

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

**THE GENDER DIMENSIONS OF POVERTY: THE CASE
OF INTRA HOUSEHOLD IN ADDIS ABABA
(ADDIS KETEMA SUB CITY)**

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**THE GENDER DIMENSIONS OF POVERTY: THE CASE OF
INTRA HOUSEHOLD IN ADDIS ABABA
(ADDIS KETEMA SUB CITY)**

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Abstract

Gender dimension of poverty largely examined in relation to head of the households, comparing female headed with that of male-headed households. Intra household poverty issues largely have gone unexamined.

Owing to this gap, the thesis has objectives to assess the Gender dimension of poverty in the case of intra household arena, examine wives' and husbands' access to and control over resources, power relation, roles and responsibilities, vulnerability to risks and other related matters, so as to investigate whether women are disadvantaged or poorer than their male counterparts.

The research is done in Addis Ababa, Addis Ketema sub city 'Amanueal Sefer'. It is one of the disadvantaged areas in the city and large numbers of poor residents are living. The research design involves the use of both primary and secondary data. In this study more of qualitative methods are utilized. Added to this simple percentages were also used. Primary data is generated through interview, focus group discussions and to some extent observations. Married couples with children both sons and daughters were selected considering their age differential and living conditions. A total of thirty-three households were selected for interview, couples from each household were interviewed. A total of thirty-two women and men were also involved in the Focus Group Discussions. Secondary data were generated from books and other related researches.

Findings of the study show that in most of the cases women have disadvantaged position comparing with their male counterparts. They are the one who carried out major household responsibilities and very much responsible for the sustenance of the households. Yet they have low access to and control over households' resources. Among the workingwomen most of them have low controlling power over the income they generated. Even if women have greater responsibility for household matters, it is their husbands who are major decision-makers. Women are also very much vulnerable in times of difficulty than their husbands. Most of the time women are disadvantaged and poorer than their husbands. The societal norm, women's self concept and the culture play significant roles to keep women in disadvantaged position.

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Acronym

WB	World Bank
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
EWLA	Ethiopian Women's Lawyers Association
PPA	Participatory Poverty Assessment
MOFED	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development
ILO	International Labour Office

Glossary of Ethiopian terms used in this study

Anbasha: a kind of bread prepared from wheat.

Birr: Ethiopian currency.

Equb: A form of saving, group of individual agree to contribute a fixed weekly or monthly sum, the total to be given to members in turns.

Gulit: a place where mostly women sell different commodities in open space on the street.

Iddir: A community based organization, to which most of the people belongs; it is the most influential association in the country. Membership is usually on the basis of living area. Its main purpose is helping each other in the event of death in the family. There is collective money for financing funerals and other related expenses.

Injera: Ethiopian commonly eaten flat like bread, prepared from teff.

Kebele: It is the lowest administration unit in urban centers with its own jurisdiction.

Teff: a crop grown in Ethiopia from which injera is prepared.

Tella: a local alcoholic drink which is prepared in the house.

Ye setoch mehaber: women's association.

Definition of Terms

Patriarchy: A hierarchal social system and way of thinking where 'fathers' or 'patriarchs' rule which has become a model for every form of domination and subordination. The term patriarchal refers to power relations in which women's interests are subordinated to the interests of men. These power relations take many forms, from the sexual division of labour and the social organization of procreation to the internalized norms of femininity.

Masculinity and Femininity: Are part of cultural discourses rather than inherent in personality of the individual and form culturally\socially\politically created individual identities given to men and women.

Access to and control over resources: the right to use, share, sell and distribute productive assets needed to carry out one's activities.

Gender division of labor: Relates to the different work, responsibilities and activities assigned to women and men based on their gender as a consequence of their socialization and accepted patterns of work within a given context.

Decision making power: The right to decide on every issue in the household and outside of it.

Socialization: The process in which women and men are shaped and molded since child hood to act according to the given tradition.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 Background of the study

Poverty is a worldwide phenomenon and it has a multidimensional facet (Razavi, 1998). Poverty goes beyond income or expenditure; it includes inadequate nutrition, health care, education and transport. The essence of poverty extends beyond this; minimal command over productive assets, vulnerability, powerlessness etc (Quibria, 1993).

Although there is greater inequality in the life of people in the globe, poverty is a worldwide phenomenon. Millions of people are under extreme poverty. Life expectancy is not more than 40 years in many parts of the globe, many children do not even live beyond 1 year, and those who survived are malnourished and are weak physically as well as mentally. Women in poor countries are also dying in childbirth and diseases that are easily curable (White and Kellick, 2001).

In some parts of the world the level of poverty is reduced. In the year 2004 about 222 million poor people were living in Latin America and Caribbean. However, most countries in the region reduced their overall poverty. In East and Southeast Asia, for example between 1990 and 2002, the poverty level dropped by 9% (ILO, 2005). On the other hand in most parts of Africa poverty is getting worse. Out of the 20 countries, which have least purchasing power, 16 are found in Africa. A recent report considers Africa as “a continent rich in Poverty.” More than 270 millions Africans were living on daily incomes less than one dollar, 250 million Africans did not have access to clean water, more than 200 million youth were illiterate (White and Kellick, 2001).

Even if poverty is widespread in Africa the distribution is uneven across the continent. For example poverty is at its lowest level in Algeria, 15% of the populations are living on less than US\$ 74 per person per month. On the other extreme, 70% of Guinea Bissau's population lives below the local poverty line of US\$26 per person per month (ILO, 2005).

The poverty situation is much worse in Sub Saharan Africa; many of the population, 47-52% are estimated to be living below the poverty line. Regarding school enrolment and health services Sub Saharan Africa is one of the world's lowest (ibid,18) The inadequacies of services like education show gender inequality. Women in many societies are considered as only wives and mothers with defined work and requirements (Jain and Banerjee, 1985).

Poverty is by no means gender neutral, nevertheless most women are disadvantaged than their male counterparts. Gender based poverty is prevalent in most developing countries. "Feminization of poverty" indicates that women are at greater risk of falling into the poverty trap than that of men. The feminization of poverty is aggravated by limited skills and knowledge of women and their concentration in low paying and time consuming activities. Traditional family structures, which encourage and promote gender inequality through patriarchal norms and devaluation of women's work, contribute for the feminization of poverty. Women have less access to education and training than men, less time to devote on productive assets and less command over vital resources. Added to this women have less power to control over their labor (White and Kellick, 2001 and Gelpi et al., 1986). Women are over represented in the percentage of people below the poverty line than that of men. More so women suffer from the depth and severity of poverty (Quibria, 1993). There are also differentials within the family between men and women.

Women shoulder multiple burden and struggle for families' survival. They are major caretaker of their families' health and welfare and play a major role in household chores, on the other hand men concentrated on visible economic activities. These differences create gap in the position of men and women within the household. It creates differences in the way men and women allocate and make decisions on families' resources, hence women lack the "bargaining power in the decision making process over the majority of household resources" (White and Killick, 2001).

Ethiopia is one of the poorest countries in the world; as a result the problem of poverty is faced by poor men and women, though women are hardest hit by the problem. Due to their socialization females are mainly attached to the role of mothers and wives. Their primary roles are preparing food, looking after children and other similar domestic chores. There is strict gender division of labour in most societies of Ethiopia, which contribute to the lower position of women. Added to this, women are disadvantaged regarding access to and control over productive assets vital to their well being as a result of this they have limited decision making power compared with their male counterparts (Habtamu et al., 2004).

1.2 Statement of the problem

Educational enrolment, access to health services etc are very minimal in Ethiopia (WB, 2005). In addition to this the level of employment is extremely very low; this also has a link with urban poverty (Kedir, 2005). Almost half of the populations of Ethiopia live below poverty line. Millions face severe food insecurity. There is a condition of high vulnerability due to drought, poor health, the rising of cost of living and other related problems. Hence many of the population who are not currently poor are at constant danger of falling into the poverty trap.

Rapid population growth and rural -urban migration are also playing their own role in aggravating the existing problem. Two million people each year create strain on Ethiopia's resource base, the economy and the capacity to deliver services. Poverty increasingly becomes urbanized where the poor spend 3/4th of their earnings on food. Urban poverty is increasingly a rising share of the total (White and Killick, 2001).

The percentage of the population in Addis Ababa who are facing the problem of poverty is increasing (Bereket and Mekonen, 1996).

Poor women and men in Ethiopia are living in a harsh condition. The poverty situation of the country is deep rooted (Mulumbet, 2002). The socio-cultural formation attributes women and men different roles and responsibilities in the society as well as in the household. This mainly puts women in disadvantaged position. The gender division of labour forced women to spend much of their time in back breaking domestic chores hence lack leisure time and it further devalued their well being in the household as well as out side of it (EWLA, 2002).

Some studies show that women and men have different experience on poverty. The gender differentiation plays roles for their different experience of poverty. Poor women in Ethiopia do not have equal access to education and health services. Moreover they are over loaded with domestic chores (ibid, 15-16). Women usually have limited access to the ownership of land, cattle and house. Women in Ethiopia have 5% less access to own land and cattle and 10% less access to the ownership of the house. Added to this women are disadvantaged in access to health service, education etc. According to welfare monitoring survey, the reported sickness incidence was high on females than males but it was males who sought more medical treatment than females. Concerning literacy rate the level of literacy is less on females than males (MOFED, 2002).

The gender division of labour restricts women to involve primarily in reproductive work, hence affects women's improvement in many regards. All these

disadvantaged position of women further hinder them from having control over productive resources (Habtmu et al., 2004).

There is an intra household gender based differential over the issue of access to and control over resources, decision making process and other related matters. The gender bias inhibits women's independent property rights and access to and control over household resources, thus they lack decision-making power and become disadvantaged (Baden and Kristy, 1995).

In addition to women's disadvantaged position in access to productive resources, they also experience other dimensions of poverty for example lack of leisure, low self esteem, violence etc comparing with that of men within the same household.

There are differences in the well being of individuals within the household. Greater resources are consumed to fulfill the consumption of health, nutrition and education of the male members of the household. Hence women have secondary status compared to their male counterparts.

The unequal power relations between husband and wife in the household and the gender division of labour imposed on women undermine women's position, thus disadvantaged.

In most of the cases parents give priority for sons' than daughters' education that has greater impact on daughters' later life. The domestic chores like caring for the household members, cooking and managing the household and other similar roles and responsibilities almost completely lie on women as a result of this they become disadvantaged. Wife and husband do not have equal voices over household matters husband has greater voices because of their breadwinner position and power. The different socialization in which men and women grow up has paramount impact on their status in the household. Husband is believed to be superior than his wife in household matters; as a result of this they have greater controlling power. On the contrary women have secondary position and less controlling power over household resources. Under such circumstances

poor women become more disadvantaged struggling with the scarce resources which the household has.

There are several issues of gender-based differentiation within the household, which in turn have significant impact on household poverty mainly on women. These are access to productive resources, control over family labour, inequality and rigidities in gender division of labour, inequality in income/ consumption and gender differential in responsibility etc (Baden and Kristy, 1995).

In light of the stated problems, the study attempts to find answers to the following research questions:

1. Do women and men in the same household experience poverty differently? / Are women more disadvantaged and poorer than their male counterparts?
2. Do men and women have equal decision-making power over household matter?
3. Do husband and wife have the same access to and control over household resources?

1.3 Objectives

General Objective

The general objective of this study is to assess the gender dimension of poverty in the case of intra household arena.

Based on the general objective the study focused on the following specific objectives.

Specific Objectives:

- To investigate the level of household poverty and how poverty is

experienced by wife and husbands.

- To identify gender inequality in the division of labour within the households.
- To assess women's and men's access to and control over family resources and labour.
- To examine the power relation between husbands and wives.

1.4 Significance of the study

Most studies done on poverty did not give much attention to the gender dimension of poverty. Some of them, which dealt with the gender dimension of poverty mainly, focused on comparison of poverty level between female and male-headed households. In Most of the time women who headed households are taken as the poorest of the poor. Female-headed households definitely face difficulties of life in many regards. But there are also millions of poor women who are facing the harsh realities of life living with their husbands. Their voices are not heard and received very little attention from the concerned bodies.

Over emphasizing on the female-headed households as the poorest of the poor, overshadows the concern about other group of women, thus research is vital to uncover other categories of women who also shoulder the burden of poverty but are not visible as women who head households (Buvinic et al., 1993).

The findings of the study are believed to show the challenges and difficulties married women are facing while living with their spouses. The result of the study will serve as source of information for persons who will need to know about the intra household relationship related to poverty. Other researchers who will be interested to conduct further study on similar subjects may also use it.

1.5 Limitations of the study

- Intra household relation is complex and considers usually as a private domain, as a result of this it was very difficult to contact and interview as many people as possible. It is because of this, that the numbers of the respondents are limited.
- As the study focuses on the gender dimension of poverty in the case of intra household, it would have been better to make interview with all eligible family members in the household. But interviews were made only with couples due to time, energy and financial constraints.

CHAPTER TWO

Review of Related Literature

2.1. Overview on the concept of poverty

To understand the essence of poverty it is vital to look in to the concept and other different issues encompassing poverty, it is not easily to defined and conceptualized poverty. It is difficult to analyze poverty even in its pure quantitative terms (Sosa, 1997). The concept of poverty is multidimensional and embraces different aspects.

Poverty can be defined in broader or narrower senses. In the broader sense poverty is deprivation or ill being, which include not only lack of income but also other dimensions important for well being. These other dimensions of poverty include physical, social, economic, psychological and political factors. In the narrower sense poverty describes as insufficient income or consumption (Ibid, 9). In this sense the focus is only on the low level of income, ignoring other dimensions of poverty.

2.2. Measurements of poverty

Previously poverty has been mainly measured in monetary terms, though it has many other facets. Poverty includes low level of income or consumption with respect to health, nutrition and literacy but also deficient social relations, insecurity, low self-esteem, voicelessness and powerlessness (Klugman, 2002).

In narrower sense poverty refers to the deprivation or the inability to obtain a minimal standard of living; this defines the poverty line for that particular society and divide the population into the poor and non- poor (Quibria, 1993).

There are three ways of setting poverty lines. They are absolute, relative and subjective.

Absolute poverty line is absolute standard of what one should be able to fulfill basic necessities (Ibid, 33). In this approach a certain minimal living standard is determined like nutritional level, clothing and other basic necessities (Anand, 1983). The common trend in defining an absolute poverty level is the estimation of the cost of a bundle of goods, food as well as nonfood (Bereket and Mekonen, 1996).

According to Grouter setting the non-food minimum is arbitrary (Groutert, 1996). Absolute poverty has its own limitations, it concentrate more on measuring food poverty. As a matter of fact sufficient level of nutrition is not the only demand (Berket and Mokeonen, 1996). People need other necessities in addition to food for their survival, thus the essence of poverty goes beyond the attainment of the absolute minimum requirement for survival (MOFED, 2002).

An alternative way of setting poverty line is using relative poverty line concept. It is defined in relation to the distribution of income or consumption based on the prevailing standard in the society (Kulgman, 2002 and Anand, 1983). Similarly, a relative poverty line depends on the expenditure data and involves disaggregating the population into different income or expenditure categories then identify the lowest percentage of the population as the poor. After doing this, we use the corresponding income or consumption level for this percentile as the poverty line to compare with other groups, time or place (Glewwe and Twum – Bahaa 1991 cited in Bereket's edition, 1996).

The third way of setting poverty line is subjective poverty line; it is based on self – reported measures of poverty (kulgman, 2002). In this approach people who are under questions make subjective judgment acceptable minimum standard of living condition based on their own society. The subjective approach is based on questions to households or individuals that deal with based on their beliefs,

perception and attitudes towards their own living standards in the community, thus the following questions are frequently asked. Do you have enough? What is the minimum basic need for your family? Which group of people do you think more insecure /vulnerable in your community? After collecting answers for the above questions, poverty line can be drawn (Klugman, 2002). However, Poverty lines do not show the process of impoverishment as a result suffers with limitations (Whitehead and Lockwood, 1999). In addition to this the values of poverty lines differ from place to place, society to society and over time as well (MOFED, 2002).

After setting the poverty lines there is the issue of choosing or estimating poverty measures.

The poverty measure itself is a statistical function that translates the comparison of the indicator of household well being and the chosen poverty line in to one aggregate number for the population as a whole or a population sub group.

The most commonly used measure of poverty is head count index (incidence of poverty), poverty gap index (Depth of poverty) and squared poverty gap index (poverty severity) (Ibid, 34-35).

The earliest and the most common measurement of poverty is the head count index, it is the ratio of or proportion of population under poverty line in the given society (Bereket and Mekonen, 1996). That is to say the ratio of the population who cannot cover the expense of basic basket of food. In the head count ratio case, every individual below the poverty line is weighted equally with out taking any account of the degree of poverty. Even if this head count index reveals how many poor people are there, it does not show the depth of poverty among the poor.

The poverty gap index shows the difference between the poverty line and the mean income of the poor. This tells us that the distance between the households or individuals under question and the poverty line. The poverty gap index

consider as a per capita measure of a total economic short fall relative to the population (Kulgman, 2002).

Squared poverty gap shows us the distribution of living standard among the poor and reveals inequality among them. Greater emphasis is given for those who are further away from poverty line (Sosa, 1997).

The poverty issues like concept, definition and measurement are not easy to put them in a well defined generally accepted terms, thus it has faced ambiguity and lack of clarity (Bereket and Mekonen, 1996).

2.3 Gender Dimension of poverty

Both women and men face the challenge of poverty, though women are more disadvantaged and burdened compared to their male counterparts. Household responsibilities such as food processing, childcare, household managements etc consumed women's time and energy; as a result faced difficulties in involving in income-generating activities (Haddad, 1991).

Women's Poor health status decreases their ability in the involvement of productive work and devalued their position. Above all women's limited access to education restrain their involvement in productive work whereas, men have better access to education and better involvement in productive work, hence have good status in living standard compared with their female counterparts.

In most parts of the world children who were born from poor families start living in a very difficult situation and it will be tough for them to get rid of poverty. Children of poor family shoulder the difficulties of life. Lacking the means to provide their children, poor parents are forced to distribute the limited resources among the children (Narayan and Petesch, 2002 and WB, 1991). Children from poor families usually lack basic human capital like education and health because of financial

constraints, but there are inequalities in access to education and health between male and female children.

In most parts of the world the construction of gender depends on religious beliefs, political system, societal construction, economic status etc of that particular community. The gender relations have significant impact on social and economic development. The construction of gender create different division of labour and different value for women and men and determine who has direct access to productive resources it also determine division of labor, who is expect to do what and how households' structure is organized (Allen and Thomas, 1992).

Access to different resources and who should get what has a link with gender. In line with this, youth are forced to accept gender inequalities facilitated by patriarchal nature of most societies. These beliefs reinforced by different institutions and promote inferior position of women and hinder them from claiming right on productive resources valuable for their well being (Okojie et al., 1996). Women's access to different resources and services depend on their communities' social, political, cultural and economical characterization (WB, 1991).

Mathew Lockwood, (1999) argued that women in African societies have less opportunity in terms of economic aspect. They also face limitations in the participation of labor employment and in most cases lack access to land.

The gender inequalities exists in unequal economic aspect, devalued women's bargaining power in the household as well as outside of it and create significant impact on women's access to and control over material resources (Rives and Yousefi, 1997).

Women have less access to productive resources like land and capital because of the patriarchal nature of most societies which offer priority to men. Women have not only limited access to productive resources but also limited access or

opportunities to human capital like health and education. Education, health care and other important aspect of well being have relation with individuals' status, as women and girls have limited opportunities they face difficulties in basic necessities vital to their well being.

In most developing countries there are gender-based disparities in education, which affect girls' future life. In most African societies, girls' education lags behind that of boys.' Girls receive little opportunities for education than boys; hence remain disadvantaged (Nn ae meka and Ezeilo: 2005).

Education is a basic instrument to improve the well being of people and also a key to fight old ideas that create inequality between men and women. Added to this education makes women to play a great role in taking good care for their children and family in many aspects (Young et al., 1981). There is a clear relationship between mother's education and families well being. Mother's education is positively associated with child nutrition as well as education. Moreover, education perpetuates the benefits from one generation to the next (WB, 1998). In practice though, poor women have limited or no access to education. As a result of this they are forced to spend much of their time on reproductive activities in the household, thus lack access to other important productive asset and bargaining power in the household and outside of it.

Similarly they have low status and low paid work, which in turn contribute to their low status. Most Ethiopian women for example have limited access to productive assets and limited access to education, which is basic for access to other important necessities. Women have faced difficulties and problems due to economic, social and cultural barriers hence have little educational performance. (Habtamu,et al., 2004).

2.3.1 Gender Roles and Responsibilities

Because of the socialization process since childhood gender roles are accepted in many societies both by women and men. A gender inequality is learned in most households almost in every corner of the world (Narayan, et al., 2000). Most of the time women are responsible for household maintenance, family health and other related matters. Women are primarily responsible for household chores, whereas men are considered as the main breadwinner. Regarding the responsibility of men greater emphasis is given to the visible economic activities.

These divisions in roles and responsibilities create differences between women and men's position and their access to and allocation of resources. Making decisions on family resources is a crucial point, there may arise differences in the priority of using household resources both by men and women. As women are disadvantaged in many respects, they lack access to decision-making power within the households' resources (White and Kellick, 2001). Many women perceive that their main roles and responsibilities are related with mothering roles and domestic activities. They don't usually consider themselves as the main breadwinners (Harcourt, 1994).

Research done in Ghana revealed that the heavy time demand to different activities inside as well as outside the home limited women's opportunity in the involvement of income generating activities from which women can support their families (Haddad, 1991). Comparing with their male counterparts women suffer "time poverty", that is to say they do not have significant leisure time. They work dawn to dusk (white and Kellick, 2001). This takes leisure from them and has also pivotal impact on their health status. The situation is aggravated, as poor women in most cases are malnourished (EWLA, 2002 and Quibria, 1993).

The problem of time burden on women goes beyond and has significant impact on girls' education. Girls are expected to help their mother's in many different

household chores. Even if they got access to education, they could not properly follow their education because of the expected domestic roles in the household. Consequently, they will take the fate of their mothers and poor women transfer poverty to their children especially to their daughters (EWLA, 2002).

The PPA undertaken in twenty-three different countries ascertained that women's main task is taking care of the family while men are breadwinners and decision makers. Women themselves consider their primary role as taking care of the health, education and well being of the family. These responsibilities of women emanate from the gender division of labor assigned to them by the socio – cultural formation of the society. This view of gender division of labor is widely accepted both by women and men (Narayan et al., 2000). For example in the PPA undertaken in Ethiopia, a man said nature makes women's and men's responsibilities different and it would be immoral deviating from the norm.

Traditional gender roles are changing to some extent in some places and dramatically in some other places. According to the PPA some men informed that they are willing to do household activities under different circumstances for example when their wives are sick, which they are away from home for social obligations or work outside for longer period (Ibid, 115).

The accepted gender divisions of labor provide different position to women and men. Their positions greatly determine their well being in the home and in the community at large.

2.3.2. Intra Household Dynamics

Individuals in the same household might have different or the same interest in household welfare. Household resource allocation depends not only in

individual's resources but also the socio – cultural construction prevailing in that particular community (ibid, 5-6).

Couples interaction in the family is important as they share many vital family concerns mainly the well being of their children (Quibria, 1993). In this regard parents may have differences in the preferences of children's well being; this may lead them to conflict. In most of the cases especially if women are entirely dependent on their husbands, household might be a place where women suffer a lot and might be a place where they are suppressed and forced to experience violence (Ibid, 23).

Intra family violence appears with several factors like economic pressure, increased unemployment and other related problems. Violence between husband and wife is wide spread with husband more likely than wife to be the perpetrator. Different kinds of violence take place within the household ranging from verbal and physical abuse to murder (Moser and Mcilwaine, 2000).

Unemployment and loss of economic power coupled with women's increasing economic activities make most men to feel loss of control over matters within the household and feel a sense of humiliation and tension, thus leading them to violence against the members of the household mainly women (Narayan et al., 2000).

Within the household poverty exacerbate violence against women and children (White and Kellick, 2001). In the case of male only breadwinner, wives could be victims of domestic violence. Added to this, in the case of increasing unemployment usually in urban areas and in the difficulties of life women suffer a lot. Men tend to relief the anger of life on their wives hence women could be vulnerable to domestic violence. This could be taken as another face of poverty; voicelessness and powerlessness women face exacerbate their poverty within the household. In household system men and women have different roles and responsibilities like domestic chores and income earning activities to fulfill

families' necessities. Parents might have differences in responsibilities for domestic activities, school fees for children, clothing and other related matters. Household members are dependent on each other in terms of labor; output and so on as a result of this there might be negotiation and conflict in the distribution of resources. In the household resource allocation and distribution, women are systematically suppressed and hence disadvantaged (Allen and Thomas, 1992).

Household decision making is made based on the interest of the members of the household as a unit, more importantly based on the interest of the more powerful individual usually men. Similarly, the position and power relation individual have in the household greatly affects their participation in other fields outside the home (Ibid, 207).

Men are able to make decision over household matters and exercise their power on their wives and other family members through different mechanisms. Men adjust expenditure and show their own priorities through control over expenditure in the ways, which benefit them (Omari and Creighton, 1995).

Men and women have different roles and responsibilities in the household hence different status. Different status and position between them create different bargaining power within the household. Women lack the decision making power due to the disadvantaged position they have. Added to this, poor women face difficulties to meet their own and their children's need for food and clothing. Contrary to this those women who have some income and contribute to the household consumption have a sort of decision-making power. Nowadays in urban areas women have increasingly becoming the breadwinners, as men face increasing difficulties to be the sole responsible to household expenditure (White and Kellick, 2001).

In most of the cases income earned from women used for children's food, clothing, education and the families' welfare as a whole (Moser and McIlwaine,

2000). Even in the case of meager income women are able to support their families. On the other hand men reserved significant amount of their income for personal spending (Omari and Creighton, 1995 and Baden and Kristy, 1995).

Generally speaking spending patterns are gendered; women's income is almost entirely used for the purpose of household necessities whereas significant proportion of men's income is reserved for their personal use. In line with this the bargaining power of the individuals in the households depends on the proportion of the income contribution to the household (Allen and Thomas, 1992).

In recent times in many parts of the world especially in the urban area men's traditional value is somewhat changing and women are involving in income earning activities usually in the informal sector (Narayan et al., 2000).

Women's involvement in the informal sector gives them advantage as a means of income generating activities, though they face difficulties in the sector. In any case women are increasingly becoming household decision makers comparing previous time. To some households this changing pattern of women's status, due to economic empowerment create a positive change towards men's attitudes and change power structure within the household (Omari and Creighton, 1995).

In spite of involving in different economic activities, domestic work overburdened women. PPA under taken in Ethiopia shows that when life become difficult and men lost the opportunity to employment, women are forced to participate in economic activities in addition to domestic chores, hence overburdened with insignificant help from men in domestic chores (Narayan et al., 2000). The more the men become jobless the heavier the burden on women. Women involve in retailing trade, vending on the street, labor work etc (Dessaegn and Aklilu, 1999). Even if poor women become over burdened with multiple tasks, their involvement in economic activities gives them controlling power in the households' resources. The increasing women's economic participation

decreased men's sole breadwinner position. Women's discussion group in PPA from different parts of the world revealed that their increasing economic contribution provide them power, but this varies from place to place and community to community. In line with this in some conservative cultures, the small change achieved in women's life considers as a big change (Ibid, 116).

However, even if women engaged in economic activities and earn an income, it does not necessarily ensure a change in their subordination and low status (White and Kellick, 2001).

The socio-cultural construction attributes different roles and responsibilities for both the sexes. Women and men brought up in different socialization. Women are expected to perform all domestic chores, which take much of their time and energy. Added to this women also involve in income raising activities to support the family. Whether women are working outside or not, all the burden of domestic chores is reserved for them. The girl children also are demanded to offer their labor in domestic activities hence, follow their mothers' footsteps. The gender division of labour creates differences between men and women. As men are free from domestic chores, they have better opportunities to involve in income generating activities. This provides men to have better status in household decision-making process.

Men decide on household expenditure better than that of women hence, greater share of household resources. Resources that enter in to the household do not share equally among members of the household. Consequently, the one who brings more to the household has greater share of the resources.

2.3.3. Are women poorer than men?

It is true that poverty is not gender neutral but there are several causes in which women are more prone to poverty. Women's poverty manifested in cultural context comparing with their male counterparts. Women face cultural and religious constraints that devalued their position in the society, hence affect their well beings. In some culture women are deprived of inheritance right while male members of the household enjoy this right. Women are less able to change their labor into money and money in the things they want to make (White and Kellick, 2001). Women are significantly vulnerable to poverty due to limited access to different basic necessities and resources mainly because their dependency on men for economic and social support, this makes them susceptible to poverty (Baden and Kristy, 1995).

Wee and Heyzer stated in their work that women are increasingly struggling for scarce resources to sustain themselves and the family as well. Added to this they are not the ones who use the fruit of their labour.

Women produced half of the world's food, yet constitute 70% of the world's 1.3 billion absolute poor. Women work 2\3 of the world's working hours, but own less than 1% of the world's property...women are increasingly impoverished (Wee and Heyzer, 1995:36-38).

In most cases it is women who are engaging in low-income earning and time-consuming tasks as a result of this they are considered poorer. Similarly even if women and men have the same income, consumption and employment status; women remain more socially, politically and psychologically constraint with little power and freedom in participation in the outside arena, consequently they are disadvantaged in welfare terms, hence are poorer (Quibraia, 1993).

To address the question of whether women really are poorer than men it is possible to look in to two different approaches. The first approach is the

comparison between female and male-headed households and the second one is comparing the living standards of individual men and women within the same households.

Regarding the first approach, to address women's poverty, a large body of literature argued that female-headed households are poorer than that of male-headed households. The incidence of female-headed households is greatly increasing both in developed and developing countries, though the reasons differ from place to place (Flobre 1991, cited in Baden and Kristy, 1995). In the case of Ethiopia, 26% of the households are headed by women and majority of them are in urban areas (MOFED, 2002).

Female-headed households are considered as poorer because of fewer assets, less access to high paying employment, longer hours of domestic labor and other related reasons (Baden and Kristy, 1995).

In most of the cases there is a tendency of association of female-headed households as the poorest of the poor when comparing with that of male headed households. However, there is a problem in comparing male and female-headed households as unit of analysis in terms of poverty. This can hide the level of poverty within coupled households and overemphasize the hardship of female-headed households. In most of the cases women's poverty is related with female-headed households. But there are many poor invisible women in coupled households.

Women are affected by different social norms and rules, which devalued their status both in the household and outside of it. In the household level women have unequal power relation with that of their husbands (Tizita, 2004).

Within the family women are exploited by men, as the couples affairs considered a private matter women's exploitation often remain unnoticed. It might be difficult to simply focus on households as unit of poverty analysis and ignoring intra

household aspects, like unequal access to resources between men and women. Men do not spend all their income to household consumption rather use significant amount of their income for their personal consumption including alcohol, tobacco, extra marital affairs, etc which affect the well being of other family members (Kabeer, 1997). There are many instances that women who headed households are better off than women in marriage, in the PPA conducted in twenty three different countries, some women group acknowledged that it is easier nowadays to live alone with children than with a husband in the family, once have got some economic resources (Narayan et al, 2000).

It is argued that there might be unequal standard of living among members of the same family; there is inequality in economic, social and psychological factors, which form lower status for women. These differences of men and women create disadvantaged position to women when comparing with their husbands.

2.4 Theoretical perspective

Household is a smaller basic unit and the place where interpersonal communication reflects in biological and economic interaction (WB, 2005). Household is a socio– economic and political unit that consists of different gender, age, educational and political status generally comprising heterogeneous group (Omari and Creighton 1995). Household is a locus of conflict as well as cooperation.

A household consists of different people who share food and are living in the same household. All members of the household usually consider as living in harmony together. But according to Lancaster and Leonardo (1997) it is not always the case that husband, wife, children and other family members are living peacefully in most parts of the world in all the time. Most of the time household is depicted as a firm cooperative unit as if all individual members in the same household jointly perform and have similar preferences (Kabeer, 1997).

The family starts with the union of man and woman. A married life is defined as a dual relation in its form, universal in its value and specific in its intensity and in its strength. According to the principle marriage life brings combination of assistance, comforts and pleasure with its services and obligation and becomes the basic unit of the country (Foucault, 1986).

Family is the basic place where socio- cultural values and economic system interact with macro economy and technological forces. Families use their experience and information about their surroundings to make decisions about what to do with their resources, this includes the labor of each family members. It is in the intra household level that social formation of gender is shaped (World Bank, 1991).

Family is usually an ideological unit rather than merely a function unit dreamed as collaboration as opposed to rivalry, enduring rather than conditional (Lancaster and Leonardo, 1997).

Household is a unit, which makes decision regarding matters that affect members of the households. In principle, it is argued that wife and husband equally decide on family matters and have equal say over the matter of household resources, in practice however women have little say about household's resources and little decision making power (Yegremew, 2001). The man is the major decision maker and better controller of resources. The woman implements the decisions made by her husband. Men exercise tremendous authority with the income of the households. This authority usually derives from men's income earning capacity and privileged position in the society (Rogers, 1980). Men usually are the major breadwinners, have superior position in the household comparing with their wives. As a result of this they are considered as the major decision makers within the households.

Similarly Olson and De Frain stated, the power relationship within marriage is, related to who has the most resources in the household. The one who has the most resources in the relationship has the most power in that particular household (Olson and De Frain) 2000). Resource that enters in to the household believed to be equally distributed among members of the household.

Resources in which individuals have do not only determine household relationship, there is also a set of relationship among household member in which women are systematically undermined. This inequality is manifested in different ways for example women lack major decision-making power in household matters (Barrett, 1988).

The culture has played paramount role in the formation of gender division of labour. According to Bem, the theoretical perspective on the social construction of gender, there are few points which need to be given due emphasis, these points are “socialization, situational constraint by the social structure, psycho dynamic conflict or identity construction by the individual.” It is through socialization that the individual grasp the gender lenses and construct gender self. Bem further explained the social structure is everywhere based on a gender division of labour. Male and female children molded to fit their very different adult roles defined by the society.

The construction of gender according to feminist theories goes beyond division of labour. It constructs masculinity over femininity. According to feminist theories the masculinity viewed as powerful, strong and superior while femininity is viewed as powerless, weak, inferior and controlled (Bem, 1993).

The power relation between men and women is confirmed by the society as means of controlling social order. It is this social order that gives men power over their wives. Women may accept power rather than challenge. It is because of this that violence has become integrated in every social process; domestic violence could be taken as the best example for this. Both women and men are expected

to live in the already constructed roles for them and expected to act according to the given culture, which usually gives superior position to men (Eyben et al., 2006).

Women as the major caretaker need to be near to the family, in the household, which promotes women's dependency mostly on men. Dependency has paramount impact on women's poverty. Women usually have dependent position on men within the family, which in turn have significant contribution for women's poverty.

Theories and principles which deal with resource distribution, power and other similar issues are used to strengthen the analysis. Feminist theories are mainly used in the thesis.

CHAPTER THREE

Research Methodology

3.1 The study Area

According to the new city administration classification, Addis Ababa is divided into ten kifle ketemas (sub-cities). Among the Ten -kifle ketemas, Addis ketema, Arada, Kirkos and Kolfe are the most disadvantaged, that is to say majority of the inhabitants are poor (Tizita, 2001). Out of these disadvantaged areas Addis ketema sub city has been selected randomly.

Addis ketema sub city is located in the northern part of Addis Ababa. Gullele borders in the north, Arada in the east, Keranio Kolfe, in the west and Lideta in the south. It has area coverage of 760 Hectares with a total population size of 320,000 (Addis Ababa City Administration, 2003).

3.2 Study Design

The study used more of qualitative research methods i.e. interview, researcher's observation and FGD. These methods were selected because they were very important to dig out intra household relation between wife and husband. It would be most fruitful in picking up every day actions and interaction in the household. It is vital to make research on poor men's and women's roles and responsibilities, power relation, decision making process, control over household resources, vulnerability and other related issues. Such issues could not be easily found out unless using qualitative methods. In addition to this there were some questions in the interview guiding questionnaire which can be quantified; hence simple percentages were also used.

The study relies more on qualitative methods, because it is appropriate to find out the complexity of intra household arena in relation to poverty. Intra household

poverty and gender based differential captures through detailed qualitative methods.

3.3 Sources of Data

Both primary and secondary Sources were used to get reliable information for the study.

The primary data were collected through semi structured interview, researcher's observation of household condition and FGD. Secondary sources of data were also used from different books and related researches.

3.4 Sampling procedure

Addis Ketema Sub-City has been selected for the study because it is one of the most disadvantaged areas in Addis Ababa with the highest population concentration. The sub city is highly populated comparing with other sub cities in Addis Ababa

Sub-City	Area In Hectare	Population	Number of Kebele in the new classification of areas
Addis Ketema	760	320,000	01/02/03,04/05,06/07,08/09/18, 10/11/12 ,13/15,16/17,14/21,19/20

Source :(Addis Ababa City Administration, 2003)

Addis Ketema Sub-City has nine kebeles;. Out of these kebeles, kebele10/11/12 is purposely selected. According to the official in the sub city, kebele 10/11/12 is one of the kebeles where large number of poor people are residing. The study population is married men and women. The respondents were selected from different age group, hence would have difference in their life experiences. In addition to this respondents were selected only when they have at least one son

and daughter at or beyond the age of ten. This is because children's status in the household is also examined in this thesis.

Thirty-three households which have married couples and having children both sons and daughters with low living conditions were purposely selected from the above mentioned kebele in particular 'Amanueal Sefer'.

The study tried to see a comprehensive picture of the lives of men and women through their own voices. The households are both female and male headed households; the second one is the overwhelming majority. The wives are considered as head of the households in the case where husbands are aged or being unhealthy, thus they assume defacto headship by default because their husbands are unable to maintain their economic obligations to the households due to ill health or old age, consequently the households are considered as female headed households. Semi structured interviews were conducted with couples from each selected household. Wife and husband were separately interviewed so that each one of them could express their feeling easily. Though, it was not so easy to establish trustful relations with my respondents.

First of all I selected thirty-five households for the study, but two of them were very much suspicious that husband-wife relation is part of the interview. Consequently, they turned down my request that they could not be willing to participate in the study. For the remaining thirty-three households I went at least twice to get acceptance and repeatedly told them the objective of the study, accordingly I discussed with them most of the points raised in the interviews. In addition to this the one who assisted me in identifying the households, is Women's Affair representative in that particular kebele. She is living and working in the kebele and has good relationship with people in the kebele. This made it easier to contact the selected respondents.

Moreover there was also negotiation about ethical issues; I affirmed that their

name would not be mentioned in the thesis. It is because of this that their names have not been mentioned.

3.5 Procedure for data collection

The researcher conducted semi-structured interview and focus group discussions with informants selected for the study. Interview and focus group guiding questions were prepared in English and translated in to Amharic.

Data for the Study collected through

- Semi- structured Interview
- FGD
- Observation and
- Document Analysis

3.5.1 Semi structured –interview

Interviews were conducted with informants about their living condition, relation with their husbands in terms of decision making process, access to and control over household resources, experience of violence ,vulnerability etc. Notes were taken during the interviews.

3.5.2 Focus Group Discussion

The FGD involved married women and men from different age groups. These focus group discussions were used to obtain facts, opinions and attitudes about the subject matter. FGD helped the researcher as source of validation. Notes were taken in addition to tape-record. There were four FGDs, two with women and two with men. The total number of discussants was thirty-two. The number of women and men participants in each group was eight. Both of them discuss separately.

3.5.3 Observation

It is one of the important sources of information in a qualitative research. The researcher observed household conditions and other related things.

3.5.4 Document analysis

The secondary sources were obtained from different documents, published as well as unpublished. Textbooks and other related researches were utilized. A reasonable amount of related literature has been reviewed that are significant to the subject matter.

3.6 Methods of Analysis

The information from the interviews, which had been recorded in the form of notes, was organized according to theme. Information obtained from FGD was also transcribed from tape record. The data were therefore, integrated and analyzed together and as result, the researcher was in a position to gradually internalize the subject matter to write the thesis. Data, which gathered from primary sources, were treated and then analyzed. The secondary resources were also reviewed. Data interpretation was mainly made on the basis of feminist theories. The information gathered through individual interviewees and FGD were thoroughly read and broken down according to themes and then described and anal

CHAPTER FOUR

Findings of the Study

4 .1 Characteristics of the respondents

Thirty-three households were selected for the study; couples were the target group of the study. Different questions were asked to assess respondents' living standard and relationship with their spouses. All respondents were asked about their age, educational status, income, expenditure/consumption, their children' boys and girls status in the household, roles and responsibilities, access to and control over resources, decision making power, experience of violence, vulnerability and other related issues.

The target population of the study is married men and women with children, sons and daughters.

Looking at the distribution of the respondents across age groups, 3.03% of the male respondents and 45.45% of the female respondents are in the 28 – 38 years age group and the percentage decreases to 30.3% at 39-49 years age group for women, while for male the reverse is true (i.e. 45.45% at 39-49 years age group). The percentage is still increasing for men in the age group above 50 years i.e. 51.52%, while still decreasing for women, 9.10%. In line with this 15.15% of the women respondents do not know their age and can not even guess it.

Table-1 Characteristics of the respondents by age group

Age Group	Sex				Total	
	Male		Female		No.	%
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
28-38	1	3.03	15	45.45	16	24.24
39-49	15	45.45	10	30.30	25	37.88
50and above	17	51.52	3	9.10	20	30.30
I don't know	-	-	5	15.15	5	7.58
TOTAL	33	100	33	100	66	100

With regards to ethnic group 30.30% of male and 33.33% of the female respondents are Oromo, 27.27% of the male and 30.30% of the female respondents are Amhara, 21.22% of the male and 15.15% of the female are Gurage, 15.15% of the male and 12.12% of the female respondents are among Tigre ethnic background and the remaining 6.06% of male and 9.10% of the female respondents are from other ethnic origin. (See table-2)

Table-2: Characteristics of the respondents by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Sex				Total	
	Male		Female		No.	%
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Oromo	10	30.30	11	33.33	21	31.82
Amhara	9	27.27	10	30.30	19	28.79
Tigre	5	15.15	4	12.12	9	13.64
Gurage	7	21.22	5	15.15	12	18.18
Other	2	6.06	3	9.10	5	7.57
TOTAL	33	100	33	100	66	100

Concerning religion, 54.54% of men and women respondents are followers of the Orthodox Christian faith, while 30.30%, 9.10% and 6.06% of men and women are followers of Muslim, Protestant and Catholic faiths respectively (See table 3 below).

Table 3: Characteristics of the respondents by religious background

Religion	Sex				Total	
	Male		Female		No.	%
	No.	%	No.	%		
Orthodox	18	54.54	18	54.54	36	54.54
Muslim	10	30.30	10	30.30	20	30.30
Protestant	3	9.10	3	9.10	6	9.10
Catholic	2	6.06	2	6.06	4	6.06
TOTAL	33	100	33	100	66	100

With regards to educational status of the study group, 6.06% of men and 30.30% of women are illiterates. 27.27% of the men and 30.30% of the women, 33.33% of men and 21.22% of women and 24.24% of men and 18.18% of women attended literacy campaign, primary level education (1-8) and secondary level education (8-12) respectively. The remaining 9.09% of the men group have college level education. Those respondents who attended literacy campaign can hardly read and write. The largest share of illiterates i.e. about 60.60% is of female respondents; this is because female received little attention since childhood regarding education. In most of the cases parents give priority to their male children rather than the female one, as a result female remain backward in their educational attainment.

In the cases of the study group, the majority of men as well as women respondents have low educational status, though women are worse off (See table 4 below).

Table- 4: Characteristics of the respondents by educational status

	Sex				Total	
	Male		Female		No.	%
	No.	%	No.	%		
Illiterate	2	6.06	10	30.30	12	18.18
Literacy Campaign	9	27.27	10	30.30	19	28.79
Primary level	11	33.33	9	27.28	20	30.30
Secondary level	8	24.24	4	12.12	12	18.18
College level	3	9.1	-	-	3	4.55
TOTAL	33	100	33	100	66	100

Due to the societal value parents wish their daughters to be engaged in marital union, which is seen as the most appropriate life for women. Added to this the multiple burden women carry hinder them from good performance in their educational career.

Asked if they are still trying to continue their education, only one woman aged 30 a mother of two children is enrolled in the evening program in grade 8, whereas, five of the men are enrolled to improve their educational performances. In most of the cases as women are burdened with multiple roles like bearing and rearing of children, domestic chores and income generating activities, it would be very difficult for them to continue their education. This would be further difficult for poor women loaded with a lot of burden. Men relatively have better opportunity to continue their education even after marriage and having children. The problem for them is usually financial difficulties. Women in the FGD also express their view regarding the continuation of their education, even if they want to continue their education managing their house, rearing children and the domestic chores

above all their poverty absolutely hinder them from continuing their education. According to them, they do not bother about their education any more; their major concern is their children's education.

A 38 years old woman with six children express her opinion towards education:

I always blamed my parents for not sending me to school. I couldn't even read and write my name. I am thirsting education like water and starving like food. You know what kind of life I am living? I am always in darkness because of lack of education. Things now are hopeless for me, but for my children I always try my best to help them succeed in their education.

4.2 Reasons for Coming to Addis Ababa

Rural –urban migration is increasing from time to time many people come to Addis in the hope of better life. But in most of the cases when their expectation fails, they might start to live worse off what they already lived. Out of the total study respondents twenty nine of the men and twenty seven of the women respondents are migrants. The remaining three of the men and six of the women respondents were born in Addis and still are living in it.

According to the study population, 63.63% of men and 33.33% of women are migrants to Addis Ababa looking for employment, 6.06% of men and 6.06% of women are displaced from Asmara, 18.18% of men came to the city for education, but none of the women came to Addis for education. 12.12% of the women respondents came to Addis because the family moved to Addis. The remaining 18.18% of men and 12.12% of women were born in Addis. The main reason for the immigrants, both women and men is the search for employment (see table 5).

Table- 5: Reasons for coming to Addis Ababa

Reasons for coming to Addis	Sex				Total	
	Male		Female		No.	%
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Search for employment	18	54.55	21	63.63	39	59.09
Education	9	27.27	-	-	9	13.64
Marriage	-	-	4	12.12	4	6.06
Displacement	2	6.06	2	6.06	4	6.06
TOTAL	29	87.88	27	81.81	56	84.85

4.3 Basic Household Information

The study population is those with low living standard and poor housing conditions. This group of people is selected because the study focused on poor men and women and their experience of poverty and to find out whether it is the wife or the husband more disadvantaged.

Regarding assets the households own, out of the thirty three households, thirteen households have television set and radio, twenty households have radio and two households have sewing machines. It is only one household which has saving in bank account. It is only TV and radio that were mentioned by the respondents as asset of the household. Almost all respondents are striving for their daily bread.

I am so rich if I win my family's daily bread.

A 56 years old man with four children.

Did you say asset! You can see the house, it tells you what I have and I don't have.

A 48 years old woman with seven children.

The majority of the respondents that is 87.88% are living in the house rented from Kebele, 6.06% of the respondents living in their own house and the remaining 6.06% live in houses rented from private owners.

Table - 6: Housing condition

Ownership	No.	%
Owned	2	6.06
Rented from Kebele	29	87.88
Rented from private owners	2	6.06
TOTAL	33	100

With regards to number of rooms, the majority of the households that is 51.52% are living in one room, 48.48% of the household are living in two rooms and the remaining 6.06% are living in three rooms.

Most of respondents live in a single room where they are cooking, eating and sleeping in it.

Quite significant amount of the households that is 54.55% shared electricity meter with at least five neighbors. The other 45.45% uses their private electricity meter.

Concerning with the households access to toilet 75.76% use shared (pit) toilet, 18.18% of the households don't have toilet and use fields. The remaining 6.06% of the households have private (pit) toilet.

The majority of the households use shared pit latrine, in which a minimum of twelve households shared the toilet. Added to this according to the researcher's observation, the condition of the toilets are extremely poor in some cases the toilets are overflowing, which will create health problem especially on children. Moreover, the toilets are found near the houses.

Regarding water supply, most of the households that is 45.45% use public tap, 30.30% buy water from individuals. The remaining 25.25% use private tap. All the households have access to potable water.

4.3.1 Head of the Family

With regards to heads of the family, 78.79% of men and 21.21% of women are heads of the family. Majority of the men respondents are head of the family, whereas women who are head of the family are small in number. This could be due to the reason that socially and culturally women are not considered as head of the family, mostly if they are in marital union. Even if women are equally struggling for the survival of the family, they are not considered as head. Women's work is taken as supplementary. Some women responded that they do not dare to claim themselves as head of the family, in spite of their contribution to the household much more than their husbands.

I have greater share of the family's expenditure. I spend much of my time in 'gullit' selling different kinds of foodstuffs. Added to this all household activities are waiting for me. In fact my daughters help me a lot in this regard. My husband is a daily laborer; his contribution to the household is very minimal. I am the most responsible person at home. The burden of managing the household, taking care of my children and every other thing are on my shoulder. Yet I don't dare to claim myself as head of the family. What do people say towards me if I say so?

A 48 years old woman with five children.

I know how much the burden of the family on me inside as well as outside of the house. But since I have to follow the culture, I don't claim myself as head of the family.

A 40 years old woman with five children.

What the two women express is also confirmed by the FGD, it is usually men who are considered as head of the family. It is only when the husband is incapable of leading the family due to health problem that women considered as head of the family. The discussant women groups claimed that women do not consider as head of the family in the presence of the husband.

Men in most cases are breadwinner thus consider as 'head' of the family. Even if women are actively participating in economic, social and other aspects important for the family, they have always the secondary position compared to their male counterparts.

It is always the man who should be head of the family. Men usually have the strength to be leaders.

A 56 years old man with four children.

For me it does not matter whether women or men who head the family. The most important thing is the ability to manage and administer the family.

A 42 years old man with two children.

Who do you think should be head of the family? It is the one who brings money to the family.

A 58 years old man with seven children.

Table- 7: Head of the family

Head of family	%	No.
Male	78.79	26
Female	21.21	7
TOTAL	100	33

In most of the cases men are head of the family. Due to the culture, whatever women contribute to the household it is in rare case that they are regarded as head of the family in the presence of the husbands.

4.3.2 Household size

The target group for the study is poor married men and women having children sons as well as daughters.

Majority of the household, i.e. 75.76% have five to ten family members, 18.18% have four and 6.06% of the households have eleven and more family members. Overall the family members are somewhat large to provide with the basic necessities to those with low level of living standard.

Table -8 Household Size

Household Size	No.	%
1-4	4	18.18
5-10	27	75.76
11and above	2	6.06
TOTAL	33	100

4.4 Children's Status in the Household

Regarding children's educational status, parents were asked whether there are school-aged children who do not attend any schooling. Among all the

respondents' children there is only a ten year old girl who doesn't attend any schooling because her parents couldn't offer her basic necessities for schooling but her brother a twelve years boy is attending school. According to her parents, they could send only one child and prefer the boy. The respondents claimed that the preference is not based on age. In most of the cases parents thought that boys achieve well in their educational career than those of girls that is why boys are favored.

4.4.1 Dropout of School

Regarding drop out of school, fifteen girls and nine boys dropped out of the school of all the thirty three households. Here also higher numbers of girls are dropout of schooling comparing with boys. A possible explanation for this could be the gender bias against girls. In most of the cases priority is given to boys in terms of education. Financial problem according to the respondents is the major cause for children's dropping out of school.

4.4.2 Eating habits between sons and daughters

Parents were asked about the eating habits between their sons and daughters. The majority of the respondents responded that there is no difference between boys and girls concerning food. Whereas some responded that they assigned larger proportion of the food for their sons.

My daughters spend much of their time at home with me so that, at least they drink coffee but the sons don't and come home with empty stomach, as a result of this I give larger portion for my sons.

A 54 years old woman with four children.

Ye set leje merake woferamenew, ye wond leje anjet kechinnew'

A 50 years old woman with five children.

Meaning females in most cases do not easily feel hungry but males do so. As a result of this males are privileged during the allocation of food.

4.4.3 Roles and responsibilities of children in the house and outside of it

Regarding the questions asked to the parents what roles boys and girls play in the home and outside of it, majority of the respondents said that all girls are doing domestic chores. Daughters are expected to help their mothers. In addition to this, most girls help their mothers in 'gullit'. After coming from school, girls are expected to do domestic work and also help their mothers in income generating activities if there is any. Some of the respondents also stated that their sons help them in household activities

Being overburdened with domestic chores has a negative impact on girls' education. Even if girls get the opportunity to go to school they don't usually have sufficient time to spend on their study. Consequently, they couldn't perform well and follow their mothers' foot step. On the other hand according to the parents they don't expect too much from their sons regarding domestic work as that of daughters, but boys are expected to involve in income generating activities.

Girls are socialized to act just like their mothers; they are needed for household work. In most of the cases participating in the household chores is considered as extremely vital for girls. Girls who are not involved in such activities are not even considered as female.

The burdens on daughters and boys are not equal boys have relatively more leisure time to study and achieve better educational performance because of their privileged position. However, in general with little attention and follow up from their parents, with little provision of the necessary materials and

uncomfortable environment for study it would be difficult both for boys and girls to achieve better educational achievement. As it is mentioned in the literature part the descendants of the poor remain poor.

4.5 Income and income related issues in the household

4.5.1 Income of Households

Most of the respondents, 42.43% can't estimate their households' average monthly income. This is because first they are involved in the informal sectors and don't have regular income. Second as most of them are illiterates and earning is not monthly earned, they couldn't calculate how much they earn monthly. What they get today is spent for today's consumption. 27.27% of the households earn average income 100 to 300 birr. 24.24% and 3.03% of the household earn 301 to 500 birr and 501- 700 birr respectively, the remaining 3.03% of the household earn 701- 900 Birr per month (see table 9 below).

Table- 9: Income of the household

Income	No.	%
100-300	9	27.27
301-500	8	24.24
501-700	1	3.03
701-900	1	3.03
Income can't be estimated	14	42.43
TOTAL	33	100

On the other hand large number of the female respondents, 42.43%, and 12.12% of male respondents are dependent on their spouses or children.

Majority of the study respondents both women and men i.e. 54.54 % are involving in the informal activities as their sources of income. 27.28% of male and

3.03% of female respondents depend on salary as source of income. The remaining 6.06% of male but no female respondents depend on pension as their source of income.

Table-10: Sources of Income

Sources of Income	Sex				Total	
	Male		Female		No.	%
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Salary	9	27.28	1	3.03	10	15.15
Pension	2	6.06	-	-	2	3.03
Informal activities	18	54.54	18	54.54	36	54.55
TOTAL	29	87.88	19	57.57	48	72.73

As most of the respondents have low educational attainment, they are involved in low income earning jobs. Consequently, educational status and income earning activities have direct relationship.

Most women are dependent on their husbands. Women with little children could not easily participated in income generating activities. In addition some women pointed out that their husbands are not as such comfortable with women's income generating activities as they earn minimal out of it.

It is because of my determination that I become member of 'ye setoch mahabre' and preparing different kinds of food items in-group and selling our products. Nevertheless my husband is against my work and prefers me to stay at home. He always said to me you spend the day out of the home forgetting the family, your income does not cover anything, so what is the use of working? I know my income is insignificant, yet I am thinking about the future. I hope I will have significant amount of income in the future.

A woman of 40 with six children.

This idea is also confirmed by the FGD both the two women discussant groups agreed that their husbands have not as such positive attitudes towards their income generating activities. This is mainly because that women's income is very small compared to their husbands. As the women further mentioned the earning they get from different activities is spent for daily consumption. As a result of this their husbands consider women's income as invisible. According to the women it is only their low living standard that forced men to accept women's income generating activities.

My husband does not appreciate my work. He said to me it is a waste of time and energy. But I know what benefit I have got for by selling 'Anbasha'. I have got some profit out of it and at least my children can eat the 'Anbasha' if there is nothing at home to eat.

A 34 years old woman with four children.

My husband is absolutely stubborn; he doesn't want to see me working outside of the home. It is only our poverty that forced him to accept my work.

A 29 years old woman with two children.

You know what he did, before I start work in 'gullit' he allocated 300 birr for monthly expenses, but after that he deducted 80birr. He did not tell me why he did it and I did not ask him why he did it. I know the reason, even if he did not say it in words; he wanted to say you are working so you have to contribute for the household. Of course I did, I cover 'iddir' fees and buy things that are vital to my children.

A 45 years old woman with six children.

As the researcher understood, the male interviewees do not as such consider their wives income as part of the households' income. Asked the total average income of household per month, most of the men respondents mentioned their income as the only household income. They were also asked to mention their wives average monthly income if there is so; the husbands whose wives are working to generate an income to the households, were reluctant to accept their wives income as an income of the household. Most of them said her income is not considered as income because it serves only for her coffee.

I would be happy if my wife's effort is supported by at least good return, she sells different food items organized by 'ye setoch Mahabre' but they do not have attractive market. They spend their time uselessly. It would be better for her to stay at home and manage the household and taking care of the children.

A 52 years old man with four children.

Men discussant groups in the FGD also mentioned that most of the women are working the same kinds of activities from which they get meager profit. As a result of this, the men groups argued that women should be trained in how to participate in different activities unless and other wise they prefer their wives to stay at home.

In spite of their effort women are not the one who enjoyed the fruit of their labor. Women's labor in most of the cases remains fruitless because of their low educational performance. Thus couldn't achieve a well-paid job. Added to this they do not have the skill to manage their business. According to the women respondents they never differentiate household consumption with that of their business. What they earn today is used for today's household consumption. As a result of this they don not know their profit or loss.

Further more some women pointed out that they get some credit to expand their business, but because they were not trained in how to use the credit, they already spent the money for household consumption and are now incapable to pay back the credit.

I took 1500 Birr from those who provide credit in our 'kebele'. My elder daughter has nothing to do, she insisted to go to an Arab country. As we don't have money to do that we ignore her idea. After I took the credit she started nagging me again. I gave all the 1500 birr and my husband borrowed another 1500 from different individuals and sent her in the hope that she returns back the money soon. It is five months after she left but she paid back only 1000 birr. Now I am too much stressed what am I going to do? How do I repay back all the credit I took? I only paid one forth of the credits. It is shame on me.

A 45 years old woman with five children.

As pointed out earlier, wives' income is considered as invisible by their husbands or only supplementary. It is mainly men's income that is taken as the major source of income to the households. As a result of this they are taken as the main breadwinners.

According to the study groups, husbands are the dominant, if not the only main breadwinners\principal income earner, 72.73% of husbands and 15.15% of wives are the main breadwinners. The remaining 12.12% of the main breadwinners to the households are children (see table - 11).

Table- 11: Main household breadwinners \ principal income earners.

Main bread winner	No.	%
Husband	24	72.73
Wife	5	15.15
Children	4	12.12
TOTAL	33	100

It is culturally accepted that in marital union husbands are considered as the main breadwinners. Wives are accepted as the main breadwinners when husbands are not available, incapable due to illness or old age. In low income households' children are expected to contribute for the household's consumption.

In line with this respondents are asked whether they get support from relatives, friends or from others. According to the majority of the respondents, it is only the family that struggle for survival without being supported by any one else.

Three years ago my relatives used to send me a sack of 'teff' from countryside, once in a year. Now they stopped doing that, may be because the amount of money earning from it would be a lot these days for them.

A 65 years old man with seven children.

On the contrary, some of the households responded that they have got some support from better off relatives at least once in a year. They further claimed that they couldn't stand the severity of life if there is no support at all.

4.5.2 Households' Saving

The majority of the households selected for the study have low living conditions. The respondents were asked whether they have saving in different form like 'Equb', saving in bank account, etc or not.

Majority of them don't have savings. Their major concern is winning their daily breads.

Hhh! I am struggling with life only for my stomach. I only bother for my daily bread.

A 45 old woman with six children.

Some of the respondents on the other hand argued that they have 'Equb' as the form of saving. It is only one household that has saving in bank account.

Regarding access to household savings, both the women and the men group have control over their own saving, usually 'Equb'. Women control the 'Equb' they have and men also do so. The difference is in how to use the money they get.

The women respondents said that, they use the money they get from their 'Equb' for household consumption and for their children's need.

When I get the money from 'Equb' I buy different foodstuffs like teff and other necessities to the family. I rarely change my clothes.

A woman of 46 with four children.

The majority of the men respondents on the other hand said they allocate greater part of the money to the household and the remaining for personal consumption. Only some of them said they discuss with their wives in how to use the money.

This corresponds with the summary of the literatures. In the patriarchal society women are shaped and molded to be caretaker. Consequently they are burdened with the majority of household responsibilities. As women usually spend their time at home, they are near to the problems of the family. This coupled with the society's expectation they tend to give priority to other family members ignoring own needs and interest.

4.5.3 Households' Expenditure and Consumption

Household expenditure and consumption is dependent on the income household generates. All the respondents clearly stated that there are a big gap between their income and expenditure. Their income is not at all sufficient to cover their expenses.

“Our life is always insecure because of our poverty. We are always thinking about our stomach. What are we going to eat? When we get some things to eat we become glad, if not we sleep with empty stomach.” This is the feeling of all the respondents. The overwhelming majority reported that their work is depending on informal sector; hence they do not have regular income. If they got something to work and earn some money today they may not have tomorrow. Yet, there are many things to cover whether working or not. Expenditures /consumption according to them depend on the earning they get from different activities.

I am too old as you see me and not healthy, so do my wife. I am depending on the good will of people. In short I am a beggar.

A 70 year old man with seven children.

In line with this respondents were asked how much of the income they earn spend for household and how much for personal consumption. Concerning with women respondents, they reported that their income almost totally spent on household and children's necessities. About twenty of the men respondents on

the other hand stated that they spend much of their income to household consumption and something remains in their pocket at least for tea and coffee.

*Women do not appreciate a man, who comes home early in the evening,
So it is vital to have something in men's pocket to drink 'tella' at night.*

A man of 45 with 6 children.

Men FGD discussant also confirmed that it should be necessary for men to have something left in their pockets for their personal consumption. From the study findings we can understand that husband and wife within the same households have differential consumption pattern. How husband and wife spent their income is gendered.

Due to their socialization women considered themselves as the main responsible for different household necessities. It is because of this women spent all the income they earn for different household necessities. Women interviewees explained that they allocate the income they get and what their husbands provide for household expenses. As women further explained all the burden of household lies on them what their husband doing according to the women, is allocating the budget to them. After receiving the money from their husbands, wives are expected to assign the money for every household necessity. Starting from buying foodstuffs, it goes to the paying of 'iddir' fee and many other different things. The wives not the husbands carry all these burdens. Women further explained, It is we the women they said are bothering and frustrating whether the money we have at hand is enough to different household necessities or not.

Do you know what my husband is doing, he just throw the money he got from his daily labor. After receiving from him and combined with mine, I try to allocate for different household consumption. But the income we have does not cover household expenditure. You do not believe me; I just sit and cry until my head burst out. My husband does not bother as I do.

Once he gives me the money, his responsibilities also end there. 'Bebedre Belka Enwe'. (It is me who borrow or take another option to sustain the family.)

A 38 year old woman with four children.

Stress and thought about what I can feed my family, driving me crazy.

A woman of 41 with five children.

Majority of the women share the above ideas regarding the failure of fulfilling household expenses with the income the household has. Women in the FGD also confirmed that once husbands provide money for household expenses to their wives, the remaining responsibilities totally lie on wives. Whether the given money is enough or not for household consumption husbands do not bother too much. According to the majority of the women, it is only the women who are carrying the unbearable load of poverty. Women discussant in the FGD claimed that crying is their only solution that they take to get relief from the difficulties of life. Added to this they stated that we become patient because of crying and stress that fill our life.

The men respondents also accepted this. They stated that their wives are overburdened with not only the work they perform but also with a lot of responsibilities in the household.

I know how much my wife is running up and down to make the family alive. I am always surprised how she is balancing household expenses with the meager income we have.

A man of 45 with three children.

4.6 Husband –wife interaction

4.6.1 Roles and Responsibilities of the couples

Being the caretaker of the family, women carry the burden of household chores and are also responsible for the entire family. In addition to this they are expected to support the family by involving in income raising activities. The patriarchal society burdened women with a lot of responsibilities. The majority of household responsibilities women carry undermines their position.

Roles and responsibilities of men and women are gendered. The role and responsibilities assigned to men and women are different both in the household and outside of it. According to the women respondents they are heavily burdened with domestic chores. Taking care of the family, managing the households and other related roles and responsibilities are carried by women.

This is also explained in some literatures Dessalgn and Aklilu (2000), for example stated that women's disadvantaged position is multi dimensional, the burden of housework, childcare and other responsibilities are overloaded on women. These tasks are always considered as the sole responsibility of women rather than the joint responsibilities of both the sexes. These unfair gender relations contribute a lot to women's poverty. More so the transmission of poverty from one generation to the next accompany with the transmission of gender injustices. It is daughters who are disadvantaged than sons in terms of carrying the burden of the household.

The study made by Dessalgn and Aklilu in different rural and urban sites of Ethiopia explained, the culture assigned women to work in the home and men outside the home. This creates different value for men and women. In spite of this some women are also involved in income generating activities (Dessalgn and Aklilu, 1999).

It is we the women who are burdened with enormous responsibilities not only in the house but also outside of it. Take me for instance; I have carried on different responsibilities. It is me who manage the house, caring for my children, preparing meals, responsible to pay for 'iddir' fee. Added to this I work in the 'guilit' it is difficult to count all the responsibilities that I have to fulfill.

A 42 years old woman with six children.

Sometimes I ask myself, am I made up of steel? I do not have any rest starting from dawn to dusk. It is only while I drink coffee I could take some rest once in a day.

A woman of 37 with three children.

The majority of the men respondents however do not participate in domestic chores. They consider it 'women's work' and explained that they are not entitled to it.

It would be unacceptable if I prepare meals and bake 'Injera'. It is being out of the norm. Besides, I have never even thought about participating in women's work.

A man of 69 years with four children.

The majority of the men respondents especially the aged are even surprised when they have been asked such questions. They believe this work should be totally done by their wives and daughters and their responsibility is bringing money to home.

I am the one who brings money and she should perform all the household work. I never even make a tea in whole my life and I will not do it in the future.

A man of 56 with five children

About seven of the men respondents relatively the young one claimed that they do not mind working in the household. They also stated that they help their wives in some household activities and believe that husband and wife must help each

other not only in income generating activities but also in domestic work. Mentioned what activities they perform in the household, the men respondents reported that they take care of their children and help their wives in some activities like fetching water and other similar activities.

On the contrary more than twenty men respondents stated that their wives do not want to see their husbands working domestic activities.

Not only me but also my wife herself is not willing if I do domestic activities.

A man of 47 with three children.

The above idea is supported by FGD; the two men groups argued that women do not enjoy working with their husbands in household activities. They do not want their husbands seen by the neighbors while doing domestic chores. The men discussant group further explained, if men work some domestic activities the women themselves call this person 'womanish'.

Similarly the women respondents were asked whether they encourage their husbands to participate in domestic work or not. Twenty-eight of the women responded that they do not encourage their husbands and would not be happy if their husbands become busy in domestic chores.

I do not let my husband enter into my kitchen. What do my neighbors say towards him? It is totally unacceptable in our culture.

A 58 years old woman with five children.

In most of the cases women totally admit the household tasks and immerse themselves in it. Women's ultimate goal is mothering roles within the household, this is because women are socialized in this norm since childhood and willingly submit themselves for household responsibilities (Lindesy, 2005:208).

On the other hand, five of the women respondents said that they need their husbands' hand in domestic activities.

I want my husband to help me in some household activities. I am too much busy both working in the household and outside of it. But my husband does not help me in any of household activities. He does not even wash his socks.

A woman of 35 with two children.

In addition to the burden women carry in the household, the majority of the women responded that they are heavily loaded with not only work within the household but also outside of it. On the contrary most men are not responsible for the domestic chores at all but they are considered as the main source of the households' income. According to the men respondents, they are carrying heavy responsibilities of their families' survival. They reported that especially these days as the cost of living is extremely rising they said we are frustrated in how to sustain our families.

Women and men are responsible for different tasks. They have grown up with the norm that women are the major care taker of the family. They thought that they should do what their mothers and fathers were doing. Moreover they believe that doing differently is being out of the norm. Hence women are burdened with multiple roles and responsibilities which have paramount impact on women's well being. Even if males are also responsible for different activities, the burden is not comparable with their female counterparts. The heavier burden women carry undermines their health status. It has psychological impact on them as well and devalued their capacity to work in different income earning activities. This also shows their inferior position than that of their husbands in different ways, thus disadvantaged.

4.6.2 Access to and control over resources

Respondents were asked about access to and control over household assets between husband and wife. Wife and husband have different access to and

control over resources. Twenty-one of the women respondents claimed that they have equal access to households' resources but not on control over resources. In line with this the women respondents stated that they have better access to and control over their kitchen materials.

Half of the men respondents stated there is no difference between their wives and themselves in this regard. The remaining half stated that they have difference in access to and control over resources between themselves and their wives. They stated that as they are the major income earner in their households, they have major contribution to the properties the households have, consequently claimed that they have better access to and control over resources of the households. In addition to this they further explained, as they are head of the family, they are also the primary owners of whatever they have in their households. As a result of this they have better access to and control over household assets.

In principle as well as Legally once women and men enter into marriage contracts they have equal rights over what ever they have in their household. In practice however, they do not have equal say over household matters and equal access to and control over households' assets. Added to this, resources that enter into the households are not equally distributed among members of the households. The one with more income and power would have the greatest share.

The patriarchal authority of men provides them privileges to have better access to and control over households' resources accordingly, consider as having greater power not only in household matters but also in the community at large. The power which husbands have over their wives and other family members and relatively better education and income, give them priority and greater ability to use and control over whatever they have in the households comparing with their wives.

Regarding the question which respondents were asked about to what extent they control their own income and their spouses', ten of the women respondents claimed that they are the ones who totally control their income. About twenty-two of the women respondents explained that they couldn't have the right to control their husbands' income. Despite this the women respondents stated that their husbands usually try to control their income.

My husband is aged and living on his Pension. I sell 'injera', Anbasha and other similar things to cover household necessities. My husband is very arrogant he always interferes with the money I have, which I got with my own sweat. He always said to me where is the money you have? Why do not you buy this or that? But I never asked his. I just receive what he gives me period!

A woman of 40 with six children.

I am the one who is carrying most of the household's responsibilities. My husband is a daily laborer and so do I. He always nagging me concerning the income I earn.

A 31 years old woman with three children.

Ten women respondents who said they are the one who totally control their income, explained that they also try to control their husband's income. Further explained, they did not accept their husbands if they deduct from the usual amount of household budget. In spite of women's effort to control their spouses' income, the husbands are not easily manipulated. Besides this according to the women respondents, the husbands got angry when wives try to control the income they earn.

Women in the FGD reinforced the above idea. They argued that when they try to control their husbands' income, spouses got angry and disagreement would appear in the households.

The majority of the men respondents on the other hand stated that they are the one who totally control their income. Regarding their spouse's income, they could control it whenever necessary. Yet according to them their wives' income is invisible. This corresponds with the literature for example Alcock explained, in some instances even if women involve in income generating activities this might not be recognized as part of the family's income by men (Alcock, 1997).

My wife sells 'injera'. I do not know how much she would get from it. It is very difficult for me to ask her what she would get out of it. It would not go beyond her coffee.

A 60 years old man with six children.

Husbands should control not only their wives' income but also different activities done by the women, or else women do not respect a man who said as you wish to his wife.

An old man of 69 with five children.

As understood from the responses of women and men, they do not have equal access to and control over their spouses' income. Considering themselves as head, men have the right to exercise superiority over their spouse. This superiority of men gained acceptance both in the household and in the community at large. Men show their power in different regards. As stated by Okin (1987), earning an income deals with the distribution of power within in the household between husband and wife.

Men consider themselves as the rightful person to control every move of the family members. As women in most cases are dependent or having meager income tend to be controlled by their husbands. More so women submit themselves to the will of their husbands. Husbands usually have superior position in the household comparing with other family members. The society attribute greater value for men than women, this helps men to have superior position in the

household as well as outside of it. Added to this as a powerful and respected person a man can easily use the labor of their families' better than their wife.

The men respondents claimed that they could easily use the labor of their wives and other family members. More than twenty of them further stated that both wives as well as children should be submitted to the need of the head.

I am the head of the family, I can ask my wife as well as my children to do anything for me.

An old man of 65 with five children.

On the contrary women argued that they could use the labor of their children especially the daughters. But according to them they could not easily use husbands' labour.

How do I order my husband to do something for me? It is unacceptable in the culture that I have grown- up.

An old woman of 55 with four children.

I never ordered my husband to do things for me; he considers it as if I disrespect him if I do so.

A woman of 45 with three children.

Men in most households especially in martial union are head of the family; hence easily use the labor of their wives as well as children. Not only using the family's labour, as most men responded they are also the final decision makers in household matters.

4.6.3 Decision making power

Access to and control over resources related with power relation and decision making capacity.

According to the men respondents, when there are big issues to be dealt in their households they are the one who should be the final decision makers.

The head of the family carries different responsibilities to perform in the household as well as outside of it. One of the responsibilities is to decide mainly on major household matters.

A 58 years old man with five children.

The men respondents further claimed that in the big issues which need serious decision, their wives let them decide on the matters. The majority of the women respondents stated that when there are issues that can be decided in their capacity they decide themselves. But the big issues, which need strong final decision, definitely left to the husbands to be decided.

Four of the women on the other hand, said they are the one who decided on major family issues. These women are the main breadwinners to their households. Moreover, their husbands are dependent on them because of ill health or old age. To some extents being principal income earner guaranteed woman the power to decide on major household issues, yet the culture is continuing to play role in putting women in secondary position.

As these women stated they are the sole responsible for the family affairs, as a result of this they are the final decision makers in the households' matters. In any case it is the majority of the men, i.e. about twenty-nine of them are the final decision makers.

Majority of the women express their feelings as follows:

*When there are big issues in the household, I do not dare to decide on it.
So I left the matters to be decided by my husband.*

The differential treatment men and women receive since childhood leads to the development of psychological as well as personality difference, masculinity against femininity. The masculine authority gives men to exercise power over feminine. Different cultures have their own mechanism for the creation of different values for males and females; hence people are conscious about their expected roles and character given by the culture. It is because of this that the culture promotes itself without serious challenges. As a result of this men mostly have the upper hand in most matters and women the secondary status. This differential status between men and women in different aspects create different values for both the sexes, which help men to enjoy superiority over the women (Eyben et al., 2006).

It is because of this that wives considered their husbands as able to decide on major household matters and deny this right to themselves. Men in their side take themselves as the deserved persons in making the final decision in the household matters. The different value given to men and women has paramount impact on their status and well being. Women as the major care takers not as the major decision makers; are burdened with household roles and responsibilities. The problems become heavier for those women who have lower living standard. Accordingly their living standard deteriorates comparing with their male counterparts and become disadvantaged.

In respect to decision-making process, respondents were asked to respond on their involvement on family planning services. About twelve of the respondents both males and females especially the aged claimed that, they never use family planning and do not want to do that at all. According to them it is going against God's will. On the contrary, more than twenty-five female respondents stated that they use family planning. Out of these respondents some said that until recently they did not have sufficient knowledge about the issue.

I did not know about the matter until I gave five births. Having the information from my friends, I started to use contraceptive method. If I knew it before I wouldn't have more than two children.

A woman of 42 with 5 children.

Not less than ten women respondents stated that they never discuss the issue with their husbands. They affirmed that they use contraceptive method without the knowledge of their husbands. Explained why this is so, their husbands might be suspicious as if they would have an affair with other men.

I asked my husband to let me allow using tablets. After the first few words coming out of my mouth, he started beating me up. He also said that you want to make affairs with other persons. As a result of this he warned me not even to think of it. Yet I have taken the tablet without his knowledge.

A woman of 40 with six children.

On the contrary there are more than fifteen women who reported that they use family planning services in consultation with their husbands.

My husband is very much concerned about family planning. It is he who persuaded me to use it.

A woman of 37 years old with two children.

About fifteen of the men respondents confirmed that they discuss about the necessity of using family planning, consequently their wives are using contraceptive methods. In spite of this, more than five of the men respondents argued that they never discuss about it with their wives. They further explained that it is up to their wives whether to use it or not.

In line with the issue of family planning, respondents were asked to express their views about the family size they have.

Some households with large family size do not consider the size of their family as large. They further stated that it is good for poor households to have larger family size. It is because according to them each family member brings something to the households. Added to this some of the respondents explained that they could be supported by their children in domestic activities and in times of old age.

Despite this some responded that the larger the family size, the heavier the burden on the households. They claimed that it is difficult for them to supply food for the entire family members, hence the family size they have is large and burden for them.

Households with large family size have difficulties to fulfill the basic necessities of the family members due to financial constraints. They have difficulties to provide food and other necessities to their children. Almost all of the households for this study have relatively large family size with minimum of four.

4.6.4 Domestic Violence

Domestic violence is a common threat to most women. Violence against Women carries out not only in public area by whom they do not know, but also by their intimate partners in the households. As Hirut explained, women usually face the threat of different kinds of violence from that of men as a means of controlling them. The existing tradition paved the way for men to exercise power using different forms of violence against women. Wife is considered as her husband's property. As a result, men can do whatever they want to do against her wish (Hirut, 2002).

According to the study findings, all the households responded that they face conflicts with their spouses. All the women respondents stated that they faced at least one form of domestic violence from their husbands either verbal abuse or beating. Small number of women responded that their husbands sometimes insult them but never been beaten.

Out of the total thirty-three women respondents, three of them said that when there is disagreement in the households and their husbands beat them, they said never been submissive for their husbands' aggressive behavior. According to these women they equally insult and beat their husbands.

I never let him either insult or beat me up, when he tries to do that against me, I do the same.

A woman of 41 with four children.

I rise with the first cockcrow to perform all the household activities and work outside of the house. My husband never come home without a drink and likes to beat my children and me as well. When he tries to beat us we also give him a beat.

A woman of 45 with five children.

More than twenty-five of the women on the other hand, stated that they usually face both verbal and physical abuse in the households by their husbands. Domestic violence is usually appeared between married couples within the households. It has a paramount impact on women. Domestic violence against women affects the well being of families including children's. It has destructive outcome on the family members' well being and status (Tigist, 2000).

Beating from my husband is a daily lunch and dinner for me.

A woman of 42 with five children.

All my neighbors know his behavior whenever he comes home drunk, I must be beaten up.

A 45 years old woman with four children.

Even if he beats me day in and day out I have to be tolerant, because he is the one who raise money for the family's existence.

A woman of 39 with four children.

I cannot stand his beating, sometimes I thought to divorce him, but I suppose it would be immoral.

A woman of 43 with six children.

Men's power over women is an accepted part of the social order. It is accepted and confirmed by the society at large. This gives husband superiority over their wives. The superior position held by men accepted by the community at large (Eyben et al., 2006). This accepted power reflects in the household as well as in the community. The power men have helps them to show their superiority in most activities that they have undertaken in the household. Both males and females have brought up in different values attached to them. Females socialized as submissive and passive, whereas males as controlling and active. This is how women and men shaped and molded since childhood. It is because of this that domestic violence is a day-to-day life appeared on women's life.

Moreover the socio cultural formation shaped women to be submissive and subordinated, as a result of this they become easily victims of domestic violence (Oduyoye, 1995).

Respondents were asked to identify their major reasons for conflict. Financial problem is their major reason for household conflict; next husband drinking behavior and lastly husbands' uncomfortable ness to women's income raising activities.

The above-mentioned reasons are reinforced in the FGD. The two women discussant groups mentioned that financial constraints and husbands' drinking behavior are their major reasons for household conflicts. They further explained husbands are not happy with their income raising activities. According to the women respondents whenever they come home back, their husbands, prepare something to trigger conflicts.

However, more than twenty of the women respondents claimed that; even if they are insulted and beaten up by their husbands, the severity and frequency of domestic violence is decreasing in general. For this explanation given by the FGD discussants is that awareness creation by different governmental as well as non-governmental organization through media and women themselves are becoming conscious about their right.

The men respondents in their turn explained that there are conflicts and disagreements between spouses. According to them their major disagreement is financial problems. As the cost of living increasingly expensive, they said they couldn't cover even basic necessities to their households, as a result of this disagreement would crop up between husbands and wives.

Domestic violence against women is taking place in most households in different forms. It is mainly husbands who commit violence. As stated by Oduyoye,

Violence against women is a case in point. In many historical and cultural contexts, sexual assault or physical violence against women by her husband has been understood, as a normal aspect of male-female relationship (Oduyoye, 1995:164-66).

This implies that domestic violence is considered as a common phenomena and normal relationship between wife and husband. Wife beating is accepted relationship of the couples, hence does not receive serious attention. The women accepted it as a normal phenomena happening in their daily life. The men in their turn take violence against women as normal and their right to control wives and showing their superiority and masculinity. However, the violence committed on women has paramount impact on their wellbeing and status, hence devalued their position. On the contrary it gives men the upper hand and makes them a person who could do whatever they like at the expense of their wives.

Respondents were asked how they settle quarrel, the majority of the respondents stated; they settled their dispute in different ways. Some said after few days we just ignore what happened between us. Some other said neighbors interfere and peace resume. Very few said they take the case to women's affairs in their kebele. Concerning this, the men respondents argued that taking the case to women's affairs does not give them comfort because as they stated, the women's affairs is totally against men. It does not see what really happened in the men's side. According to the men respondents, when the case takes to the women's desk in the kebele, priority is always given to the women. They further explained that they do not usually give chances for the men to explain about their problems.

4.6.5 Vulnerability

All the households were asked whether they faced food shortage for the last one year or not, all of them said they faced food shortage for the last one year. According to the households, food shortage is their major problem that they are facing it in their day-to-day life.

We always are at the risk of food shortage, if we eat lunch we definitely skip dinner.

A woman of 51 with five children.

What I always worry too much is for the family's belly. We are always living for today.

A woman of 41 with four children.

According to the respondents of the study, their major concern is food shortage. They worried much about what the family members would eat for lunch or dinner. Regarding family's problem on food shortage, female respondents' voice is widely heard than their male counterparts.

My children do not say daddy I need something to eat but they said mammy give me something to eat.

A 47 years old woman with six children.

Both females and males respondents claimed that in times of food shortage women face the main burden within the households.

When there is nothing to be eaten in the home, I worried too much. What do I give to my children? My husband does not bother too much in this regard. He stay out and come back home at night.

A woman of 35 with four children.

I allocate the food to all family members and go to bed with out a meal.

A 43 years old woman with seven children.

My husband usually comes home having something drunk while I slept with empty stomach together with my children.

A 51 years old woman with five children.

Almost all of the women respondents have the same view explained above. Moreover women and men discussant groups in the FGD claimed that women more than men carry the burden of food shortage in times of food scarcity. Women as the major caretaker of the family, burdened with most of the households' responsibilities. The multiple burden and responsibilities women carry devalued their position and health status, thus the poor women become poorer and poorer comparing with their husbands.

To make the households survive women take any possible measure to support and sustain their family.

According to the women respondents, they sold the jewelry they have to household food shortage.

I do not have any earrings any more I sold all what I have for family's maintenance.

A woman of 48 with eight children.

I sold my watch that I bought it ten years ago. But my husband has on his hand.

A woman of 36 with five children.

The above women's response corresponds with Staggenberg's work he stated that to cope with crisis households have their own strategies. The strategies are gender biased. It is women's properties to be sold first (Staggenberg, 1998).

The society expects women to stand first in times of families' difficulties. It is believed that women should be more responsible for the families' food crisis. In such instances the poor women worried much more than their husbands.

Females are not only sold what they have in times of difficulties but also take any other possible measures in times of food crisis. For instance among children of the respondents it is the daughters who migrated outside of the country to support their family.

Among the total thirty three households, five households said there are daughters who went to Arab countries to support the family. All of them who migrated to Arab countries are daughters.

It is by borrowing money that parents send their daughters to Arab countries. From the five females who went to Arab countries by borrowing, it is only one female who is repaying the borrowed money. The remaining four do not still start paying the money back. All the females went out the country before a minimum of five months. According to the parents, they are worried because the money they borrowed is not paid back sooner as they expected.

In addition to this the majority of the respondents wish to send their daughters to Arab countries, but they could not do this only because of financial problems. They thought that they would live a better life if they send their daughters.

According to them their daughters are also eager to go out of the country to support their families.

My elder daughter was performing well in her education. When the family's Problem is getting worse she dropped out of school and now she is running up and down to go to an Arab country.

A woman of 47 with nine children.

Women carry the main responsibilities in taking care of the family. Not only mothers, daughters as well expected to do their maximum effort concerning their families' existence. In spite of the effort women made, they are vulnerable to risks in their households.

According to eight of the women respondents, whenever conflicts appeared with their husbands in the households, they are the one who go out of home until their husbands calm down. Twenty five of the women respondents said that whatever happens and how severe the conflict is they never go out of the house.

More than twenty-seven of the men respondents in their turn reported that they never go out of home in times of conflicts.

It is not a norm if men go out of home in times of conflict. It would be Shame if men do so, not only for him but also for the entire family.

A man of 58 with seven children.

Six men on the contrary said when there appeared conflict with their wives, they go out of home.

Poor women are not only burdened with domestic chores but they are also burdened with the severity of life. They are vulnerable for violence, food shortage and other difficulties of life much more than their husbands. As a consequence women have deteriorated standard of living thus vulnerable and poorer than their husbands.

4.7 Trends in Standard of Living

Regarding the general standard of living of the study respondents, all of them stated that their standard of living is deteriorating time to time. According to them especially starting from the past three years, their situation of living is worsening. They further explained that their worry is for what to eat for lunch and dinner let alone other things.

These days life is becoming miserable, especially for poor people living in Addis. I am living for the sake of my children. It is better for me to die than living such a life.

A 57 years old woman with five children.

Look at my home! Look at me! Do you think it is considered as life? You better leave it!

A man of 49 with four children.

Do you know what I said to my Children? 'Aferē belue' are you going to eat me? Before five years I do not bother about the food which I provided for the family, but now it is a day-to-day question of mine.

A 48 years old woman with five children.

Whenever lunch or dinner times appear I worried too much. I know the available food is not enough for all members of the household.

A 53 years old woman with six children.

Before five years the family eats meat at least once in a month but these days I never see it in my home.

A 52 years old man with four children.

Life for me is like an undersized blanket, when I try to cover my head my legs remain uncover when I try to cover my legs my head remains uncover.

A man of 42 with two children.

Almost all of the respondents have the same feeling towards their current living standard. They shared the expressions stated above. All FGD discussants both women and men explained that, their standards of living is increasingly deteriorating.

Almost all the respondents are in deteriorating living conditions. Their major concern is only their daily bread. Their living condition is declining year to year. Their poverty level is increasing while their standard of living is decreasing time to time. According to them they are too much worried about how they are going to live with such a situation. They further stated that, the cost of living is expensive and life for poor is difficult from time to time.

According to the respondents nowadays they cannot even eat properly let alone other things.

Increasing unemployment, raising the cost of living, government negligence towards the societies and other related problems were mentioned by the respondents as the causes for their deteriorating living conditions.

4.7.1 Subjective perception of poverty

The respondents were asked how they perceive their living conditions. Thirty one of the households stated that they are poor.

I am the poorest of the poor with nothing to eat.

A man of 60 with six children.

I am poor living in darkness nothing to depend on.

A woman of 79 with four children.

*No need of asking me whether I am poor or not just look at me. Do
I look like a human being?*

A 47 years old man with five children.

Almost all of the respondents claimed that they are the poorest of the poor. In spite of this they thank 'God' that there are others who are living below their standard. Added to this what they are bothered too much is being healthy.

There are only two households that consider themselves neither poor nor rich but medium. The overwhelming majority perceive themselves as poor, but they also said let God thank for all what he did, because according to them there are a lot of people who are living the worst.

In general the study respondents are facing the difficulties of life. In addition to this, their living condition is deteriorating from time to time. Their major concern is winning their daily bread. As women are the primary care takers of the family, they are overloaded with greater responsibilities, thus disadvantaged. The disadvantaged position they have within the household contributed to their poverty comparing to their husbands.

CHAPTER FIVE

Summary and Conclusion

5.1 Summary

Poverty is not gender neutral however; women are hardest hit by the problem. Female-headed households are considered as the poorest of the poor, yet there are millions of poor women in coupled households who are not visible.

Culture, social value and expectation coupled with self-concept of women have been reserved them in domestic chores.

This thesis tried to assess the gender dimensions of poverty. From the foregoing discussion and analysis of the study, a lot of lessons can be drawn from that as key points to be given due attention. Attempts has been made to summarize the major findings and evoke discussions about gender dimension of poverty, how women and men in the same household experience poverty differently, to what extent wife and husband have access to and control over household resources, their roles and responsibilities, decision making power, domestic violence, vulnerability, etc.

The research setting, Addis ketema sub city is one of the areas in Addis Ababa where large number of poor residents are living. According to the participants of the study both in individual interviews and focus group discussions, it is a very harsh time for the majority of the respondents and facing difficult situation to sustain self.

The majorities of the respondents are involving in the informal sector and have lower educational performance. Women's performance is even worse. Education has influence in the job they carryout and the income they earn.

According to the forgoing discussion, the majority of the households are with minimal income. Inline with this majority of them especially women do not even

estimate the monthly income they get, this is because what they earn today use for today's household consumption. In line with this the households' expenditure determines on the income the households earn. Nevertheless the respondents' income and expenditure do not match. According to them as the cost of living is getting higher, they are required to spend all the meager income they earn to food consumption.

When comparing the income wife and husband earn, men have better income, whereas women's income is minimal and invisible. Most of the men do not consider their wives income as part of the households' income. The better income earning capacity of men provides them with the capacity to be breadwinner, hence regard as head of the family. Not only men's earning capacity provides them with being head of the family, the societal value and the culture as well offer them with this opportunity. As can be looked from the analysis some women, even if they have greater contribution to the households' income they do not dare to claim themselves as head of the family. This is because the society gives privileged position to men than women. The women themselves as part of the society reflect the norm, which they were socialized since childhood. This belief transferred from one generation to the other without inhibition. Hence men have better position in the household as well as outside of it than that of women. For this reason women remain disadvantaged.

Being the main bread winner and head of the family, men would have an opportunity to have better access to and control over household resources. As the theory supports, resources, which enter in to the household, do not equally share among members of the household. Men have better access to and control over it. As the main income earner in most cases, men claimed better access to and control over household resources. Women on the other hand have secondary status in access to as well as control over resources, thus they are disadvantaged.

Similarly as can be noted from the forgoing discussion, men have the upper hand in decision-making process. In most of the cases most of the husbands are head of the family, they are expected to decide on major household issues. Not only men expected themselves as the major decision makers, but women also expected their husbands to decide on most household issues. The societal expectations and self- concept of women themselves forced them to consider men as the foremost and deserved person in matters of decision making. Added to this men also are able to use family's labour including their wives whereas, women in most cases are unable to use their husbands' labour. They can easily use their children's labour especially daughters.'

Women's labor is very much demanded to domestic activities. They are burdened with heavy domestic chores. The tedious domestic activities are almost completely assigned to them. Working out side of the household or not, women are expected to perform domestic activities.

The tiresome domestic activities like managing the home, caring for children, preparing food and other similar activities undermine women's position.

Daughters' labour also demanded for domestic chores. They are expected to help their mothers in domestic work, for this reason they become burdened. This also has an impact on their educational performance. There is higher number of girls' dropout comparing with that of boys'.

Not only girls are expected to work in domestic activities but also expected to involve in income generating activities. Even if boys are also expected to involve in income generating activities, girls are more loaded as a result of this they follow their mothers' footsteps.

Even if poverty is not a problem to women alone, they are more prone to it. Their disadvantaged position makes them to experience poverty deeply and severely.

As stated in the analysis part by women and men respondents, they are vulnerable to food shortage, though women are more prone to it. As the major

caretaker of the family, they are expected to allocate the food that the households have. Women share the food to all household members and would be the last one to eat. In most of the cases they even go to bed with empty stomach. Both women and men respondents claimed that it is women who are facing difficulties in times of food shortage more than their husbands. Women are not only susceptible to food shortage but also at risk of domestic violence.

The foregoing discussion stated that because of household poverty and other related problems women experience domestic violence. The major reason for domestic violence is the inability of the household to meet basic necessities. As the women respondents noted, husbands drinking behavior and uncomfortable ness to women's income earning activities are also mentioned as causes for domestic violence against women. Women are frequently victims for domestic violence. On the contrary some women claimed that they never been passive for the violence made on them from their husbands, whenever their husbands try to beat them they do the same. These women are challenging men's power.

Women stated that domestic violence is decreasing from time to time. This is because of awareness creation by the concerned bodies and women themselves are becoming aware of their right. In any case, violence against women weakens their status and further disadvantaged them.

As discussed in the analysis section, the living standards of the respondents are deteriorating from time to time. The living cost is getting expensive; hence their living condition is declining. The major concern of them is only winning their daily bread.

Even if both men and women respondents claimed that they are under difficult conditions; women carry the major burden of the difficulties of life. The gender division of labour, the societal expectation from women and self-concept of women themselves undermine their position and make them disadvantaged. Accordingly women become poorer than their male counterparts.

Poor women in coupled households do not receive attention from the concerned bodies. The focus for donor agents is on female-headed households. For this reason married women are invisible and their needs are ignored this further aggravated their existing situation, thus remain in disadvantaged position and poorer than their husbands.

5.2 Conclusion

Poverty is a phenomenon almost in every pockets of the world. However, it is widespread in developing countries like Ethiopia. Poverty has multi dimensional facet, not only lack of money but also other dimensions like powerlessness, voice lessens, vulnerability, violence etc.

In this thesis an attempt has been made to assess the situation of husband and wife and to some extent daughters and sons in relation to their experience on poverty. Individual's status in the household, roles and responsibilities, access to and control over resources, vulnerability, violence, decision making were examined as well to see the status of men and women in the same household.

Poverty affects both men and women; however women experience poverty differently from that of men. Societal and cultural expectations oblige women to carry the burden of life much more than that of men.

The gender division of labour for instance enforced women to burden a lot of domestic chores coupled with being uneducated, they become unemployed. Girls do not receive equal attention as that of boys from their parents concerning education. As daughters are supporters of their mothers in domestic activities, they could have less time to devote on education thus achieve lower educational performances, it has an impact on their later life. All these factors together increase women's possibility of being poorer.

The unequal power relation between men and women in the same household is

reflected in the access and control over resources. Men usually have the upper hand in this regard as a result of this they have better access to and control over resources, whereas women have secondary position, as a result disadvantaged and poorer.

Starting from childhood, women grow up in the culture, which promote their dependency and care taker positions in the family. As the primary care taker, women give priority to other members of the household ignoring their needs and interests.

Generally speaking, poor women are usually poorer than their male counterparts. The women experience poverty differently due to the socio-cultural formation, which expects women to be primarily responsible and care taker of the family.

The gender inequality that is deep rooted in the culture should be addressed so as to relief women from the heavy burden carried on their shoulder and the disadvantaged position they have within the household.

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Annexes

Interview guiding questions

Background

- Name
- Age
- Ethnic group
- Religion
- Educational background
- Place of birth
- If place of birth is other than Addis Ababa, Why do you came to Addis?
- Who is head of the family?
- How many household members are there altogether?
- How many children are there? Boys----- Girls-----

Children's status in the household

- Are there any school-aged children who are not attending school? Why?
Age ---Sex---
- Who spend more hours in studying in the household?
- Do girls have given equal amount of time to study and play?
- Are there economically active children?
- What is the role and responsibilities of boys and girls inside and outside of the household?

Basic household information

- Asset of the household (saving, land, jewels, livestock, house , machine, license etc)
- Who owned the house you live in?
- Number of rooms?
- Access to electricity?
- Access to toilets (availability, distance and use)?
- Access and availability of water?
- How much of the household resources do you personally use for education and health care?
- Are you still enrolled to continue your education?

Income

- Who is the principal income earner\the main bread winner of the household?
- What is the total income of the household?
- What is your monthly income if you have any? What about your spouse's?
- What is your source of income?
- Do you have any kinds of support from relatives, friends etc?
- How much of your earning do you save in bank account or in the form of 'eqube'?
- Are there any household members in addition to the principal income earner who has income and contribute to the household expenditure?

Consumption\Expenditure

- Do you have income and contribute to the household expenditure?
- What do you typically spend the income you generate\allocation of income to personal and household needs?
- What is your household's monthly expenditure?

Roles and responsibility

- What is your primary role and responsibility inside as well as outside of the household?
- Do you enjoy working domestic work with your spouse in the house?
- Does your spouse encourage you to participate in domestic work?
- Are you willing to do domestic work?

Access to and control over resources

- To what extent do you have access to and control over household resources? What about your spouse's?
- To what extent do you have access to the income generated by your spouse or other household members?
- Can you easily use the labour of household members, your spouse, children or other family members?

Decision making

- Who is seen as having the main responsible for taking decision over household matters?
- Do you have full control over the income you generate?
- Who determine and finance household expenditure

- Who decides on whether to have children, how many? \whether to go for contraception, etc?
- To what extent do you have knowledge about family planning?

Domestic violence

- Have you ever faced conflict with your spouse?
- Did the conflict lead to beating or insulting?
- What is the major cause for household conflict?
- How do you settle disagreement?

Vulnerability

- Did your household face food shortage for the last one year?
- What measures did you personally take during such time?
- Are there any family members who migrated in times of difficulties?
- Who go out of home in times of conflict?

Trends in living standard

- How do you explain your living standard by comparing current living condition with that of five years ago?
- How do you perceive your standard of living/ do you describe your self as poor?

Focus Group Guiding Questions

- Who usually consider as head of the family? Why do you think this is so?
- How does your spouse feel about your income generating activities?
- Who takes greater responsibility in managing the household's income for household consumptions?
- Are you willing to do domestic activities in the household?
- Do wives encourage their husbands to involve in domestic chores?
- How far women control their husbands' income and the vise verse?
- What is the main reason for domestic conflicts between husbands and wives?
- Is domestic violence increasing or decreasing? Why do you think this is so?
- Who is very much affected in times of food shortage in the household?
- How do you explain your standards of living?

