibid).

By recognizing differences between women's and men's roles in production and reproduction, the assumed homogeneity of the farm household should be replaced by the concept of 'intra-household dynamics' (Feidstein and Poats, 1989). The analytical and conceptual focus of GRF is therefore "intra-household dynamics" – which is the gender division of labour and gender differences in access to and control over resources (Miller and Razavi, 1998). It begins with the recognition that the household is not an undifferentiated unit with a common production and consumption function (Miller and Razavi, 1998; Feidstein and Poats, 1989). Rather, it is a heterogeneous unit. However, the framework offers no guideline or analytical tool for extending the gender analysis from the household to other institutions like the community (Miller and Razavi, 1998). Nonetheless, once the data on "intra-household dynamics" is collected, it gives a clear picture of who does what, when, where, and with what resources. It makes women's role visible (Ibid).

The GRF has four interrelated components: Activity profile; Access and control profile; Analysis of factors influencing activities, access and control; and project cycle analysis. Yet, since there is no any proposed project attached to this particular study, the last component is not included in the study. Instead, the implications of the existing gender division of labour and the differential access to and control over key factors of production in the agricultural production to any agricultural development interventions are analyzed.

Figure 1: Gender Roles Framework



Source: Adopted from Asian Development Bank’s Gender Analysis Framework (2007)

The first step in doing gender analysis is to identify gender roles. Essentially, this is a process of finding out “who does what.” The virtual impossibility of separating productive and reproductive work roles on farm makes it difficult to conceptualize the farm work done by women (Shortall, 1999). And hence, the activity profile is “based on the concept of gender-based division of labour” in production and reproduction tasks (Overholt, et al, 1991). It identifies how much time is spent on each activity, and how often this work is done (example, daily or seasonally), and where the activities take place (GDRC, 2002; Overholt, et al, 1991). Data must be gathered on women’s and men’s tasks, their shared as well as unshared tasks, and on the degree of fixity of the gender division of labour (ADB, 2007; GDRC, 2002).

The access and control profile considers productive resources. It differentiates between access to a resource and control over decision with regard to its allocation and use (Overholt, et al, 1991, GDRC, 2002). It identifies “what resource individuals command to carry out their activities and the benefits they derive from them” (Overholt, et al, 1991). In gender analysis,

access to and control over resources is one of the principal factors determining the economic and social status of women (Zenebe, 2005).

The third component of GRF “focuses on the underlying factors which determine the gender division of labour and gender-related access to and control over resources and benefits” (Overholt, et al, 1991). The factors, the authors argue, which determine who does what in any population sub-group and what access and control individual have to resources and benefits are broad and interrelated (Ibid). It explains how activity, access and control patterns are influenced by structural factors (demographic, economic, legal and institutional) and by cultural, religious, and attitudinal ones (GDRC, 2002).

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

This study employed a cross-sectional survey design with a mixed approach of data collection and analysis. A mixed method was used since “[m]en’s and women’s roles in farming and household work can be better understood with quantitative and qualitative information in activities, access to and control over resources and roles in decision making” (Wudenesh, 2003). This approach was used to converge or confirm findings from different sources. Using this approach can result in well-validated and substantiated finding (Creswell, 2003). The study employed different data collection tools including survey questionnaire having both open-ended and closed-ended questions, key informant interview, focus group discussion and observation. These methods were used to gather both quantitative and qualitative data pertinent to the study. After these data were gathered, they were analyzed by using a mixed method of data analysis. The data gathered is integrated in the interpretation of the overall result.

3.2 Sampling

3.2.1 Site Selection

Gozamen woreda is selected as a research site because of the following major reasons.

- The researcher of this study is familiar with the study area.
- According to the Woreda ARDB officials, the woreda is believed to be one of the most food secure woredas of the zone. And hence, the writer of this study is very much interested to assess the role of women in this achievement.
- The woreda is divided into three agro-ecological zones. The writer of this paper was interested to see the differences in gender and agricultural production across these agro-ecological zones.

3.2.2. Sampling Procedures

Gozamen woreda has 25 rural kebeles and one rural town. Although rural kebeles are almost homogenous in terms of their socio-economic and cultural settings, they are different in their agro-ecology. According to the traditional agro-ecological classification of the country, the woreda is divided into three agro-ecological zones namely 'dega', 'woyina dega' and 'kolla'. The writer of this paper wanted to take samples from each agro-ecological zone. Hence, the study employed multi-stage sampling technique to select samples. Since the woreda is naturally stratified into three agro-ecologies, it was possible to take one purposively selected rural kebele from each stratum (in this case, agro-ecological zone) as a research site on the basis of its accessibility, its proximity to the nearby Debre Markos town and the kind of the dominant crop produced in the kebele. This can help to see the gender difference across these zones. Accordingly, Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie rural kebeles were selected from 'dega', 'woyina dega' and 'kolla' agro-ecological zones, respectively.

After these kebeles were purposively selected, the next task was selecting sample households having married couples. The units of analysis were both husbands and wives in the households since the root cause of and the solution for gender inequality arises from the family. To identify these households, there was no as such disaggregated data in all selected kebeles although kebeles had the list of all households of different category. To specifically select those households having married couples and thereby to reduce sampling error, therefore, the researcher purposively excluded other categories of households from the kebele residents' list, which served as sampling frame. This was done with the help of local kebele officials who did better know those household comprised of married couples. This task was challenging due to the fact that kebele officials did not know exactly the fact that who is married and who is not at the spot. Despite these challenges, however a total of 116 households were selected through systematic random sampling technique. This technique was used after knowing the total number of these households.

Accordingly, Yebokella Zuria rural kebele has a total of 782 household. Out of these households it was found out that around 743 households comprised of married couples. Wonqa rural kebele has also a total of 1,218 households, out of which around 1,143 households were estimated to comprise married couples. Similarly, Dessa Enesie rural kebele

has also a total of 501 households. Out of these households it was found out that around 452 households were married couples. Five per cent of samples from each kebele were drawn in accordance with the proportion of the total number of these categories of households of each kebele. Hence, 37, 57 and 22 sample households from Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie rural kebeles, respectively were selected through systematic random sampling technique. This technique was first used by dividing the total number of households (N) by the required number of samples (n) in each kebele to get the sampling interval (K). The first sample household was selected randomly through lottery method by taking the sampling interval. Then every K^{th} household was selected from the sampling frame.

3.3 Data Types and Sources

Different types of data were gathered that were relevant to the study from different sources. Both primary and secondary data comprising both quantitative and qualitative information were gathered from different sources through different data collection methods and tools. Hence data was collected on issues related to the ranges of reproductive and productive activities performed by wives, as well as their husbands, wives' access to and control over resources vis-à-vis their spouses, and the different factors influencing the gender based division of labour and the gender differential access to and control over resources. The primary data was gathered from selected households, key informants, group discussions and observation. The secondary data was extracted from books, theses, journals, official documents, unpublished materials and credible internet sources.

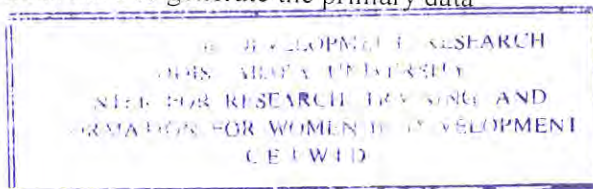
3.4 Data Collection Methods and Tools

The primary and the secondary data comprising quantitative and qualitative data and information were collected through variety of methods and tools. The ways these data were gathered is described as follows.

3.4.1 Primary Data Collection

Primary data were generated through a variety of data collection techniques to gather both qualitative and quantitative data pertaining to issues like the gender division of labour in

reproduction and production activities, the gender based access to and control over key factors of production and the factors that shape the gender based division of labour and access to and control over resources. The methods and tools used to generate the primary data were as follows:



1. Structured Household Survey Questionnaire

One of the major data collection tools was structured survey questionnaire that was used for household survey. This questionnaire had both open-and closed-ended questions pertinent to the issues. Moreover, to ensure validity, the survey instrument was pre-tested in fifteen conveniently selected rural households before the actual data collection. After pre-testing the instrument and taking the necessary modifications, it was distributed to a total of 116 households where both the husband and the wife were interviewed together and separately. This was done with the help of assistants. These data collectors were carefully recruited. They had some exposure to the culture and life style of the study area. They were given orientation and trained on how to gather the relevant information as intended by the writer of this study. To be gender sensitive, both male and female data collectors were selected.

2. Key Informant Interview

Key informant interview was also the other major data collection method. For this purpose, different semi-structured interview schedules were prepared and employed. The major type of data gathered through key informant interview was qualitative data in addition to the quantitative data and information obtained from the concerned offices. One informant from the woreda's WAO, two experts from ARDB including two extension workers, EPLAUB, program and plan expert, one official from the woreda BoFED, one official from ACSI, Gozamen woreda sub-branch, and three individuals farmers (one men and two women) were interviewed to gather pertinent information related to the study.

3. Focus Group Discussions

The other method of data collection used was focus group discussion. Conducting focus group discussions helped to check and verify the data gathered through conventional survey.

In the selected three rural kebeles of the woreda, a total of four focus group discussions (two in Wonqa and one in Yebokella and one in Dessa Enesie rural kebeles) were held with voluntary local elders, and women and men of different marital status. Two FDGs were held in Wonqa rural kebele because of its proximity to the nearby Debre Markos, otherwise all selected kebeles have similar socio-cultural settings. These participants were selected on the basis of the recommendation given by kebele officials and extension workers by considering their participation in the effort to reduce the cultural barriers that inhibit women's participation in some agricultural activities. These FDGs were conducted comprising seven to eleven participants, both men and women. They were conducted to gather relevant information on the status and place of women in the woreda, the overall cultural beliefs and attitudes towards women's involvement in agricultural production and men's participation in the domestic chores.

By conducting these FDGs, the study has benefited in such a way that:

- they generated better and transparent information as compared to conventional data collection method. This is because household survey might limit the accuracy and reliability of information since women might be shy to freely talk in front of their husbands.
- triangulation and cross checking of information was better when it was made at a group level.
- they provided the opportunity to discover the common nature of the problem with regard to gender so as to look a solution regarding what should be done to minimize the cultural and material discriminations working against women in the woreda.

4. Observation

Observation was an integral part of the data collection method. The data was collected from December 2007 to February 2008. During this period, farmers of the woreda were busy in cutting, preparation of the threshing ground, threshing and transporting of their produce. All family members were busy in undertaking different responsibilities in these activities. This provided an opportunity for the writer of this study at least to observe who does what in these particular activities. In vegetable, fruits and *chat* growing areas of the selected kebeles of

woreda, there was also an opportunity to observe who has what responsibilities in these homestead production as these crops are grown throughout the year through small scale irrigation by using local streams.

3.4.2 Secondary Data Collection

Secondary data were collected by reviewing existing literature on the division of labour in reproductive and productive activities, women's and men's access to and control over key factors of production, and the factors that affect the gender based division of labour and access to and control over resources. This data was extracted from books, theses, journals, official documents, unpublished materials and credible internet sources.

3.5 Method of Data Analysis

After the data were gathered through the aforementioned methods and tools, it was coded, tabulated, analyzed and interpreted. The study employed a mixed method that comprises both qualitative and quantitative method of data analysis. The qualitative data was analyzed by using descriptive and explanatory method of data analysis. To analyze the quantitative data, descriptive statistical techniques like frequency counts, mean and percentages were used. To ease the computation SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) program was used to process and analyze the collected data.

CHAPTER FOUR

DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AREA

This chapter provides basic facts and figures about the study area. It has four sections. The first section deals with the location, and population and area size of the woreda in general. The topography and climate of the study area is discussed under the second section of the chapter. The third section makes brief discussion about the economic activity of the woreda. Selected research kebeles are briefly described in the last section of this particular chapter.

4.1 Location and Size of the Woreda

1. Location

Administratively, Gozamen woreda is one of the seventeen woredas found in East Gojjam Zone, which is one of the tenth zones in the Amhara Regional State. Geographically, the woreda is located in the south western part of the Zone extending approximately between $37^{\circ}23'50''\text{E}$ and $37^{\circ}55'03''\text{E}$ latitude and $10^{\circ}00'50''\text{N}$ and $10^{\circ}41'10''\text{N}$ longitude (ANRS, 2006). It has 26 rural kebeles found in the nearby town, Debre Markos, 300 km away from Addis Ababa. The town and the woreda of Debre Markos is an enclave inside Gozamen woreda. Gozamen woreda is bordered in the South by Baso Liben woreda, in the Southwest by the Abay River, in the West by Machakel woreda, in the Northwest by Deby Telatgen woreda, and in the East by Awabel woreda. (Please see figure 4).

Figure 2 Maps of East Gojjam Zone and Gozamen Woreda

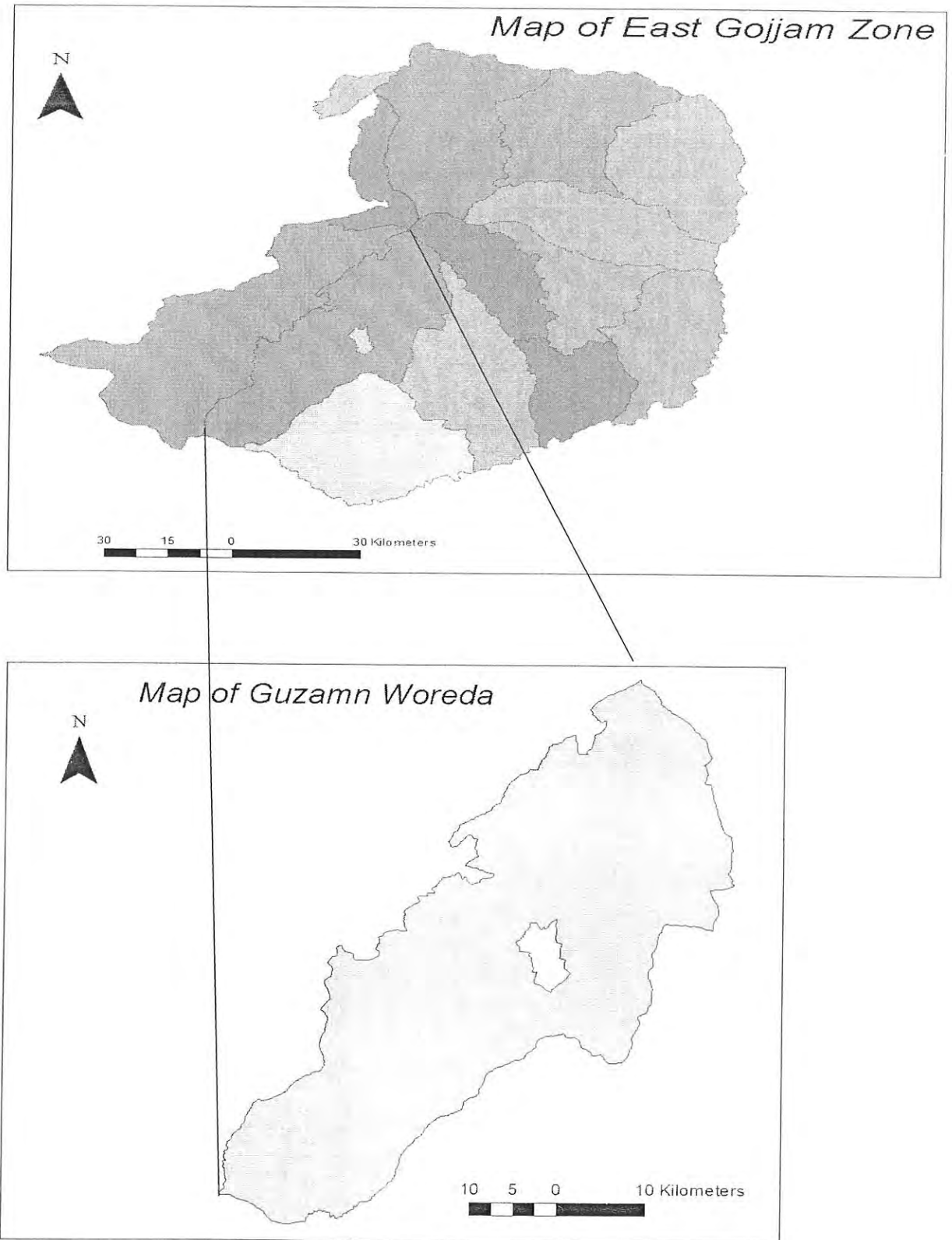
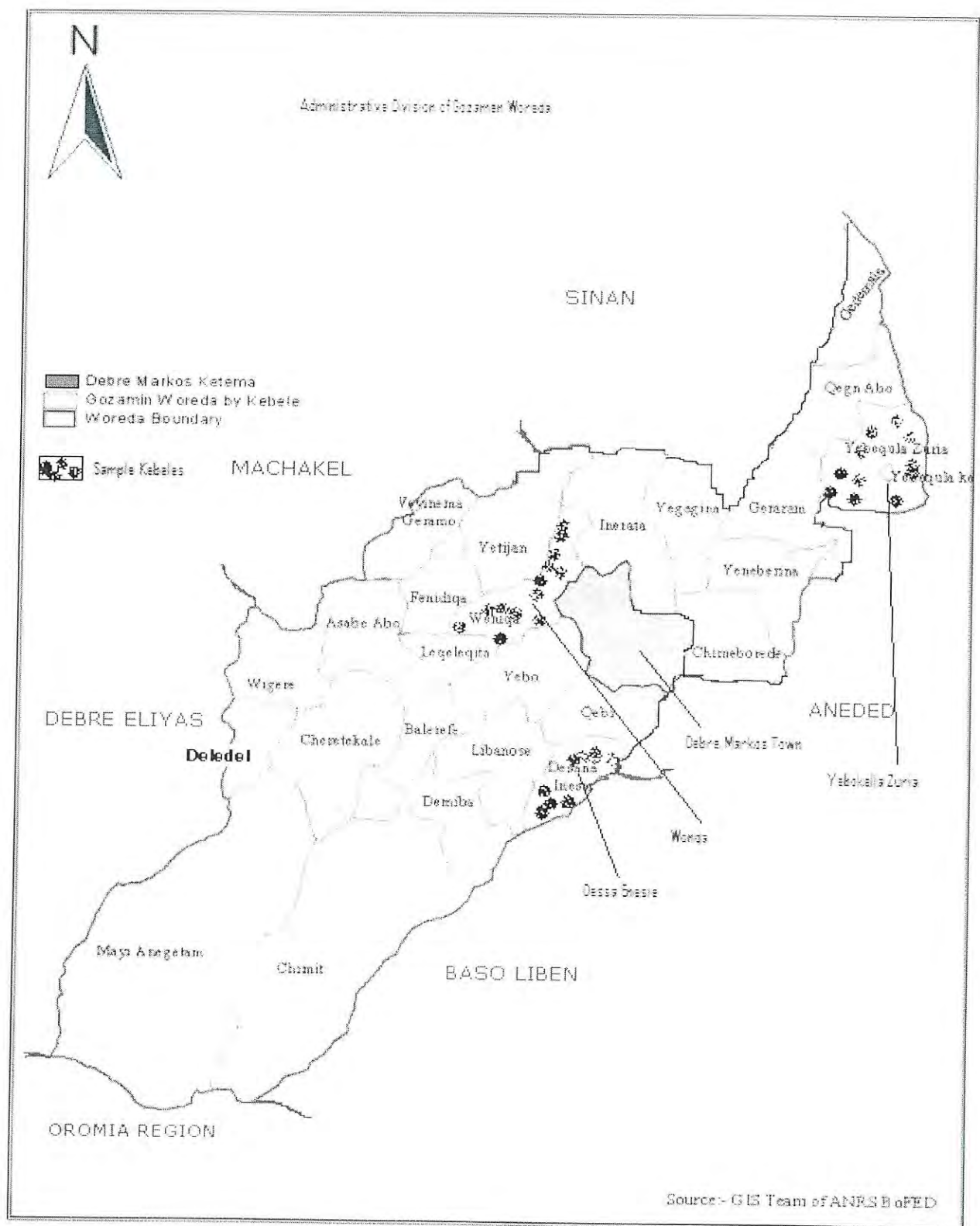


Figure 3 Administrative Division of Gozamen Woreda and Selected Kebeles



2. Population and Area size

Gozamen woreda is one of the most populous woredas in the Zone next to Hulet iju Inebse. According to the figure obtained from CSA (2005) it has an estimated total population of 258,036, of which 130,163 (50.44 per cent) are males and 127,873 (49.55 per cent) are females. 6,047 or 2.34% of its population are urban dwellers which is less than the Zone average of 10.7% (CSA, 2005). It covers an area of 1,704.73sq.km with a population density of 151.4 persons per sq.km, again less than that of the Zone average which is 166.35 persons per sq.km (Ibid). According to the data obtained from the woreda BoFED, the woreda has 25 rural kebeles and one rural town with a total of about 30,146 households. Prior to 1999 E.C, the woreda had around 40 rural kebeles and two rural towns. Since then however, about fifteen kebeles and one rural town have either reshuffled to other kebeles within the woreda or merged to form new adjacent woreda.

4.2 Topography and Climate

The woreda has different physical settings ranging from mountainous and plain areas to lowland rocky areas. Although there is no accurate data, it is estimated that mountainous and plain areas cover large parts of the woreda. The altitude ranges from 800-2400m above sea level (ANRS, 2006). This altitudinal variation makes the woreda to have three traditional agro-ecological zones namely 'dega', 'woyina dega', and 'kolla'. Because of the merging and reshuffling of some former kebeles of the woreda, it is difficult to tell the area coverage of these agro-ecological zones at this moment. However, it is generally believed that the 'woyina dega' agro-ecology covers large areas of the woreda. The annual rainfall of the woreda ranges from 800-1800 mm (Ibid). The average temperature varies from one agro-ecology to the other. However, it ranges from 12-25 Degree Celsius (Ibid).

4.3 Economic Activities

The majority of the population of Gozamen woreda is living in rural areas making its livelihood in agricultural production. According to CSA figure, 95-97% of the households of the woreda are engaged in agricultural production (CSA, 2006). According to the findings of this study, all the selected households were engaged in agricultural production. It was only

19.8 per cent of them that had non-farm livelihood activities in addition to agriculture like weaving, poetry and petty trade. 80.2 per cent of the selected household reported that they did not have other livelihood activities rather than agricultural production.

The area is predominantly a food crop growing area, the dominant of which, in accordance to their importance, are teff, wheat and maize. Some kebeles also produce vegetables, fruits and 'chat' in addition to the major crops mentioned above. According to the data obtained from the Woreda ARDB, in the 1999/2000 E.C production year, an estimated 31,491 hectare of land is covered with different cash and food crops including vegetables, fruits and 'chat'.

4.4 Research Kebeles

As it is indicated above, the woreda has fifteen rural kebeles and one rural town. And it is also stated that the woreda is divided into three agro-ecological zones. Hence, to represent the three agro-ecological zones, three rural kebeles, one from each agro-ecological zone were selected as research sites. These kebeles are Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie. They are briefly described as follows.

1. Yebokella Zuria Rural Kebele

This kebele is found in North Eastern part of Debre Markos town at 42 km distance. The only rural town of the woreda, Yebokella town is an enclave inside the rural kebele of Yebokella Zuria. According to the official data obtained from BoFED of the woreda, Yebokella Zuria has a total population of 5,241 out of which 2,714 (51.78 per cent) are males and 2,527 (48.21 per cent) are females. It has a total of 782 households. This kebele covers an area of 45.21 sq.km having six hamlets. Having a relatively 'dega' type of climate, the major crops grown in the kebele are teff, wheat, barley, and potato. The area is predominantly a plough agriculture area with some exception of hoe-based agriculture for potato production.

2. Wonqa Rural Kebele

Wonqa kebele is found at 10 km distance, west of Debre Markos. According to the data obtained from BoFED of the woreda, this kebele has a total population of 6,986 out of which the male and the female population account for about 52.54 per cent (3,671) and 47.45 per

cent (3,315) respectively. The same source also indicates that, covering an area of around 35.12 sq km the kebele has about 1,218 households. It has a 'woyina dega' type of climate. Teff, wheat, maize, vegetables, fruits and '*chat*' are the major crops grown in the kebele. There are plough-based and hoe-based agriculture in this kebele.

3. Dessa Enesie Rural Kebele

Found in the south eastern part of Debre Markos, Dessa Enesie rural kebele has a total population of 2,806. According to the figure obtained from BoFED, out of this total population, 1,442 (51.4 per cent) is the male population while 1,364 (48.6 per cent) is the female population. It covers an area of around 24.63 sq km with a total of 501 households. It is found about 15 km away from Debre Markos town. It is found within the 'kolla' agro-ecological zone of the woreda. The major crops grown are teff, maize, sorghum, vegetables, fruits and '*chat*'. Like Wonqa rural kebele, both plough-based and hoe-based agriculture characterize Dessa Enesie rural kebele.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

5.1 The Labour Force in the Farm Households

Labour is one of the key factors of production in economic development particularly in agrarian societies like ours. In areas of subsistence agriculture human labour by and large is the most critical determinant of production. Dejene (1990), (as cited in Yaekob, 1999) classifies farm labour in to four categories. These are household labour, community labour, hired labour and group labour. For the purpose of this particular study, however this chapter dwells on the three categories of labour: household labour, hired labour and group labour contributions (it is also called *debo*). This section is divided in to four sub-sections. The first sub-section deals with household labour and its characteristics. Hired labour and the purpose of hiring labour by the selected households are issues to be discussed in the second section. The third sub-section has a discussion of 'debo' and the activities undertaken in 'debo'. The last sub-section has issues related to the major crops grown by the selected households and their labour demand.

5.1.1 Household Labour

The rain-fed Ethiopian agriculture is based on a large scale use of household labour (Dejene, 1995), and hence the contribution of all family members is vital for agricultural production. It is, therefore imperative to know the composition of the household labour so as to see the contribution of family members in productive and reproductive activities.

1. The Demographic Characteristics of the Household Labour

Family size and age of the family members are among the most determinant factors that determine the availability of labour for productive and reproductive activities in any farm household. It is generally believed that the larger the family size the more labour available in the household, other things remains constant. The average family size in Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie rural kebeles was found to be 5.97, 6.09 and 5.09, respectively.

Table 5.1 Demographic characteristics of selected households

Sample Kebeles	Average family Size	Average number of Children in the Household
Yebokella Zuria	5.97	3.97
Wonqa	6.09	4.24
Dessa Enesie	5.09	5.53

This indicates that there is additional labour in many households in addition to the spouses'. Each household had an average number of 3.97, 4.24 and 3.53 children, respectively although there were five households having no children. These households were found in Wonqa (2) and Dessa Enesie (3).

One of the major factors that determine the participation of a given labour in productive and reproductive activities is age. It is also known that all age categories are not economically active. Those who are not economically active are dependents on the productive force. Moreover, there is assignment of tasks to the different age and sex groups. As far as the age composition of spouses is concerned, the average age of husbands and wives was found to be 45.94 and 37.16 years, respectively although there was variation in the three selected kebeles. A closer look at table 5.2 reveals that the age of wives ranges from a minimum of 18 years to a maximum of 65 while husbands' ranges from 21 to 87 years.

Table 5.2 Age Category of Wives

Sample Kebele			Age Category					Total
			Less than 20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	
Yebokella Zuria	Count	1	6	20	7	1	2	37
	%	2.7%	16.2%	54.1%	18.9%	2.7%	5.4%	100.0%
Wonqa	Count	0	17	14	18	5	3	57
	%	.0%	29.8%	24.6%	31.6%	8.8%	5.3%	100.0%
Dessa Enesie	Count	4	8	6	2	1	1	22
	%	18.2%	36.4%	27.3%	9.1%	4.5%	4.5%	100.0%
Total	Count	5	31	40	27	7	6	116
	%	4.3%	26.7%	34.5%	23.3%	6.0%	5.2%	100.0%

It also shows that the majority (89.2, 86.0 and 73.8 per cent) of wives were in the age category of 21-50 years in Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie, respectively. On the other hand, 83.7, 56.1 and 54.5 per cent of husbands' age was found to be in the age category of 31-60 years, respectively. The table also clearly shows that the number of wives in the age category of 60 years and above was reported to be less than those of husbands in all kebeles.

In Wonqa kebele in particular, 28.1 per cent of husbands were in the age category of 60 years and above while the comparative figure for wives was 5.3 per cent.

Table 5.3 Age Category of Husbands

			Age Category of the Husband					Total
			21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	60 years and above	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	3	14	11	6	3	37
		%	8.1%	37.8%	29.7%	16.2%	8.1%	
	Wonqa	Count	9	8	11	13	16	57
		%	15.8%	14.0%	19.3%	22.8%	28.1%	
	Dessa Enesie	Count	7	6	5	1	3	22
		%	31.8%	27.3%	22.7%	4.5%	13.6%	
Total		Count	19	28	27	20	22	116
		%	16.4%	24.1%	23.3%	17.2%	19.0%	

Children of both sexes are also major sources of labour especially in rural Ethiopia. In Amhara Region in general and in Gozamen woreda in particular, children are known in undertaking lots of task ranging from light tasks to tiresome activities even at their early age. According to the average result of this finding, the age of male and female children varied from a maximum of 34 years to a minimum of 1 year and 30 years to 1 year, respectively. Children, who were seven years and above, were found to be active in undertaking some tasks. The tasks carried out by children are, as expected classified on gender lines as defined by the society. Consequently, male children are usually socialized to do productive activities while female children are socialized to do household maintenance tasks. This depends on their age status. Nevertheless, there may be switching of roles among children of both sexes when there is a pressing need. In addition to collecting firewood male children, for example were reported to undertake tasks like fetching water and washing clothes whenever needed. Similarly, female children were found to undertake some farm tasks like weeding, preparation of the threshing ground and watering of gardens.

However, the labour contribution of children in general and female children in particular in the farm household had been constrained by the practice of early marriage. Up until very recently, children in general and female children in particular used to marry at their early age. According to some informants, due to the awareness of the community and some pressure from concerned bodies in recent days however, children in general and female children in particular are getting married at the age of 18 years and above. Consequently, there is a high

probability that children of both sexes are living together with their families. This provides the opportunity to use the labour of these children.

However, now a days there is a lot of pressure from the local officials and even from children themselves on the family to let children attend schools. This may be determined by lots of factors, the major ones, among others, are the availability of school in the nearby area and the existence of other family labour for agricultural and domestic activities. According to the responses of the selected households, most of their children are attending schools. This trend is increasing the burden of women in particular to undertake domestic chores. During the discussion with farmers of the study area, most women reported that they would have preferred their female children to stay at home to assist them in domestic chores as these activities are unbearable alone. Despite this, it was found that most female children helped their mothers in many household maintenance tasks during their spare time.

2. Household Headship

A patriarchal culture in many societies has accorded men to be household heads. This has its own implication, which is visible in rural areas in particular. The study has come up with a mixed figure as far this issue is concerned. It makes it mixed in three different senses. First, many husbands in Yebokella Zuria (59.5%), Wonqa (50.9%) and Dessa Enesie (68.2%) reported that they are heads the household.

Table 5.4 Head of the Household

			Head of the Household			Total
			Husband	Wife	Both	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	22	0	15	37
		%	59.5%	.0%	40.5%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	29	1	27	57
		%	50.9%	1.8%	47.4%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	15	0	7	22
		%	68.2%	.0%	31.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	66	1	49	116
		%	56.9%	.9%	42.2%	100.0%

This is due to the age-old patriarchal culture that favours men to be the heads of the household. Second, only one “exceptional” wife in Wonqa kebele was found to be the head of the household alone in the presence of the husband. According to the response of this “exceptional” wife, this may be due to the fact that her husband was old enough to lead the household. Otherwise the cultural influences in the study area dictate that women cannot be

heads of the household in the presence of the husband no matter what. Third, in 40.5, 47.4 and 31.8 per cent of households in Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie kebeles, respectively spouses head their household together indicating that there is equality between husbands and wives as far as heading the household is concerned. In general, it can be concluded that in all selected kebeles, more than half of husbands are household heads which can have an implication in many respects like in getting access to resources.

3. Educational Status of Spouses

It is noted that most rural people of Ethiopia are illiterate. But there may be differences between men and women in their educational status. In most cases, however the data is in favour of men. This particular study also has come up with a similar result. A closer look at table 5.5 vividly shows that the number of wives who were illiterate outweighs husbands in all selected kebeles. Husbands who could read and write still outnumbered wives in all kebeles. The same was true in attending schools from 1-6 grades in these kebeles although spouses could not attend this level in Dessa Enesie kebele.

Table 5.5 Educational Status of Spouses

Kebeles	Yebokella Zuria		Wonqa		Dessa Enesie	
	Husband	Wife	Husband	Wife	Husband	Wife
Illiterate	17 (45.9%)	32 (86.5%)	30 (52.6%)	42 (73.7%)	13 (59.1%)	19 (84.4%)
Can read and write	9 (24.3%)	4 (10.8%)	13 (22.8%)	6 (10.5%)	9 (40.9%)	3 (13.6%)
From grade 1-6	8 (21.6%)	1 (2.7%)	7 (12.3%)	4 (7.0%)	–	–
From grade 7-10	3 (8.1%)	–	5 (8.8%)	5 (8.8%)	–	–
From grade 11-12	–	–	2 (3.5%)	–	–	–
Total	37 (100%)	37 (100)	57 (100%)	57 (100%)	22 (100%)	22 (100%)

Three husbands attended grade 7-10 in Yebokella Zuria kebele while no wife was found in this kebele attending this level. In Wonqa kebele, five spouses attended grade 7-10 while 2 husbands attended high school although, no wife was found who did the same. This is because of the proximity of the kebele to the nearby town, Debre Markos where there is a high school.

5.1.2 Hired Labour

Hiring labour in the farm household depends on multitude of factors. In the study area it is determined by some factors like shortage of household labour, the size of the farm land and the capacity of the household to pay for the labour, to mention but a few. It is related to these and other factors that many farm households in the study area did not hire labour either for productive or reproductive activities. According to the finding of this study, it was found that 18.9, 26.3 and 4.5 per cent of households in Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie kebeles, respectively hired labour in 1999 E.C production year. In Wonqa kebele, a relatively large number of households hired labour than other kebeles.

Table 5.6 Existence of Hired Labourers in the Household

			Existence of Hired Labourers in the Household		Total
			Yes	No	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	7	30	37
		%	18.9%	81.1%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	15	42	57
		%	26.3%	73.7%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	1	21	22
		%	4.5%	95.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	23	93	116
		%	19.8%	80.2%	100.0%

Out of those households that hired labour, the majorities of them hired male labourers for farm activities. Out of the seven and fifteen households in Yebokella Zuria and Wonqa that hired labour, six and nine of them, respectively used the labour for farm activities. In Dessa Enesie, only one household hired labour that for farm activities. The major agricultural tasks performed by hired labourers were weeding and cutting which are believed by the local community to consume much of the time and energy of farmers. One household in Yebokella Zuria and four households in Wonqa hired female labourers who were assigned to do some domestic chores like cooking, washing and fetching of water.

Hiring labour in most cases is not the domain of one particular household member. In all households that hired labour in Yebokella Zuria and Dessa Enesie, decision to hire labour was a joint responsibility. 46.7 per cent of the households that managed to hire labour in Wonqa reported that they hired labour in accordance with the consultation reached between

spouses. However, in other households either the husband or the wife had a prerogative to hire labour in spite of the kind of labour.

Table 5.7 Tasks carried out by the Hired Labour

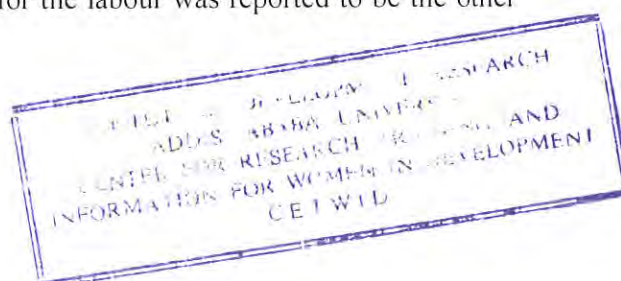
			domestic activities	farm activities	Total
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count %	1 14.3%	6 85.7%	7 100.0%
	Wonqa	Count %	4 26.7%	11 73.3%	15 100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count %	0 .0%	1 100.0%	1 100.0%
	Total	Count %	5 21.7%	18 78.3%	23 100.0%

Table 5.8 The one who decides to Hire Labour

			husband	wife	both	Total
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count %	0 .0%	0 .0%	7 100.0%	7 100.0%
	Wonqa	Count %	4 26.7%	4 26.7%	7 46.7%	15 100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count %	0 .0%	0 .0%	1 100.0%	1 100.0%
	Total	Count %	4 17.4%	4 17.4%	15 65.2%	23 100.0%

It is important to recognize that in traditional agriculture, family labour is not seen as a cost of production. It is not paid a wage, its subsistence share remain the same whether it works or not (OSSREA, 2004). In contrast, hired labour is a cost of production, requiring a payment in cash or in kind (Ibid). Many studies indicate that relatively wealthier households have a tendency to hire labour for both farm activities and domestic chores. This is because they can afford to pay for the labour. However, this study came up with slightly a different figure.

Although lack of cash or any kind of payment was cited as a major reason not to hire labour in most studies, it was the small size of the farm land that forced most households (53.3, 69.0 and 71.4 per cent) not to hire labour for farm activities in Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie kebeles, respectively. Lack of cash to pay for the labour was reported to be the other



factor in 46.7, 31.0 and 23.8 per cent of households in the respective selected. The participation of one household in ‘debo’ made it not hiring labour in Dessa Enesie.

Table 5.9 Factors Hindering the Household from Hiring Labour

			No need to hire labour due to small size of the famr land	lack of cash to pay for the labour	because we participate in group labour or debo	Total
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	16	14	0	30
		%	53.3%	46.7%	.0%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	29	13	0	42
		%	69.0%	31.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	15	5	1	21
		%	71.4%	23.8%	4.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	60	32	1	93
		%	64.5%	34.4%	1.1%	100.0%

5.1.3 Group Labour Contribution (*Debo*)

There may be shortage of labour in some agricultural activities especially during peak periods. One strategy designed by rural farm households is to participate in group labour. This group labour is usually called for a specific task by the household that wants the task done. ‘*Debo*’ as an activity is also a manifestation of the cultural cooperation of the society concerned. Communities of the study area have a long tradition of helping each other in some farm activities. The data gathered proves this assertion. As it is vividly shown in the table below, the majorities of households in the selected kebeles, except in Yebokella Zuria, participated in this kind of labour party. Among the more popular farm activities, weeding, cutting and threshing were found to involve the participation of such labour parties. According to the discussion with local people, these activities require large amount of labour and ‘debo’ provides the opportunity for the household to get these tasks done. It has also helped farmers to harvest their produce on time.

During labour parties, there is some sort of division of responsibility between the two sexes. Accordingly, it was observed that almost all participants of these labour parties in many threshing fields (locally called ‘*awdema*’), for example were males. The wife of the one who

called such group labour contribution was expected to prepare and serve food and drinks to the labour party participants.

Table 5.10 Participation of the Household in Group Labour or Debo

			The Participation of the Household in Group Labour or Debo		Total
			yes	no	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	17	20	37
		%	45.9%	54.1%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	49	8	57
		%	86.0%	14.0%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	20	2	22
		%	90.9%	9.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	86	30	116
		%	74.1%	25.9%	100.0%

During the discussion with farmers, it was noted that the same responsibility was also assigned to women in those activities that required group labour in addition to their household maintenance tasks. In those discussions it was revealed that, in addition to preparing and serving food and drinks to the participants of the group labour, women also carried out those activities undertaken by the group labour like weeding and cutting and in some cases in threshing.

5.1.4 Major Crops Grown and their Labour Demand

Generally speaking, Gozamen woreda is a food crop growing area, the dominant of which are teff, wheat and maize. In addition to these crops, others crops like beans, peas, chick pea, and sorghum are also grown in some places of the woreda. Some kebeles grow vegetables, fruits and ‘*chat*’. Now days, coffee is growing in some kebeles although it is for local consumption. It is because of this fact that BoFED officials regarded the woreda as one of the most ‘food secure’ woredas in East Gojjam Administrative zone.

It is natural that different crops are grown in different climatic zones. Although all selected kebeles grow teff, wheat and maize, there is variation when it comes to homestead crops owing to their agro-ecological difference. Accordingly, in Yebokella Zuria kebele all sample households reported that they grew teff, wheat or maize or a combination of these major food

crops. While in Wonqa and Dessa Enesie kebeles, in addition to the above major food crops, vegetables, fruits and ‘*chat*’ were grown. 41 (71.9%) households in Wonqa kebele engaged in the production of these crops in addition to food crops. All selected households in Dessa Enesie engaged in the production of fruits and *chat*. It was surprising to observe that some households in Wonqa and Dessa Enesie kebeles have started to cover most of their farm land in one particular cash crop, i.e. *chat*. During the discussions, most farmers made it clear that ‘*chat*’ is becoming a major source of household income than the ‘traditional crops’. And husbands are becoming the dominant actors in the production and marketing of *chat*.

Table 5.11 The Major Actor in the Production of Homestead crops

			The one who is Responsible for the Production of Homestead crops				Total
			mainly a husband	mainly a wife	only a husband	both equally	
Sample Kebele	Wonqa	Count	21	0	18	18	57
		%	36.8%	.0%	31.6%	31.6%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	3	1	2	16	22
		%	13.6%	4.5%	9.1%	72.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	24	1	20	34	79
		%	30.4%	1.3%	25.3%	43.0%	100.0%

In the two selected cash crops growing areas (Wonqa and Dessa Enesie), the division of labour in the production of homestead crops indicates that husbands shouldered most of the tasks in Wonqa than in Dessa Enesie. This is indicated in the data that 68.4 per cent of husbands in Wonqa were almost exclusively responsible for the production of homestead crops. This responsibility was a joint venture by spouses in 31.6 per cent of households in this kebele. Although, compared to husbands in Wonqa few men in Dessa Enesie were solely responsible. Yet in the majority (72.7 per cent) of households, there is a shared responsibility in the production of these crops. The finding in this particular kebele came up with the same conclusion with many assertions that women are equally responsible for the production of homestead crops as many activities can be carried out side by side with household maintenance tasks.

The cash obtained from the sale of these crops, especially *chat* is becoming the major source of income for rural households in the study area. As a major household income, its management is a shared responsibility in most households. However, unlike their major

responsibility in the production of these crops, it was found that only 4.9 per cent of husbands in Wonqa managed the income obtained from the sale of these crops alone. Women shared the management of this particular income in 95.1 per cent of households. In Dessa Enesie, spouses' responsibility to manage this income was found to be almost parallel to their contribution. What is more, unlike wives in Wonqa, three wives were found in Dessa Enesie who managed this income alone.

Table 5.12 Managing the Income Obtained from Sale of Homestead Crops

			husband	wife	both	Total
Sample Kebele	Wonqa	Count	2	0	39	41
		%	4.9%	.0%	95.1%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	4	3	15	22
		%	18.2%	13.6%	68.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	6	3	54	63
		%	9.5%	4.8%	85.7%	100.0%

It is a plain fact that different crops have different labour demand. Dejene (1995) argues that in the rain-fed Ethiopian highland agriculture, teff and maize require unusually high labour input. The data indicates that, the major crop that demanded more labour was reported to be teff in most rural households. Many households reported that other crops like wheat, maize and vegetables required more labour next to teff.

5.2 The Role of Wives in the Farm Households

Rural women share abundant responsibilities and perform a wide spectrum of duties in running the family, maintaining the household, and attending to farm operation. Women's work in their houses is fundamental to the survival of their families although remains unremunerated in many conventional agricultural and economic analysis. The specific tasks done by rural women however, vary from one rural setting to another. It is therefore, important to describe and appreciate the role of wives vis-à-vis their husbands in reproductive and productive activities although “[i]t is not simple and straightforward, as it seems from the surface, to accurately capture the full picture and complexity of women’s work in the household” (Melesse, 1994). There is an assertion that the most straight forward method of

describing the gender division of labour in the farm households is simply report who does what (Dixon-Mueller, 1989). This helps to make women as much visible farmers as possible.

This particular section has three major sub-sections. The first sub-section describes the major activities of wives in reproductive and household maintenance tasks in relation to their spouses. Their productive roles especially the major farm activities undertaken by wives and the nature of the division of labour in these farm tasks are described in the second sub-section. Women have huge responsibilities in reproductive and productive spheres in spite of the different factors affecting their participation in some productive activities. This issue is covered in the third sub-section.

5.2.1 Major Domestic Activities of Wives

It is a plain fact that in addition to their reproductive roles (child bearing and rearing) rural women are responsible for all the household chores, have community roles and contribute in farm and livestock production. These roles are usually described as the “triple roles” of women. In particular reproductive and household maintenance and community roles of women which do not entail a direct economic return considerably support the economic life of the family in particular and the society in general. Women are principally identified in relation to these roles and responsibilities (Wickramasinghe, 2001). As a result, rural women in particular are considered as ‘house managers’ because they shoulder most of these tasks. According to Shortall (1999) separating productive and reproductive roles of women is virtually impossible. This makes the farm work done by women difficult to conceptualize. Therefore, to appreciate the role of women in agricultural production, it is essential to describe their reproductive and household maintenance roles vis-à-vis men. The discussion that follows is based on the data in Annex 1.

Preparing of food in many rural areas of Ethiopia is found to be the most tiresome and time taking activity since it is done in a day to day basis. In all selected kebeles, this responsibility is predominantly shouldered by wives, sometimes assisted by their daughters and sometimes by others like hired labourers, if any. The figure in annex 1 (table 1) indicates that, in 64.9, 59.6 and 72.7 per cent of households in Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie kebeles, respectively women alone prepared food. It was only in 32.4, 31.6 and 27.3 per cent of

households in these respective kebeles that women got the hands of their elder daughters to undertake this task. This is related to the culturally rigid division of labour that forbids men to do this particular task. It is even considered to be taboo against men to do this task.

Bearing and nurturing of children are key reproductive roles of women. Although child bearing is a sex role, nurturing of children, by no means, is a sex role; rather it can be undertaken by men. But in most societies, taking care of children is assigned mainly to wives alone as if it was their sex role. The finding of this study revealed this reality. In annex 1 (table 2), 69.2, 72.5 and 75.0 per cent of the households in Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie, respectively it was wives alone who took care of their children. This task was a shared responsibility in only very few households in these kebeles. However, elder daughters assisted their mother in child care activities in 19.2, 23.5 and 10.0 per cent of households in these respective kebeles.

Fetching water, which was also found to be a time consuming activity, is carried out mainly by wives. According to the figure in annex 1 (table 3), in many households in all kebeles, it was wives alone who did fetch water. Moreover, in 27.0, 47.4 and 59.1 per cent of households in Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie, respectively wives were assisted by their daughters to fetch water. It was found out that, it is very rare to observe husbands fetching water. It was only in Wonqa kebele that two husbands were reported to fetch water.

In addition, collecting firewood was taken as one of the most tiresome activities. In this particular task, there was no clear division of responsibility between spouses. According to annex 1 (table 4), all family members were responsible to collect firewood. However, the degree of participation of members might vary. Male members were mainly responsible for collecting firewood than their female counterparts in all selected kebeles. In 35.1, 31.6 and 27.3 per cent of households in Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie kebeles, respectively husbands and male children were mainly responsible for this task. This has its own implication in reducing the burden of wives, and as a result they can trade-off the time allocated for collecting firewood to other tasks. The participation of children of both sexes in this task was found to be high in Dessa Enesie kebele though the share of husbands and male children was found to be 40.9 per cent. Although all family members undertook this task in 31.6 per cent of households in Wonqa, in 28.1 per cent of households this task was shared by

spouses alone. In Yebokella Zuria this task was a shared responsibility of spouses in only 18.9 per cent of households. The responsibility of either husbands alone or wives alone in collecting firewood was found to be minimal in all kebeles.

Moreover, wives were found to take major responsibility for daily household chores such as washing and cleaning. Like other household maintenance tasks, female members of the family were mainly responsible for washing clothes. This is proved in the finding that in 54.1, 35.1 and 54.7 per cent of households in Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie kebeles, respectively wives alone carried out this task (see annex 1, table 5). Significant number of households reported that women were assisted by their elder daughters. In some households husbands shared this responsibility with their spouses.

In addition, washing food utensils is a sole responsibility of female members of the family according to the traditional gender division of labour. According to annex 1 (table 6), it was found that in 40.5, 43.9 and 68.2 per cent of households in Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie, respectively this particular task was carried out only by wives. They were assisted by their female children in 45.2, 43.9 and 27.3 per cent of households in these respective kebeles. Similarly, cleaning the house was also found to be a sole responsibility of female members of the family in all selected kebeles (see annex 1, table 7). It was reported that these tasks were carried out only by wives, by wives and their daughters and only female children. Nevertheless, in both washing food utensils and cleaning the house, no husband and male child were found that undertake these household maintenance tasks indicating that there is a rigid division of labour in these tasks.

Furthermore, in preparing local drinks (such as *tella* or/and *araki*) wives are culturally, responsible. The figure in annex 1 (table 8) reveals that in the majorities of household in all selected kebeles, it was reported that wives alone carried out this responsibility. They were also assisted by their daughters in some households. This task was found to be exclusively a women's task, and reported to be the most tiresome task as it involves many series of complementary tasks. There is a very rigid gender division of labour in this task.

Grinding of cereals for food and other local consumption is the other tiresome household maintenance activity which was shouldered by women. Now days, however the introduction

of a milling technology has eased this burden. This technology necessitated the sharing of responsibility between wives and husbands. According to the figure in annex 1 (table 9), in 32.4, 35.1 and 40.9 per cent of households in Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie, respectively both spouses shared the responsibility of going to milling houses. A closer look at the data however, reveals that the burden of wives to go to the milling house remained high in Yebokella Zuria and Wonqa. This is manifested in the fact that in 51.4 and 42.1 per cent of households in these respective kebeles wives alone were solely responsible for this task. A comparative figure for Dessa Enesie was found to be 22.7. Wives assisted by their female children were also responsible for this task in 16.2, 19.3 and 22.7 of households in Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie, respectively. Only three husbands were found to undertake this responsibility alone in Dessa Enesie kebele. Two husbands together with their male children were reported to be responsible to carry out this task in Wonqa kebele. These figures indicate that although the introduction of such technologies has relieved women from grinding cereals by hand, their responsibility is not yet reduced.

Exchanging necessary items in the market was found to be a shared responsibility in the majority of households in all kebeles. However, a closer look at annex 1 (table 10) reveals that this task was found to be a sole responsibility of husbands in 5.4, 5.3 and 13.6 per cent of households in Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie, respectively. The comparative figure for wives taking this responsibility alone was found to be much higher in Yebokella Zuria and Wonqa, i.e. 21.6 and 10.5 respectively. However, in Dessa Enesie no wife was found to carry out this task alone.

However, the ways items to be exchanged by wives and husbands were found to be different. According to the discussion with the community, men were expected to exchange items of high value. Women, however predominate in the transaction of items of relatively low value like egg, milk and milk products, vegetables and fruits. This is similar to other findings that women concentrate on the exchange of commodities of relatively low value due to the cultural division of labour. In fact both were reported to be active in the exchange of grains though there were variations in the means of transporting the items to the market place. Culturally, it was argued that men can transport grains of '*akumada*' (literary means sack) by using pack animals like donkey; whereas women were expected to transport a '*kolella*' (literary means small basket) of grain to the market place by using their back. In addition, in

the marketing of *chat* men are becoming dominant actors since it generate higher income for the family in Wonqa and Dessa Enesie kebeles.

In general, it was found out that some household maintenance tasks must be done every day, for example cooking food, fetching water, cleaning, etc. Others must be carried out occasionally like preparing of local drinks, grinding and marketing, just to mention but a few. Although wives spend considerably more time than their spouses in household work and continue to bear the major responsibility for the household chores, few husbands do participate at least to some extent in housework and child care activities. In some households they were reported to participate in fetching water, collecting firewood, taking care of children and going to milling house. This indicates that the gender division of labour is flexible in these tasks.

However, there is a cultural taboo against husbands preparing and processing food, preparing local drinks, cleaning the house and washing food utensils in all selected kebeles. This was because of the fact that most household maintenance tasks are undertaken in the kitchen and *gauda* (literary means back room) which are considered to be the territory of wives. Husbands are not culturally allowed to intrude in to this territory. Even wives were found to say that they are not willing to let their husbands to get in to these territories by culturally believing that this makes men 'womanish'. This is proved by the fact that significant number of wives in all selected kebeles did not want to be assisted by their husband in undertaking most household provisioning tasks (see annex 1, table 11). The major reason they gave was that it is culturally prohibited for men to do these tasks. Consequently, there is fixed gender division of labour in these activities.

5.2.2 Wives in Agricultural Production Activities

Literatures indicate that rural women, as well as men throughout the world are engaged in a range of productive activities essential to household welfare, agricultural productivity and economic growth. However, gender differences in rural farming vary across cultures. In some places there is a rigid division of labour as far as agricultural activities are concerned while in some other areas, the gender based division of labour is flexible in a sense that responsibilities are shared between men and women. But it is generally documented that in

many agrarian societies, household members carry out numerous agricultural activities with the view to satisfy the needs of their families. This study gave due emphasis to describe the major activities undertaken by husbands and wives in crop and livestock productions since mixed form of agriculture characterize the study area.

1. Crop Production

During pre-testing of the survey instrument, around eleven major farm activities were identified in crop production. These were ploughing, land preparation (locally called *gulgualo*), sowing, applying fertilizer, weeding, cutting, harvesting, preparation of the threshing ground (locally called *awedema*), threshing (locally called *beray*), transporting and storage. Moreover, in homestead crop production hoeing, planting, watering and harvesting were identified as major agricultural activities. The discussion that follows on these issues is based on the data in annex 2.

Alike other highland Ethiopian agriculture, ploughing was reported to be the prerogative of men farmers in the study area (see annex 1, table 1). No woman was found ploughing in all selected kebeles. This indicates that there is a rigid gender based division of labour in this task. Ploughing could be undertaken by husbands alone, by active male children and others (like hired labourers and group labour participants). However, according to the findings of the study, in 75.7, 68.4 and 68.2 per cent of households in Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa, and Dessa Enesie, respectively it was only husbands who carried out this task. Farm households might either hire labour or called *debo* to get their land ploughed whenever shortage of labour faced. As wives were assisted by their daughters in household maintenance tasks, husbands were also assisted by their active male children in farm activities like ploughing in 13.5, 10.5 and 18.2 per cent of households in these respective kebeles. As it is vividly shown in the data, this particular task was considered to be the most tiresome farm activity by the majorities of husbands in all kebeles.

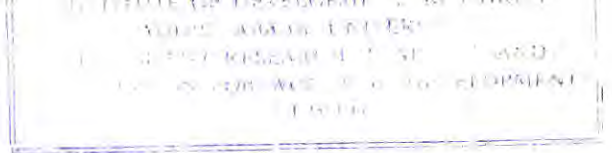
Land preparation or *gulgualo* is the other farm activity which was found to be a shared responsibility. According to table 2 in annex 2, all family members did participate in this farm activity in 43.2, 35.1 and 36.4 per cent of households in Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie, respectively. This was so since it did need higher labour demand. In 45.9, 33.3

and 50.0 per cent of households in these respective kebeles, spouses alone were reported to be active in *gulgualo*. Spouses were assisted by others (hired labourers and/or *debo*) in 10.8, 26.3 and 13.6 per cent in these respective kebeles. This farm operation was considered to be the first most tiresome and backbreaking activity by 75.7, 59.6 and 95.5 per cent of wives in these respective kebeles while it was considered as such tiresome by only 8.1 per cent of husbands in only Yebokella Zuria kebele (see annex 2, table 12 and 14). This shows that women have immense contribution in *gulgualo* indicating that the gender division of labour is flexible.

The next logical step in farm production next to *gulgualo* is sowing. Like ploughing, sowing was also found to be a prerogative of men farmers. Although it is not physically demanding, there is a cultural taboo against women farmers sowing in the study area. According to the figure in annex 2 (table 3), sowing was undertaken by husbands, active male children and other labour like hired or *debo* participants. Husbands alone however, dominated sowing in the overwhelming majority of households in Yebokella Zuria and Wonqa and in all households in Dessa Enesie. In Wonqa, they carried out this task together with others in 5.3 per cent of households. This shows us that in sowing, like in ploughing, there is a rigid gender based division of labour which rooted in the socio-cultural setting.

Owing to the introduction of modern techniques of production, using fertilizers is becoming one means of enhancing agricultural production and productivity in the farm households of many agrarian societies. However, all farmers may not properly apply it on the farm land. There has to be some knowhow on how and when to do it. Similar to some other findings, this study found out that, men farmers dominated in applying fertilizers (see annex 2, table 4). No wife was found applying fertilizers. It was revealed that in almost all households in the selected kebeles, this task was carried out by husbands. This indicates that they alone are getting some training on how to apply fertilizers, how much to apply in what size of land, and in what type of crops and when to apply it. Most wives in all selected kebeles made it clear that they could have undertaken this farm activity if they have obtained the training.

Moreover, the most time taking farm activity was reported to be weeding. This is exhibited by the fact that most farm households called a labour group and hire labourers during weeding season. It was found to be the second more tiresome farm activity by 32.4, 29.8 and



9.1 per cent of wives in Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie, respectively next to land preparation (see annex 2, table 15). As far as the division of labour in this task is concerned, weeding is a shared responsibility. According to annex 2 (table 5), all family members including active children were reported to be major participants in this task in 18.9, 17.5 and 27.3 per cent of households in these respective kebeles. However, in the majority of households in all kebeles, it was the spouses alone who were equally responsible to undertake this farm operation. It was only in three households in Wonqa kebele that husbands alone carried out this task. Like in *gulgualo*, this finding indicates that wives participation was found to be significant in weeding.

Cutting was also the other time taking farm activity. Alike weeding, it was also during cutting that most rural households in the study area called for a group labour or/and hired labourers. This is to get their farm produce collected on time. There is flexible gender division of labour in cutting. However, in the majority of households in all selected kebeles, it was found to be undertaken by husbands and others (hired labourers and/or *debo*). Although no husband was found to carry out this responsibility alone in Dessa Enesie, husbands only carried out this farm operation in 8.1 and 5.3 per cent of households in Yebokella Zuria and Wonqa, respectively (see annex 2, table 7). The participation of wives in cutting was found to be minimal except the case that in Yebokella Zuria, they undertook this farm operation in 27.0 per cent of households. Their minimal participation can be seen from the figure that together their spouses, wives took part in cutting in 3.5 and 9.1 per cent of households in Wonqa and Dessa Enesie, respectively. These figures show that the participation of wives in cutting was better observed in Yebokella Zuria than other selected kebeles. During the discussion with farmers, it was revealed that the major role of wives during cutting was preparing and serving food for the labour which participated in cutting. Most men participants in these discussions argued that women had no the required speed to cut as men. However, women also found to participate in collecting and pilling of what men had cut and making it ready for threshing.

Similar to other farm operations, the preparation of the threshing ground (locally called *awedema*) is found to be a shared responsibility. It was shared by all family members in 27.0, 22.8 and 9.1 per cent of households in Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie, respectively (see annex 2, table 6). However, the share of spouses alone was found to be high in all kebeles especially significantly higher in Dessa Enesie. This task requires smoothening

and mudding of the threshing field. Smoothing is considered to be males' job while mudding is females'. Nonetheless, this division is not rigid since it was observed that wives were found smoothing the *awedema* before mudding it. However, husbands were not responsible for mudding. It is considered to be women's job.

Threshing is an activity whereby the yield is separated from its residue. The occasion is regarded as a festive for most farmers since they are eager to get the fruits of their labour and hence particular attention is given for this task like preparation of food and drink for the labour participants in threshing. A closer look at annex 2 (table 8) vividly shows that in Yebokella Zuria, threshing was found to be a responsibility of spouses alone in 21.6 per cent of households. This figure is much smaller in Wonqa and Dessa Enesie. While in the majorities (38.6 and 68.2 per cent) of households, in Wonqa and Dessa Enesie, respectively this task was carried out by husbands together with others (hired labourers and/or *debo*). In Yebokella Zuria, most (24.3 per cent) households have used all family members. The level of participation of wives in threshing was reported to be minimal, although found to be better in Yebokella Zuria. In all kebeles, the role of most wives during threshing, like in cutting was reported to be preparing and serving food and drinks for the participants who are undertaking this task. This responsibility and their role in other household maintenance task have made their participation very much limited in this activity.

Harvesting is regarded as a simple farm operation in the study area. As it is not physically demanding, but time taking, the participation of wives in harvesting is large as compared to other farm activities. Like some other agricultural tasks, there is a shared responsibility in harvesting. According to annex 2 (table 9), all family members participated in harvesting in 32.4, 19.3 and 22.7 per cent of households in Yebokella, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie, respectively. Nevertheless, the contribution of spouses alone was reported to be significant in 64.9, 66.7 and 59.1 per cent of the households in respective kebeles.

After the yield is harvested, it has to be transported to home. The distance between the *awedema* where the yield is harvested to the house may vary from one household to another. Irrespective of the distance, the produce has to be transported by someone who is responsible. There is no fixed division of labour in this task. This is indicated in annex 2 (table 10) that in 48.6, 59.6 and 54.4 per cent of households in Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie,

respectively spouses alone were equally responsible. In addition, in 29.7, 17.5 and 9.1 per cent of households in these respective kebeles, children also shared this responsibility with spouses. In Dessa Enesie, 36.4 per cent of husbands carried out this task alone. A comparative figure for Yebokella Zuria and Wonqa was found to be 10.8 and 3.5 per cent respectively.

As the yield reaches home, it will be stored for sale or/and household consumption. The division of labour in this task was flexible indicating that it was a shared responsibility among family members. According to the figure in annex 1 (table 11), it was shared between spouses alone in 62.2, 66.7 and 68.2 per cent of households in Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie, respectively. However, it was reported that in 2.7, 5.3 and 9.1 per cent of households in these respective kebeles, husbands alone carried out this activity.

As far as homestead production is concerned, hoeing, planting, watering and harvesting were found to be major tasks. In this spheres of production, there was some variation as far as sharing responsibilities is concerned in vegetation, fruits and *chat* growing areas (Wonqa and Dessa Enesie). While husbands were almost responsible in the majority of households in Wonqa, this was found to be a shared responsibility in the majority of households in Dessa Enesie. A closer look at annex 2 (table 16) reveal that, in hoeing, more husbands than wives were involved in Wonqa than in Dessa Enesie. This task was a shared responsibility in 24.6 and 59.1 per cent of households in Wonqa and Dessa Enesie, respectively.

Although there is a cultural taboo against women sowing in farm production, wives were reported to engage in planting of homestead crops indicating that the gender division of labour in planting is flexible. Although no wife was found to undertake this task alone, wives share this responsibility in 48.2 and 22.7 per cent of households in Wonqa and Dessa Enesie, respectively (see annex 2, table 17). However, in 51.8 and 77.3 per cent of households in these respective kebeles this task was carried out almost by husbands, indicating that they were more responsible for this task in both kebeles.

However, the participation of wives in watering was reported to be high in both kebeles as compared to other homestead crop production activities. Although few (3 or 13.6 per cent) wives were found to be solely responsible for watering in Dessa Enesie, a comparative figure

for wives in Wonqa was 30.4 per cent (see annex 2, table 18). They shared this responsibility with their spouses in 32.1 per cent in Wonqa and 50.0 per cent in Dessa Enesie.

Harvesting of these crops was almost carried out by husbands in the majorities of households in both kebeles. The figure in annex 2 (table 19) indicates that, the participation of wives in this task was found to be minimal except they have a shared responsibility in 24.6 and 18.2 per cent of households in Wonqa and Dessa Enesie, respectively. It can, therefore be concluded that although wives actively participated in homestead crops production, their participation was high in Dessa Enesie than in Wonqa. Nevertheless, it is found that husbands in both kebeles were found to be major actors in the production of these crops. This contradicts with the assertion of many findings that attest that women are major actors in the production of these crops.

Generally, the study found out that the gender division of labour in farm operations was rigid and flexible on the basis of types of farm activities. Accordingly, in ploughing, sowing and applying chemical fertilizers, no woman farmer was observed taking these responsibilities indicating that there is rigid gender division of labour. In other farm activities like land preparation, weeding, harvesting and preparation of the threshing ground, transporting and storage of grains, however it was found that women significantly participated revealing that the gender division of labour in these farm task is flexible. Except in Yebokella Zuria nevertheless, the rate of participation of women farmers was reported to be minimal in cutting and threshing as wives were heavily involved in the preparation and serving of food and drinks to the labour participated in these farm operations. This, by no means should not lead to a conclusion that they cannot do these task.

2. Livestock Production

In the rain-fed Ethiopian highland agriculture, crop production goes hand in hand with livestock production. The study area is also characterized by a mixed agriculture. In addition to crop production activities, there are ranges of activities in livestock production that necessitated some sort of gender based division of labour. Around six livestock production activities were identified during pre-testing of the survey instrument. In addition to these, there are poultry production and bee hiving in some selected households of the study area.



Here it should be noted that for the purpose of this study cattle, sheep, goats and pack animals are incorporated in livestock production. However, one should bear in mind that all selected households having livestock may not have all of the categories of these animals. Poultry production and bee hiving are treated separately in this discussion. A discussion that follows is based on the data in annex 3.

Accordingly, herding of cattle was the first identified livestock production activity which was mostly carried out by husbands and male children. This task was reported to be the responsibility of husbands alone in the majority of households in all kebeles. Traditionally, one can expect that this particular task was a prerogative of male children. However, due to the enrolment of children in general and male children in particular to schools, now a days this responsibility is being shouldered by husbands. Despite this fact, however a closer look at the data reveals that male children were also responsible to this task in 34.3, 24.3 and 10.0 per cent households in Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie, respectively. The role of wives and their daughters in herding was reported to be minimal (see annex 3, table 1).

After livestock returned from their grazing fields, they need to be taken care of through the provision of fodder and water. These tasks were carried out by different members of the family. According to the figure in annex 3 (table 2), husbands alone were responsible to provide fodder to livestock in the majority of households in all selected kebeles. The role of male children was also reported to be significant in Yebokella Zuria and Wonqa but minimal in Dessa Enesie. Like herding, the participation of wives in supplying fodder was found to be minimal vis-à-vis their spouses. Similarly, in supplying water husbands and male children were predominantly responsible in the majority of households, while wives' was minimal. Although female children were not observed in supplying fodder, they were mainly responsible for this task in 5.7 and 7.0 per cent of households in Yebokella Zuria and Wonqa, respectively (see annex 3, table 3).

Similar to other findings, barn cleaning was reported to be the prerogative of wives and female children in the study area. According to annex 3 (table 4), wives predominated in undertaking this task in the overwhelming majority of households in all kebeles. However, in 22.9, 15.8 and 20.0 per cent of households in Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie, respectively female children carried out this task. No husband and male child were found

cleaning the barn. This is because of the cultural belief that husbands and male children should not collect the animal dung from their barn indicating that there is a rigid gender division of labour.

In addition to barn cleaning, milking and milk processing were found to be mainly undertaken by women in many studies. According to the figure in annex 3 (table 5), although wives were responsible for milking in the majorities of households in Yebokella Zuria and Wonqa, the majorities of husbands in Dessa Enesie undertook this task. This contradicts with many findings. Participation of children was found to be minimal in all kebeles. In addition, processing of the milk was found to be the prerogative of female members of households in all kebeles. Nevertheless, a closer look at annex 3 (table 6) reveals that in the overwhelming majorities of households, wives alone carried out this task in all kebeles. This task was reported to be tiresome and time taking.

Generally, it can be concluded that husbands as well as male children were found to be mainly responsible for herding and supplying fodder and water. On the other hand, wives as well as female children heavily involved in barn cleaning and milking and milk processing. This does not necessary mean that there exists such firm division of labour. Those activities mainly undertaken by husbands can be carried out by wives and vice versa. However there is a rigid gender division of labour in barn cleaning and milk processing.

In addition to livestock production, poultry production and bee hiving were found to be other agricultural production spheres in few households of the study area. However, they were not reported to be major sources of income for these households. This is due the fact that these spheres were not given the proper attention by the farmers themselves and development agents alike. Regardless of this, poultry production and its management was found to be a shared responsibility. Nevertheless, a closer look at annex 3 (table 7) shows that wives were mainly responsible in all households in Dessa Enesie, and 36.4 and 42.9 per cent of households in Yebokella Zuria and Wonqa, respectively. This was due to the fact that this production can be carried out side by side with other household maintenance tasks. Male children were also found to be mainly responsible for poultry production in 63.6 and 42.9 per cent of households in Yebokella Zuria and Wonqa, respectively. The participation of husbands and female children was found be minimal in all kebeles.

Bee hives were available in very few (10) households in this study, the majorities (8) of which were found in Wonqa (see annex 3, table 8). In honey production, it was culturally expected that men have a prerogative of bee hiving. The finding of this study attest this fact that in all selected kebeles all the processes involved in bee hiving were found to be carried out by husbands. According to the discussion with farmers, this is because of the fact that series of trainings on bee hiving have been given for men, although many households were not interested to engage in honey production because of the priority they gave for crop production and other unknown reasons.

In general, as regard to reproductive spheres, the division of labour tended to be somewhat rigid in the majority of household provisioning tasks since wives, sometimes assisted by female children are responsible for carrying out most of these tasks. In the productive sphere, however there found to be greater flexibility in the division of labour between wives and husbands. This study also confirms to the assertion that women's and children's labour are partially substitutable for and complementary to men's while men's labour is little involved in household which is considered to be the domain of the women and children to some extent (Dejene, 1995). Similar to other findings, nevertheless there is rigid gender division of labour in some agricultural activities like ploughing and sowing.

5.2.3 Factors Influencing Wives' Participation in Agricultural Production

It is documented in many literatures and it was found out in this study that, men feel that women's work is marginal/subsidiary to what men do and consider it as wifely duty rather than work. Similarly, women as well as men consider that men are responsible to perform 'heavy' and 'important' tasks and they therefore are in charge of every privilege in the household. On the other hand, women are believed to engage in 'less important' works as a result they enjoy less privilege in the household.

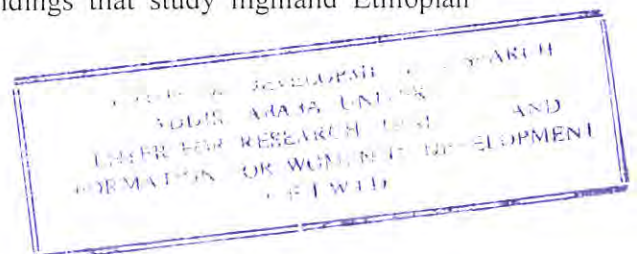
There is a wider recognition that women farmers have a vital contribution to agricultural production. In the rain-fed Ethiopian highland agriculture however, it is documented that there is a cultural taboo against women ploughing and sowing (Dessalegn, 1991) although in some areas of Amhara region, women were observed to undertake these tasks (Frank, 1999). In the study area, it was also found out that in addition to ploughing and sowing, wives

involvement in applying fertilizer was not observed which was reported due to lack of training on how to do these tasks. Their involvement in cutting and threshing was also found to be minimal as compared to other farm activities. As it was noted above, the major roles of wives during cutting and threshing were preparing and serving of food and drinks for the labour undertaking this task. During cutting in particular, however they had also the role of collecting and piling what men had cut. Different reasons were identified that can explain why women shy away from these farm activities. Wives were asked to select more than one response to indicate their reason of low involvement in these farm activities.

Table 5.13 Factors hindering Wives from Participating in some Farm Production Tasks

			physical weakness and cultural reasons	tasks are male's jobs and cultural reasons	no need for my involvement and cultural reasons	being preoccupied with domestic chores and cultural reasons	cultural reasons	Total
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	3	17	0	7	10	37
		%	8.1%	45.9%	.0%	18.9%	27.0%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	15	17	1	13	11	57
		%	26.3%	29.8%	1.8%	22.8%	19.3%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	6	7	0	5	4	22
		%	27.3%	31.8%	.0%	22.7%	18.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	24	41	1	25	25	116
		%	20.7%	35.3%	.9%	21.6%	21.6%	100.0%

Accordingly, cultural inhibition was selected by all respondents together with other factors. In relation to this, 45.9, 29.8 and 31.8 per cent of wives in Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie, respectively believed that these tasks were male's job and the culture did not allow them to participate in these farm tasks. Physical weakness and cultural reasons were also reported to be the major factors hindering 8.1, 26.3 and 27.3 per cent of wives in these respective kebeles. In addition, the daily work load coupled with cultural barriers inhibited 18.9, 22.8 and 22.7 per cent of wives in these respective kebeles from involving in these farm operations. Nevertheless, despite the belief that these tasks were male's job, women's physical weakness and their heavy daily work load were cited as major factors, 27.0, 19.3 and 18.2 per cent of women in respective kebeles explained that it was only the cultural factor that hindered them from participating in these farm activities. This indicates that cultural norms and beliefs of the society are major factors hindering women from involving in some farm operations. This is in line with many other findings that study highland Ethiopian



agriculture in relation to gender. This indicates that if the taboo against women ploughing and sowing is changed the role of women in agricultural production can better be illuminated.

In turn, an attempt was also made to investigate the perception of husbands towards wives' limited involvement in some farm tasks. The table below vividly shows that the majorities (54.1, 70.2 and 68.2 per cent) of them in Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie, respectively replied that the culture did not allow their wives to undertake these tasks. 32.4 and 27.3 per cent of them in Yebokella Zuria and Dessa Enesie, respectively believe that wives were physically weak to undertake these tasks while this perception was recognized in

Table 5.14 The Perception of husbands towards wives involvement in some farm tasks

			the culture does not allow women to do these tasks	women are physically weak to do these tasks	women are not trained to do these tasks	Total
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count %	20 54.1%	12 32.4%	5 13.5%	37 100.0%
	Wonqa	Count %	40 70.2%	5 8.8%	12 21.1%	57 100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count %	15 68.2%	6 27.3%	1 4.5%	22 100.0%
Total		Count %	75 64.7%	23 19.8%	18 15.5%	116 100.0%

only 8.8 per cent of men in Wonqa. Moreover, wives lack of the necessary training to carry out these tasks was recognized in 13.5 and 21.1 per cent of husbands in Yebokella Zuria and Wonqa while a comparative figure for Dessa Enesie is only 4.5 per cent. These results also indicate that the cultural norms and beliefs held by men towards women's work in these farm tasks are so strong that they maintain the traditional division of labour. The finding also indicates that if training is provided for women on how to do these tasks, they can be potential partner for agricultural development.

5.3 Access to and Control over Productive Resources

The degree of access to and control over resources within a society play significant role in differentiating members of a society in policy and decision making processes (Zenebe, 2005). Literature indicates that in most developing countries both men and women farmers do not

have access to adequate resources essential to agricultural production. Nonetheless, women's access is even constrained as a result of cultural, traditional and socio-economic factors. Therefore, accurate information about men's and women's relative access to and control over key factors of production in the married life is crucial in the designing of agricultural development interventions. In light of this, to improve women's agricultural production and productivity, there is a need to investigate their access to and control over key factors of production vis-à-vis men for it has some policy implication. To do that it is important to differentiate the difference between access and control and treat them differently since access to resources does not necessarily imply control over resource use and management.

This particular section has two broad parts. The first part discusses household access to key factors of production namely land, farm inputs (fertilizers, selected seeds and pesticides) and services like agricultural extension and credit services. The gender differential access to these resources is also examined in this part. The second section dwells on discussing control over these resources which is essentially related to decision making.

5.3.1 Access to Key Factors of Production

There are several practical needs which farmers (men and women) require in order to carry out their agricultural production. These include, but not only, access to land, agricultural inputs (like fertilizers, selected seeds and pesticides), and agricultural extension services and credit. The differential access to these resources between men and women should be investigated since this can have some policy implications.

5.3.1.1 Access to Land

Land is the key factor of production in agrarian societies like Ethiopia. Historically, access to this resource has been very important for rural households in particular for its political, economic and social significance. However, the existing literature indicates that all rural people do not have equal access to this resource. Land title and tenure tend to be vested in men either by legal condition or by socio-cultural norms (Fong and Bhushan, 1996). Worsen than this; many land reforms have been reinforcing this bias against tenure for women.

Consequently, many studies ascertain that women have limited access to land vis-à-vis men (Sachs, 1996; Zenebe, 2005; Yigremew, 2001; Sintayehu, 2003; Fong and Bhushan, 1996).

In Ethiopia, the 1975 land proclamation was the first measure taken to grant land to landless peasants in the country. Although this proclamation was suspended after the coming to power of EPRDF, access to land for all who can use it for production was stipulated in the 1995 FDRE Constitution. Moreover, the ANRS has made land redistribution in 1997 and this reform was revised in 2006 under Proclamation No. 133/2006. In this reform rural people in the Region either gained or lost certain plots of land (Zenebwork and Yared, 2000). Former *derg* officials (locally called *bureaucrats*) lost some plots of land as a result of the allegation made against them that they took fertile and wet land for themselves during the 1975 land distribution. Others like landless farmers, recently married couples, female-headed households and unmarried women with children and other land deficient households received at least four *timad* (an equivalent of one hectare) of land depending on the availability of land in the rural kebele concerned (Yigremew, 1997, cited in Zenebwork and Yared, 2000).

According to the woreda EPLAUB program and plan expert, the major difference between the 1975 and 1997 land proclamations is the use of book of rural land possession in the later. This ensures farmers' (both men's and women's) ownership of land. According to the same source, there have been some efforts to register the land of farmers in all kebeles of the woreda. Accordingly, a total of about 29,789 rural households' land had been registered for three consecutive years (i.e. from 2004 to 2006) in accordance with the information provided by the households themselves. Out of these households, 20,093 households took a book of rural land possession. The share of households having spouses, male headed and female headed households who have got this book was 63% (12,659), 13% (2,612), and 24% (4,822), respectively. These categories of households have an estimated 130,169.81, 26,860 and 49,588.9 *timad* of land, respectively.

The Amhara Land Redistribution Proclamation stipulates a joint ownership of land by spouses in its Article 10. This provision has been put in to practice by registering household land as a joint resource and providing the book that ensures joint ownership. In light of this, the finding of this study confirms that, except one household in Yebokella Zuria, all selected households in all kebeles had land whose size may vary from one to twelve *timad*. This was

reported to be owned by the spouses as all have a book of rural land possession. This indicates that the absolute majorities of women in married households have equal access to land with men. The average land holding in all selected kebeles was found to be 4.51 *timad* which is found to be less than the official estimated average landholding, which is 5.95 *timad*.

Table 5.15 Availability of Farm Land in the Household

					Total
			Yes	No	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella	Count	36	1	37
	Zuria	%	97.3%	2.7%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	57	0	57
		%	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	22	0	22
		%	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
Total	Count		115	1	116
	%		99.1%	.9%	100.0%

Table 5.16 The Existence of Land Registered in Husband's name alone

					Total
			Yes	No	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella	Count	2	35	37
	Zuria	%	5.4%	94.6%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	2	55	57
		%	3.5%	96.5%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	0	22	22
		%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total	Count		4	112	116
	%		3.4%	96.6%	100.0%

In addition to the land jointly owned by the spouses, no husband was found to have a separate land in Desssa Enesie. And the only two husbands owned land registered in their own names in both Yebokella Zuria and Wonqa kebeles. In all kebeles, no wife was found to have land registered in her name alone in the married life. This is exactly similar to the conclusion reached by Yigremew (2001) that “women will have direct access to land in their own names only if they are heads of households.”

5.3.1.2 Access to Extension Services

It has been noted in several occasions that given the decline of the fertility of the soil in many parts of rural Ethiopia due to various factors, land and labour alone could not enhance agricultural production and productivity. This has necessitated the use of modern agricultural

inputs like chemical fertilizers, selected seeds and pesticides coupled with other extension services like advices and trainings. Investigating access to these resources in the farm household in general and gender differential in particular is of a paramount significance in any intervention that intends to improve agricultural production and productivity.

According to the agricultural marketing expert in the ARDB, the agricultural inputs being provided to farmers of the woreda include chemical fertilizers, selected seeds (especially wheat and maize), pesticides, and agricultural expansion technologies (such as water pump, modern bee hives, and modern plough). These inputs have been distributed through cash and credit. The same informant also stated that extension workers were responsible to gather information on what type of agricultural inputs a farmer need. Nevertheless, this approach has two fundamental problems since it adversely affect wives access to these resources. First, as most extension workers in the woreda were male¹, there is a very rare possibility for these agents to directly approach wives to assess and know the specific needs of these groups of farmers owing to the cultural barrier that prohibits men talking to wives alone. Second, as most households were headed by men, there was almost no possibility for wives to be members of local PAs since membership is a prerequisite to get access to these inputs. Worsen than these; women in general who do not have access to extension services were not liable to get access to these inputs.

Table 5.17 Household Access to Modern Farm Inputs

					Total
			Yes	No	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella	Count	25	12	37
	Zuria	%	67.6%	32.4%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	53	4	57
		%	93.0%	7.0%	100.0%
	Dessa	Count	20	2	22
	Enesie	%	90.9%	9.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	98	18	116
		%	84.5%	15.5%	100.0%

According to the finding of this study, the majority of households in all selected kebeles had access to modern agricultural inputs like chemical fertilizers, selected seeds and pesticides. A closer look at table 5.17 shows that significant number of households in Yebokella Zuria did not have access to these inputs as compared to other selected kebeles. Others reported that

¹ According to the data obtained from ARDB, the total number of extension workers in the woreda is 116; out of which 92 (79.3%) are male agents and only 24 (20.7%) are female agents.

they have never used such inputs due to various reasons. The small size of the farm land, lack of cash to buy these inputs and availability of traditional inputs were identified as major factors that hindered households from using these agricultural inputs.

Table 5.18 Factors Affecting the Household from Using Modern Farm Inputs

Sample Kebele						Total
			lack of cash	availability of traditional agricultural inputs	having a very small farm land	
Yebokella Zuria	Count	4	0	8	12	
	%	33.3%	.0%	66.7%	100.0%	
Wonqa	Count	1	2	1	4	
	%	25.0%	50.0%	25.0%	100.0%	
Dessa Enesie	Count	0	0	2	2	
	%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
Total	Count	5	2	11	18	
	%	27.8%	11.1%	61.1%	100.0%	

A closer look at table 5.18 reveals that a single factor or combinations of factors affect the farm households in getting access to these inputs. Accordingly, the small size of land was identified as the major factor in those households in Dessa Enesie. Nevertheless, in Yebokella Zuria and Wonqa kebeles, this factor was identified by 66.7 and 25.0 per cent of these households, respectively. This indicates that size of land and use of modern agricultural inputs are somehow correlated in these kebeles in the sense that the larger the size of the land the higher probability to use these inputs. Moreover, lack of cash was recognized as the other factor in 33.3 and 25.0 per cent of households in Yebokella Zuria and Wonqa, respectively. Two households in Wonqa used traditional farm inputs, which was not found in other selected kebeles and as a result they did not need to have access to modern farm inputs.

Moreover, it is believed that agricultural extension services (advices and trainings) are important to enhance farm production and productivity and hence household income. These services which have been provided to farmers of the woreda have included advices and trainings on crop production, livestock production and environmental protection. The advices and trainings on crop production in particular included the importance of ploughing the land repeatedly, appropriately sowing at the appropriate time and season, and protecting the crops from pests and using pesticides appropriately. The importance of these services for agricultural production and productivity was attested by the fact that the majorities of

households in all kebeles had access to such services. The overwhelming majority of these households believed that such services were fully beneficial to the farm household.

Table 5.19 Households Access to Agricultural Extension Services

					Total
			Yes	No	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	23	14	37
		%	62.2%	37.8%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	51	6	57
		%	89.5%	10.5%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	18	4	22
		%	81.8%	18.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	92	24	116
		%	79.3%	20.7%	100.0%

However, as vividly shown in the above table, 37.8, 10.5 and 18.2 per cent of households in Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie, respectively did not have access to these services. There are factors that hindered these farm household from having access to these services. Like the major factor that hampered farm households from getting access to agricultural inputs, the small size of the farm land was still considered to be the major factor by the majority (57.1, 66.7 and 50.0 per cent) of these households in these respective kebeles.

During the discussion with farmers, it was revealed that these services were mostly given to those farm households having relatively large size of land. According to the woreda's extension workers team leader in the ARDB, however agricultural advices and trainings were being provided for all farmers of the woreda having land and livestock regardless of the size of their resources. It was also argued that one of the major principles of agricultural extension services is to begin from the poor farmers so that they can produce more and thereby reduce poverty. Despite this official claim, the study found out that the majorities of households who claimed to have small tracts of land do not have access to agricultural extension services.

The reluctance and bias of some extension workers was also reported in only Yebokella Zuria as the other factor. This fact was revealed during the discussion with the extension team leader that there might be some extension workers who have been providing services partially although it was believed that the services should be given for all farmers impartially.

Table 5.20 Factors Affecting Households' Access to Agricultural Extension Services

							Total
			very small size of the land	absence of extension workers in the area	reluctance of extension workers	practicing our own experience	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	8	0	5	1	14
		%	57.1%	.0%	35.7%	7.1%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	4	2	0	0	6
		%	66.7%	33.3%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	2	0	0	2	4
		%	50.0%	.0%	.0%	50.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	14	2	5	3	24
		%	58.3%	8.3%	20.8%	12.5%	100.0%

The other factor which was identified in half of the farm households that could not manage to have access to these services in Dessa Enesie and in only one household in Yebokella Zuria was the use of 'own farm experience.' These households did not need to receive agricultural advices and trainings as they preferred to use their own farm experience. This is not attributed to lack of access but a matter of choice. But, there has to be some mechanism by extension workers and even by the ARDB to promote this 'own farm experience' if it provides higher yield. Absence of extension workers in the area was also reported to be the other factor by some households in Wonqa.

Table 5.21 Wives Access to Agricultural Extension Services

					Total
			Yes	No	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	15	22	37
		%	40.5%	59.5%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	35	22	57
		%	61.4%	38.6%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	8	14	22
		%	36.4%	63.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	58	58	116
		%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%

As far as wives access to agricultural extension services is concerned, there was a claim that these services were being provided to all farmers of the woreda regardless of sex differences. However, the official figure itself indicates a different story. According to the figure obtained from ARDB, out of a total of 21,923 farm households that had obtained these services,

19,649 were men and only 2,274 were women. This indicates that the agricultural extension services provided in the woreda do not attach much importance to reaching women farmers.

According to table 5.21, 40.5, 61.4 and 36.4 per cent of wives in Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie, respectively secured access to these services. A closer look at this table also shows that a proportionally large number of wives in Wonqa had better access to these services as compared to wives in other selected kebeles. However, 59.5, 38.6 and 63.6 per cent of wives in Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie, respectively did not have access to these services. Three major factors were identified for this lack of access.

Table 5.22 Factors Affecting Wives Access to Extension Services

Sample Kebele		Count				Total
			I am preoccupied with household chores	I have never been consulted by extension workers	we have very small plots of land	
Yebokella Zuria	Count	4	13	5	22	
	%	18.2%	59.1%	22.7%	100.0%	
Wonqa	Count	8	13	1	22	
	%	36.4%	59.1%	4.5%	100.0%	
Dessa Enesie	Count	8	4	2	14	
	%	57.1%	28.6%	14.3%	100.0%	
Total	Count	20	30	8	58	
	%	34.5%	51.7%	13.8%	100.0%	

First, while the daily work load could not enable 57.1 per cent of wives in Dessa Enesie to get access to these services, 59.1 per cent of women both in Yebokella Zuria and Wonqa have never been consulted by extension workers. A comparative figure for Dessa Enesie is 28.6 per cent. However, there is a policy statement which declares that the extension package being pursued has a principle of reaching all farmers regardless of sex differences. According to the woreda extension team leader in the ARDB, the predominance of male extension workers could not enable to approach wives separately due to the cultural barrier.

Second, the daily work load could not allow 18.2 and 36.4 per cent of wives in Yebokella Zuria and Wonqa, respectively to get access to these services. This was also believed by most interviewed extension workers. This belief however, is one of the common stereotypes among extension workers that have led the marginalization of women farmers in the woreda

in particular and in most rural Ethiopia in general from getting access to these services. As a result of this belief, extension on home economics and rural energy utilization were being provided to wives instead of agricultural extension advices and trainings. This, though important, will reinforce the institutionalization of gender bias in the agricultural production.

Wives lack of access to agricultural extension services vis-à-vis their spouses was caused, as many studies also indicated, by the erroneous assumption by most extension agents that husbands are farmers and wives only play a supportive role as farmers' wives; and a farmer is often identified by and associated with ploughing. Moreover, literature indicates and it is found true in this study that, there has been an explicit belief by most extension agents that husbands' access to agricultural information would trickle across to wives. However, Wudenesh (2003) noted that "...experiences in the extension system in Ethiopia reveal that generally household heads/men are targeted in extension service delivery and assumed that they [men] will transfer the information received to their spouses. In reality, transfer of information rarely takes place."

According to this study, however 35.1, 57.9 and 27.3 per cent of wives in Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie, respectively managed to get agricultural information from their spouses. A closer look at table 5.23 reveals that wives in Wonqa were in better position than their counterparts in other selected kebeles in getting such information from their spouses. The table also indicates that 64.9, 42.1 and 72.2 per cent of wives in these respective kebeles did not receive this information from their spouses in these respective kebeles.

Table 5.23 The Transfer of Information from Husbands to Wives

					Total
			Yes	No	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	13	24	37
		%	35.1%	64.9%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	33	24	57
		%	57.9%	42.1%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	6	16	22
		%	27.3%	72.7%	100.0%
Total	Count		52	64	116
	%		44.8%	55.2%	100.0%

Although this finding does not allow us to reach to the same conclusion with that of Wudenesh's, it can be argued that wives access to any improved agricultural technologies that can enhance agricultural production and productivity is not adequately addressed. This has its own implication which can adversely affect the agricultural production and productivity and can exacerbate the food insecurity problem since ignoring women in providing such services implies ignoring half of the labour in the sector.

Third, the small size of the farm land was also found to be the other factor hindering 22.7 per cent of wives in Yebokella Zuria and few wives in other selected kebeles from getting access to these services. This also contradicted with the official claim that such services are being provided to all farmers regardless of size of resources and differences in sex.

Nevertheless, if women farmers get an access to this resource, they can use it for household production. This is attested in this study that from those wives who got access to extension advices and trainings, 60.0, 88.6 and 87.5 per cent of them in Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie, respectively have utilized the resource for their household production. The rest could not have used it for production. According to key informants, this was due to the fact that most wives were not allowed by their spouses to apply the advice and the training on agricultural production owing to the wrong assumption that women could not use it properly.

Table 5.24 The ability of Wives to use the Agricultural Extension Services for Farm Production

			Yes	No	Total
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	9	6	15
		%	60.0%	40.0%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	31	4	35
		%	88.6%	11.4%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	7	1	8
		%	87.5%	12.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	47	11	58
		%	81.0%	19.0%	100.0%

5.3.1.3 Access to Credit Services

It was argued in the literature review part of this paper that access to credit services is essential for farmers to improve their agricultural production and productivity. Access to such services enables farmers to purchase production and productivity enhancing inputs like

chemical fertilizers, selected seeds and pesticides and to pay for the hired labour, if any. Moreover, this resource is an extremely important input to reduce rural poverty.

There were two major credit sources for farmers of the woreda; one was from the ARDB and the other was from ASCI. According to agricultural marketing expert in the ARDB, the bureau has been providing two types of credit for the farmers. The difference between the two forms lies on the duration of the year that farmers are required to comply. Accordingly, the first type has been a credit for one year duration having a purpose of purchasing chemical fertilizers, selected seeds and pesticides. The second type of credit has been given for one to three years time which can be used for the purchase of water pump, modern bee hives and for livestock production. The same informant also explicitly explained that men alone could get the credit service given for only one year without the approval of their wives. However, to get the second type, the credit contract agreement requires the full consent of wives.

The other major source of credit for farmers in the woreda is the ACSI, Gozamen woreda branch. This micro-finance institution has been providing credit and saving services to farmers of the woreda. According to the ACSI, Gozamen branch representative, the credit provided by the institution has been used for livestock production (like for fattening sheep and oxen), for homestead crop production, and for the purchase of chemical fertilizers, draught animals and modern bee hives.

The same informant also made it clear that although the service was given in group, women in particular were encouraged to benefit from the services so as to improve their socio-economic and political status, to improve their decision making power and to ensure gender equality in the region in general and in the woreda in particular. This has been ensured by the fact that, in case, men groups apply to get credit, the credit contract agreement dictates the full consent of their wives. Nevertheless, this does not show whether wives are really benefiting or not. Despite this, the figure obtained from the ACSI shows that the institution had a total of 4,000 credit clients, out of which 1,631 (40.77 per cent) were women and 2,369 (59.22 per cent) were men.

Despite the fact that access to credit is one of the major inputs that enhance agricultural production and productivity, it was found out that only 32.4, 38.6 and 22.7 per cent of farm

households in Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie, respectively had access to such services. The majorities could not secure access to this service owing to different factors.

Table 5.25 Household Access to Credit Services

					Total
			Yes	No	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	12	25	37
		%	32.4%	67.6%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	22	35	57
		%	38.6%	61.4%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	5	17	22
		%	22.7%	77.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	39	77	116
		%	33.6%	66.4%	100.0%

In addition to the access that both spouses secured, a closer look at the table below also shows that there is gender differential in access to credit services. This differential access also varies quite markedly across the selected kebeles. Three different scenarios were observed in this table. First, out the total of 12 households that secured access to credit in Yebokella Zuria, in 7 (58.3 per cent) of them wives alone managed to get access to this service indicating that they had better access than their spouses. Second, the reverse is true in Wonqa in that husbands had better access than their wives.

Table 5.26 The Gender Differential in Access to Credit Service

						Total
			husband	wife	both	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	2	7	3	12
		%	16.7%	58.3%	25.0%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	12	4	6	22
		%	54.5%	18.2%	27.3%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	1	0	4	5
		%	20.0%	.0%	80.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	15	11	13	39
		%	38.5%	28.2%	33.3%	100.0%

Third, in Dessa Enesie, the finding does not allow us to confidently conclude that one gender has better access than the other indicating that both had almost equal access to this service. Ensuring women's access to credit is one way of reducing rural poverty although it is not a panacea for poverty reduction. This finding indicates that given the official claim that

encourages women farmers to get access to credit, there is an encouraging sign in this regard. The requirement of the full consent of women in the credit contract agreement in both credit sources contributed to this success. This is notwithstanding the lack of access to credit by great deal of wives in some kebeles like Wonqa.

Irrespective of who got the access, the credit obtained was used for different combination of purposes. Except in two households in Wonqa that used the credit for other purposes, it is found out that all households in all kebeles used the credit for purposes related to agricultural production. The major purposes were found to be: purchasing of draught oxen (50.0 per cent) and livestock for fattening (oxen and sheep) (50.0 per cent) in Yebokella zuria; purchasing of livestock for fattening (40.9 per cent), agricultural production and productivity enhancing inputs (like chemical fertilizers, selected seeds and pesticides) (27.3) and draught oxen (22.7 per cent) in Wonqa; and purchasing of agricultural inputs (60.0 per cent), draught oxen (20.0 per cent) and sheep for fattening (20.0 per cent) in Dessa Enesie. The tendency of using the credit for livestock production shows the interest of farmers of the woreda to engage in this particular sector in addition to farming. This can contribute its own part to alleviate the deep rooted rural poverty of the woreda.

Table 5.27 Purpose of the Credit Obtained

						Total
	to buy modern agricultural inputs	to buy draught oxen	to buy sheeps for fattening	to buy oxen for fattening	others	
Sample Yebokella Kebele Zuria	Count 0	6	4	2	0	12
	% .0%	50.0%	33.3%	16.7%	.0%	100.0%
Wonqa	Count 6	5	7	2	2	22
	% 27.3%	22.7%	31.8%	9.1%	9.1%	100.0%
Dessa Enesie	Count 3	1	1	0	0	5
	% 60.0%	20.0%	20.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
Total	Count 9	12	12	4	2	39
	% 23.1%	30.8%	30.8%	10.3%	5.1%	100.0%

In spite of the role being played by the credit, table 5.25 vividly shows that the majority (67.6, 61.4 and 77.3 per cent) of households in Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie, respectively did not have access to credit services. Different factors were identified that hindered these households from getting access to this critical resource. Lack of information on the sources of the credit and on what to do with it made the majority of these households from getting access to credit in all kebeles.

This indicates that there is some gap between credit institutions and credit clients as far as information dissemination and awareness creation is concerned. In 40.0, 37.1 and 23.5 per cent of households in Yebokella zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie, respectively had fear of repayment as a result they did not secure access to this service. This suggests that the efforts to create awareness on what kind of benefits can be obtained by getting credit was not adequately done.

Table 5.28 Factors Affecting the Household from Getting Access to Credit Services

			lack of collateral	Fear of unable to pay back	lack of information	it is not necessary	Total
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	0	10	12	3	25
		%	.0%	40.0%	48.0%	12.0%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	1	13	16	5	35
		%	2.9%	37.1%	45.7%	14.3%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	0	4	7	6	17
		%	.0%	23.5%	41.2%	35.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	1	27	35	14	77
		%	1.3%	35.1%	45.5%	18.2%	100.0%

However, in 12.0, 14.3 and 35.3 per cent of households in these respective kebeles did not find the credit as such important believing that the household income was sufficient to purchase the necessary inputs for their productive activities. Although in both credit sources mentioned above there was no collateral requirement to get access to credit, this particular factor hampered only one household in Wonqa from getting access to this service. Instead, these credit sources have used group of individuals as collateral to provide the service. This mechanism can help to attract as many clients as possible.

7.2 Control over Resources

It has been argued that gender analysis enhances the understanding of not only the practical needs but also the strategic needs of women farmers. It shows that it is not only a question of whether women farmers have access to key inputs but also whether they have control over resources and benefits. Essentially, these issues are related to decision making. It is a plain fact that everyone's life is full of decisions. What is more, everyday decisions are made. The question is who is in charge of these decisions?

The pattern of decision making varies from one place or culture to another. In some areas, households fit the standard model of a single decision maker (Feidstein and Poats, 1989). Here the household head, in most cases men, are the sole decision makers in the household. In other areas, household decision are shared, consultation takes place between particular members or all members (Ibid). In some areas, however household members have wholly separate spheres of decision making affecting production, income and expenditure (Ibid).

It is well known that rural women in particular share abundant responsibilities and perform a wide spectrum of duties in running the family, maintaining the household, and attending the farm operations. Despite their role, their position in decision making is documented to be minimal. However, the participation of women in decision making varies across culture and time. Although it is not an exhaustive list, their participation in the farm household must be seen in relation to issues like how men and women farmers decide on how much land to plant, what crops to plant, to either sharecrop or rent the farm land or not, whether to use fertilizers and other farm technologies, and whether and when to hire labour.

In relation to these issues, the study found out that wives participated in most of these issues (please see Annex 4). According to annex 4 (table 1), they were found to participate in deciding how much land to plant in 56.8, 63.2 and 50.0 per cent of farm households in Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie, respectively. This shows that they were exercising decision making power in their farm land as they jointly own the farm land and as they were major actors in the farm production. Similarly, 56.8, 61.4 and 50.0 per cent of them in these respective kebeles reported that they actively participated in decisions related to what type of crops to plant during the planting seasons (see annex 4, table 2). Although no farm household was found that sharecrops or rents the farm land in this study, it was reported to be a joint venture when it comes to decision making on these issues. However, the participation of wives in making decisions on these matters was reported to be minimal. Annex 4 (table 3) vividly shows that, in arranging the land for sharecropping, for example it was found out that only 37.8 and 45.5 per cent of them in Yebokella Zuria and Dessa Enesie, respectively did participate in decision making. Their position was found to be better in Wonqa as far as decision regarding sharecropping the land is concerned. The same is true in issues related to renting out the land.

Moreover, to employ farm inputs, like modern agricultural inputs and hiring labour, decisions were also undertaken in joint consultation between spouses in a significant number of households (see annex 4, tables 5 and 6). The reason for this fact could be thought of that getting access to agricultural inputs in particular in one way or another requires some cash. Managing household income is very sensitive issue in the farm household which seeks consultation of spouses as it is one of the major determinants of the overall farm production in particular and the well being of the farm family in general. This is witnessed in the majority of households that managing household income was a joint responsibility in all selected kebeles (see annex 5, table 6). However, in Yebokella Zuria and Dessa Enesie the participation of wives in deciding whether to hire labour or not was minimal as compared to their counterparts in Wonqa.

Nevertheless, a good deal of wives in all selected kebeles could not exercise their decision making power on issues considered above. Some of these respondents, although engaged in agricultural production believed that they did not have the knowledge on how to manage the farm land and utilize farm inputs perceiving that they were not farmers. This belief is dangerous in the sense that it will worsen the already existing disadvantageous position of women in getting access to key factors of production since being a farmer is a precondition to get access to these resources in the Ethiopian agriculture. The majorities of other respondents attributed their inability to exercise their decision making power to the unwillingness of their spouses to accept their decisions. This is related to the cultural influences that favours men's superiority over women. There is a belief that when women work in the fields, primarily as housewives helping their husbands with agricultural tasks, this is taken as a wifely duty rather than work in the minds of not only men but surprisingly also women. This wrong perception has remained in the study area for long that has jeopardized women's participation in decision making. This has to be changed through empowering women farmers so as to improve their decision making power in the household.

In addition to land, managing other household resources like livestock, income and labour is also a very important concern for farm household. Mostly decisions in these resources were reported to be made through consultation made between spouses in the majority of households in all kebeles. A closer look at tables in annex 5 however, vividly shows that no wife was found making decisions alone on land, livestock and household labour in all

kebeles. They made decisions in consultation with their spouses. Nevertheless, due to the cultural influences that favour men's superiority there is always a possibility of wives to be dominated by their husbands even if consultation take place. This indicates that in most of these decisions wives had no adequate say in managing household resources. This implies that mere access to household resources could not make them beneficial from these resources.

Furthermore, it is quite clear that farm households have certain produces that can be obtained from their agricultural activities. Among these field crops, homestead crops and milk and its by-products are the major products in the study area. The management of these outputs also requires a closer examination as women as well as men should benefit from the fruits of their labour. A closer look at annex 5 (tables 3, 4 and 5) reveal that although the management of field crops and homestead crops is a shared responsibility in the overwhelming majority of households, wives maintained their traditional supremacy in managing milk and its by-products. This is in line with many findings. Nevertheless, the shared responsibility in the management of homestead crops in the majority of households contradicts with the findings of many studies that prove women's superiority as they are major actors in the production of these crops. The management of these crops particularly *chat* is now being dominated by men. This is in line with Boserup's (1970) thesis that men dominate market oriented crops when there is an introduction of cash crops in the traditional agriculture.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary

There is always division of labour in every socio-economic activity performed by people. In this division of labour, there are always 'appropriate' men's and women's tasks assigned by the society to sex categories. It is also documented that women, like men make major contributions in economic, social and political development. However inadequate attention has been given to their reproductive and productive roles in general and their contribution to agricultural production in particular. This is caused by the fact that their contribution has not been remunerated. This has, as most literatures indicate led rural women to have a limited access to and control over key factors of production vis-à-vis men. As a result, this issue has attracted the attention of many from different corners to devise a solution to these problems encountered by women. Gender, then has become an essential variable for analyzing the roles of women in economic development and their access to and control over resources. Thus, gender analysis reveals the realities of women vis-à-vis men in any economic production.

Having this as a background, this particular study was conducted with the objective of assessing the contributions of women in agricultural production specifically in Gozamen woreda, examining their access to and control over key factors of production vis-à-vis men and identifying and explaining the factors that influence the gender division of labour and the gender differential in access to and control over resources. To achieve these objectives, intra-household dynamics in gender division of labour and gender differences in access to and control over resources were examined. The factors that influence the gender division of labour and the gender differential in access to and control over resources were also identified. This was done in line with the GRF that was adopted and used in this study.

By considering the importance of labour in the agricultural sector, a discussion on the type of labour in the farm household was made. Consequently, three types of labour were identified. These included the household labour, hired labour and group labour contribution (*debo*). As far as the household labour is concerned, the demographic characteristics of spouses and their

children were explained. Accordingly, it was found out that the average family size of households was 5.97 (in Yebokella Zuria), 6.09 (in Wonqa) and 5.09 (in Dessa Enesie). These households had an average number of 3.97, 4.29 and 5.53 children in these respective kebeles. This indicates that there is an additional labour in these households in addition to the labour of spouses although there were households having no child.

The average age of husbands and wives was found to be 45.94 and 37.16 years, respectively which indicated that most spouses were economically active, other things remains constant. This does not mean however, that there were no economically dependent husbands and wives. The study also tried to show the labour contributions of children of both sexes. Accordingly, it was argued that there is gender assignment of tasks to children as believed by the society. And hence, male children involved more in productive activities while female children on household maintenance tasks. The other issue covered was household headship. As in many patriarchal societies, in the majorities of households taken for this study husbands were found to be heads of the household. This was noted to have some implications for wives in getting access to key factors of production.

The other form of labour was hired labour, which was taken as a strategy by the farm households during peak periods. The study found out that few households actually hired labour; the majorities were for farm activities. The findings also showed that the overwhelming majority of households hired labour during peak seasons like weeding, cutting and threshing. These activities were believed by the local community to consume more time and energy. Hiring labour in most cases was found to be a joint responsibility of spouses. Nevertheless, many households did not hire labour owing to reasons identified in this study like small size of the farm land and lack of cash to pay for the labour.

The other strategy was group labour contribution which was locally called *debo*. Such group contributions were found to undertake farm operations like weeding, cutting and threshing as per the request of the one that called such labour parties. Considering its importance, many households were found to participate in these labour parties. Most wives were also found to prepare and serve foods and drinks during *debo* in addition to their household maintenance tasks and their labour contributions in undertaking those tasks carried out during *debo*.

The other part of the paper tried to capture and assess the role of wives in rural households. This was done in accordance with the GRF to elaborate the activity profile of women as well as men in domestic and productive spheres. Accordingly, the 'triple roles' of wives were recognized but special attention was given to their reproductive and household maintenance tasks and productive roles in agricultural production. In doing so, tasks which necessitated rigid and flexible gender division of labour were identified in both spheres.

In the domestic sphere, almost all activities were found to be undertaken by wives, sometimes assisted by their daughters. Husbands and male children had some participation in few tasks. As far as the productive roles of spouses is concerned, their roles in field crops, homestead crops and livestock production were examined in this study. Accordingly, around eleven farm activities were identified, out of which wives were found to participate in nine of them indicating that the gender division of labour in these tasks was flexible.

Although wives had an active role in many farm operations, their involvement in cutting and threshing was found to be minimal. In addition, no wife was found ploughing and sowing. Factors that explained their low involvement in these farm operations were identified. Accordingly, cultural norms and beliefs were found to be the most proximate determinant of wives low participation. Physical weakness of women and their daily work load coupled with the cultural barriers were also identified as factors inhibited significant number of wives from participating in these farm tasks. In spite of these, unlike the cases of many Sub-Saharan agrarian societies where there is an intra-household gender division of crop production (Davison, 1988), production in the study area is a joint responsibility.

However, the extent of their participation varied from one kebele to the other. For example, in hoeing and planting husbands were almost exclusively responsible in Wonqa, while wives in Dessa Enesie shared these tasks. In watering, the participation of wives in these kebeles was found to be significantly higher even as compared to their participation in other homestead crop production tasks. Wives in Wonqa were more involved in watering than in Dessa Enesie. Nevertheless, their participation in harvesting was found to be minimal in both kebeles except the case that they shared this responsibility with their spouses in 24.6 and 18.2 per cent of households in Wonqa and Dessa Enesie, respectively.

Livestock production was the other production sphere in the study area. Around six activities were identified-herding, supplying fodder, supplying water, barn cleaning, milking and milk processing. Husbands were predominantly involved in the first three activities. Wives involvement, on the other hand, was visible in barn cleaning and milk processing sometimes assisted by their daughters. These tasks forced the gender division of labour to be rigid. Milking was reported to be a shared responsibility.

The other section did shade light on wives access to and control over productive resources vis-à-vis their spouses. In this study, it was noted that access to key resources is essential for agricultural production. As far as land is concerned, with the exception of one household, all households in all selected kebeles had secured access to this key factor of production as per the provision of the Amhara Land Redistribution Proclamation. The land was reported to be owned by spouses since all households had a book that ensured their joint ownership. The average land holding was found to be 4.51 *timad* of land. No woman was found to have a separate land registered in her name alone in the married life; while few men had land registered in their name alone.

The other critical resources treated in this study were farm inputs like chemical fertilizers, selected seeds and pesticides that were believed to enhance agricultural production and productivity. The majority of households used these inputs for their farm production. However, the study found out that some households did not use these inputs due to various factors. The small size of the farm land, lack of cash and availability of traditional farm inputs were the major reasons that hindered these households from using these inputs.

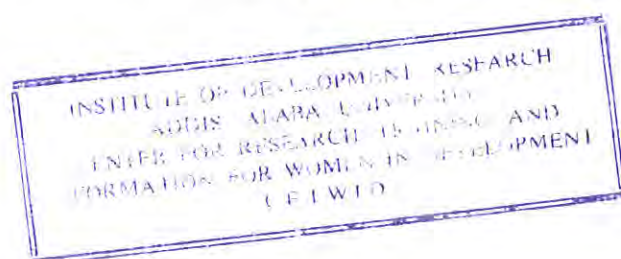
Furthermore, agricultural extension services (advices and trainings) were also found to be important to enhance agricultural production and productivity and hence household income. By recognizing this fact, most households in all kebeles had secured access to these services. However, some households did not managed to get access owing to some interrelated factors. Small size of the farm land was still found to be the major factor. Looking the gender differential access to these services, the study found out that 40.5, 61.4 and 36.4 per cent of wives in Yebokella Zuria, Wonqa and Dessa Enesie, respectively had access to these services. However, significant number of wives did not secure access. Different factors were identified and examined that explain their lack of access to these services. The majority of

them in Yebokella Zuria and Wonqa attributed their lack on the reluctance of extension workers to consult them. But in Dessa Enesie, their daily work load could not enable the majority of them to attend to these advices and trainings provided especially on the field.

The study also found out that extension workers might not consult wives with the wrong assumption that men are farmers and women only play a supportive role as farmers' wives. The cultural barrier to directly approach wives and talk to them was also the other major problem. There was also a belief by most extension workers that information would trickle across to wives. However, it was only in some households that information had actually trickled across from husbands to wives.

The other factor of production examined in this study was credit. Two sources of credit were identified in the study area. The first was the ARDB of the woreda which provided two types of credit both attached to the purchasing of farm inputs like fertilizers, selected seeds and pesticides. The other source was the ACSI, Gozamen branch whose credit was also attached for similar purpose. Despite its importance, the majorities of households in all selected kebeles did not have access to this service owing to different factors. Lack of information about the sources of the credit and on what to do with the credit and fear of repayment in particular made the majority of households from getting access to credit. It was indicated in the study that there must be some gaps between credit institution and clients as far as information dissemination and awareness creation on what to do with the credit is concerned.

It was also noted that investigating who is in charge of decisions with in the household helps to better understand the strategic needs of women. The involvement of wives in decision making in this study was seen in relation to issues like how men and women farmers decide on how much land to plant, what crops to plant, to either sharecrop or rent the farm land, whether to use fertilizers and other farm technologies, and whether and when to hire labour. In relation to these issues the study found out that most wives participated in deciding on most of these issues. The study also recognized that there might be a possibility that final decision might have rested on husbands even though wives participated in decisions. In addition, the wrong assumption that wives were not farmers and the reluctance of husbands to accept the decision of their spouses were found to be the major reasons that explained the low participation of wives in decision making.



6.2 Conclusion

In the last few decades, gender issues in agricultural production have attracted the attention of many from different corners. This has been inspired by the recognition that women in most agrarian societies constitute almost half of the labour force engaged in the sector. After Boserup's seminal work in 1970, many studies have been proliferating from different regions explaining the role of women in the sector. Examining women's access to and control over resources vis-à-vis men has also been an integral part of this enterprise. This has been done to make women farmers visible in any development interventions aiming at improving this particular sector since most societies like Ethiopia base their economy on agriculture. It is also documented that high level of poverty coupled with a fragile agro-ecological environment make the contribution of women's productive activities to the household and community a crucial element in the survival of rural population in these societies.

Ethiopian rural women spend a considerably large amount of time in reproductive activities. Although so much time is spent in these activities, women also engaged in activities that are more productive like agriculture. In the domestic sphere, the study found out that there was a rigid gender division of labour in tasks like cooking and processing of food, washing food utensils, cleaning the house and preparation of local drinks as these tasks were predominantly carried out by wives sometimes assisted by their daughters. But in other household maintenance tasks, it was found that the gender division of labour was flexible allowing some room for husbands to participate. In addition, no variation was found across the selected kebeles as far as the gender division of labour in household maintenance tasks is concerned.

In the productive spheres, husbands were reported to undertake some tasks alone like ploughing, sowing and applying fertilizers. This indicates that there was rigid gender division of labour in these tasks. However, in other farm operations, there is flexible gender division of labour. In general, the gender division of labour in farm production resembles to Boserup's (1970) 'plough cultivation', where men plough assisted by draught animals, while only manual farm operations are mostly shared between spouses. What is more, no significant variation was observed as far as wives involvement and the nature gender division of labour in agricultural production is concerned across the selected kebeles.

In spite of their significant contribution, wives in the study area are not seen as farmers or at least not active farmers. This is due to wrong cultural assumption that agricultural tasks are labour intensive and time consuming, that wives do not have time to fully engage in agricultural production. They have been subjected to such and other forms of gender based discriminations which in many ways have had impacts on economic, political and social status of wives. The gender division of labour and the differential access to and control over resources are inversely related in the sense that women contribute more labour but enjoy less privilege in access to and control over resources vis-à-vis their husbands.

Land is the key resource of agricultural production in all agrarian societies. This study found out that in almost all households, land is equally accessible to spouses. However, wives' lack of command over it, even if they own it, should be the starting point of a gender sensitive agricultural intervention.

In addition to land, other resources are of a paramount significance in the farm household. One of these resources is the agricultural extension services. However, wives in the study area have no adequate access to these services as compared to their spouses. Although there was an official claim that agricultural extension services were being provided for all farmers of the woreda regardless of sex differences, the study showed that these services do not attach much importance to reaching wives. This ignores the potential contribution of wives in agricultural production.

While focus was given for men farmers in providing agricultural extension services with the view to improve the productivity of agriculture, there is also a need to expand these services for women in the male headed households since they do not generally receive agricultural advice and trainings with the erroneous assumption that information will trickle across to them from their spouses. However, information is not actually transferred. In addition, male extension workers in the woreda have faced difficulties to directly approach and talked to wives due to cultural barriers. This can, however be resolved by providing group extension services which can significantly increase women's access to these services. This is because the group context may calm the fear of male extension workers about transgressing of norms of approved social contact.

Extension services on home economics have been provided for women instead of agricultural extension services. Though it is important, great care must be placed in reducing the effect it will have in institutionalizing the existing gender division of labour. If possible, these services should also be provided to men with the objective of changing the belief of men towards household tasks and thereby enabling them to assist their spouses in carrying out these tasks. This will reduce the gender inequality prevailed in the area.

Credit is considered to be one of the means to alleviate rural poverty although it is not considered as a panacea for poverty reduction. In those households that had secured access to credit, gender differential across selected kebeles showed that in Yebokella Zuria, for example wives had better access than husbands. However, in Wonqa husbands were found to have a better access than their spouses. In Dessa Enesie both were reported to have almost equal access to credit.

However, most households in general and wives in particular did not have access to this critical resource. The major factor for this lack was identified to be lack of information on the sources of credit and on what to do with the credit. So, credit institutions should exert their utmost effort in creating awareness of farmers in general and women in particular on what to do with the credit and what kind of benefit can be obtained by getting credit. This can contribute its own part in achieving the stated objectives of improving the socio-economic and political status of women and enhance their decision making power; and thereby ensures gender equality. As a result of this and other related measures, gender equality can therefore act as a potent force for accelerating poverty reduction.

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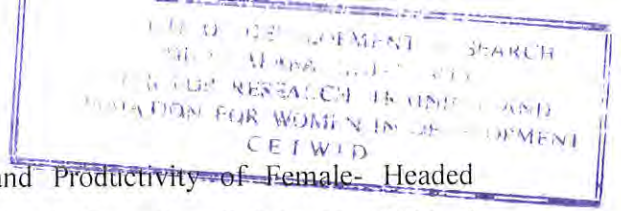
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Annex 1. Domestic chores undertaken by different Household Members

Table 1. Cooking of Food

			Cooking of Food to the Household				Total
			mainly by the wife and others	only by the wife	by female children	mainly by the wife and female children	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella	Count	1	24	0	12	37
	Zuria	%	2.7%	64.9%	.0%	32.4%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	4	34	1	18	57
		%	7.0%	59.6%	1.8%	31.6%	100.0%
	Dessa	Count	0	16	0	6	22
	Enesie	%	.0%	72.7%	.0%	27.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	5	74	1	36	116
		%	4.3%	63.8%	.9%	31.0%	100.0%

Table 2. Taking care of Small Children

			Taking care of Small Children				Total
			only by the wife	by female children	mainly by the wife and female children	mainly by the husband and the wife	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella	Count	18	0	5	3	26
	Zuria	%	69.2%	.0%	19.2%	11.5%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	37	1	12	1	51
		%	72.5%	2.0%	23.5%	2.0%	100.0%
	Dessa	Count	15	0	2	3	20
	Enesie	%	75.0%	.0%	10.0%	15.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	70	1	19	7	97
		%	72.2%	1.0%	19.6%	7.2%	100.0%

Table 3. Fetching water

			Fetching of Water to the Household							Total
			mainly by the wife and others	only by the wife	by female children	mainly by the wife and male children	mainly by the wife and female children	children of all both sexes	mainly by the husband and the wife	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	1	19	5	1	10	1	0	37
		%	2.7%	51.4%	13.5%	2.7%	27.0%	2.7%	.0%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	4	19	1	3	27	1	2	57
		%	7.0%	33.3%	1.8%	5.3%	47.4%	1.8%	3.5%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	0	13	0	2	7	0	0	22
		%	.0%	59.1%	.0%	9.1%	31.8%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	5	51	6	6	44	2	2	116	
	%	4.3%	44.0%	5.2%	5.2%	37.9%	1.7%	1.7%	100.0%	

Table 4. Collecting firewood

			Collecting Firewood to the Household								Total	
			only by the husband	by all family members	only by the wife	by female children	mainly by the wife and male children	mainly by the wife and female children	children of all both sexes	mainly by the husband and male children		mainly by the husband and the wife
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	4	6	1	1	1	3	1	13	7	37
		%	10.8%	16.2%	2.7%	2.7%	2.7%	8.1%	2.7%	35.1%	18.9%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	3	18	2	0	1	3	4	10	16	57
		%	5.3%	31.6%	3.5%	.0%	1.8%	5.3%	7.0%	17.5%	28.1%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	0	0	1	0	0	1	5	9	6	22
		%	.0%	.0%	4.5%	.0%	.0%	4.5%	22.7%	40.9%	27.3%	100.0%
Total	Count	7	24	4	1	2	7	10	32	29	116	
	%	6.0%	20.7%	3.4%	.9%	1.7%	6.0%	8.6%	27.6%	25.0%	100.0%	

Table 5. Washing Clothes

			Washing Clothes in the Household							Total
			mainly by the wife and others	only by the wife	by female children	mainly by the wife and male children	mainly by the wife and female children	children of all both sexes	mainly by the husband and the wife	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella	Count	1	20	2	1	10	1	2	37
	Zuria	%	2.7%	54.1%	5.4%	2.7%	27.0%	2.7%	5.4%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	4	20	3	0	22	1	7	57
		%	7.0%	35.1%	5.3%	.0%	38.6%	1.8%	12.3%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	0	12	1	2	5	0	2	22
		%	.0%	54.5%	4.5%	9.1%	22.7%	.0%	9.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	5	52	6	3	37	2	11	116
		%	4.3%	44.8%	5.2%	2.6%	31.9%	1.7%	9.5%	100.0%

Table 6. Washing Food Utensils

			Washing Food Utensils				Total
			mainly by the wife and others	only by the wife	by female children	mainly by the wife and female children	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	1	15	5	16	37
		%	2.7%	40.5%	13.5%	43.2%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	4	25	3	25	57
		%	7.0%	43.9%	5.3%	43.9%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	0	15	1	6	22
		%	.0%	68.2%	4.5%	27.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	5	55	9	47	116
		%	4.3%	47.4%	7.8%	40.5%	100.0%

Table 7. Cleaning of the House Everyday

			Cleaning of the House Everyday				Total
			mainly by the wife and others	only by the wife	by female children	mainly by the wife and female children	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	1	15	4	17	37
		%	2.7%	40.5%	10.8%	45.9%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	4	24	3	26	57
		%	7.0%	42.1%	5.3%	45.6%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	0	13	1	8	22
		%	.0%	59.1%	4.5%	36.4%	100.0%
Total		Count	5	52	8	51	116
		%	4.3%	44.8%	6.9%	44.0%	100.0%

Table 8. Preparing Local Drinks

			Preparing Local Drinks within the Household			Total
			mainly by the wife and others	only by the wife	mainly by the wife and female children	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	1	31	5	37
		%	2.7%	83.8%	13.5%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	4	40	13	57
		%	7.0%	70.2%	22.8%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	0	17	5	22
		%	.0%	77.3%	22.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	5	88	23	116
		%	4.3%	75.9%	19.8%	100.0%

Table 9. Grinding/Going to Milling House

			Going to Milling House					Total
			only by the husband	only by the wife	mainly by the wife and female children	mainly by the husband and male children	mainly by the husband and the wife	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	0	19	6	0	12	37
		%	.0%	51.4%	16.2%	.0%	32.4%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	0	24	11	2	20	57
		%	.0%	42.1%	19.3%	3.5%	35.1%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	3	5	5	0	9	22
		%	13.6%	22.7%	22.7%	.0%	40.9%	100.0%
Total	Count	3	48	22	2	41	116	
	%	2.6%	41.4%	19.0%	1.7%	35.3%	100.0%	

Table 10. Marketing

			Marketing of Goods in the Household						Total	
			only by the husband	by all family members	only by the wife	mainly by the wife and male children	mainly by the wife and female children	mainly by the husband and male children		mainly by the husband and the wife
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	2	2	8	0	0	2	23	37
		%	5.4%	5.4%	21.6%	.0%	.0%	5.4%	62.2%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	3	8	6	1	3	0	36	57
		%	5.3%	14.0%	10.5%	1.8%	5.3%	.0%	63.2%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	3	0	0	0	0	0	19	22
		%	13.6%	.0%	.0%	.0%	0%	.0%	86.4%	100.0%
Total	Count	8	10	14	1	3	2	78	116	
	%	6.9%	8.6%	12.1%	.9%	2.6%	1.7%	67.2%	100.0%	

Table 11. The Desire of the Wife to be Assisted by her Husband in the Domestic Chores

			The Desire of the Wife to be Assisted by her Husband in the Domestic Chores		Total
			yes	no	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	17	20	37
		%	45.9%	54.1%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	22	35	57
		%	38.6%	61.4%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	5	17	22
		%	22.7%	77.3%	100.0%
Total	Count	44	72	116	
	%	37.9%	62.1%	100.0%	

Annex 2. Farm Activities Carried out by Members of the Household

1. Field Crops

Table 1 Ploughing

			The one who Plough in the Farm				Total
			only by the husband	by male children	mainly by the husband and male children	mainly by the husband and others	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella	Count	28	1	5	3	37
	Zuria	%	75.7%	2.7%	13.5%	8.1%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	39	1	6	11	57
		%	68.4%	1.8%	10.5%	19.3%	100.0%
	Dessa	Count	15	0	4	3	22
	Enesie	%	68.2%	.0%	18.2%	13.6%	100.0%
Total	Count	82	2	15	17	116	
	%	70.7%	1.7%	12.9%	14.7%	100.0%	

Table 2 Preparation of the land

			The one who Prepares the Farm land				Total
			mainly by the husband and children of both sexes	mainly by the husband and wife	by all family members	mainly by the husband, wife and others	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella	Count	0	17	16	4	37
	Zuria	%	.0%	45.9%	43.2%	10.8%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	3	19	20	15	57
		%	5.3%	33.3%	35.1%	26.3%	100.0%
	Dessa	Count	0	11	8	3	22
	Enesie	%	.0%	50.0%	36.4%	13.6%	100.0%
Total	Count	3	47	44	22	116	
	%	2.6%	40.5%	37.9%	19.0%	100.0%	

Table 3 Sowing

			The one who sow the Seed				Total
			only by the husband	by male children	mainly by the husband and male children	mainly by the husband and others	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella	Count	35	1	1	0	37
	Zuria	%	94.6%	2.7%	2.7%	.0%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	52	1	1	3	57
		%	91.2%	1.8%	1.8%	5.3%	100.0%
	Dessa	Count	22	0	0	0	22
	Enesie	%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	109	2	2	3	116	
	%	94.0%	1.7%	1.7%	2.6%	100.0%	

Table 4 Applying Fertilizers

			The one who Apply Fertilizers and Pesticides			Total
			only by the husband	by male children	mainly by the husband and male children	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella	Count	35	1	1	37
	Zuria	%	94.6%	2.7%	2.7%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	53	1	3	57
		%	93.0%	1.8%	5.3%	100.0%
	Dessa	Count	22	0	0	22
	Enesie	%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	110	2	4	116
		%	94.8%	1.7%	3.4%	100.0%

Table 5 Weeding

			The one who Paricipate in Weeding					Total	
			only by the husband	mainly by the husband and children of both sexes	mainly by the husband and wife	by all family members	by all family members and others		mainly by the husband, wife and others
Sample Kebele	Yebokella	Count	0	0	19	7	7	4	37
	Zuria	%	.0%	.0%	51.4%	18.9%	18.9%	10.8%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	3	3	18	10	16	7	57
		%	5.3%	5.3%	31.6%	17.5%	28.1%	12.3%	100.0%
	Dessa	Count	0	0	8	6	2	6	22
	Enesie	%	.0%	.0%	36.4%	27.3%	9.1%	27.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	3	3	45	23	25	17	116
		%	2.6%	2.6%	38.8%	19.8%	21.6%	14.7%	100.0%

Table 6 Preparation of the *Awedema*

			The one who Participate in the Preparation of the Threshing Ground				Total
			mainly by the husband and children of both sexes	mainly by the husband and wife	by all family members	mainly by the husband, wife and others	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella	Count	1	24	10	2	37
	Zuria	%	2.7%	64.9%	27.0%	5.4%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	7	34	13	3	57
		%	12.3%	59.6%	22.8%	5.3%	100.0%
	Dessa	Count	0	19	2	1	22
	Enesie	%	.0%	86.4%	9.1%	4.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	8	77	25	6	116
		%	6.9%	66.4%	21.6%	5.2%	100.0%

Table 7 Cutting

			The one who Participate in Cutting							Total	
			only by the husband	mainly by the husband, male children and others	mainly by the husband and children of both sexes	mainly by the husband and wife	mainly by the husband and others	by all family members	by all family members and others		mainly by the husband, wife and others
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	3	1	0	10	8	4	6	5	37
		%	8.1%	2.7%	.0%	27.0%	21.6%	10.8%	16.2%	13.5%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	3	6	4	2	14	3	11	14	57
		%	5.3%	10.5%	7.0%	3.5%	24.6%	5.3%	19.3%	24.6%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	0	0	0	2	16	0	2	2	22
		%	.0%	.0%	.0%	9.1%	72.7%	.0%	9.1%	9.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	6	7	4	14	38	7	19	21	116
		%	5.2%	6.0%	3.4%	12.1%	32.8%	6.0%	16.4%	18.1%	100.0%

Table 8 Threshing

			The one who Participate in Threshing						Total	
			mainly by the husband, male children and others	mainly by the husband and children of both sexes	mainly by the husband and wife	mainly by the husband and others	by all family members	by all family members and others		mainly by the husband, wife and others
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	1	3	8	7	9	5	4	37
		%	2.7%	8.1%	21.6%	18.9%	24.3%	13.5%	10.8%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	9	4	7	22	4	8	3	57
		%	15.8%	7.0%	12.3%	38.6%	7.0%	14.0%	5.3%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	1	0	1	15	0	2	3	22
		%	4.5%	.0%	4.5%	68.2%	.0%	9.1%	13.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	11	7	16	44	13	15	10	116
		%	9.5%	6.0%	13.8%	37.9%	11.2%	12.9%	8.6%	100.0%

Table 9 Harvesting

	The one who Harvest the Harvest to the House					Total	
	mainly by the husband and children of both sexes	mainly by the husband and wife	mainly by the husband and others	by all family members	mainly by the husband, wife and others		
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count 0 .0%	Count 24 64.9%	Count 1 2.7%	Count 12 32.4%	Count 0 .0%	Count 37 100.0%
	Wonqa	Count 6 10.5%	Count 38 66.7%	Count 1 1.8%	Count 11 19.3%	Count 1 1.8%	Count 57 100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count 0 .0%	Count 13 59.1%	Count 3 13.6%	Count 5 22.7%	Count 1 4.5%	Count 22 100.0%
Total	Count 6 5.2%	Count 75 64.7%	Count 5 4.3%	Count 28 24.1%	Count 2 1.7%	Count 116 100.0%	

Table 10 Transporting the Harvest

	The one who Transport the Harvest to the House						Total	
	only by the husband	mainly by the husband, male children and others	mainly by the husband and children of both sexes	mainly by the husband and wife	mainly by the husband and others	by all family members		
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count 4 10.8%	Count 0 .0%	Count 3 8.1%	Count 18 48.6%	Count 1 2.7%	Count 11 29.7%	Count 37 100.0%
	Wonqa	Count 2 3.5%	Count 2 3.5%	Count 7 12.3%	Count 34 59.6%	Count 2 3.5%	Count 10 17.5%	Count 57 100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count 8 36.4%	Count 0 .0%	Count 0 .0%	Count 12 54.5%	Count 0 .0%	Count 2 9.1%	Count 22 100.0%
Total	Count 14 12.1%	Count 2 1.7%	Count 10 8.6%	Count 64 55.2%	Count 3 2.6%	Count 23 19.8%	Count 116 100.0%	

Table 11 The one who store the Output

	The one who store the Output					Total	
	only by the husband	mainly by the husband and children of both sexes	mainly by the husband and wife	by all family members	by male children and others		
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count 1 2.7%	Count 0 .0%	Count 23 62.2%	Count 11 29.7%	Count 2 5.4%	Count 37 100.0%
	Wonqa	Count 3 5.3%	Count 5 8.8%	Count 38 66.7%	Count 10 17.5%	Count 1 1.8%	Count 57 100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count 2 9.1%	Count 0 .0%	Count 15 68.2%	Count 2 9.1%	Count 3 13.6%	Count 22 100.0%
Total	Count 6 5.2%	Count 5 4.3%	Count 76 65.5%	Count 23 19.8%	Count 6 5.2%	Count 116 100.0%	

Table 12 The First most Tiresome Farm Activity done by the Husband

			The First most Tiresome Farm Activity done by the Husband					Total
			ploughing	land preparation	weeding	cutting	threshing	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella	Count	16	3	6	11	1	37
	Zuria	%	43.2%	8.1%	16.2%	29.7%	2.7%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	36	0	0	21	0	57
		%	63.2%	.0%	.0%	36.8%	.0%	100.0%
	Dessa	Count	20	0	2	0	0	22
	Enesie	%	90.9%	.0%	9.1%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	72	3	8	32	1	116	
	%	62.1%	2.6%	6.9%	27.6%	.9%	100.0%	

Table 13 The Second more Tiresome Farm Activity done by the Husband

			The Second more Tiresome Farm Activity done by the Husband					Total	
			ploughing	land preparation	weeding	cutting	threshing		transporting
Sample Kebele	Yebokella	Count	3	14	8	8	3	1	37
	Zuria	%	8.1%	37.8%	21.6%	21.6%	8.1%	2.7%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	3	26	9	16	2	1	57
		%	5.3%	45.6%	15.8%	28.1%	3.5%	1.8%	100.0%
	Dessa	Count	1	8	2	10	1	0	22
	Enesie	%	4.5%	36.4%	9.1%	45.5%	4.5%	.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	7	48	19	34	6	2	116	
	%	6.0%	41.4%	16.4%	29.3%	5.2%	1.7%	100.0%	

Table 14 The First most Tiresome Farm Activity done by the Wife

			The First most Tiresome Farm Activity done by the Wife					Total
			land preparation	weeding	cutting	threshing	harvesting	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella	Count	28	2	4	1	2	37
	Zuria	%	75.7%	5.4%	10.8%	2.7%	5.4%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	34	6	17	0	0	57
		%	59.6%	10.5%	29.8%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Dessa	Count	21	1	0	0	0	22
	Enesie	%	95.5%	4.5%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	83	9	21	1	2	116	
	%	71.6%	7.8%	18.1%	.9%	1.7%	100.0%	

Table 15 The Second more Tiresome Farm Activity done by the Wife

			The Second more Tiresome Farm Activity done by the Wife						Total
			land preparation	weeding	cutting	threshing	harvesting	transporting	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella	Count	5	18	8	3	2	1	37
	Zuria	%	13.5%	48.6%	21.6%	8.1%	5.4%	2.7%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	16	29	5	1	6	0	57
		%	28.1%	50.9%	8.8%	1.8%	10.5%	.0%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	1	18	3	0	0	0	22
		%	4.5%	81.8%	13.6%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	22	65	16	4	8	1	116
		%	19.0%	56.0%	13.8%	3.4%	6.9%	.9%	100.0%

2. Homestead crop Production

Table 16 Hoeing

			The one Responsible for Hoeing in Homestead Production			Total
			only a husband	mainly a husband	both equally	
Sample Kebele	Wonqa	Count	21	22	14	57
		%	36.8%	38.6%	24.6%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	3	6	13	22
		%	13.6%	27.3%	59.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	24	28	27	79
		%	30.4%	35.4%	34.2%	100.0%

Table 17 Planting

			The one Responsible for Planting in Homestead Production			Total
			only a husband	mainly a husband	both equally	
Sample Kebele	Wonqa	Count	13	16	27	56
		%	23.2%	28.6%	48.2%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	7	10	5	22
		%	31.8%	45.5%	22.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	20	26	32	78
		%	25.6%	33.3%	41.0%	100.0%

Table 18 Watering

			The one Responsible for watering in Homestead production				Total
			only a husband	mainly a husband	mainly a wife	both equally	
Sample Kebele	Wonqa	Count	4	17	17	18	56
		%	7.1%	30.4%	30.4%	32.1%	100.0%
Dessa Enesie		Count	2	6	3	11	22
		%	9.1%	27.3%	13.6%	50.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	6	23	20	29	78
		%	7.7%	29.5%	25.6%	37.2%	100.0%

Table 19 Harvesting

			The one Responsible for Harvesting of Homestead					Total
			only a husband	only a wife	mainly a husband	mainly a wife	both equally	
Sample Kebele	Wonqa	Count	16	0	22	5	14	57
		%	28.1%	.0%	38.6%	8.8%	24.6%	100.0%
Dessa Enesie		Count	6	3	7	2	4	22
		%	27.3%	13.6%	31.8%	9.1%	18.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	22	3	29	7	18	79
		%	27.8%	3.8%	36.7%	8.9%	22.8%	100.0%

Annex 3. Livestock Production and the Division of Responsibilities

Table 1 Herding

			The one who is Mainly Responsible for Herding of Livestock					Total
			husband	wife	male children	female children	others	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella	Count	20	0	12	2	1	35
	Zuria	%	57.1%	.0%	34.3%	5.7%	2.9%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	40	1	14	1	1	57
		%	70.2%	1.8%	24.6%	1.8%	1.8%	100.0%
	Dessa	Count	17	1	2	0	0	20
	Enesie	%	85.0%	5.0%	10.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	77	2	28	3	2	112	
	%	68.8%	1.8%	25.0%	2.7%	1.8%	100.0%	

Table 2 Supplying Fodder

			The one who is Mainly Responsible for Supplying Fodder to Livestock				Total
			husband	wife	male children	others	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella	Count	21	2	11	1	35
	Zuria	%	60.0%	5.7%	31.4%	2.9%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	33	8	15	1	57
		%	57.9%	14.0%	26.3%	1.8%	100.0%
	Dessa	Count	15	4	1	0	20
	Enesie	%	75.0%	20.0%	5.0%	.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	69	14	27	2	112	
	%	61.6%	12.5%	24.1%	1.8%	100.0%	

Table 3 Supplying Water

			The one who is Mainly Responsible for Supplying Water to Livestock					Total
			husband	wife	male children	female children	others	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella	Count	19	2	11	2	1	35
	Zuria	%	54.3%	5.7%	31.4%	5.7%	2.9%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	27	5	20	4	1	57
		%	47.4%	8.8%	35.1%	7.0%	1.8%	100.0%
	Dessa	Count	17	1	2	0	0	20
	Enesie	%	85.0%	5.0%	10.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	63	8	33	6	2	112	
	%	56.3%	7.1%	29.5%	5.4%	1.8%	100.0%	

Table 4 Barn Cleaning

			The one who is Mainly Responsible for Barn Cleaning		Total
			wife	female children	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella	Count	27	8	35
	Zuria	%	77.1%	22.9%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	48	9	57
		%	84.2%	15.8%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	16	4	20
		%	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	91	21	112
		%	81.3%	18.8%	100.0%

Table 5 Milking

			The one who is Mainly Responsible for Milking				Total
			husband	wife	male children	female children	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella	Count	9	21	0	5	35
	Zuria	%	25.7%	60.0%	.0%	14.3%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	19	34	1	3	57
		%	33.3%	59.6%	1.8%	5.3%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	13	6	0	1	20
		%	65.0%	30.0%	.0%	5.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	41	61	1	9	112
		%	36.6%	54.5%	.9%	8.0%	100.0%

Table 6 Processing the Milk

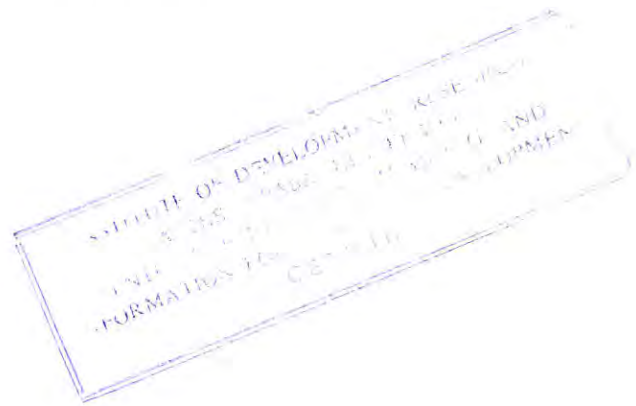
			The one who is Mainly Responsible for Processing the Milk		Total
			wife	female children	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella	Count	29	6	35
	Zuria	%	82.9%	17.1%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	52	5	57
		%	91.2%	8.8%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	18	2	20
		%	90.0%	10.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	99	13	112
		%	88.4%	11.6%	100.0%

Table 7 Mainly Responsible for poultry Production

			The one who is Mainly Responsible for poultry Production				Total
			husband	wife	male children	female children	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella	Count	0	4	7	0	11
	Zuria	%	.0%	36.4%	63.6%	.0%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	1	6	6	1	14
		%	7.1%	42.9%	42.9%	7.1%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	0	4	0	0	4
		%	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	1	14	13	1	29
		%	3.4%	48.3%	44.8%	3.4%	100.0%

Table 8 Mainly Responsible for Bee hiving

			The one who is Mainly Responsible for Bee hiving	Total
			husband	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella	Count	2	2
	Zuria	%	100.0%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	8	8
		%	100.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	10	10
		%	100.0%	100.0%



Annex 4. Women's Participation in Decisions Related to Production

Table 1 on how much Land to Plant

			The Participation of the Wife on how much Land to Plant		Total
			yes	no	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	21	16	37
		%	56.8%	43.2%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	36	21	57
		%	63.2%	36.8%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	11	11	22
		%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	68	48	116	
	%	58.6%	41.4%	100.0%	

Table 2 on what Crops to Plant

			The Participation of the Wife on what Crops to Plant		Total
			yes	no	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	21	16	37
		%	56.8%	43.2%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	35	22	57
		%	61.4%	38.6%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	11	11	22
		%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	67	49	116	
	%	57.8%	42.2%	100.0%	

Table 3 to Sharecrop the Farm Land

			The Participation of the Wife to Sharecrop the Farm Land		Total
			yes	no	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	14	23	37
		%	37.8%	62.2%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	31	26	57
		%	54.4%	45.6%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	10	12	22
		%	45.5%	54.5%	100.0%
Total	Count	55	61	116	
	%	47.4%	52.6%	100.0%	

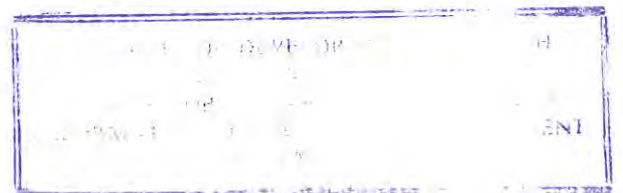


Table 4 to rent the Farm Land

			The Participation of the Wife to Rent the Farm Land		Total
			yes	no	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	10	27	37
		%	27.0%	73.0%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	30	27	57
		%	52.6%	47.4%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	9	13	22
		%	40.9%	59.1%	100.0%
Total	Count	49	67	116	
	%	42.2%	57.8%	100.0%	

Table 5 on whether to use Modern Agricultural inputs

			The Participation of the Wife on whether to use Modern Agricultural inputs		Total
			yes	no	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	22	15	37
		%	59.5%	40.5%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	39	18	57
		%	68.4%	31.6%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	14	8	22
		%	63.6%	36.4%	100.0%
Total	Count	75	41	116	
	%	64.7%	35.3%	100.0%	

Table 6 on whether and when to hire labour

			The Participation of the Wife on whether and when to hire labour		Total
			yes	no	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	18	19	37
		%	48.6%	51.4%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	39	18	57
		%	68.4%	31.6%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	9	13	22
		%	40.9%	59.1%	100.0%
Total	Count	66	50	116	
	%	56.9%	43.1%	100.0%	

Annex 5. The Gender Differential in Decisions on Household Resources

Table 1 Land

			The one who Decides on Land		Total
			husband	both	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	12	25	37
		%	32.4%	67.6%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	7	50	57
		%	12.3%	87.7%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	6	16	22
		%	27.3%	72.7%	100.0%
Total	Count	25	91	116	
	%	21.6%	78.4%	100.0%	

Table 2 Livestock

			The one who Decides on Livestock		Total
			husband	both	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	9	26	35
		%	25.7%	74.3%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	6	51	57
		%	10.5%	89.5%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	2	18	20
		%	10.0%	90.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	17	95	112	
	%	15.2%	84.8%	100.0%	

Table 3 Milk and its By-products

			The one who Decides on Milk and its By-products		Total
			wife	both	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	27	8	35
		%	77.1%	22.9%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	24	33	57
		%	42.1%	57.9%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	10	10	20
		%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	61	51	112	
	%	54.5%	45.5%	100.0%	

Table 4 Field Crops

			The one who Decides on Field Crops			Total
			husband	wife	both	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	4	4	29	37
		%	10.8%	10.8%	78.4%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	8	2	47	57
		%	14.0%	3.5%	82.5%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	0	2	20	22
		%	.0%	9.1%	90.9%	100.0%
Total	Count	12	8	96	116	
	%	10.3%	6.9%	82.8%	100.0%	

Table 5 Homestead Crops

			The one who Decides on Homestead Crops			Total
			husband	wife	both	
Sample Kebele	Wonqa	Count	3	0	46	49
		%	6.1%	.0%	93.9%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	2	4	16	22
		%	9.1%	18.2%	72.7%	100.0%
Total	Count	5	4	62	71	
	%	7.0%	5.6%	87.3%	100.0%	

Table 6 Household Income

			The one who Decides on Household Income			Total
			husband	wife	both	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	4	1	32	37
		%	10.8%	2.7%	86.5%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	11	2	44	57
		%	19.3%	3.5%	77.2%	100.0%
	Dessa Enesie	Count	3	1	18	22
		%	13.6%	4.5%	81.8%	100.0%
Total	Count	18	4	94	116	
	%	15.5%	3.4%	81.0%	100.0%	

Table 7 Household Labour

			The Ability of the Wife to Participate in Decisions related to Household Labour		Total
			yes	no	
Sample Kebele	Yebokella Zuria	Count	30	7	37
		%	81.1%	18.9%	100.0%
	Wonqa	Count	57	0	57
		%	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
Dessa Enesie	Count	19	3	22	
	%	86.4%	13.6%	100.0%	
Total	Count	106	10	116	
	%	91.4%	8.6%	100.0%	

Annex 6. Household Survey Questionnaire

Part one: GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE HOUSEHOLD

Instruction: Please circle the choices or put an 'X' mark that are applicable to your situation and provide the necessary information on the blank spaces if applicable to you.

1. Age category (Please put an 'X' mark in the appropriate box).

Age Categories (in years)	Husband	Wife
Less than 20		
Between 21-30		
Between 31-40		
Between 41-50		
Between 51-60		
60 and above		

2. Educational Status (Please put an 'X' mark in the appropriate box).

Educational status	Husband	Wife
Illiterate		
Read and write		
Grade 1-6		
Grade 7-10		
Grade 11-12		
Above grade 12		

3. Who is the head of the household?

1. Husband 2. Wife 3. Both 4. Other (please specify) _____

4. Do you have children? 1. Yes 2. No

5. If your answer to question 3 is 'Yes',

Total number of children _____

Number of male children _____ Their age _____

Number of female children _____ Their age _____

6. What is the size of your family? _____
7. Do other individuals live in your household other than your family?
 1. Yes 2. No
8. If your answer to question 7 is 'yes',
 Total Number _____
 Sex: Male _____ Age _____
 Female _____ Age _____
9. What is your household average annual income (in Birr)? _____
10. Is your household engaged in agricultural production? 1. Yes 2. No
11. Does your household have non-farm livelihood activities? 1. Yes 2. No
12. If your answer to question 11 is 'yes', what are they? _____
13. Does your household have agricultural land? 1. Yes 2. No
14. If your answer to question 13 is 'yes', what is the size of the land (in timad)? _____
15. How many plots of land does the household have?
 1. One 2. Two 3. Three 4. Four 5. Five and above
16. Does your household have livestock? 1. Yes 2. No
17. If your answer to question 16 is 'Yes' indicate the type and the number of these livestock and the one who owned them? (Make an 'X' mark in the appropriate box).

S.No	Type of livestock	Total number	owned by			
			Husband (Number)	Wife (Number)	Children (Number)	Others (Number)
1	Oxen					
2	Cows					
3	Heifers					
4	Calves					
5	Bull					
6	Sheep					
7	Goat					
8	Donkeys					
9	Horses					
10	Mules					
11	Poultry					
12	Bees					

18. Indicate as to who carry out the following domestic tasks. (Make an 'X' mark in the appropriate box).

S.No	Activities	Carried out by							
		Only a husband	Only a wife	Mainly a husband	Mainly a wife	Both	Children		others
							Sons	Daughters	
1	Fetching water								
2	Collecting fire wood								
3	Cooking food								
4	Caring for children								
5	Washing clothes								
6	Washing food utensils								
7	House cleaning								
8	Processing drinks								
9	Grinding								
10	marketing								

19. Which tasks are more arduous from among the activities listed in question 18? (Please begin with the most tiresome tasks).

For the wife: 1st _____ 2nd _____

20. What are the major crops produced in the last production year and mention the purpose of producing these crops? (Make an 'X' mark in the appropriate box.)

S.No	Crop types	Purpose of Producing		
		1. For household consumption	2. For Sale	3. For both
1	Teff			
2	Wheat			
3	Maize			
4	Barely			
5	Bean			
6	Chick pea			
7	Pea			
8	Lentil			
9	Oil seeds			
10	Vegetables			

11	Fruits			
12	<i>Chat</i>			
13	Others			

21. Which of the crops produced in your farm land demanded more labor?

1st _____ 2nd _____

22. Who is mainly responsible for the production of homestead crops (like vegetables, fruits and *chat*)?

1. Husband 2. Wife 3. Sons
4. Daughters 5. Other (please specify) _____

23. Indicate as to who has performed the following tasks in the homestead crop production on your farm land in the last production year? (Make an 'X' mark).

S.No	Activities	Carried out by							
		Only a husband	Only a wife	Mainly a husband	Mainly a wife	Both equally	Children		Others
							Male	female	
1	Hoeing								
2	Planting								
3	Watering								
4	harvesting								

24. Who does manage the income obtained from products of these homestead crops?

1. Husband 2. Wife 3. Both 4. Other (please specify) _____

25. Have you hired labor for your household activities (for domestic and/or for farm activities)? 1. Yes 2. No (If no go to question 28).

26. If your answer to question 22 is yes, please indicate how many they are, the sex type and age of the labor your household hire.

Total number _____

Sex: Male _____ Age _____

Female _____ Age _____

Major tasks undertaken by the hired laborers

Domestic tasks _____

Agricultural tasks _____

31. Who is mainly responsible for the following tasks in the household related to livestock production? (Make an 'X' mark in the appropriate box).

S.No	Activities	Carried out by					
		Husband	Wife	Both	Children		Others
					Sons	Daughters	
1	Herding						
2	Supplying fodder						
3	Supplying water						
4	Barn Cleaning						
5	Milking						
6	Milk processing						
7	Attending sick animals						
8	Poultry production						
9	Beekeeping/bee hiving						
10	Others						

32. Does your household often involve in group labor (debo) to undertake agricultural tasks? 1. Yes 2. No

33. If your answer to question 11 is 'Yes', what are the major activities that require group labor? _____

34. Does your household use any modern agricultural inputs (like fertilizer, selected seeds and pesticides)? 1. Yes 2. No (If no go to question 36).

35. If your answer to question 34 is 'Yes', who has made decisions in buying these inputs?

1. Husband 2. Wife 3. Both 4. Other (please specify) _____

36. What factors do hinder your household from using these inputs?

1. lack of cash
2. availability of manure, no need to buy these inputs
3. lack of information
4. others (please specify) _____

37. Has your household got a chance to receive any agricultural advice and training (like on how to apply and when to apply fertilizer, and on what type of soil)?

1. Yes 2. No (If No please go to question 40).

Part two: WIVES' PERSONAL INFORMATION

This part of the questionnaire is filled only by wives.

Instruction: Please circle the choices that are applicable to your situation and provide the necessary information on the blank spaces if applicable to you.

1. Do you undertake domestic tasks alone? 1. Yes 2. No
2. If your answer to question 1 is 'No', who does often assist you in carrying out these tasks?
 1. Your husband 2. Your son/s 3. Daughter/s 4. Others (Please Specify) _____
3. Do you need your husband to assist you in domestic tasks? 1. Yes 2. No
4. If your answer to question 3 is 'No', why? _____

-
5. Do you have land registered in your name alone? 1. Yes 2. No
 6. If your answer to question 5 is 'Yes', what is the size of the land (in timad)? _____
 7. Are there farm activities that you do not actually undertake? 1. Yes 2. No
 8. If your answer to question 7 is 'Yes', what are these activities? _____

-
9. What factors do influence your participation in these farm activities?
 1. because I am physically weak
 2. because these tasks are male's job
 3. because there is no need for my involvement
 4. because I am preoccupied with household chores and caring for children
 5. because I am culturally prohibited to do these farm activities
 6. because there is shortage of farm land and farm implement
 7. others (please specify) _____
 10. Do you make decisions on your household's land on the following issues? (Make an 'X' mark in the appropriate box).

S.No	Issues to decide	Yes	No
1	On how much land to plant		
2	What crops to plant		
3	To sharecrop the land		

4	To rent/lease the land		
5	Whether to use fertilizer and other technologies		
6	Whether and when to hire labor		

11. Do you have access to agricultural extension services (like advice and training)?

1. Yes 2. No (If No, please go to question 13)

12. If your answer to question 11 is 'Yes', can you use it in your household agricultural production? 1. Yes 2. No

13. What factors do hinder you from having access to such agricultural extension services? _____

14. Have you ever received any information from your husband about agricultural technologies? 1. Yes 2. No

15. Do you have credit services? 1. Yes 2. No (If No, please go to question 17)

16. If your answer to question 15 is 'yes', how do you spend the money? _____

17. What do you think the reasons that hinder you from having access to credit services? _____

18. Do you participate in making decisions on the following issues? (Make an 'X' mark in the appropriate box.)

S.No	Issues	Yes	No
1	On the household crops produced		
2	On the household livestock and their products		
3	On the labor of other household's labor		
4	On household income		

Part Three: HUSBANDS' GENERAL INFORMATION

This part of the questionnaire is filled only by husbands.

Instruction: Please circle the choices that are applicable to your situation and provide the necessary information on the blank spaces if applicable to you.

1. Have you participated in task undertaken with in the house?

1. Yes 2. No (If No, please go to question 5).

2. If your answer to question 1 is 'Yes', what are those activities that you often carry out? _____

3. Are there domestic tasks which are exclusively performed by men alone?

1. Yes 2. No

4. If your answer to question 3 is 'Yes', what are these activities? _____

5. If your answer to question 1 is 'No', what factors do influence you from participating in domestic tasks?

1. because these are women's job
2. I am preoccupied with productive tasks
3. I am culturally prohibited from doing these tasks
4. There is no need for my involvement
5. Others (Please specify) _____

6. Do you have agricultural land registered in your name alone? 1. Yes 2. No

7. If your answer to question 6 is 'yes', what is the size of the land (in timad)? _____

8. Are women's farm activities important for agricultural production and productivity?

1. Yes 2. No

9. Are there agricultural tasks which are exclusively carried out by men alone?

1. Yes 2. No

10. If your answer to question 9 is 'Yes', what are these activities? _____

11. Why these activities are not undertaken by women? _____

12. Are there agricultural tasks which are exclusively carried out by women alone?

1. Yes 2. No

13. If your answer to question 12 is 'Yes', what are these activities? _____

14. Why these activities are not undertaken by you? _____

15. Are there shared agricultural tasks? 1. Yes 2. No

16. If your answer to question 15 is 'Yes', what are these tasks? _____

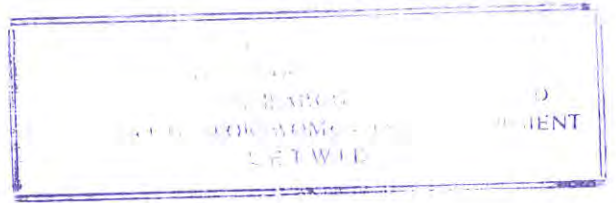
17. Do you involve your wife in making decisions on household matters?

1. Yes 2. No 3. Depending on the situations

18. If your answer to question 17 is choice 3, what are these situations? _____

19. If your answer to question 17 is No, why? _____

Declaration



I hereby declare that this thesis is my original work, has not been presented for a degree in any other University and that all relevant sources used for the thesis are duly acknowledged.

Name Anteneh Bassezenew

Signature [Handwritten Signature]

Date 28th July, 2008

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as a University advisor.

Name yigremew Adal

Signature [Handwritten Signature]

Date 28th July, 2008