

# **Gendered risks, poverty and vulnerability in Ethiopia:**

## **To what extent is the Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) making a difference?**

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\* Disclaimer: The views presented in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the views of DFID.

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## List of acronyms

AfDB	African Development Bank
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ART	Antiretroviral Therapy
BSF	Belgian Survival Fund
CANGO	Canadian Network of NGOs
CBM	Christian Blind Mission
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
CERTWID	Centre for Research Training and Information for Women in Development
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CPRC	Chronic Poverty Research Centre
CRS	Catholic Relief Services
CSA	Central Statistical Agency
DAG	Development Assistance Group
DFID	UK Department for International Development
DGGE	Donor Group on Gender Equity
EPWP	Expanded Public Works Programme (South Africa)
EU	European Union
EWLA	Ethiopian Women Lawyer's Association
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization
FGAE	Family Guidance Association of Ethiopia
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GPA	Grade Point Average
GPF	Gender Pooled Fund
GTZ	German Technical Cooperation
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IAMIS	Integrated Administrative Management Information System
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
ILO	International Labour Organization Immigration Reform Law Institute
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	International NGO
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPC	International Poverty Centre
IRLI	Immigration Reform Law Institute
JGGE	Joint Group on Gender Equality
MARA	Mapping Malaria Risk in Africa
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MoFED	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development
MoWA	Ministry of Women's Affairs
MPU	Micro-Project Unity (Zambia)
NAP-GE	National Action Plan on Gender Equality
NEWA	Network of Ethiopian Women's Associations
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
Norad	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
NREGS	National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (India)
OAU	Organization of African Unity
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OFSP	Other Food Security Programme

PASDEP	Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty
PIM	Programme Implementation Manual
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PSNP	Productive Safety Net Programme
REST	Relief Society of Tigray
REWA	Revolutionary Ethiopian Women's Associations
RMP	Rural Maintenance Programme (Bangladesh)
RWB	Regional Women's Bureau
SDPRP	Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Programme
SIGI	Social Institutions and Gender Index (OECD)
SNNPR	Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Region
UNDP	UN Development Program
UNICEF	UN Children's Fund
UN OCHA	UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
USAID	US Agency for International Development
WAD	Women's Affairs Department
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organization
WMS	Welfare Monitoring Survey

## Executive summary

The importance of social protection has become increasingly recognised in recent years, especially in the wake of the recent food price and global economic crises, but there has been little attention to the role that gender plays in the implementation and effectiveness of social protection programmes. It is often assumed that gender is already being addressed in social protection initiatives because many cash or asset transfer programmes and public works schemes target women, drawing on evidence that women are more likely to invest additional income in family well-being. The role that gender relations play in social protection effectiveness is, however, likely to be more complex. Gender norms and dynamics may affect the type of risk that is tackled, the choice of social protection modality implemented, awareness-raising approaches, public buy-in to social safety net programmes and, most importantly, programme outcomes.

In Ethiopia, over the past five years, there has also been growing policy momentum around social protection issues, motivated by a concern to move away from a cycle of dependency on emergency food aid. One of the key social protection instruments is the Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) public works scheme. The PSNP reaches over 7 million chronically food-insecure individuals in rural areas and has a strong focus on addressing the poverty of female-headed households and encouraging women's participation in public works activities. However, as recent government surveys and donor reports have highlighted, much still needs to be done to tackle pervasive gender inequality in the country. The purpose of this report is therefore to analyse the extent to which gender-specific economic and social risks inform PSNP programme design and implementation, with the aim of informing ongoing initiatives to strengthen the programme's effectiveness.

**Methodology:** The research underpinning the report involved complementary qualitative and quantitative methods, including analysis of secondary data and programme documents, key informant interviews, a household questionnaire, focus group discussions, and life histories. Primary research was undertaken in four sites in two regions in Ethiopia, Tigray and the Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Region. Sites were selected drawing on a purposive matched sampling technique, which involved selecting two communities from each region with a similar poverty ranking, neither transient nor extreme poverty (approximately 'middling poor').

**Gendered risks and vulnerabilities:** Poor households typically face a range of risks, both economic, which in Ethiopia are often environmentally driven, and social. Social protection policies have tended to emphasise the former, despite the fact that latter can actually be more important in terms of pushing and keeping households in poverty. Both economic risks and social risks are influenced by gender dynamics and may have important differential impacts on men and women. For example, women typically have lower levels of education; less access, ownership and control of productive assets; less access to credit; and different social networks than men, leading to lower economic productivity and income generation and weaker bargaining positions in the household. This leaves them particularly vulnerable to economic shocks. Furthermore, social sources of vulnerability, which are often as or more important barriers to sustainable livelihoods and general well-being than economic shocks and stresses, also typically work to particularly disadvantage women. Not only do women lack voice in national and community fora, but their power in the household is often as limited as their time. Female-headed households, typically suffering from a deficit of labour, are among the poorest groups in Ethiopia. Elderly women also appear to be especially vulnerable, particularly in the context of HIV/AIDS, due to their high burden of care.

A variety of discriminatory gendered practices that undermine girls' and women's human capital development persist in Ethiopia, albeit with considerable regional variation. While primary school enrolments have achieved gender parity, literacy rates are still vastly different for men and women and secondary school enrolments are still significantly higher for boys. Women's health remains



vulnerable, with high fertility and maternal mortality rates. Evidence suggests that gender-based violence, including rape, abduction, early marriage, female genital mutilation, and familial violence, is common in Ethiopia. For example, up to 80% of girls in some regions report having been forced into sex and teen girls are vastly more likely to be HIV positive than their male peers, both a direct result of early marriage. Polygamy keeps many women from accessing family law, leaving them with little legal recourse against violence. Finally, both child labour and trafficking remain significant and highly gendered in Ethiopia.

**Social protection responses to gender vulnerabilities:** While attention to gender-specific economic and social risks has only gained momentum within the last five years, both the design and implementation of the PSNP strive toward gender sensitivity. First, the programme recognizes some of the gender-specific vulnerabilities that women face, including labour deficits, different physical capabilities, and time poverty. Second, the PSNP includes specific provisions to promote women's participation given those constraints, and has strengthened these over time in response to monitoring and evaluation data and stakeholder feedback. Third, to some degree, the type of assets created, such as community water and fuelwood sources, is also approached through a gender-sensitive lens. Finally, the design calls for increasing women's participation in programme governance at all levels.

There are, however, a number of important design weaknesses, which have implications for the programme's implementation and its impacts on gender relations within the household and community. First, there is little attention being paid to either awareness-raising or capacity-building about the programme's gender-related provisions for programme beneficiaries or programme staff. As such, PSNP provisions designed to lighten the burden on, for example, pregnant and lactating women, are unevenly implemented, as are those for childcare facilities and the use of public works labour to support agricultural work on private land owned by female-headed households. Second, the PSNP has limited emphasis on addressing the unequal gender relations in food security and agriculture productivity at the intra-household level. PSNP involvement is monitored on a household basis, regardless of who does the work, although qualitative research findings suggest that women and children are often shouldering a disproportionate burden. Moreover, in male-headed households men typically have absolute control over income management and the programme has had limited impact on this gender dynamic. In the same vein, in polygamous households the net effect of PSNP can be to render the second wife and her children dependent on the first wife. Finally, there remains considerable scope to strengthen the programme's sensitivity to gender appropriate conceptualisations of community assets which account for women's differing abilities to undertake hard physical labour. Finally, the programme's focus on the quantity of women participants often supersedes their meaningful participation, and will be unlikely to change without concerted budgetary and human resource investments.

**Effects on individuals, households and communities:** The translation of a programme design document into practice is always an imperfect science. However, survey data, focus group discussions and oral histories all provide strong evidence that the PSNP has had a range of positive, practical impacts on women and their families. For example, the programme is smoothing food consumption patterns, facilitating school enrolment, and providing basic necessities. In addition, improved access to credit as a result of a steady income stream is helping to prevent the distress sale of assets to meet immediate needs. PSNP participation has also afforded households a variety of less tangible benefits, such as stronger social networks and reduced anxiety. Some women also report higher levels of respect within the household. At the community level there are also significant benefits from the programme, with infrastructure development and land rehabilitation serving both participants and non-participants.

Despite these positive impacts, however, there is little evidence that the PSNP is reshaping gender dynamics. Unlike cash transfer programmes in many parts of the world, where payment is targeted at women, the PSNP payment modality is not contributing specifically to women's economic empowerment or changing decision-making power dynamics within male-headed households or

the community. Men's labour is typically valued more highly than women's, and is often paid at higher rates. The work assigned often serves to further reinforce traditional gender roles and may be interfering with the human capital development of children and youth. Furthermore, PSNP linkages to other programmes that address women's vulnerabilities, such as early marriage and HIV/AIDS, are quite weak. In fact, even links to health extension services were seen at only one site—despite the plethora of health concerns voiced by participants. Finally, women's involvement in programme governance was much lower than expected. Levels of representation were minimal and the quality of women's participation differed considerably from that of men.

**Drivers of programme impacts:** A number of political-institutional and socio-cultural drivers have contributed to the mixed implementation record of the gender dimensions of the PSNP. Undertaking a programme of this size (the PSNP now extends to approximately 300 woredas) is obviously complex and demanding, especially in a resource-poor and capacity-constrained context with a significant level of devolved government, such as Ethiopia. Resources directed at capacity building about gender dimensions of the programme have been limited; and opportunities for synergies with other gender policy initiatives have not been harnessed. Gender-sensitive monitoring and evaluation has been minimal at best and there has been little inter-sectoral coordination. Furthermore, the fact that programme participants are overwhelmingly illiterate makes it difficult to implement a rights-based approach. A 2009 law limiting the impact of civil society promises to constrain dialogue about gender relations even further.

**Conclusions and policy implications:** Overall, the report concludes that limited and untimely payments notwithstanding, Ethiopia's PSNP has made some important advances in addressing women's practical gender needs, including increasing the quantity and quality of food consumed, helping to cover basic education expenses and contributing to the creation of community assets such as water points which help reduce women's time burden. However, a number of design features, and especially implementation practices, should be improved in Phase 2 of the programme in order to improve overall programme effectiveness and to fully harness the programme's transformatory potential.

- Female-headed households could benefit from opportunities to undertake activities that enable them to better combine their productive and reproductive roles.
- More explicit attention should be paid to the particular economic and social risks faced by women in male-headed households, especially in polygamous households
- The PSNP should expand the understanding of community assets to include human capital development, especially those that address health and nutrition vulnerabilities, rather than being limited to physical infrastructure improvements.
- There is a need for forging sustainable linkages to complementary services and programmes, such as skills training and activities to support the removal of institutional barriers. Leveraging community dialogue opportunities in programme-related spaces (such as community meetings on public works plans or payment points) about the specific economic and social vulnerabilities faced by girls and women would also be a useful complement.
- The PSNP needs to better facilitate women's participation and voice in community decision-making processes about assets creation. Investment in women's education and skills needs to be improved.
- Inter-sectoral coordination needs to be improved in order to tackle the multi-dimensional and inter-locking risks and vulnerabilities that programme participants face.
- Greater efforts are needed to tackle equity issues, such as equal pay and an understanding of men and women's complementary skill-sets at public work sites.
- Community provision of child-care is urgently needed to address women's time poverty.
- Tailored and ongoing capacity building about gender-related programme aims for participants and programme implementers alike is of critical importance.
- Gender-related indicators need to be embedded as routine components of monitoring and evaluation processes.





# 1. Introduction

Despite the heightened visibility of social protection in recent years, especially in the wake of the recent food price and global economic crises, there has been little attention to the role that gender plays in the implementation and effectiveness of social protection programmes. It is often assumed that gender is already being addressed in social protection initiatives, because many transfer programmes and public works programmes target women. This focus stems largely from evidence that women are more likely to invest additional income in family well-being, as well as a concern to promote greater representation of women in employment programmes. However, the role that gender relations play in social protection effectiveness is likely to be much more complex, affecting not only the type of risk that is tackled but also the programme impacts, owing to pre-existing intra-household and community gender dynamics. Moreover, gender norms and roles may also shape the choice of social protection modality, awareness-raising approaches and public buy-in to social safety net programmes. As Goetz (1995) argues: 'understanding the gendered features of institutional norms, structures and practices is an important key to ensuring that women and men benefit equally from macro level policy changes'.

In Ethiopia, over the past five years there has also been growing policy momentum around social protection issues, motivated by a concern to move away from a cycle of dependency on emergency food aid and, most recently, by efforts to cushion the most vulnerable from the impacts of the fallout of the global food price, fuel and financial crises of 2008-2009.<sup>2</sup> The key social protection instrument is the Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) public works scheme, implemented by the government of Ethiopia with significant financial support from the international donor community. Reaching over 7 million chronically food-insecure individuals in rural areas, the PSNP has a strong focus on addressing the poverty of female-headed households and encouraging women's participation in public works activities. However, as recent government surveys and donor reports have highlighted, much still needs to be done to tackle pervasive gender inequality in the country (AfDB, 2004; Newton, 2007; World Bank, 2008a). Moreover, as a growing body of evidence suggests, tackling the gendered manifestations of risk and vulnerability has positive spill-over effects on general programme effectiveness. A recent review of 271 World Bank projects by the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), for instance, found that, when projects address the needs of both men and, women the sustainability of project outcomes increases by 16% (Quisumbing and Pandolfelli, 2009). The purpose of this report is therefore to analyse the extent to which gender-specific economic and social risks inform PSNP programme design and implementation, with the aim of informing ongoing initiatives to strengthen the programme's effectiveness.

## 1.1 Methodology

The research methodology involved a mixed-methods approach of qualitative and quantitative work. It is structured around the following four areas (see Table 1):

1. Understanding the diversity of gendered economic and social risks;
2. Gender analysis of social protection policy and design;
3. Effects of social protection programme on gender equality, food security and poverty/vulnerability reduction at the community, household and intra-household level;

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<sup>2</sup> In recent years, Ethiopia has been one of the fastest growing non-oil economies in Africa, with double-digit growth and continued improvement in access to basic services. But its robust growth performance and the considerable development gains from 2003-2007 came under threat in 2008 with the emergence of twin macroeconomic challenges of high inflation and a difficult balance of payments situation. The economy is likely to slow down in the coming years, although the growth rate will remain respectable from a global perspective. The International Monetary Fund (IMF, 2009) projects the real gross domestic product (GDP) growth rate to decrease from 10.2% in 2008/09 to 7% in 2009/10.

4. Implications for future policy and programme design to improve social protection effectiveness.

Research was conducted in four research sites (kebeles, or kushet/villages) in two regions: Tigray and the Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR). Sites were selected drawing on a purposive matched sampling technique, which involved selecting two communities from each region with a similar poverty ranking, neither transient nor extreme poverty (approximately 'middling poor').

**Table 1: Overview of research methodology**

Methodology	Details
Desk review	Secondary data and programme document analysis
Key informant interviews	National (policymakers, donors, international agencies, civil society, researchers); sub-national (government and non-government implementers)
Household questionnaire	Total of 100 households
Focus group discussions	Eight FGDs, four with beneficiaries (two male and two female groups), four with non-beneficiaries (two male and two female groups)
Life histories	16 life histories (eight men and eight women) at different life/social stages: adolescence; married; single household heads (divorced, abandoned or widowed); elderly

The main objectives of the desk review were to map key gender-specific vulnerabilities in the country; to identify how gender is (or is not) already discussed and integrated within the context of social protection policies and programmes at country level; to carry out a gender audit/mapping of the main social protection programmes and the extent to which they integrate gender considerations; and to contextualise the PSNP within the country's broader national social protection framework and related policy debates.

Using semi-structured questionnaires, key informant interviews were carried out at the national level in April during a scoping visit, and again in September 2009 to provide a broader understanding of social protection design decision-making processes and to explore the political economy dimensions of the integration of gender into social protection policies and programmes. At the sub-national level, key informant interviews with implementing agencies aimed to provide a better understanding of the key challenges of implementing social protection at the local level, and the implications/impacts of implementation challenges on households and individuals.

The household survey asked programme beneficiaries to identify two main quantifiable trends: 1) the dominant vulnerabilities and risks among households below the poverty line and the extent to which these risks are gendered and generational; and 2) both household and individual coping strategies in the face of the above risks, including both informal and formal social protection mechanisms. FGDs were then used to tease out the details of the social protection impacts, both direct and indirect impacts, at the individual, household and community level.

Finally, the use of life histories (with beneficiaries representing different life/social stages from adolescence to old age) allowed for a more in-depth exploration of individuals' gendered experiences of risk and vulnerability, and the individual, household, community and policy factors that shape available coping/resilience strategies. They also provide insights into the relative importance of the PSNP in diverse individuals' lives.

## 1.2 Report overview

The report is structured as follows: Section 2 discusses the conceptual framework that underpins the analysis, highlighting the importance of understanding gendered economic and social risks at the individual, household and community level, and reviews the extent to which gender considerations have been integrated into public works programmes in developing country contexts.

Section 3 maps out the patterning of gender-specific risks and vulnerabilities in the Ethiopian context, while Section 4 discusses the extent to which these are reflected in social protection policy and programming. Section 5 then turns to an analysis of our fieldwork findings on the effects of the PSNP on gender dynamics at the individual, household and community levels. Section 6 explores political economy opportunities and constraints in strengthening attention to gender-sensitive programme implementation. Finally, Section 7 concludes and highlights key policy implications of our findings.

## 2. Conceptual framework: Gendered economic and social risks and social protection responses<sup>3</sup>

Social protection, commonly defined as encompassing a subset of interventions for the poor – carried out formally by the state (often with donor or international non-governmental organisation (INGO) financing and support) or the private sector, or informally through community or inter- and intra-household support networks – is an increasingly important approach to reduce vulnerability and chronic poverty, especially in contexts of crisis (see Box 1). To date, however, the focus has been mainly on economic risks and vulnerability – such as income and consumption shocks and stresses – with only limited attention to social risks. Social risks, however – such as gender inequality, social discrimination, unequal distributions of resources and power at the intra-household level and limited citizenship – are often just as important, if not more important, in pushing households into poverty and keeping them there. Indeed, of the five poverty traps identified by the 2008-2009 Chronic Poverty Report, four are non-income measures: insecurity (ranging from insecure environments to conflict and violence); limited citizenship (a lack of a meaning political voice); spatial disadvantage (exclusion from politics, markets, resources, etc, owing to geographical remoteness); and social discrimination (which traps people in exploitative relationships of power and patronage) (CPRC, 2008).

### Box 1: Conceptualising social protection

Drawing on Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler's (2004) framework of social protection, the objectives of the full range of social protection interventions are fourfold:

- *Protective*: Providing relief from deprivation (e.g. disability benefits or non-contributory pensions);
- *Preventive*: Averting deprivation (e.g. through savings clubs, insurance or risk diversification);
- *Promotive*: Enhancing real incomes and capabilities (e.g. through inputs transfers); and
- *Transformative*: Addressing concerns of social equity and exclusion by expanding social protection to arenas such as equity, empowerment and economic, social and cultural rights, rather than confining the scope of social protection to respond to economic risks alone through targeted income and consumption transfers.

Social protection refers to a set of instruments (formal and informal) that provide:

- Social assistance (e.g. regular and predictable cash or in-kind transfers, including fee waivers, public works schemes, food aid);
- Social services targeted to marginalised groups (e.g. family counselling, juvenile justice services, family violence prevention and protection);
- Social insurance to protect people against risks of shocks (typically health, employment and environmental);
- Social equity measures (e.g. rights awareness campaigns, skills training) to protect against social risks such as discrimination and abuse.

### 2.1 The gender dimensions of economic and social risks

Poor households typically face a range of risks, ranging from the economic to the social. Vulnerability to risk, and its opposite, resilience, are both strongly linked to the capacity of individuals or households to prevent, mitigate or cope with such risks. Both economic risks (including the economic impact of environmental and natural risks) and social risks are influenced by gender dynamics and may have important differential impacts on men and women. Because they are socially constructed, gender roles and responsibilities are highly varied, and infused with power relations (WHO, 2007). Figure 1 maps the ways in which economic and social risks can be

<sup>3</sup> This section is based on Holmes and Jones (2009a).



reinforced or mediated from the macro to the micro level through, for example, policy interventions, discriminatory practices embedded in institutions (e.g. social exclusion and discrimination in the labour market) and community, household and individual capacities and agency. Opportunities to enhance the integration of gender at each of these levels are highly context specific, and depend on the balance between formal and informal social protection mechanisms within a country as well as on the profile of the government agencies responsible for the design and implementation of formal mechanisms.

**Figure 1: Impact pathways of vulnerability to economic and social risks**



Source: Holmes and Jones (2009a).

### 2.1.1 Gendered economic risks

Economic risks can include declines in national financial resources and/or aid flows, terms of trade shocks or environmental disasters. Stresses might include long-term national budget deficits and debt, lack of a regulatory framework and/or enforcement of health and safety standards at work and lack of an economically enabling environment. Given men's and women's differential engagement in the economy, such as the labour market, the impacts of macroeconomic shocks are highly gendered. For example, in times of economic crisis, women are often the first to lose jobs in the formal sector, such as in Korea during the financial crisis of 1997/98 (World Bank, 2009). In other parts of East Asia, including Indonesia and the Philippines, women gained in overall employment, because of their lower wages and lower levels of union organisation (ibid). Cuts in public expenditure are also likely to affect women more in many contexts because they typically have greater responsibility for household health and education access. The effects on men and male identities of economic malaise are also increasingly recognised. Silberschmidt (2001), for instance, highlights the way in which rising unemployment and low incomes are undermining male breadwinner roles, and resulting in negative coping strategies, such as sexually aggressive behaviour and gender-based violence, in a bid to reassert traditional masculine identities.

At the meso or community level, the impacts of economic shocks are mediated by, for example, gender-segmented labour markets and institutional rules and norms (e.g. absence of affirmative action to address historical discrimination of women and marginalised social groups), which lead to

poor access and utilisation of productive services by women. Women in general have less access to credit, inputs (such as fertiliser), extension services and, therefore, improved technologies (World Bank, 2008b), which undermines their resilience to cope with stress and shocks.

How poor households are able to cope with and mitigate the impacts of shocks and ongoing stresses also depends on a number of factors at the micro or intra-household level. Household members' vulnerability is shaped by household composition (e.g. dependency ratios, sex of the household head, number of boys and girls in the household), individual and household ownership and control of assets (land, labour, financial capital, livestock, time and so on), access to labour markets, social networks and social capital and levels of education. Women typically have lower levels of education, less access, ownership and control of productive assets and different social networks to men, leading to lower economic productivity and income generation and weaker bargaining positions in the household. In times of crisis, moreover, underlying gender biases may mean that women's or female-headed households' assets are more vulnerable to stripping than those of men, the impact of which may be lengthy if what has been sold cannot be replaced. Women's bargaining position and entitlements may also be reduced more rapidly than those of male members of households (Byrne and Baden, 1995).

### **2.1.2 Gendered social risks**

Social sources of vulnerability are often as or more important barriers to sustainable livelihoods and general well-being than economic shocks and stresses (CPRC, 2008). At a macro level, social exclusion and discrimination often inform and/or are perpetuated by formal policies, legislation and institutions (e.g. low representation of women or minority groups in senior positions). In many countries, however, efforts to ensure that national laws and policies are consistent in terms of providing equal treatment and/or opportunities to citizens irrespective of gender, caste, race, ethnicity, religion, class, sexuality and disability are often weak or uneven, and hampered by a lack of resources to enforce such legislation, especially at the sub-national level.

At the meso or community level, absence of voice in community dialogues is a key source of vulnerability. For instance, women are often excluded from decision-making roles in community-level committees, and this gender-based exclusion may be further exacerbated by caste, class or religion. Some excluded groups are reluctant to access programmes or claim rights and entitlements, fearing violence or abuse from more dominant community members. Another critical and related variable is social capital. Poverty may be compounded by a lack of access to social networks that provide access to employment opportunities but also support in times of crisis. It can also reinforce marginalisation from policy decision-making processes.

At the micro or intra-household level, social risk is related to limited intra-household decision making and bargaining power based on age and/or gender, and time poverty as a result of unpaid productive work responsibilities and/or familial care work. All of these can reduce time and resources available for wider livelihood or coping strategies, and may contribute to women tolerating discriminatory and insecure employment conditions and/or abusive domestic relationships. Life-course status may also exacerbate intra-household social vulnerabilities. Girls are often relatively voiceless within the family, and a source of unpaid domestic/care work labour. The elderly (especially widows) also tend to face particular marginalisation as they come to be seen as non-productive and in some contexts even a threat to scarce resources.

## **2.2 Applying a gender lens to public works programmes<sup>4</sup>**

Public works – a subset of social protection programmes, involving public labour-intensive infrastructure development initiatives that provide cash or food-based payments to beneficiaries – have a number of technical and political benefits. They provide income transfers to the poor and

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<sup>4</sup> This section draws on Holmes and Jones (2009b).

are often designed to smooth income during ‘slack’ or ‘hungry’ periods of the year;<sup>5</sup> address shortage of infrastructure (rural roads, irrigation, water harvest facilities, tree plantation, school and health clinic facilities); are typically self-targeting owing to low benefit levels and heavy physical labour requirements (Subbarao, 2003);<sup>6</sup> and as such entail more limited administrative costs than many other social protection interventions. They are also politically popular as they require that programme beneficiaries work and are seen to be helping themselves (Bloom, 2009), whereas it can sometimes be challenging to generate support for cash transfers, for instance, especially those which are unconditional, particularly from middle-class voters (e.g. Behrman, 2007).

There are, however, a number of common challenges, including how to balance the objectives of quality infrastructure development with poverty reduction goals, and the level at which to set benefit levels so as to be adequate to make a difference in people’s lives and not stigmatise participants, but not so high as to necessitate quotas, which are more complex to administer and manage (Subbarao, 2003). Support mechanisms also need to be developed for those unable to work so as to ensure a minimum of equity (Bloom, 2009).

A review of historic and existing public works programmes in developing country contexts and the extent to which issues of gender equality are embedded in programme design indicates that a range of approaches have been developed to facilitate women’s participation, as discussed in Box 2. What is noteworthy, however, is that most programmes include only a limited number of these mechanisms in their design, thus limiting their potential impacts on gender equality at the intra-household and community levels (see Holmes and Jones, 2009b). Key concerns that have been identified relate to inadequate attention to women’s care work responsibilities (Kabeer, 2008), tokenistic representation of women in programme-related decision-making structures (Dejardin, 1996), gender-biased payment modalities (Antonopoulos, 2007), targeting of household heads, which tends to marginalise women living in male-headed households (ibid) and reinforcement of gendered norms of work (Quisumbing and Yohannes, 2004).

Indeed, Antonopolous (2007) argues that, because the design of public works programmes has focused largely on the productive sphere of work, there has been little attempt to redistribute the costs of social reproduction, thereby limiting the transformative potential of such programmes. Part of the problem is that the dominant type of community assets built through public employment guarantee programmes has been infrastructure projects, with little attention paid to projects that provide social services or those that target the efficiency and enhancement of public service delivery, and that could lighten women’s unpaid care work burden (Antonopolous and Fontana, 2006). Antonopolous (2007) expands this line of argument and maintains that poor women could be remunerated for their care work by expanding public works programmes to include social sector activities. Given that social services are by their nature highly labour intensive, such activities would be well suited to workfare schemes. ‘It is reasonable to make the assumption that in comparison to infrastructural projects, [social service activities] use more labor and fewer machines or other intermediate inputs’ and are also well suited to ‘unskilled’ women workers. After all, many poor unskilled women are already carrying out such work, but unpaid and within the household.

## **Box 2: Mechanisms to enhance gender equality in public works programmes**

Early public works initiatives suffered from low levels of female participation, but over time a range of approaches have been adopted in an attempt to address this gender imbalance, including the following:

- Institutionalisation of explicit quotas for female programme participants (Ethiopia’s PSNP, India’s historic Jawahar Gram Samridhi Yojana programme and current National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGS), South Africa’s Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP)).

<sup>5</sup> Note that in middle-income countries, a 2009 World Bank review found that workfare programmes were typically initiated to cope with one-time large macroeconomic shocks. By contrast, in low-income countries they are typically motivated by poverty relief and seasonal unemployment concerns.

<sup>6</sup> Other targeting methods include self-selection in combination with other methods and geographic targeting (World Bank (2009)).

- Provisions for gender-specific lifecycle needs, including allowing women time off for pregnancy and breastfeeding (Botswana's Labour-Intensive Rural Public Works Programme, Ethiopia's PSNP, India's NREGS), provision of work close to participants' homes (India's Employment Guarantee Scheme of Maharashtra) and of crèche facilities (Ethiopia's PSNP, India's NREGS) and flexibility in terms of women's working hours so they can balance their domestic and care work responsibilities (Ethiopia's PSNP, permanent part-time employment in South Africa's EPWP in KwaZuluNatal).
- Consideration of the particular circumstances of female-headed households, including household-level contracts for female-headed households (South Africa's EPWP) so that work can be shared more flexibly, and quotas for female-headed household participants (Ethiopia's PSNP).
- Guarantee of equal wages for men and women (Ethiopia's PSNP, India's Employment Guarantee Scheme of Maharashtra, NREGS)
- Provisions for women to take on programme supervisory roles (Bangladesh's Rural Maintenance Programme (RMP), Botswana's Labour-Intensive Rural Public Works Programme).
- Support so that women participants are better able to save through the establishment of savings groups (Nepal's Dhalugiri Irrigation Project) and have access to credit (Bangladesh's RMP, Ethiopia's PSNP) in order to be able to graduate from public works programmes.
- Linkages to complementary services that will empower women more generally, including provision of adult literacy classes for women (e.g. Senegal's Agence d'Exécution des Travaux d'Intérêt Public).
- Mechanisms which ensure that the type of work undertaken benefits women, either because of the nature of the community asset created (e.g. improvements in transport and roads which ease women's time burden in collecting water or fuel-wood, as in Zimbabwe's Rural Transport Study or Zambia's Micro-Project Unity (MPU)) or through provisions for women's involvement in decision-making processes about what types of community assets should be built using public works labour (e.g. Ethiopia's PSNP, India's NREGS, Zambia's MPU).

In the next part of the report, we draw on this conceptual framework in order to assess the extent to which the PSNP, one of the world's largest public works programmes focusing on rural poverty reduction and food security promotion, is contributing to greater opportunities for women and simultaneously addressing unequal intra-household and community gender dynamics.

### 3. Gendered risks, poverty and vulnerability in Ethiopia

We now turn to a brief overview of the key gendered economic and social risks facing men and women in Ethiopia. We first present an overview at the national level and then highlight the specificities of the locations of our research sites.

#### 3.1 Economic risks and vulnerabilities

Agriculture and rural development is a core component of Ethiopia's economic growth and poverty reduction strategy. Among the poorest countries in the world,<sup>7</sup> Ethiopia's agriculture sector accounts for 46% of national GDP and 90% of exports. It also accounts for 85% of employment, and 90% of the poor depend on the sector for their livelihood (World Bank, 2008b). The country's agricultural development strategy as laid out in the national five-year Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty (PASDEP) (2005/06 to 2009/10) emphasises large-scale commercialisation of agriculture,<sup>8</sup> the promotion of rural non-farm enterprises, rural–urban linkages, specialised support services for differentiated agro-ecological zones as well as ensuring food security at the household level and tackling vulnerability through strengthened formal safety nets and an improved land tenure system.<sup>9</sup> There is also a strong focus on promoting gender equality in order to 'unleash women's potential'.

Since 2004, agricultural growth has been strong, stemming from an increased area under cultivation and productivity improvements in staple crops in pockets of the country. However, despite a decade of concerted investment, 'Ethiopian agriculture remains stubbornly low input, low value and subsistence oriented, and subject to frequent climatic shocks' (World Bank, 2008a). Rural poverty and vulnerability are pervasive throughout the country, with an estimated 39.3% of the rural population living below the nationally defined poverty line (compared with 38.7% national average) (MoFED, 2008)<sup>10</sup>. Poverty is deeper and severer in rural areas,<sup>11</sup> especially in food-insecure regions, where agro-climatic conditions,<sup>12</sup> highly limited market access, poor infrastructure, remoteness, land degradation and a lack of formal insurance mechanisms render households particularly susceptible to shocks (Dercon et al., 2007). As a result, farmers tend to be

<sup>7</sup> Per capita income is \$779 per annum (UNDP, 2009), 39% of the population are below the international poverty line of \$1.25 per day ([http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/ethiopia\\_statistics.html](http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/ethiopia_statistics.html)). According to the Welfare Monitoring Survey (WMS) and Household Income and Consumption Expenditure Surveys, about 39% of the Ethiopian population is below the nationally defined poverty line (2200 kilo calorie plus essential non-food items). The UN Development Program (UNDP) Human Development Report for 2009 ranked Ethiopia 171st out of 182 countries on the Human Development Index. Despite high economic growth over the past decade, high population growth (Ethiopia has a population of 80 million, with an estimated population growth rate of 2.9%) means that the development challenge facing the country is daunting.

<sup>8</sup> The aim is to diversify beyond coffee, including floriculture, horticulture and spice marketing.

<sup>9</sup> The PASDEP in turn builds on a series of policies put in place in the 1990s, included a more supportive macroeconomic framework, liberalised markets for agricultural products and a widespread agricultural extension programme, as well as the agricultural strategies of the Agricultural Development-Led Industrialisation and the Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Programme (SDPRP, the first poverty reduction strategy), which focused on enhancing the productive capacity of smallholder farmers, promoting crop diversification, shifting to a market-based economy, promoting food security and building up the livelihoods of pastoral communities.

<sup>10</sup> Note that, although the PASDEP emphasises that rural poverty headcount and severity have declined significantly over the course of the implementation of the first poverty reduction strategy paper (PRSP), the baseline percentage is not provided – only that for urban poverty.

<sup>11</sup> Using the 2004/05 Household Income and Consumption Expenditure Survey data, MoFED (2008) reported that on average, the income of the rural poor is 12.1% from the poverty line, whereas it is 10.1% for the urban poor.

<sup>12</sup> Dercon et al. (2007) found that drought was the most common self-reported 'worst shock' experienced between 1999 and 2004 in the 2004 WMS, followed by health-related shocks (death or illness of family head or spouse). Market-related shocks (inability to sell outputs, decreases in output prices, difficulty in obtaining inputs or increases in input prices) were substantially less common. The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) estimates that about one-third of all rural households live in pastoral or drought-prone areas that are particularly vulnerable to risky weather conditions ([www.ruralpovertyportal.org/web/guest/country/home/tags/ethiopia](http://www.ruralpovertyportal.org/web/guest/country/home/tags/ethiopia)).

risk averse and less likely to adopt new technologies, further undermining productivity growth (World Bank, 2008a).

Rural deprivation is also reflected in accelerating rates of rural–urban migration, as people seek to escape ecological destruction, drought, famine and, in some regions, war. Where ecological degradation is greatest, in the northern regions of Tigray and Amhara, scarcity of arable land combined with population growth has led to a surplus of labourers on smaller landholdings, who are seeking better employment opportunities in urban areas. As Ezra (2001) emphasises, rural out-migration is largely a response to push factors related to ecological degradation and poverty in rural areas, rather than to pull factors from urban areas. This has been exacerbated by major socio-political disruptions in recent decades, as the country has experienced a succession of governments characterised by stark ideological differences, each involving substantial population movements within the country.<sup>13</sup>

Experiences of rural poverty and vulnerability in Ethiopia are highly gendered.<sup>14</sup> Women play a significant role in agricultural productivity (carrying out an estimated 40% to 60% of all agricultural labour (World Bank, 2008a),<sup>15</sup> but suffer from unequal access to resources and capacity-building opportunities on a number of levels. Although data are not available at an individual level, household-level data highlight differences in the patterning of vulnerability among male- and female-headed households. While the 2004 WMS found no statistically significant difference in poverty between rural female-headed and male-headed households, female-headed households (54% compared with 48% for male-headed households) are more vulnerable to household-level shocks (such as illness, death of household member, drought, flood, price shocks, job loss, loss or death of livestock). This is at least in part because female-headed households are more labour poor and thus more reliant on hired labour for land management, which is expensive,<sup>16</sup> and also have less direct access to land<sup>17</sup> so have fewer available ex-ante coping mechanisms than their male counterparts (AfDB, 2004). This greater vulnerability is in turn reflected in the higher dependence of female-headed households on food aid (24.2% for males compared with 43.5% for females) (ibid). Moreover, the WMS found that, while only 32% of male-headed households reported that they would struggle to raise 100 birr in a week to cope with a crisis, 53% of female-headed households maintained that they would be unable to do so. Moreover, women reported that they would be more likely to rely on loans or gifts from relatives, whereas men were better able to depend on sale of livestock or crops (CSA, 2005).<sup>18</sup>

In the case of land tenure, legislative changes (beginning with land reforms in March 1997) have brought about important changes in women's ability to secure land tenure in their own right,

<sup>13</sup> Prior to 1974, the country was ruled by a traditional monarchy, which was overthrown by a socialist military dictatorship, notable for its destructive economic development policies and human rights record. The present government has proclaimed a market-oriented economic policy and introduced an ethnically based federal system.

<sup>14</sup> Given this paper's focus on poor rural households in two regions dominated by sedentary agricultural activities, this section does not discuss the gender dynamics of pastoral lifestyles. However, social protection interventions clearly also need to take into account the specific gendered economic and social risks and vulnerabilities faced by pastoral communities before deciding upon appropriate social protection instruments. For a good overview of evolving gender dynamics in Ethiopia pastoral areas, see Ridgewell et al. (2007) and Ridgewell and Flintan (2007).

<sup>15</sup> According to the 2001-2002 Agricultural Sample Enumeration, 87% of males and 72% of females in agricultural households work full time in agriculture. Ethiopia's Labour Force Survey puts women's participation in agriculture in 1999 at 39.09%, while studies carried out by Ethiopia's Agricultural Research Organization in 1997 and 1998 in Amhara, SNNPR and Tigray indicate that women contribute between 55% and 58% of the labour for crop production and 77% of the labour for livestock production (EARO, 2000, quoted in World Bank, 2008a).

<sup>16</sup> Desta et al. (2006) found, for example, that labour shortage was a key constraint among 62% of female-headed households surveyed in four woredas (districts) in Tigray, and that 72% were forced to enter share-cropping arrangements with men.

<sup>17</sup> Farm sizes for female heads of households are usually smaller than those for male-headed households, and women tend to suffer from landlessness more than men (AfDB, 2004).

<sup>18</sup> Interestingly, Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler (2006) argue that, although male-headed households earn significantly more than their female-headed counterparts (as high as 4:1 in Amhara region), this gender gap almost disappears once one looks at per capita income, given that female-headed households tend to be much smaller. Nevertheless, male-headed households remain better endowed in terms of productive assets.

although the implementation of these changes has varied significantly across regional states. Holden et al. (2007) found that, following a low-cost, rapid and transparent community land registration process, female heads of households in Tigray were more likely to rent out land, because tenure security increased their confidence to do so. Overall, however, women's ownership rights remain limited, as it is generally accepted that only the head of the household – typically the husband – can be a landowner. Women who separate from their husbands are likely to lose their houses and property and when a husband dies other family members often claim the land over his widow.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, while female-headed households with land can get access to public loans, married women need to secure the permission of their husband first. Women are further constrained by cultural norms with regard to the gendered division of agricultural labour. Gebreslassie (2005) identifies two important barriers in this regard, which shape the limited implementation of women's legal right to control land: lack of ownership of oxen with which to plough the land and cultural taboos that constrain women from ploughing and sowing.

There are also major gender biases in terms of access to agricultural extension services and inputs.<sup>20</sup> While Ethiopia has one of the highest ratios of agricultural extension staff to farmers globally (Davis, interview, 2009), female access to extension services is relatively low. According to the 2005 Citizen Report Card study, 28% of women reported weekly visits by development agents, while one-third had never been visited, compared with 50% and 11% of men, respectively. Key reasons for lower access to extension service are thought to include greater time poverty and thus higher opportunity costs for women, lower educational attainment and lack of empowerment, along with cultural norms about women's work and mobility, all of which may lower female demand for such services. There are also important supply-side constraints. These include a lack of targets regarding female participation against which development agents could be monitored, low numbers of female agents<sup>21</sup> and inadequate attention to married women farmers' training needs. Married women are assumed to work in horticulture and to manage small livestock, and the training is tailored accordingly; in reality, they work alongside their husbands to a significant degree in contributing agricultural labour, and should receive equal extension services and credit for inputs. However, a gendered analysis of the so-called Other Food Security Programme (OFSP) – an initiative that focuses on the provision of credit and subsidies for agricultural inputs – found that expenditure on men was up to three times as high as that on women in some regions (e.g. in Amhara, expenditure on men was 36% compared with just 11% on women) (Regional Food Security Bureaus, 2005, quoted in World Bank, 2008a). This is important not only from an equity standpoint but also from a productivity perspective, as evidence from other countries in the region shows that when women have equal access to extension services output increases (ibid).<sup>22</sup>

Local labour markets are also starkly segmented by gender, with women systematically earning lower rates (Sharp et al., 2006). Quisumbing and Yohannes (2004) found that 26% of men participate in off-farm labour markets, compared with 14% of women, and that the difference is even greater in the wage labour market – 9% for men and only 2% for women. Moreover, men earn 2.7 times what women earn.

Finally, cultural norms also play a key role in shaping the division of agricultural labour and use of profits. Women are typically assigned the 'small' tasks such as weeding, storing and processing, hand harvesting some cash crops and growing subsistence crops and vegetables for consumption because it is not culturally acceptable for women to sow or plant. Men do the 'heavy' tasks such as

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<sup>19</sup> <http://genderindex.org/country/ethiopia>.

<sup>20</sup> This section draws heavily on the World Bank's excellent 2008 analysis on gender and agricultural productivity in Ethiopia.

<sup>21</sup> Other studies in sub-Saharan Africa indicate increased access for women when female agents deliver extension services (Saito and Weidemann, 1990). Female enrolment ratios in agricultural colleges are low (12% of females vs. 88% of males in the three grades in 2005) and dropouts are high (45% of all female students dropped out in 2003-2005), yielding only 9% female graduates in 2005.

<sup>22</sup> Similarly, Dercon et al. (2008) found that receiving at least one extension visit reduces headcount poverty by 9.8 percentage points and increases consumption growth by 7.1%.



clearing and preparing the land, usually involving some form of technology, and general harvesting. They are also responsible for marketing cash crops, while women market much less lucrative surplus subsistence crops. Findings reveal that income from sales is further used to cement this gender power differential: the profits from men's crops are used mainly to purchase agriculture inputs, large livestock or draught power and large household equipment. Income derived from the sale of women's produce is used to buy small household equipment, food necessities and clothing, and to meet community obligations. Men's and women's income are shared for health and education expenses of the family (AfDB, 2004).

### 3.2 Social risks and vulnerabilities

The UNDP standard gender indicators set the scene for any analysis of gendered social risks and vulnerabilities. On both of these measures Ethiopia scores poorly: the country's ranking on the Gender-related Development Index, which measures gender disparities in basic human development, is 132nd out of 155 countries,<sup>23</sup> whereas the ranking on the Gender Empowerment Measure, which reveals the extent to which women take an active part in economic and political life, is 85th out of 109 countries (UNDP, 2009). In other words, there are significant differences in opportunities for human capital development between men and women. Literacy rates for rural women are just 19%, compared with 43% for men and, although the national aggregate gender gap appears to have closed for net primary school enrolment rates (in 2007 rates for both girls and boys stood at 45% (UNICEF, 2007)), at secondary school level there is still a notable gender gap in net enrolment (23% for girls vs. 30% for boys). In the case of health, women appear to suffer from poorer health, with the prevalence of self-reported illness higher for women (26%) than men (23%) (ibid). In times of crisis, women are likely to disproportionately absorb the impacts, as evidenced by declining Body Mass Index indicators (Ezemenari et al., 2002). High fertility levels (the total current fertility rate is 5.3% (UNICEF, 2007)) are another important contributor to women's poor health status,<sup>24</sup> with the number of women receiving skilled attendants at birth at just 6% and the adjusted 2005 maternal mortality ratio at 720 per 100,000 live births (ibid). Additional health challenges include increasing rates of vulnerability to sexually transmitted diseases (especially among young women in communities where polygamy is common practice and/or female circumcision increases risk of infection), including HIV/AIDS (AfDB, 2004).

These disparities in human capital development are shaped by gendered cultural norms and socialisation processes, which Newton (2007: 13) summarises as promoting the following broad gender division of labour:

*Wond* (male): Head of the household manage and control household resources; main rules are engaging in farming and giving social and psychological security to household members; main rights are respect from household members, make contractual agreements, not doing house activities which are the responsibility of women.

*Set* (female): Male responsibilities are child-caring, food preparation etc. fulfil whatever husband needs; main rules are not to participate in local meetings which includes males only (female response); treatment of husband, to respect the culture, not to be talkative (male response). Main rights - second head of household, giving advice to her family (female response) preparation and distribution of food to family members, respect from children.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> This low score can also be attributed partly to relatively low levels of investment in basic human development compared with other sectors. The UN Children's Fund found that, between 1997 and 2006, the percentage of central government expenditure allocated to health was just 1% and to education 5%, in contrast with a much higher defence budget of 17%. See [http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/ethiopia\\_statistics.html](http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/ethiopia_statistics.html).

<sup>24</sup> An African Development Bank study (AfDB, 2004) found that women expressed the need for awareness raising for men, to discuss issues and problems of early marriage, frequent pregnancies, inadequate child spacing and fidelity.

<sup>25</sup> Desta et al. (2006) found that women in female-headed households had higher levels of literacy, greater access to information and higher levels of empowerment, including opportunities to participate in community meetings and groups, than wives in male-headed households, but lower access to productive resources, credit and transport (which in turn facilitates access to markets and basic services).



This cultural division of labour in turn shapes women's access to natural resources. Desta et al. (2006) argue that the degradation of natural resources affects women disproportionately, since they are involved in the collection of firewood, water for household consumption and feed for their livestock, which requires travelling long distances. This burden is especially problematic for women who earn additional income from selling firewood, as they must either travel far to communal forests or risk rape and assault by entering forests at night.

Gendered cultural norms are in turn reinforced through customary laws, which continue to exercise considerable influence, despite formal legal reforms to advance gender equality. As Bisewar (2008) argues, citing the World Bank, 'while the constitution affirms the subordination of [customary] laws when people's rights are negatively affected, "within the rural context customary practices have greater influence on gender relations than the formal system. Moreover, formal laws suffer from weak implementation and "in many cases provide contradictory or incomplete coverage in their protection for women... existing laws are often applied by judges in a manner that does not take account of women's rights"'. Indeed according to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI), Ethiopia ranked 89th of 102 countries in 2009.<sup>26</sup> There has also been limited investment on the part of the government in women's legal literacy and sensitisation programmes regarding women's rights. The discrimination that women face is often heightened in contexts where polygamous marriages are practised – planning and monitoring authorities often overlook women who are married but whose husband may be living with other wives. As such, they are often not identified as heads of households, with implications in terms of distribution of land, access to technology, contact with extension workers and access to other support services (AfDB, 2004).

Gendered violence and harmful traditional practices constitute another manifestation of social risk and vulnerability faced by Ethiopian women. A growing body of evidence suggests that violence against women and girls in Ethiopia is widespread, including rape, abduction (often to avoid dowry payments), early marriage (which limits girls' educational opportunities and negotiating power within the household), familial violence, female genital mutilation (FGM) and trafficking (AfDB, 2004) (see Box 3). A World Health Organization (WHO) multi-country study, for instance, showed that Ethiopia had the highest percentage of physical assaults of all 22 countries surveyed across the world, with 49% of women having experienced physical assaults by an intimate male partner.<sup>27</sup> The Ethiopian Demographic and Health Survey (CSA et al., 2005) also indicated that 75% of girls undergo FGM, and that the average age of marriage is 16.1 years at national level, and only 14.1 years in Amhara. The underlying causes of violence against women include, among others, women's low status and limited power, their low access to social and economic resources and limited legal protection (as discussed above). Moreover, victims are often afraid to report abuse and seek remedial action owing to prevailing cultural practices that condone such behaviour, fear of secondary victimisation and low awareness and sensitivity of the community and law enforcement agencies regarding gender justice (MoWA, 2009). In this vein, Kabeer (2000) notes that power is most effective when it restricts choice, and hence agency, without overtly appearing to do so. Indeed, a report by the World Bank (2005) drew on data from a nationally representative household survey in 1999 by the Ethiopian Central Statistical Agency (CSA) Ethiopia to report that 85% of women believed that their husband was justified in beating his wife for at least one of the following reasons: burning the food, arguing, going out without telling, neglecting the children and refusing sexual relations. The report also noted that 60% of all women support female circumcision.

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<sup>26</sup> The SIGI draws on 12 social institutional variables from the OECD Gender, Institutions and Development Database which have been grouped into five categories or sub-indices: Family Code, Physical Integrity, Son Preference, Civil Liberties and Ownership Rights. See <http://genderindex.org/country/ethiopia>.

<sup>27</sup> See <http://www.who.int/gender/violence/multicountry/en/>.

**Box 3: Social vulnerabilities faced by adolescent girls**

Adolescent Ethiopian girls are a particularly vulnerable population. They are largely uneducated, often socially isolated, typically married at very young ages and vastly more likely to be HIV positive than their male counterparts. While there is some existing programming in Ethiopia to address the needs of teenagers, its targeting often misses the most vulnerable.

Progress is being made, but girls in Ethiopia are still likely to be married while quite young, particularly in rural areas. In Amhara region, 80% of all girls are married by age 18, with nearly 50% married by age 15. This early marriage has a variety of devastating social effects. As girls typically marry men five to seven years older than they are, it places them in a position of sexual vulnerability; 80% of all girls in Amhara report that their first sexual experience was forced (ibid). Marital sex also exposes young girls to HIV. The ratio of girls:boys aged 15-19 infected with HIV is 7:1. However, HIV programming typically targets older, urban adolescents who are in school, thus ignoring a crucial population. Early marriage also separates girls from their support networks and leaves them labouring alone for long hours each day.

Only one in three girls reports having a non-family member to turn to in the event of violence. Particularly in rural areas, girls have little exposure to programming that could alter their trajectories. Parents often place little value on education for girls and family planning is rarely used, owing in significant part to men's disapproval, and births are rarely preceded by antenatal care or attended by qualified personnel. Marriage also precludes education. Girls who run away from home and migrate to urban areas to escape early marriage are often even more isolated. Most end up living with extended family, who are not invested in their futures, working as low-paid domestics with no access to either education or supportive social networks.

Education positively impacts all outcomes for girls – from HIV infection, to age at first birth to likelihood of agreeing to FGM for daughters. However, as education is often not highly valued, at least by parents and husbands, successful projects have found ways to combine literacy, HIV and rights education, gardening and sanitation skills, social networking and participation rewards (such as small livestock). While initial indications are that such programmes are hugely effective, they have thus far been available only on a pilot basis and have had therefore minimal impacts on the lives of Ethiopian teen girls.

Sources: Erulkar (2007); Erulkar and Mekbib (2007); Erulkar al. (2006; 2007).

**3.3 Overview of vulnerabilities and coping strategies in our sites**

The above discussion maps out aggregate gender differences at the national level but, given the cultural, ethnic, agro-ecological and religious diversity that characterises Ethiopia, not surprisingly there is also significant variability across regions. For instance, the Canadian Network of NGOs (Frankenberger, 2007) points out that, in Afar, strict gender divisions are exercised in terms of livestock ownership and control (with women forbidden to own camels or cattle); in Oromiya, many women suffer from a particular lack of influence in household decision making owing to fears of husbands taking on additional wives; and in Tigray there is more flexibility and women are able to use fertiliser and plant market-oriented crops. In this section, therefore, we spotlight the context-specific economic and social vulnerabilities experienced by men and women in our four research sites in Tigray and SNNPR, and the coping strategies at their disposal (see Table 2 for a basic overview of the geographical and demographic features of the sites). We draw on both the survey data as well as the life history interviews. This provides the context for our analysis on the gendered impacts of the PSNP in Sections 5 and 6.

**Table 2: Basic profile of study woredas and kebeles**

Region	SNNPR		Tigray
Woreda	Soddo Zuria	Hawassa Zuria Dorye Bafena	Enderta
Woreda population	163,771 (male 80,525, female 83,246)	139,000	126,062
Main livelihood sources	Agriculture (crops, livestock), trading of different commodities, daily labour and handcrafts	Farming	Farming, rearing of livestock, irrigation, honey bees, working daily labour

<b>Main language</b>	Wolaytigna	Sidama	Tigringa	
<b>Main religion</b>	Protestant	Protestant	Orthodox	
<b>Presence of NGOs</b>	Different development NGOs are operating to reduce food insecurity, such as World Vision (integrated development approach), Catholic Relief Services (CRS) (orphanages, water and sanitation) and International Medical Corps (food security)	People in Need (afforestation in two kebeles); Meserete Kristos (food for work, road construction and distribution of food freely during drought season in six kebeles); Eden (afforestation in two kebeles); SOS Sahel (income-generating activities in four kebeles)	Save the Children US, (provision of school material and constructed kindergarten); CRS (natural resource conservation); Belgian Survival Fund/Food and Agricultural Organization (BSF/FAO) (food security activities); Red Cross (cattle on credit); Dedit credit (credit services to communities); Family Guidance Association of Ethiopia (FGAE) (teaching in contraceptive use); World Food Programme (WFP) (emergency food distribution)	
<b>Kebele</b>	<b>Wareza Shoho</b>	<b>Jara Damuwa</b>	<b>Didba</b>	<b>Shibhta</b>
<b>Population</b>	3429, (male 1683, female 1746)	1400	7365	10751
<b>Main livelihood sources</b>	Mixed agriculture, petty trade, handcrafts (masons, carpenters), daily labour	Farming	Farming, daily labour	Farming, daily labour
<b>Main language</b>	Wolaytigna	Sidama	Tigringa	Tigringa
<b>Main religion</b>	Protestant	Protestant	Orthodox	Orthodox
<b>Presence of NGOs</b>	Medan Acts faith-based local NGO (HIV/AIDS and orphanages); Christian Blind Mission (CBM) (water supply and women's vegetable gardening); World Vision (orphanages); Wolayta Development Association (orphanage support)	No data	No data	No data
<b>Study site</b>	Wolayta	Sidama	Merebmeti	Randa

In terms of economic vulnerabilities, our survey findings highlight that almost all households in our sample had experienced one or more economic shock or stress over the past five years. These economic shocks were subdivided into environmental-related shocks with economic impacts (including pollution, deforestation, droughts, floods, death of livestock, outbreak of insects and pests), economic shocks (including unemployment, lack of regular employment, inadequate pay, lack of access to credit, land, productive assets and markets, lack of access to extension services, to affordable education, health care and veterinary services) and lifecycle shocks or stresses (including costs of weddings, funerals, religious festivals, death or illness of a family member). While environmental and economic shocks affected almost all households, lifecycle-related shocks or stresses also impacted a large majority of survey respondents (see Tables 3 and 4).

The general patterning of shocks and stresses was broadly similar in both regions, although there were also some important differences. Vulnerability to floods, livestock death and outbreaks of insects and pests were much higher in the SNNPR sites. A significantly greater number of households in SNNPR also complained of inadequate pay, poor access to credit, land and

productive assets as well as inadequate access to affordable extension services and education. By contrast, in the sites in Tigray, more households identified poor access to markets and inability to afford to participate in religious festivals as key vulnerabilities.

**Table 3: Types of shocks and stresses by region (% of households)**

	SNNPR	Tigray	Total
Environmental shocks	100	90	95
Economic shocks	100	88	94
Lifecycle shocks	86	82	84

Overall, there were broad similarities between male- and female-headed households, but with some notable exceptions. A significantly greater proportion of male-headed households complained of livestock shocks (60.9% vs. 27.6%) and unaffordable veterinary services (24.6% vs. 11.1%). More female-headed households identified inadequate pay (75.9% vs. 64.3%), lack of access to affordable education services (41.4% vs. 33.8%) and death or chronic illness of family members as key vulnerabilities (58.6% vs. 27.5% and 53.6% vs. 46.6%, respectively). Indeed, ill-health featured consistently in the life history interviews as a key source of vulnerability, as highlighted in Box 3.

### Box 3: Health vulnerabilities

Ill-health featured as a key vulnerability in almost all life histories, irrespective of age or gender, although it appeared to affect women's lives more significantly owing to their care work responsibilities:

*'In 2008 I was severely sick from malaria and a cough at the same time. My siblings also suffered badly from malaria. I had to borrow money to get medical treatment. We were using bed-nets so I think the real cause of malaria was lack of food. The reason for the cough was the coldness since our house is like a slum' (Female adolescent, Wolayta, 2009).*

*'Whenever I have been sick I have been able to be cured by the kindness of God ... I borrow money from moneylenders and pay them back when I receive the transfer [PSNP]. But my daughter died in 2006 and my daughter's husband also died just two months ago. As a result of these bad events my appetite has decreased. My son-in-law's illness was a kidney infection. The cause of the illness was the burden of agricultural work, of ploughing. He sought medical treatment in different health facilities but was unable to recover. My daughter died of a cough. Malaria is a common health problem in the village. My son's wife died because of it. Many community members are sick from malaria' (Male widower, Wolayta, 2009).*

*'I planned to go to the health centre in the coming weeks but to go the nearest health centre I need money for transportation and coffee ... I want and plan to start ART [antiretroviral therapy] but the problem is that to start the drug I need to check my CD4 and this test is only available in the regional capital and only one day per week – Tuesday morning. I want to do this but cannot because of shortage of money ... I have no oxen – if I did I would plough my land through contracted labour. I asked the kebele administrator why oxen are not given to community members like me through the safety net programme. And he responded 'you will not get an ox' [her facial expression indicates that the administrator was referring to her HIV positive status] ... My daughter also has an eye illness – there are some foreign doctors who give treatment but my daughter is afraid to take this treatment' (Married woman, Wolayta, 2009).*

*'Accessing health services is a problem. It is a problem to get enough money. I myself was sick and now the six-year-old child is sick and she is in bed. She does not eat well – it is malaria and she has a fever. It may even be yellow fever. I have not gone to the health service provider because I don't have the means to take her. I bought some tablets and gave them to my daughter. I bought these from the health centre but I don't have enough money to take my daughter there ... All people in my neighbourhood face similar problems. The problem is that we buy food with what little we have' (Married woman, Sidama, 2009).*

*'I am sick, but I have never been to the clinic so I don't know what my illness is ... My children support me but my son is getting sick a lot – he falls down a lot as he has epilepsy ... But even now he is working on the PSNP worksite – although the Kebele Association knows about this we are not getting direct support ... I could go to the clinic but I don't. After my father died I became seriously sick. I know the medicine is free but I hate going to clinics, pills, injections. I also hate religious/holy water – I don't like cold water. So I'm staying*

*at home. The spirits don't allow me to go to the clinic. But I've never been to a clinic for me – I just know that having gone to them with my children I don't like them ... When you are poor it doesn't matter what generation you are from – you always live a very bad life'* (Single mother, Merebmeti, 2009).

*'Women get sicker ... They are responsible for household chores and take care of lots of things. Husbands and children get food first when supplies are limited – wives don't eat if the husband is uncaring and he doesn't share what he is eating'* (Married woman, Shibhta, 2009).

**Table 4: Types of shocks and stresses by gender (% of households)**

	Male	Female	Total
Environmental shocks	94	97	95
Economic shocks	96	90	94
Lifecycle shocks	87	76	84

Turning to social risks and vulnerabilities, intra-household tensions (including care responsibilities for infants and children, the elderly, sick and disabled and decision making about use of resources and household expenditures) were identified by a majority of households (72.4% of female-headed households and 66% of male-headed households). And indeed, in life histories with women, unequal gender relations emerged as a key social vulnerability irrespective of age. Among married or widowed women, key themes that emerged were unequal decision-making power, gender-based violence and polygamous relationships (see Box 4). Among adolescents, in line with the discussion on adolescent girls' social vulnerabilities at the national level, the emphasis was on the multiplicity and multilayered nature of gendered inequalities and the effects that this has on their life opportunities, in terms of education, economic empowerment, physical safety, personal independence and the ability to shape their choice of marriage partner (see Box 5).

#### **Box 4: Unequal intra-household relations**

*'Previously we had a problem of decision making in the household but now this is over. The reason for the problem is that my husband used to drink and fight – he created problems, he came home and quarrelled with me. Now he has quit drinking and has become a Christian; now he consults me. His becoming a Christian changed him – he doesn't have an education but he goes to church and he listens to God's words'* (Married woman, Sidama, 2009).

*'Women cannot sell assets if there is a disagreement with their husband. This is one reason for the disadvantaged position of women in the community. If she sells, her husband says she has robbed the household assets. And if her children back her he also complains that she destroys assets together with her children ... There is male dominance in decision making on the common assets they have in the house. And yes, there are some women who suffer from domestic violence. For instance, one man one day was severely beating his wife. The reason was that the cattle of others were destroying their crops. The other day I said to her that "you are becoming a barrier for other women. Why do not you report the violence? Nowadays rules of gender-based violence are improving. For how long have you been facing these beatings?" And she said "I will report it. The reason I did not report till now is that if I left home he may sell the livestock and waste the money." Previously, many husbands beat their wives. But now the violence is declining'* (Married woman, Wolayta, 2009).

*'My husband is in jail – his first wife and I disagreed. She wanted to dig a water well on land that belonged to me but I was using it for vegetable farming. She did not like me since I am his second wife. Over time, she became sick and started shouting. But no one responded as there was always no peace in the home and the neighbours had gotten used to this situation. But she started to say that her sickness was because my husband was cutting down her forest and when she died her children accused him of killing her. They took the case to the court and convinced the farmer working in their garden to say her husband had beaten her – so he was taken to jail ... The children of my husband do not like me. So although my son has a mental illness and I want to take him to get the holy waters at the monastery, I am afraid to go as I fear that his children may take my assets while I am away'* (Married woman, Wolayta, 2009).

*'After the death of my husband and his first wife who left six children behind, life has been very difficult as I now have to take care of the orphan children in addition to my own two. I don't have enough income to feed,*

*provide schooling and schooling expenses for all these children. Our land is too small to support all of us. The only support mechanism I have is the safety net, which has come to our rescue over the past five years'* (Widow, Sidama, 2009).

#### **Box 5: Vulnerabilities faced by adolescent girls**

*'If girls don't pass Grade 10, they generally don't retake the exam but instead sit at home and support the family and wait to get married. However, if guys don't succeed in education, they work in groups in trading activities. They have a good life – they get a job or can continue their education. Even if they start as daily labourers they can then earn enough money to trade in charcoal/wood – they have a really good life – they can even buy a house in town. But girls, even if they earn 200-300 birr, this is usually absorbed by the family. They can't go off and be independent like guys. Supporting the family is in our nature, we can't take the risk of going independent. In my case I was lucky – I was underage when I was pressured to get married – but my brother-in-law gave me a loan to start my own business so I could refuse. He told me that the best way to avoid marriage was to have a shop which would give me status and then I could get married in the town. Men don't give you enough respect if your economic situation is weak – now I'm ready and the right age, and my economic status is okay. So I can choose the guy – if my parents choose I still have options. I can refuse and my decision will be supported – so I can marry the one I love'* (Adolescent girl, Shibhta, 2009).

*'My father is poor. I don't get any support from him. He has another wife and is living with her ... I have relatives but they do not support me either. I don't get anything except from God. Getting food is difficult; it is also difficult to get an education, including money for school materials. I completed Grade 10 but with a grade point average of only 1.6 – however, this has no benefit [preparatory school entry requires a GPA of 2 or above]. In Grade 9 I was ranked well but in Grade 10 when I took the exams I was very stressed because of the death of my mother ... We didn't have enough food, clothes, pens, exercise books. Now I have no money to improve my educational achievements ... Now I stay at home all day'* (Female adolescent, Wolayta, 2009).

*'It is difficult for girls to move freely outside the village because they may face rape. For instance, if I do not come back home early, there is a lot of problems that I may face since I am alone. That is why whenever I go to the market I always return home early (before 6pm).'* (Female adolescent, Wolayta, 2009).

*'There are traditional attitudes towards women – even among people of my own age – if a girl is seen with a guy she is treated as a prostitute ... Also, parents often send girls for marriage in Grade 8 or 10 – girls don't get a chance to retake exams – they are sent for early marriage. Three classmates were sent away even before their Grade 8 results. They were sent to be married at 16 or 17 years. At first they declined but parents kick the children out if they don't listen ... In short, there are general attitude problems towards girls'* (Male adolescent, Merebmeti, 2009).

Social discrimination emerged as an important source of vulnerability for only a minority of households, but significantly more female-headed households (24.1%, compared with just 8.5% of male-headed households). In the latter case, the key source of discrimination experienced was based on status as female household heads and impoverished circumstances, rather than religion, ethnicity or political affiliation, for instance.

Importantly, our findings also highlighted that social vulnerabilities that especially women face often intersect with multiple layers of shocks that result in chronic vulnerability over the course of their lives. In the absence of coping mechanisms and support structures, subsequent shocks result in a strata of life-crises that constitute long term vulnerability. An example is presented below (see Box 6) describing how a woman has gone through a series of shocks beginning from a young age, resulting in her current status as a highly vulnerable adult women. It involves her failed education, unsuccessful marriages, serious illnesses of herself and her children, and discrimination by local communities because of her HIV/AIDS positive status.

## Box 6: Multi-layered gendered vulnerabilities

The following life history of a Wolayta woman illustrates some of the multi-layered gendered vulnerabilities that social protection programmes should consider if they are to effectively tackle chronic poverty and vulnerability. Having experienced a chain of shocks, she has recently been diagnosed as HIV positive and has arguably reached the most vulnerable stage of her life. However, she also expresses a degree of resilience in her narrative, drawing lessons from her life challenges that she wants to pass on to her children so they can have the opportunity for a better future than her. In the absence of a broader social protection system and weakened social resources, however, the challenges she faces are daunting:

*When I was four years old my parents sent me to my aunt in town who had no children and lived there for years. I had a good life and was attending school. But when my father died, my aunt took me to the burial and left me there telling me that she would take me back when the school opens. In the mean time I could not get by - my siblings and I faced a difficult rural life. Then I decided to leave to the town. On my way, a man asked me if I would live with him and get proper education like his children. I agreed and went with him. But he made me his servant and exploited me heavily and refused to send me to school. So I interrupted my schooling and worked as a servant for 9 years.*

*I had three unsuccessful marriages. After I divorced my first husband I was living by baking bread for sale by residing at a rented house in a town. During this time one military man, who returned back from the war front, proposed to marry me. As a result, I accepted his marriage proposal and started living together. Later on he moved to the nearby town. Then he sent me a message telling me 'you can go anywhere with the child, leaving all the property.' Then his father threw me out of his house I used from living and trading purpose. I sold all assets that I had and returned to my family's area.*

*During the last five years my house was burnt down and I lost many assets. My husband's brother gave us 1, 600.00 birr to construct a house but my husband only built a small house. He is a drunken man and as a result he wasted some of the money. He said he would buy oxen with the remaining money but he has bought and sold oxen in the past and just wasted the money – I did not benefit from the proceeds.*

*I knew my positive status of HIV/AIDS at the end of 2007. I think I was infected while I was providing care for my sister who had HIV/AIDS. Now my interaction with community members is a bit decreasing because of their attitude towards me in relation to my positive status... Since the safety net administrators know my HIV positive status they do not expect me to participate in the activities. But some beneficiaries are not happy. I would like to participate if I was not sick.... I also asked the kebele administrator why I wasn't given an ox as some community members were through the safety-net program. And he responded that you do not get ox. (Here her facial expression indicated that the administrator was referring to her HIV positive status).*

*My son suffers from mental illness. I planned to take him to holy water, but I can not because I do not have enough money. My daughter also has an eye illness. She does not see properly. In the class room she does not see the blackboard properly. She sits in the front bench to be close to the blackboard.*

*Now, I do not rely on the transfer of safety-net program since it is not enough and timely. I try to sell wood, grass, and use other sources of income to feed and buy second-hand clothes for my children. Now my hope is only to see the success of my children. Mine is already gone! I advise my children to focus on their education to save them from the challenges associated with dropping out, which I face.*

Married women, Wolayta, 2009

In order to cope with these intersecting economic and social vulnerabilities, households rely on a wide range of coping mechanisms, including formal/government social protection mechanisms (such as cash or asset transfers and public works), individual efforts (undertaking additional paid or unpaid work, reducing quality and quantity of food consumption), adverse coping strategies (distress sale of assets, increasing indebtedness and withdrawing children from school) and social/community-based help (joining or forming new groups or networks). There was more reliance on social networks among households in the SNNPR sites, but a greater reliance on individual efforts and adverse coping strategies in the Tigray sites. Interestingly, no households from either region

had opted for migration as a coping strategy (see Table 5). Coping strategies drawn on by male- and female-headed households were relatively similar, although there was a greater reliance on individual efforts and adverse coping strategies among female-headed households (see Table 6). A closer look at the data reveals that female-headed households are more likely to incur increased indebtedness (35% compared with 28%) and reduce the quantity and quality of food consumption, especially of female adults and children (see Table 7), whereas male-headed households are more likely to resort to distress sale of assets (35% compared with 29%).

**Table 5: Households dependent on specific coping mechanisms by region (%)**

	<b>SNNP</b>	<b>Tigray</b>	<b>Total</b>
Formal/government	78	74	76
Individual efforts	46	56	51
Migration	0	0	0
Adverse coping strategies	34	44	39
Social (informal) help	30	14	22

**Table 6: Households dependent on specific coping mechanisms (%)**

	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Total</b>
Formal/government	77	72	76
Individual efforts	48	59	51
Migration	0	0	0
Adverse coping strategies	35	48	39
Social (informal) help	21	24	22

**Table 7: Households resorting to reduced quantity and/or quality of food consumption (%)**

	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>
Reduced food consumption quantity for adult males	62	56
Reduced food consumption quantity for adult females	63	69
Reduced food consumption quantity for female children	46	53
Reduced food consumption quantity for male children	36	50
Reduced quality of food consumed for adult males	59	53
Reduced quality of food consumed for adult females	63	75
Reduced quality of food consumed for female children	46	60
Reduced quality of food consumed for male children	36	56

Having mapped out the gendered patterning of the main economic and social vulnerabilities and coping strategy approaches at the national level as well as in our research sites, we now turn to a more in-depth discussion of the PSNP, its objectives and the extent to which it is addressing gender-specific vulnerabilities.

## 4. Social protection responses to gender vulnerabilities: How gender sensitive is the PSNP?

Although the Ethiopian government has no formal social protection strategy, it has, along with the international donor community and NGOs, relied over the past two decades on a range of social protection instruments, especially food aid, food for work, school feeding programmes and health fee exemptions for the poor, in an effort to help address widespread poverty and vulnerability in the country. Until very recently, however, attention to combating the gender-specific economic and social risks discussed in the preceding section has been limited.<sup>28</sup> But over the past five years there has been growing momentum around the need to tackle gender inequalities as part of

<sup>28</sup> For instance, a number of recent reviews of vulnerability and food insecurity in Ethiopia have largely overlooked gender dimensions (e.g. Devereux and Sharp, 2006; Haan et al., 2006; UN OCHA, 2009).



broader poverty reduction and development objectives as exemplified by the PASDEP's call to 'unleash the potential of women' (see also Table 8). Within this shifting milieu, the government's new flagship combined public works and cash transfer programme, the PSNP, is also informed by the importance of addressing the gendered barriers women typically face in accessing such support.<sup>29</sup> In this section, therefore, we provide a brief overview of the objectives of the PSNP and the extent to which gender-specific economic and social risks have been factored into programme design and implementation processes.

## 4.1 PSNP objectives

The evolution of the PSNP builds on decades of Ethiopian experience in targeting emergency aid and public works programmes. The institutional structures; the key role of community representatives; the asset, income and livelihood criteria for household selection; and the division of beneficiaries between public works and direct support according to their ability to work all represent important elements of continuity in PSNP design and have played an important role in its relatively timely rollout (Sharp et al., 2006). There are, though, risks that shortcomings of predecessor programmes may be perpetuated, including disadvantaging labour-poor households and pressures to minimise the number of non-working beneficiaries (ibid). However, a critical shift in focus of the previous relief system and the PSNP is towards longer-term sustainable solutions rather than emergency-based appeals, including identifying the chronically poor and food insecure and providing more stable and predictable cash-based transfers with multiyear resources to finance public works (Pankhurst, 2009).<sup>30</sup>

The PSNP, launched in 2004, is one of three main components of the Ethiopian government's Food Security Strategy.<sup>31</sup> Reaching over 7 million chronically food-insecure individuals,<sup>32</sup> the PSNP aims to smooth their consumption through the provision of food and cash transfers, prevent the depletion of household assets and create community agricultural and infrastructure assets through a public works programme. For households with available labour, the public works element provides food and/or cash in return for work. For households unable to work (owing to pregnancy/lactation, disability, illness or old age), the direct support element provides direct transfers of cash and/or food. The second component is the OFSP, which aims to build household assets through the provision of extension, fertiliser, credit and other services to enable households to 'graduate' from the PSNP. Here, we focus on the gender aspects of the PSNP and its linkages with the OFSP.

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<sup>29</sup> Quisumbing (2005), drawing on three rounds of the Ethiopian Rural Household Survey (spanning 1994 to 2003), highlights the significance of women's time poverty and mobility restrictions as constraining their ability to take advantage of food for work programmes. She concludes that, despite efforts between 1997 and 2003 to target women as programme participants, 'Food for Work in Ethiopia does not appear to be more "fair" than the wage labour market in general, despite directives to target women or to ensure women's control of the food entitlement in FFW operations'.

<sup>30</sup> theIDLgroup (2007) argue that, in addition to the general recognition that repeated food aid appeals were both costly and inefficient, the government faced significant political incentives to seek different ways of tackling poverty and vulnerability. First, it was ideologically committed to reducing the perceived 'dependency' of individuals and households on long-term food aid. Second, after a decade in power and with increasing numbers of households in need of assistance, the government needed a new approach, especially with elections looming. Third, the safety net provided the promise of the distribution of hundreds of millions of dollars in aid through government channels.

<sup>31</sup> The other two components are the Other Food Security household package which provides credit and agricultural-related support, and the resettlement programme, which supports families from the land scarce highlands to resettle in the lowlands where there is greater availability of land.

<sup>32</sup> Some 8.6 million men, women and children were relying on food aid in 2005 (Italrend, 2006) suggesting that the PSNP is now reaching the majority of these.

## 4.2 Integration of gender dimensions in programme design

Overall, the design of the PSNP has a relatively strong focus on women's role in agriculture and food security, paying attention to women's specific needs and vulnerabilities on a number of levels. Moreover, as we explain further below, the gender focus of the programme has evolved over time in response to monitoring and evaluation findings and stakeholder feedback.

First, there is an **analysis of some of the gender-specific vulnerabilities** that women face as a result of family composition, socio-cultural gender roles and lifecycle factors. These include attention to the particular vulnerabilities that female-headed households face, including a general acknowledgement that they are more labour poor than other households; a recognition that women and men have different physical labour capacities; a recognition that women face higher levels of time poverty than men and should therefore be allowed more flexibility in terms of working times so that they can still accommodate their domestic work and care responsibilities; and the provision of direct support during late stages of pregnancy and lactation if a household is labour-constrained, as well as provision of community crèches to enable women with small children to be able to work.<sup>33</sup>

Second, **women's participation in public works activities** is recognised as important and is manifested in specific provisions for inclusion of female-headed households in light of their higher concentration among the poorest (Government of Ethiopia, 2008). In addition, there are provisions to promote women's involvement in community decision-making structures about the programme,<sup>34</sup> although no specific targets (Sharp et al., 2006).<sup>35</sup>

Third, the **type of community assets** created is also approached through a gender-sensitive lens to a degree. There is provision for activities to be designed so as to reduce women's time poverty, including the creation of community water sources and fuel-wood sources, to reduce the time women and girls need to spend in collecting these materials on a daily basis. There is also a specific provision that public works labour can be used to cultivate the private land holdings of female-headed households.

Finally, in terms of **governance of the programme**, there is also some attention to gender issues. The design recognises the need to include the Women's Bureau, the government agency mandated to address gender equality issues, in committee structures at the state and woreda levels.

There are, however, also a number of important design weaknesses, which have implications for the programme's implementation and its impacts on gender relations within the household and community. Arguably the most important shortcomings in terms of the programme's transformative potential are: 1) inadequate attention as to how to promote women's meaningful participation in the programme beyond a focus on numbers; and 2) limited emphasis on addressing unequal gender relations in food security and agriculture productivity at the household and community levels. To borrow the language of Maxine Molyneux (1984), the emphasis is on women's 'practical gender needs' rather than their 'strategic gender interests'.

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<sup>33</sup> The Programme Implementation Manual (PIM) states that 'communities are encouraged to use assistance provided under Direct Support as a vehicle for managing child care activities (Crèches)', quoted in Government of Ethiopia (2008).

<sup>34</sup> The PIM states that 'priority should be given to activities which are designed to enable women to participate and which contribute to reducing women's regular work burden and increase access to productive assets' (Section 4.3.1) and that 'each work team should have a fairly balanced composition taking into account gender, age, skill ability and strength. Women can be part of mixed teams or form their own teams. They can also be team leaders' (Section 4.6.2). Quoted in Government of Ethiopia (2008).

<sup>35</sup> Sharp et al. (2006) found that very few women had been elected to Food Security Taskforces; those who were, were in post largely because they had other leadership roles in the community already, rather than expanding women's broader community participation.

Given what is known about deeply culturally embedded inequalities among men and women in the country (Tadesse, 2001), promoting **quality participation** obviously demands concerted efforts. However, the lack of attention to awareness-raising initiatives among local communities and capacity building of officials at all levels in terms of the gender dimensions of the programme's objectives is striking. As Kabeer (2000) has emphasised, empowerment entails as its core the development of agency to exercise choices but, without an investment to ensure that beneficiaries and programme implementers are aware of the rationale for women's participation, meaningful choices are circumscribed. Moreover, even PSNP provisions designed to lighten the burden on women (particularly pregnant and lactating women) are poorly implemented, in part because female beneficiaries are too afraid to exercise these entitlements for fear of losing their beneficiary status (Frankenberger, 2007).

Equally important is the limited attention to **tackling unequal gender relations within different types of households** and within the community. Internalised gender norms are the most difficult to change. However, at the household level, while the PIM is cognisant of women's time poverty in terms of the challenges women face in balancing their responsibilities for domestic and care work with participation in productive activities, it does not seek to address unequal decision-making structures within male-headed households about the use of household resources (income, labour, assets).<sup>36</sup> Involvement in the PSNP is on a household basis, as is payment, irrespective of who in the family does the work. However, in light of findings from the 2005 Participatory Poverty Assessment that 'men had absolute control of decisions and income management in 75 percent of households interviewed' (MoFED 2005, quoted in World Bank, 2006b), this would appear problematic from an equity perspective. Moreover, little attention has been paid to the particular circumstances of women living in polygamous relationships (Government of Ethiopia, 2008).<sup>37</sup> Typically, when a husband has two or more wives, the household members belonging to the first wife are registered as the 'main beneficiaries' while those from second and subsequent wives are listed as 'additional beneficiaries' below the first wife's list (Kebele Adminsitrator, Wolayta, 2009). This effectively renders second wives and their children as dependent on the first wife, which in cases of intra-household discord may result in a barrier to programme participation.

Although there is a recognition that female-headed households are especially vulnerable, owing to a shortage of male labour to carry out key agricultural tasks (especially ploughing, which cultural norms dictate that only men undertake), programme design nevertheless assumes a labour surplus and that there is adequate adult labour to participate in public works activities (Pankhurst, 2009). However, in practice this is often not the case, especially if female-headed households have a number of young children and/or sick and disabled family members (Sharp et al., 2006). Moreover, as Pankhurst (2009) points out, the credit packages offered by the PSNP corollary programme – the OFSP – are not suited to the particular needs of female-headed households, which tend to be risk averse, to be more vulnerable to shocks and to have less access to knowledge about technologies often needed to maximise the value of loans. Instead, social insurance (human and animal health) is critical if vulnerable female-headed households are to have a chance of moving beyond meeting basic survival needs and moving out of absolute poverty (ibid).

At the community level, **barriers to equal access to agricultural extension services and credit** are also not addressed. As discussed above, there is a widespread assumption that farmers are

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<sup>36</sup> Sharp et al.'s (2006) evaluation found that especially women from female-headed households struggled to get the necessary number of days worked per month owing to other productive and care work-related time constraints.

<sup>37</sup> 'Our field studies found evidence of constraints on the participation of women living in male-headed households and polygamous households in Oromiya, Amhara and SNNPR ... it is clear from our interviews that in the regions where women's participation is low, cultural norms, combined with the men's control over their wives actions, are likely to deter women from engaging in Public Works' (Government of Ethiopia, 2008).

primarily male and that women play an ancillary role at best, and thus the organisation of extension support is designed around a male norm.<sup>38</sup>

The **conceptualisation of community assets** created through public works activities also has important gender implications. There is a strong focus in the PIM on the creation of tangible infrastructure (such as roads, terraces, water harvest facilities) involving hard physical labour. However, there is little consideration as to whether these types of assets meet women's and men's needs equally,<sup>39</sup> or whether other types of assets might have a greater impact on their ability to contribute to agricultural productivity and food security.<sup>40</sup> For instance, it could be argued that health clinics that are located closer to the community and have a higher ratio of public health outreach workers, or child care services, are equally important in ensuring a productive and healthy agricultural workforce. Indeed, an assessment by CANGO (Frankenberger, 2007) found that health and education facilities were evaluated as the most important to women and agricultural facilities as the least important – owing to limited access. Moreover, as it is, the types of community assets considered require labour inputs that are generally more in keeping with a male norm (owing to the physical strength requirements) rather than a broader range of activities, which may be more suitable to the diverse capacities that men and women at different stages of the lifecycle are able to contribute.

Turning to **programme governance**, women's overall representation in decision-making structures is disproportionately low. Government of Ethiopia (2008) found that 'even in Amhara, which had the highest rates of participation, only 32% of those involved in PSNP structures were female'.<sup>41</sup> Provisions for women's participation are more substantial at the community rather than woreda or provincial levels, which is important on one hand given that it is here that decisions about which households should be included, the types of assets to be created and the gender division of labour at public works sites are determined. On the other hand, however, more limited provision for women's participation at the woreda and provincial levels is problematic given their role in shaping resource allocation for the programme. More specifically, at the woreda and provincial levels, the Women's Bureau, which is arguably one of the most resource-constrained government agencies, has only one voice in the Programme Implementation Committee, among multiple government agencies represented. Moreover, there is no provision to ensure that the other members either have expertise in gender issues or links with gender focal points within their respective agencies to ensure that they are informed about the gender dimensions of their respective agencies' programme activities.

As stated above, it is important to note, that a number of gender-sensitive programme design components have been introduced as the PSNP has evolved. Revisions to the PIM have responded to research findings (especially Sharp et al., 2006; Devereux 2008 and the PSNP Gender Study (Government of Ethiopia, 2008) and have included the following:

- refinement of the labour cap provision for female-headed households;
- representation of women in appeal structures and more recently inclusion of Women's Affairs Offices as part of appeals structures in 2010;
- discretionary provision on flexible working hours and number of days for women (determined by woredas)

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<sup>38</sup> A gender module has been introduced to the training that extension workers receive, but the time allocated to this is very limited and the content is not tailored specifically to agricultural activities, restricting its practical application (Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development respondent, Addis Ababa, 2009).

<sup>39</sup> Frankenberger (2007) found, for example, that men and women have different beliefs about what increases resiliency: education and contingency funds vs. abstaining from alcohol and sharing.

<sup>40</sup> Slater et al.'s (2006) evaluation of the PSNP found that, in terms of asset priorities, men wanted oxen and irrigation whereas women wanted assets that were compatible with their household responsibilities – such as sheep/goats or dairy cows. Female household heads also prioritised investment in human capital as they viewed this as less risky than other types of investment.

<sup>41</sup> In Tigray the rate was 24% and in SNNPR 15% (Government of Ethiopia, 2008).

- provision for use of public works labour on private land holdings of female-headed households
- expansion in 2010 of the definition of public works labour to include nutrition-related activities and HIV/AIDS awareness initiatives
- strengthened linkages with the Women's Package
- introduction of client cards with names of both spouses.<sup>42</sup>

**Table 8: Gender-related legislation and policy provisions in Ethiopia**

Policy or legal provision	Year	Description	Notes
<b>Ethiopian National Policy on Women</b>	1993	The main goal of this policy was to work towards achieving the conditions under which gender equality could be achieved. Specifically, it worked to allow women access to decision-making structures by mainstreaming them into existing law and custom, to incorporate women's issues in all levels of programmes and policies, to change discriminatory attitudes towards females and to encourage research and awareness on women's issues.	
<b>Ethiopian Constitution</b>	1995	The Constitution calls for gender equality and suggests affirmative action as a way to address past inequalities. It states that women have a right to land, equal marriage rights and the right to be safe from harmful practices. It reiterates the country's commitment to the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing Platform.	The Constitution nevertheless recognises religious and customary law – which are highly discriminatory towards women. Land is still typically passed only to sons, on the theory that daughters will move to their husband's homes. There are still customs that require a widow to marry a relative of her dead husband. Women who separate from their husbands typically lose all access to their land. Credit is very difficult to obtain without land and married women have no access to credit without the permission of their husbands.
<b>Family Law</b>	2000 <sup>43</sup>	The Family Law has raised the minimum age of marriage for girls from 15 to 18, asserted that marriage is a contract between spouses, not families, stated that marital property must be shared and maintained that husbands must consult with wives in making decisions. Equal rights to child custody are granted to	EWLA has been influential in regards to this law.  Despite the law, a 2004 UN report estimated that 30% of girls younger than 19 had been married. A lack of birth certificates complicates the issue. There is no provision for child support in Ethiopian law.

<sup>42</sup> Personal communication with Sarah Coll-Black, World Bank, Ethiopia, 2010.

<sup>43</sup> <http://www.law.emory.edu/ifl/legal/Ethiopia.htm>.

		mothers.	
<b>Revisions to the 1957 Penal Code</b>	2005	These revisions addressed rape, abduction, domestic violence, abortion and FGM. The latter is now illegal and rape and abduction are now open to prosecution even if the perpetrator later marries the victim.	A 1999 World Bank study found that nearly 90% of rural women and nearly 70% of urban women still believed that their husbands had the legal right to beat them (in AfDB, 2004). There have been no criminal prosecutions for FGM and it is estimated that 80% of Ethiopian girls are still subject to the practice.
<b>SDPRP (first PRSP)</b>	2002-2005	This PRSP saw gender as a crosscutting issue and called for a development strategy based on gender equality. It specifically stated that 'the inclusion of gender in any effort to alleviate poverty is non-negotiable'. <sup>44</sup>	The PRSP lacked an indicator for gender equality; what indicators it included were gender neutral. It did, however, lead to improved communication between the government and donors.
<b>PASDEP (second PRSP)</b>	2005-1010	PASDEP is Ethiopia's medium-range plan for achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Gender is seen as a crosscutting issue that spans all seven sectors (agriculture and rural development, education, health, water and sanitation, road, urban development, private sector and trade issues). <sup>45</sup>	
<b>National Action Plan on Gender Equality (NAP-GE)</b>	2005	This plan was designed to put all the gender mainstreaming commitments found in all the various policies into action – this includes PASDEP, the MDGs, the Ethiopian Constitution, the Beijing Platform and the budget. It provides a specific framework for participation by civil society and the private sector.	
<b>Gender Budget Analysis</b>		This initiative intends to analyse public expenditure through a gender lens with the ultimate goal of using the budget to address gender inequality.	New data from the WMS, the Household Income and Consumption Expenditure Survey and the Demographic Health Survey include gendered data.  New research and analysis is being led by World Bank, with support provided by the UK Department for International Development (DFID) and the US Agency for International

<sup>44</sup> [www.ethioembassy.org.uk/Facts%20About%20Ethiopia/Ethiopia%27s%20Sustainable%20Development%20and%20Poverty%20Reduction%20Strategy.htm](http://www.ethioembassy.org.uk/Facts%20About%20Ethiopia/Ethiopia%27s%20Sustainable%20Development%20and%20Poverty%20Reduction%20Strategy.htm).

<sup>45</sup> <http://webapps01.un.org/nvp/frontend!policy.action?id=53>.

			Development (USAID).
<b>MDGs</b>	2000-2015	MDG 3 specifically addresses gender equality and women's empowerment, including achieving parity in girls' and boys' education, women's share of wage employment, and representation in the government. MDG 4 addresses women's health issues.	
<b>Gender Pooled Fund (GPF)</b>	2008-2011	The GPF's purpose is to support the Ministry of Women's Affairs (MoWA) in policy and capacity strengthening, to support other stakeholders in their promotion of gender equality and to improve coordination – all by providing funding for unexpected but important gender-related needs.	The Development Assistance Group (DAG) will channel GPF funds to UNDP to be held until dispersal on a request basis.

Sources: Newton (2007); <http://genderindex.org/country/ethiopia>.

## 5. Effects on individuals, households and communities

### 5.1 Impacts at the individual and household level

The translation of a programme design document into practice is always an imperfect science, as programmes are not implemented in a vacuum but rather interact with pre-existing socioeconomic, institutional and cultural conditions and systems. In this section, we analyse the tangible as well as intangible impacts of the programme on gender relations at the household and community levels, drawing on existing evaluations as well as fieldwork from two regional states, Tigray and SNNPR.

**Table 9: PSNP data for woredas and kebeles**

Woreda level	Soddo Zuria (SNNPR)	Hawassa Zuria Dorye Bafena (SNNPR)	Enderta (Tigray)	
Number of families involved in PSNP	28,607 households	17,768 households	21,381 households	
Male- vs. female-headed household PSNP beneficiaries	5178 male hh and 3133 female hh beneficiaries  Of the 28,607 families, 13,145 are male; 15,462 are females	12,468 are male-headed households and 5300 are female-headed households	No information at woreda level	
Public works participants	Cash for work enrolled/public works participants are 23,807, among them 11,025 male and 12,782 female	17,768 enrolled in cash for work	No data	
Direct support participants	Direct support beneficiaries are 4800, among them 2120 male and 2680 female	1825 male-headed and 1752 female-headed households are direct support beneficiaries	Out of the 21,381 households enrolled in the PSNP, 1826 are enrolled as direct beneficiaries	
Practice re. pregnancy provisions	Some female participants are allowed antenatal care for four months before the birth and postnatal care for six months after the birth	Currently no child care facilities, but there is a plan to establish these in 12 kebeles out of 20 where the PSNP is undertaken. The elderly will provide child care while parents perform public works; those who are educated will teach children and other beneficiaries who are not educated	No data	
Place of payment	Payment at kebele level	No data	No data	



Type of payment (e.g. cash or grain)	Not explicitly stated	No data	Not specified. (However, in 2001, 170 households left the PSNP saying the payment was very small)	
<b>Kebele level</b>	<b>Wareza Shoho</b>	<b>Jara Damuwa</b>	<b>Didba</b>	<b>Shibhta</b>
Number of families involved in PSNP	305 household heads	373 families enrolled	1155 households enrolled	1043 beneficiaries
Male- vs. female-headed household PSNP beneficiaries	184 male- and 121 female-headed households; in general polygamous wives are considered female household heads so the number is greater than the number of household heads registered at kebele level	No data	705 male-headed households and 450 female-headed households	601 male-headed households involved and 442 female-headed households
Public works participants	253 beneficiaries, 168 male and 85 female	No data	1058 households enrolled in cash for work	938 households enrolled in cash for work
Direct support participants	52, male 20 and female 32 (indicating that there are more destitute women at kebele level)	No data	97 households enrolled as direct beneficiaries (18 male-headed households and 79 female-headed households)	105 households enrolled in direct support (37 male-headed households and 68 female-headed households)
Practice re. pregnancy provisions	Breastfeeding mothers' and pregnant women's situation is taken into account by permitting other household members to substitute for them	No data	No child care facilities provided for parents working on PSNP public works	No child care facilities provided for parents working on PSNP public works
Place of payment	The vicinity of the payment point is not far away but problems are in delays and declining value of payment in cash	No data	Exact location not specified	Exact location not specified
Type of payment (e.g. cash/grain)	No data	No data	Cash	Cash

### 5.1.1 Meeting women's practical gender needs

At the individual and household level, the programme has had a range of positive impacts, owing to the relatively high participation of women. Women represent 46% of safety net participants in Tigray, 42% in SNNPR and 37% in Amhara, and 53% of OFSP participants in Tigray, 44% in Oromiya, 33% in SNNPR and 25% in Amhara (World Bank, 2008a). A gendered benefit incidence analysis drawing on Regional Food Security Bureau data found that the total expenditure of the safety net programme and the OFSP on women remained lower than that on men (ibid), although

this is considerably higher than women's participation rates in previous public works programmes in Ethiopia (Quisumbing, 2005).

Overall, both the 2008 government of Ethiopia gender evaluation<sup>46</sup> and our fieldwork findings confirmed that the PSNP has helped to enhance women's practical gender needs in a number of ways. First, for PSNP beneficiaries, participation has increased the quantity, regularity and in some cases quality of household food consumption, allowing people to '*cope with the hungry season*' (Male FGD, Wolayta, 2009) and times of drought (FGD, Shibhta, 2009) and ensuring that children are better able to concentrate in school because they are better fed (Male FGD, Shibhta, 2009). Second, the programme has helped households to meet immediate household needs, such as soap, kerosene and salt, and contributed to the costs of providing for children's needs, including clothing and education-related costs. Indeed, non-beneficiaries highlighted that one of the key benefits of PSNP participation was being able to keep children enrolled in school (Female FGD, Wolayta, 2009; Female FGD, Shibhta, 2009). Third, some households had also been able to invest in agricultural inputs and improved household construction.

This type of support has been particularly important in the case of female-headed households who, prior to the programme, had fewer alternative avenues for support. A life history with a widow from Sidama, for instance, highlighted that the only coping mechanism at her disposal was the PSNP, which had '*come to the rescue over the past five years*', allowing her to take care of the schooling costs of her six children and facilitating loans from her relatives, who now feel more confident that she can pay back the money (Widow, Sidama, 2009). Officials also emphasised that female-headed households are often given priority in targeting decisions (made necessary because of the quotas in operation in many woredas), as the following quote illustrates:

*'Female-headed households are given priority for targeting vis-à-vis male-headed households – this is because men have many options to work in non-farm and farm activities, so they give priority to women'* (Kushet Leader, Merebmeti, 2009).

The direct support provision for pregnant and lactating women has also been an important benefit for many women. As female FGD participants from Sidama noted: '*The public works supervisors are sympathetic to women*' and '*the programme offers support to widows in their own right*' (Female FGD, Sidama, 2009). However, there does appear to be considerable variation in terms of whether this provision is interpreted as a right, the length of time for which this support is provided (compared with the official norm of 10 months) and the level of comfort women have in exercising their right to this programme entitlement (see Box 7). Moreover, Government of Ethiopia (2008) findings suggest that the quotas on direct support may particularly disadvantage elderly female-headed households owing to the 'position of women in the community, their [lack of] willingness to assert themselves, and to speak in public'.

#### **Box 7: Uneven implementation of maternity leave provisions**

*'Policy documents indicate that women between six months pregnant and 10 months after delivery should be exempt from the programme. However, this doesn't occur in practice. Women are also allowed to go later to the worksite – e.g. 10 o'clock after feeding their children – but this is not necessarily practiced'* (Woreda Officer, Enderta, 2009).

*'Women are not forced to participate in the public works while pregnant. Rather, any household member capable of working can participate on behalf of the woman. If there is no household member who can work, she is exempted'* (Development Agent, Wolayta, 2009).

*'Even though manuals benefit women according to their needs (10 months maternal leave) in practice this is not followed (just three months). In practice, women carry their babies with them when performing public*

<sup>46</sup> A gender evaluation of the PSNP was undertaken on behalf of the government of Ethiopia and a donor consortium by the Helm Corporation led by Barbara Evers in 2008. We refer to this evaluation as Government of Ethiopia (2008) or simply the 2008 evaluation, given that it is the most comprehensive official evaluation of the gender dimensions of the PSNP to date.

*works as there are no child care facilities. But the Women's Affairs Bureau only participates in planning not in overseeing implementation'* (Deputy Head, Women's Affairs Bureau, SNNPR, 2009).

*'Women face specific challenges when they give birth; they are forced to go to the PSNP public works right after the baptism of their children and take their children with them, even when they shouldn't be exposed to strong sunlight'* (Women's Association Officer, Didba, 2009).

*'Women don't exercise their rights for fear of exclusion – women go back to work before it is indicated in the PSNP manual. Moreover, in times of sickness, pregnancy and maternity, women need to have community [PSNP participants'] approval for their leave'* (Women's Officer, Enderta, 2009).

### 5.1.2 Improving access to credit and protecting assets

Improved consumption stems not only from the cash or grain equivalent payment that programme participants receive on a monthly basis, but also from increased possibilities to access credit and avoid distress sale of assets. In addition to the formal credit provisions that households can access through the OFSP (which appears to be characterised by significant variations across and within regional states),<sup>47</sup> our fieldwork findings suggest that households in all four research sites also have better access to informal sources of credit within the community, as the income they receive from the PSNP is seen as a quasi-guarantee. Moreover, when they do borrow money, FGD participants in both SNNPR and Tigray noted they are now able to pay it back in a shorter period of time, without accruing substantial interest payments.

Importantly, the PSNP payments have also reduced the vulnerability of households to engaging in distress sale or use of assets. In SNNPR, households reported that their reliance on measures such as harvesting immature coffee berries (which has significant negative implications in terms of profits), renting out their land and trees to others, sharecropping and keeping *hara* cattle for others<sup>48</sup> had also decreased since they joined the programme. Similarly, families were relying less on the out-migration of family members to urban areas to make ends meet. In Tigray, FGD participants noted that they no longer had to resort to selling livestock to meet consumption needs, and that some community members had even been able to replace livestock previously sold in hard times (Male FGD, Shibhta, 2009).

Although the payment levels for PSNP activities are low, especially in some locales (as we discuss further below), the institutionalisation of a minimum benefit range was viewed positively by participants in SNNPR, who argued that they were now less vulnerable to '*labour abuse*'. For instance, interviews with teenage girls and young women in SNNPR suggested that the programme had reduced their need to work as domestic employees in nearby towns, roles that are often subject to low remuneration and abuse by employers.

### 5.1.3 Intangible gains

Programme participants also identified a number of intangible gains since joining the programme. Men and women alike in our fieldwork emphasised the importance of greater psychological security in times of crisis which the programme affords. For instance, women FGD participants in Merebmeti explained that the safety net helped them to '*tolerate worries*' about environmental shocks and high food prices. Overall, families feel better able to cope with shocks and associated worries about providing for the food security and well-being of their family, as at least they now have a minimal safety net.

In terms of the gender division of labour and power within the household, some women noted that they are now accorded more respect from their husbands as a result of their participation in public works activities (Female FGD, Sidama, 2009), even if this does not translate into changes in intra-

<sup>47</sup> See Sharp et al. (2006).

<sup>48</sup> This refers to a practice whereby farmers tend the cattle of others so that they have access to the animal dung which is then used as a fuel-wood source.

household decision-making processes (Male FGD, Shibhta, 2009). Interviewees in SNNPR also pointed out that some men had revised their attitudes about women's work capabilities as a result of regular joint work on public works sites (Female FGD, Shibhta, 2009), and in some cases had started to consult women on selling livestock in the market and to help women with traditional 'female' chores such as fetching water and grinding grain (Male FGD, Shibhta, 2009). However, the general consensus was that these changes were gradual and still small in scale at best, and many households maintained traditional gender roles and responsibilities. As non-beneficiary FGD discussants in Shibhta noted, belonging to the programme is '*good for household consumption on a daily basis but not for transforming lives*' (Female FGD, Shibhta, 2009).

Gains in social capital also emerged as an important unintended benefit of programme participation. Men and women from SNNPR both highlighted that, as a result of greater livelihood security, they had greater opportunities to become involved in social networks, especially through participation in religious and traditional festivals and celebrations, and traditional savings groups such as *edir* and *ekub*, from which they were previously excluded. They were also better able to honour community contributions (e.g. so-called voluntary payments to school infrastructure development) and government taxes (Male FGD, Wolayta, 2009). This new-found social inclusion was highly valued by a number of interviewees, and could arguably be said to be of particular significance for women, given the generally lower levels of participation and mobility women have in rural village life. Improved social capital was also manifested in mothers no longer needing to worry about their children '*feeling inferior at school*' owing to a lack of resources for clothes and transport (Female FGD, Merebmeti, 2009). In the sites in SNNPR, there was also an acknowledgement that village security had increased to a degree, as there was notably less theft as a result of lower levels of desperation among the poor and vulnerable.

## 5.2 Impacts at the community level

At the community level, the creation of water harvesting facilities, infrastructure development (e.g. road and bridge construction, terracing, school classroom expansion, kebele health post construction, pit latrine construction) and land rehabilitation initiatives have constituted positive tangible developments for beneficiary and non-beneficiary women and men alike.

*'It [the PSNP] is like father and mother. It brings change and we wish to work hard and lead our life without aid. We used to work hard and produced well, but now our production is decreasing. So the PSNP is useful for the community. There is no negative impact. Of course we wish we are benefiting from it and hope we will be included'* (Male FGD, Sidama, 2009).

Focus group discussants also emphasised the gains that the creation of farmers' training facilities in the community as a result of PSNP labour had brought to both participants and non-participants in our SNNPR sites.

Social risks and vulnerabilities experienced at the community level had also been reduced in a number of ways for some. In Wolayta, FGD participants emphasised that they now had greater opportunities to participate in community events such as funerals, kebele gatherings and community meetings, and that social discrimination against the poor had been reduced (Male FGD, Wolayta, 2009). By contrast, in Merebmeti FGD discussants maintained that, although they were now better able to take part in funerals and help sick relatives and neighbours, religious associations remained largely the preserve of '*the rich*' (Female FGD, Merebmeti, 2009). Moreover, in Shibhta participants pointed out that they felt uncomfortable about being included in the programme as many poor people were excluded, and so in order to maintain smooth relationships, beneficiaries tend to share what they receive with non-beneficiaries. '*We never eat alone while the neighbour does not have anything to eat*' (Male FGD, Shibhta, 2009). Non-participants in Sidama also had firsthand experience of exclusion based on corruption – because only a limited number of food-insecure families can be included as beneficiaries owing to quotas

imposed at the woreda level, selection committee members had sought bribes from potential beneficiaries.

However, the extent to which the PSNP has contributed to a transformation in gender relations at the community level has been much more mixed.

### 5.2.1 Using public works labour to reduce women's time poverty

The PIM includes a range of community assets, including provision of water points and fuel-wood sources closer to the village, aimed at reducing women's time burden. However, few community members or programme implementers were aware of these provisions and thus they were not prioritised in decision-making processes about which community assets to focus on (see Box 8). This varies somewhat across regions: the 2008 evaluation found some cases of good practice but these appear to be the exception rather than the rule. Awareness of the provision to use public works labour to support agricultural activities on female-headed households' private land appeared to be even lower, and no examples were found in our fieldwork sites. Indeed, non-beneficiaries from Shibhta argued that women are not getting any rest time and that their time burden has been exacerbated owing to programme participation (Female FGD, Shibhta, 2009).

#### Box 8: Implementation challenges involved in addressing women's time poverty

*'Tasks for women are ill-defined ("light work" for instance is used to refer to tasks that women commonly perform such as carrying stones and fetching water – but why are these deemed easy tasks?) Moreover, these definitions are not necessarily sensitive to context: there is a lack of attention to seasonality issues – e.g. water fetching is much more cumbersome in dry seasons – this type of thing needs to be taken into account to reduce women's work burden) ... Overall, the programme doesn't take into account deeper gender interests: it is not about rethinking roles and responsibilities for women. Nothing is changing within the household in terms of gender roles as a result of the PSNP' (Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) Gender Expert, 2009).*

*'People in charge of implementing the PSNP have knowledge on gender but there's no gender sensitisation specifically for PSNP. The PSNP implementation does not consider gender vulnerabilities: men and women go to work at the same time and they get back from work at the same time. The fact that women undertake household chores and take care of their children is not considered in job allocations – women are usually told not to say any activity is "difficult" or "impossible"' (Women's Association, Didba, 2009).*

*'Women are involved in heavy physical work at working sties. The programme doesn't consider that women in female-headed households have triple responsibilities at home. It does not consider women's home-based productive activities such as family planning, child care, income-generating activities, vegetable gardening, inset plantation, etc' (Gender Expert, Women's Affairs Office, Soddo Zuria, 2009).*

*'The programme implementation does not consider the situation of women with regard to household chores or child care or other problems that women can have. PSNP beneficiaries have to travel to Kuha to get grains, women suffer more than men as they go with their children on their back and as they also leave household chores unattended' (Women's Association leader, Enderta, 2009).*

*'Child care and household chores of women are not considered in programme implementation' (PSNP Foreman, Shibhta, 2009).*

### 5.2.2 Disjuncture between payment and labour contributions

Another critical weakness relates to the fact that payments from PSNP work go to the head of the household, even if in male-headed households women and children are doing the bulk of the public works activities. The age and gender of participants are generally not recorded on the daily attendance lists (which record only whether or not registered households are present), so no good records are available as to exactly who is participating regularly.<sup>49</sup> However, our fieldwork

<sup>49</sup> Note that Sharp et al. (2006) found that 50% of the woredas they visited did provide gender-disaggregated information on public works and direct support beneficiaries. They found that a significantly larger number of female-headed

suggested that, especially in the sites in Tigray, and to a lesser extent in SNNPR, women and to lesser degree children are more regularly involved than men. Unlike cash transfer programmes in many parts of the world where payment is targeted at women, the PSNP payment modality is not contributing to women's economic empowerment or changing decision-making power dynamics within the household. Indeed, many women noted that even bracketing the higher value of the grain transfer as a result of recent food price rises, women largely preferred food- rather than cash-based payments, in part because there was less scope for wastage by men on alcohol and food consumption outside the house.<sup>50</sup> This view is also held by some officials, with some reports of payments being targeted to women in male-headed households so as to avoid abuse:

*'In some cases, the payment to male-headed households is given to women as she spends it on the household and not on alcohol like men'* (Food Security Coordinator, Sidama, 2009).

*'Recently they [government officials] started providing oxen by the name of the husband and cows in the name of the wife. The women are also advised to report if their husband plans to sell the ox. This is to prevent husbands from wasting the money'* (Married woman, Wolayta, 2009).<sup>51</sup>

The PSNP's impact on intra-household dynamics appears to be especially problematic in polygamous households. Second and subsequent wives may undertake public works activities but typically will not receive direct payment for their contribution despite often having to cover basic consumption costs for themselves and offspring relatively independently, further exacerbating their pre-existing social vulnerability (Kebele officers in Wolayta and Sidama, 2009).

### 5.2.3 Linkages to complementary services

The extent of linkages to other initiatives that seek to address a broader range of social risks and vulnerabilities to which girls and women are subject also seems to be quite weak. While the 2008 evaluation noted that in SNNPR some linkages with the Women's Development Package provision of Community Conversations to discuss issues including early marriage, reproductive health risks (including teenage pregnancies and risk of HIV/AIDS) and gender-based violence,<sup>52</sup> our fieldwork found evidence that these dimensions of vulnerability were being considered in the implementation of the project in only one of the four research sites.<sup>53</sup>

Similarly, although there have been important legal reforms affording women greater access to land rights, there appears to be no evidence that attention to land rights has been included in PSNP activities, either in the 2008 evaluation or our fieldwork. Indeed, overall opportunities for programme implementers to facilitate community discussions on key social issues, including

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households included as direct support beneficiaries. For instance, in Chira woreda, 59% of beneficiary households were female headed, and in Bugna 73%.

<sup>50</sup> It is also worth noting, however, that even if these gender dimensions were addressed, there is widespread agreement that the transfer amount, especially since the rise in food prices brought about the global food price crisis, is too low as to have a major impact on household livelihood security. Although prices have fallen off from their peak during the heights of the global crisis, they have not yet returned to pre-crisis levels (interviews, April and August 2009). Moreover, Woldehanna et al. (2008), for instance, estimated that the transfer amount accounted for just 30% of household food consumption. The limitations of the transfer are also evident in the very small percentage of families who have been able to graduate from the programme to date. The Relief Society of Tigray (REST) estimated that even its graduation rate of 4% in Tigray was higher than the government-implemented programme average (interview, Mekele (Tigray regional capital), August 2009).

<sup>51</sup> This view was echoed by a number of key informants in the Government of Ethiopia (2008) report.

<sup>52</sup> It should be noted that, while questions about the extent to which the PSNP is addressing issues of gender-based violence and other social risks were included in the research design of the 2008 evaluation, surprisingly these were not reported on in the published report.

<sup>53</sup> Male FGD respondents from Shibhta site pointed out that there had been improved access to health extension workers since the introduction of the PSNP, as extension workers come to the workplace site to sensitise the community about various health issues, especially personal hygiene and sanitation, and also reproductive health issues. Discussants in Wolayta also mentioned better access to health extension workers through public works site and home visits, but noted that the focus was on personal hygiene (Male FGD, Wolayta, 2009.)

gender equality, do not appear to have been exploited to any significant extent, despite this being an important provision in the Women's Package, for which the Women's Bureau has responsibility.

As discussed in Section 4, health-related concerns were underscored as key sources of vulnerability among life history interviewees, but efforts to develop linkages between the PSNP and health extension services were found only in PSNP sites implemented by the NGO REST in Tigray. REST, which is implementing the PSNP according to the governmental PIM in 7 woredas in Tigray, has interpreted the definition of community assets broadly to include human capital development and as a result community health extension services have been included as public works activities on a pilot basis. This has entailed the training of a select number of PSNP participants to provide messages on nutrition, tuberculosis, malaria and HIV prevention at public works sites. While REST is now in dialogue with regional and woreda officials in Tigray to have this initiative scaled up, to date this initiative remains an exception rather than a standard part of the programme's complementary services linkages (REST Monitoring and Evaluation Specialist, 2009).

#### 5.2.4 Women's participation in programme governance

In terms of programme governance, women's involvement appears to be much lower than the PIM had envisioned (e.g. Sharp et al., 2006). Although the 2008 evaluation suggests that it varies across regions, in our fieldwork sites we found that, even though there was awareness of the provision for women's equal representation on committees that decide upon the community assets to be invested in through public works labour, it was not well enforced. In one site in Tigray, no women were represented and in the others only a small minority. Moreover, even when women are represented, quality of participation is often an issue: as CIDA's Gender Expert emphasised: '*Lots of women aren't aware of the opportunities or of the issues being discussed if they do attend meetings*' (interview, 2009).

Similarly, at all levels (from kushet through to the regional and national levels), key informant interviews consistently emphasised that there was inadequate attention to the importance of strengthening capacities related to gender equality principles and programming. The influence of Women's Affairs Bureaus and Offices is limited as they are just one agency among a number of sectoral bureaus, whose representatives tend to be overwhelmingly male and not well informed about gender issues in general, nor about the gender-related provisions of the PSNP PIM in particular (see Box 9). By the same token, it appeared that Women's Bureau officials were not closely engaged with PSNP implementation issues and so were also not taking advantage to the extent possible of their role on the Food Security Taskforce.

#### Box 9: Inadequate gender-related capacity building for programme implementers

*'The soft skills that gender requires are seldom included in DA training or in service training'* (Kristin David, IFPRI, Addis Ababa, 2009).

*'Gender training is not performed specifically for the safety net programme'* (Deputy Head, Women's Affairs Bureau, SNNPR, 2009).

*'People's knowledge on gender activities has not been addressed. Women were not consulted during the design, implementation and evaluation and monitoring process'* (Gender Expert, Women's Affairs Office, Soddo Zuria, 2009).

*'Gender training and awareness-raising programmes are not intensive and are inadequate. There are also some misperceptions in the community about the programme, as it was identified as an aid programme where the work should be done only by very poor women (not as a work programme where men could participate)'* (Head of Women's Affairs Bureau, Enderta, 2009).

*'Government officials have training on gender equality, gender rights and generally gender issues, but no specific training on the gender dimensions of the PSNP. Women are consulted but their participation is low'* (Kushet reader, Merebmeti, 2009).

*'The activities are not gender sensitive. There is no gender mainstreaming. The programme is theoretically well developed but practical application is flawed: women were not consulted during design, implementation and evaluation processes, which are just top down'* (Project Manager, Meda Acts, Wolayta, 2009).

*'The number of women participating in planning and monitoring is low relative to that of men – especially for higher posts (chairperson, vice-chair). Men dominate leadership positions and their opinions are more likely to be taken into account than those of women. Women's participation is very limited in terms of decision-making and leadership positions owing to cultural constraints'* (WFP Programme Officer, Awassa (SNNPR regional capital), 2009).

*'Sensitisation activities for implementers on gender are not adequate (not formal nor intensive). There is also no formal communication channel to involve women representatives in decision-making processes. The unfair selection process and shortage of quota to the village has been a great obstacle for women's enrolment'* (Shibhta Women's Association Chairperson, 2009).

*'Although the PIM provides for training on gender to beneficiaries before or after the public works, it has not materialised. Women are prescribed work regardless of their specific challenges (health and personal problems owing to their role in the household). There is a lack of will by some implementers to make the work suitable to women'* (Programme Officer, WFP, Focal Person for PSNP, Tigray Sub-Office, 2009).

*'Gender sensitivity among Food Security Taskforces and technical implementers is very low – at the community level it is better (sometimes up to 40% of women) but the percentage declines rapidly as you move up in terms of levels of authority'* (REST Monitoring and Evaluation Specialist, Tigray, 2009).

Nevertheless, FGDs suggested that, as a result of women's involvement in the PSNP, perceptions were changing to a degree among some men about women's abilities to contribute meaningfully to work activities, and that some women were also learning to articulate their views more as a result of participating in public works activities and related community meetings. *'Previously women were expected to stay at home but now it has helped us to communicate with other community members and express our ideas in public. If we have complaints, we are learning how to express these and to whom'* (Female FGD, Shibhta, 2009). The emphasis on women's participation has also resulted in a more active role for the Women's Association in some communities in the Tigray region, and the provision of more information on family planning services, presumably because of the recognition of the importance of having more control over the balance of care work and productive work activities. Some men and women also noted that the community participation elements of the programme had provided more opportunities for citizens to articulate suggestions and concerns about community needs to government officials, although this was still quite limited.

## **5.3 Key challenges in programme implementation**

The positive impacts discussed above notwithstanding, programme implementation still has considerable room for improvement if the gender-related provisions in the PIM are to be realised. Overall, gendered notions of work with regard to food security and agriculture have been largely reinforced rather than dismantled, and impacts on unequal gender relations within the household have been very limited.

### **5.3.1 Unequal payment persists**

Despite formal provisions for equal payment, men's labour remains more highly valued – both in remunerative terms as well as conceptually. *'There is a perception among community members that females cannot match the performance of males'* (PSNP Foreman, Shibhta, 2009). In sites located relatively close to towns with daily labouring work opportunities, in order to get men to participate programme implementers were reportedly resorting to significantly higher payments to men than women. For instance, in Shibhta site in Tigray, it was reported that men were sometimes given a payment for four days (four times 10 birr) for one day's work, especially when semi-skilled



construction inputs (e.g. masonry skills) were required (Female FGD, Merebmeti, 2009). Given that men in this area are able to earn 20-30 birr per day for daily labouring work, public works activities which pay only 8-10 birr per day, are seen as a last resort for men. One interviewee dismissed public works activities as '*only fit for women*', as women have fewer market-based opportunities than their male counterparts:

Overall PSNP should be women's work – men should never waste time on public works – this is women's work (Married man, Merebmeti, 2009).

Women interviewees also emphasised that at community meetings held at the end of the day's public works activities, programme implementers often urge women to encourage their husbands to participate more actively in the programme as more male labour is required in order to complete planned activities. Overall, however, the low transfer amounts mean that because men will opt for alternative income-generating options wherever possible, the PSNP is de facto promoting not only greater female participation but also greater involvement on the part of children and youth, potentially at the cost of their longer-term human capital development.

More generally, while there is recognition of differential capacities among men and women in terms of contributing to the hard physical labour demanded by PSNP activities, this appears to be carried out in such a way as to reinforce traditional gender norms, which see women's work and productivity levels as inferior among community members and local officials alike. Women are given '*light work*' and men '*heavy work*', yet in practice this is poorly defined.

'It is unclear what "light" work for women entails, given that it appears to mean carrying large loads on one's back for very long distances. In Tigray women, many very old, were seen digging roads alongside men, but younger women carried heavy bags of soil on their backs' (Government of Ethiopia, 2008). '

Moreover, men are seen to be '*shouldering women's burden*' by contributing more, without recognising that men and women may have different contributions to make to community development.

### 5.3.2 Provisions to reduce gender inequalities face significant socio-cultural resistance

Programme implementation shortcomings have meant that programme efforts to address gender inequalities have been limited. Socio-cultural resistance was reported among officials as well as the broader public. The Women's Affairs Bureau officer in Mekele (Tigray regional capital) emphasised that development agents often prefer to work with men than women because culturally men are more proactive (interview, 2009), while in Sidama the Food Security Coordinator pointed out that gender training sometimes met with resistance from Woreda Administrators who '*accuse trainers of making women stop "obeying" [their husbands] and that their lessons contradict the bible*' (interview, 2009).

Public resistance is also manifested in a number of ways. Provisions for women to turn up late to public works activities and/or leave early are unevenly practised, if at all, and child care facilities have been established in very few sites.<sup>54</sup> In the latter case, REST, a major NGO operating in Tigray and implementing a large-scale pilot version of the PSNP, maintained that this owed in part to inadequate attention to addressing the underlying reasons for weak demand for such services by programme participants. Public work sites often involve participation by people from several villagers and thus there is some anxiety about leaving children with people unknown to them as

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<sup>54</sup> No child care facilities were operating in our four fieldwork sites and the 2008 gender evaluation found evidence of crèches in very few cases. For instance, in Kalu Woreda, the Food Security Taskforce 'tried to develop a childcare scheme for PW workers, run by DS beneficiaries and pregnant/lactating women. [However] ... due to absence of work norms for this activity it was not continued' (Government of Ethiopia, 2008).

well as concerns about the rapid spread of disease if large numbers of children are being cared for together. However, these appear to be easily resolvable practical issues (by grouping children in smaller village-level clusters with carers from the same village) which could be communicated to villagers through awareness-raising activities about the potential benefits of such services. As it is, there were reports that women often take young children with them to the fields without adequate protection from harsh working conditions and with risks of adverse infant health consequences (Female FGD, Merebmeti, 2009), and that older children are regularly involved in public works programmes at the expense of their education (Female FGD, Sidama, 2009; Male FGD, Shibhta, 2009).

## 6. Drivers of programme impacts

A number of political-institutional and socio-cultural drivers have contributed to the mixed implementation record of the gender dimensions of the PSNP.

### 6.1 Political/institutional drivers

The level of political commitment towards ensuring that the gender dimensions of the PSNP are effectively implemented appears to be relatively limited. It is true that to date there has been considerable emphasis on ensuring that female-headed households are well represented in the quotas for programme participants in each local administrative area (kebele), and that women are encouraged to participate in public works activities and/or provided with direct support during pregnancy and lactation. However, efforts to ensure that other design components, such as attention to addressing women's time burden and ensuring that women have equal access to agricultural extension services and resources, have been much weaker.

First, there appear to be very limited resources invested in providing capacity building for officials in general and about the gender dimensions of the programme in particular at national, state, district and community levels,<sup>55</sup> as reflected in the very low levels of knowledge about these provisions among officials at all levels (see Box 9 in Section 5).<sup>56</sup> This is compounded by a general underinvestment in governmental women's machineries (Bisewar, 2008)<sup>57</sup>, very rapid staff turnover, and a general view that the programme's mandate is to address household level food security rather than intra-household dynamics.<sup>58</sup> As the Director of the Women's Association (a quasi-NGO) in Mekele noted, *'decision making is very challenging as government officials are predominantly male. Getting women's perspectives heard in political struggles is a continuous struggle ... There is lots of mischief by men – deliberately excluding women from committees'* (interview, 2009).

Even where there was awareness of some of the gender-related provisions, they tended to be accorded a low priority and/or deemed unrealistic within the resource constraints of the institutional and community environments in which the programme is being rolled out. This is reflected in terms of limited support both to female programme staff and to training on gender-related issues. First, interviews with programme implementers highlighted the fact that, although women have equal opportunities to compete for PSNP staff posts, the challenges they face on the ground are often gender specific, and little has been done to address these by the government. *'One of the main challenges that a female foreman can face is that she may face the risk of rape while travelling long distances to supervise activities from one village to the next'* (Foreman, Shibhta, 2009). Second, gender-related programme provisions are often perceived as burdensome add-ons: *'Development agents have lots of assignments so they are overloaded and thus it is difficult to add gender to their workloads too'* (Regional Food Security Bureau, Tigray, 2009). The main coordinating body, the Bureau of Food Security, emphasised that its priority lies in addressing the dearth of agriculture-related infrastructure and environmental degradation issues, and that public works labour is a key mechanism by which to achieve these aims in the context of tight resource

<sup>55</sup> Key informant interviews, Addis Ababa, April and September 2009; Tigray and SNNPR, August and September 2009.

<sup>56</sup> Note that CIDA is launching a new capacity building programme for the Food Security Programme which is likely to include a gender perspective and could go some way towards addressing this shortcoming.

<sup>57</sup> Investment in capacity-building efforts for staff employed in these posts as well as adequate resourcing and integration into decision making and planning processes has been insufficient. Gender budget analysis shows that not only has the budget for gender machineries been miniscule (in 2000-2001, for instance, it represented just 0.017% of the national budget) but within the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, expenditure on the Women's Affairs Department declined between 2002 and 2006, making these departments reliant almost exclusively on donor support (World Bank, 2008a).

<sup>58</sup> Sarah Coll-Black, personal communication, 2010.

constraints. In other words, the conceptual linkage between addressing gender inequalities and programme effectiveness has not been effectively made to date.

Not surprisingly, the level of knowledge among community members was even more limited, and officials admitted that there was no budget to invest in community awareness-raising activities. While there are community meetings related to the programme, these do not appear to have a systematic design or to promote synergies with other gender-related initiatives such as the Women's Package, but according to participants are focused largely on practical logistical issues.

Second, gender-sensitive monitoring and evaluation have been minimal at best. Although there are records of how many male- as compared with female-headed households are participating in the programme, as discussed above public works site daily attendance records are not disaggregated by gender, and there is no clear record of how long women are exempted from work-based activities during pregnancy or lactation. Similarly, monitoring of community asset creation does not appear to be approached through a gender lens, thereby hindering any assessment of the relative balance of investment in assets designed to reduce women's time burden.<sup>59</sup> It is important to note, however, that general investments have been made as part of the PASDEP monitoring and evaluation process to introduce information systems that allow for the coordination of sex-disaggregated data, suggesting that the infrastructure exists to strengthen this dimension of PSNP implementation, and that this resource could be harnessed in the second phase of programme implementation from 2010.<sup>60</sup>

Third, while there is considerable potential for synergies between other gender policy infrastructure in the country, especially the 2008 Ethiopian Women's Package for Development and Change and the 2006 National Action Plan for Gender Equality, limited inter-sectoral coordination in the implementation of the programme at the provincial and district levels appears to have precluded the realisation of such complementarities to date.

Given Ethiopia's high-level of aid dependence, donors play an important role in shaping policy discussions in the country, and thus their role in promoting the gender-related dimensions of the PSNP is a fourth important political-institutional factor to consider. Key informant interviews with donors,<sup>61</sup> as well as the gender audit commissioned by a consortium of donors in 2007-2008, suggest a reasonable degree of commitment to monitoring and assessing the extent to which the programme is tackling the gendered dimensions of food security and agriculture.<sup>62</sup> The gender audit raised important issues about programme limitations in terms of women's meaningful participation, although it was more limited in its assessment of the extent to which the programme's intended and unintended household and community-level impacts were tackling gender inequalities. To date, this gender audit has not been widely circulated (especially below the

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<sup>59</sup> There does appear to be recognition of these shortcomings by some officials. For instance, the Programme Officer at the Tigray Regional Food Security Bureau noted that from 2010 incentives will be included to promote implementation of gender provisions as part of the second phase of PSNP implementation (interview, 2009).

<sup>60</sup> 'Data collection has improved in terms of timeliness, coverage, quality and accessibility. A computerized Integrated Administrative Management Information System (IAMIS) is being developed to combine administrative, budgetary and socio-economic data, including gender indicators, to monitor progress in implementation. Joint monitoring and reporting systems for government and donors were developed; and a matrix of indicators that will enable measurement of the performance in the context of international goals (MDGs) and which are reflected in the PASDEP are in place. The legislature receives regular reviews from sector ministries on progress in implementing policies and programmes, which includes sex-disaggregated data. However, there is no clear evidence that this information is used to align national development strategies and budget processes with gender equality in sector ministries' (Muteshi, 2008).

<sup>61</sup> Interviews with DFID, Irish Aid, USAID, German Technical Cooperation (GTZ), the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) and CIDA, Addis Ababa, April and August 2009.

<sup>62</sup> DFID, for instance, as part of its 2009 Gender Policy Commitment in Africa, includes 'ensuring women's assets are protected through food and cash transfers as part of the PSNP, which delivers transfers and public works opportunities by improving approaches to gender mainstreaming and monitoring' as one of its country-specific goals. The Gender Policy Commitment emphasises that 'we recognise that poverty will not come to an end until women have equal rights with men. This is not about doing something extra. It is essential to our success.'

national level), but a follow-up action plan is currently being developed by the DAG Gender Working Group and there is some degree of optimism that some of the recommendations from the evaluation will be integrated into the design of the next phase of the PSNP (2010-2014). CIDA in particular has been actively championing attention to tackling gender inequalities, and has recently funded social development advisor positions in the Food Security Bureaus in SNNPR in order to strengthen attention to gender aspects of programme implementation. Although it is too early to assess the impact of these posts, it will be an initiative worth monitoring over time.

**Table 10: Gender-related agencies in Ethiopia<sup>63</sup>**

Agency or provision	Years	Description	Notes
<b>Revolutionary Ethiopian Women's Associations (REWA)</b>	1974-1991	The goal of REWA was to raise the economic and political position of women through raising women's political consciousness, preparing women to participate actively in productive social activities, ensuring that women's rights as mothers were recognised and liberating women from political, social and economic dependence (Pankhurst, 1992).	While REWA did raise women's awareness, it was largely ineffective in rights implementation, in part because of the authoritarian nature of the regime. It did lay the foundations for the gender mainstreaming that has followed.
<b>MoWA, formerly Women's Affairs Office</b>	MoWA became a ministry in 2005	MoWA is responsible for coordinating and implementing all aspects of the National Policy for Women. It develops and reviews policy to ensure that gender is mainstreamed, collects national and sectoral data to promote gender issues and facilitates an environment in which women are able to achieve equal participation.  Key partners include: UN Interagency Working Group on Gender, Donor Group on Gender Equality (DGGE), European Union (EU), Organization of African Unity (OAU), International Labour Organization (ILO) and International Organization for Migration (IOM). Civil society links include: Ethiopian Women Lawyer's Association (EWLA), Network of Ethiopian Women's Associations (NEWA) and Centre for Research Training and Information for Women in Development (CERTWID).	MoWA is hampered by poor capacity and a low budget. Many staff work in MoWA as well as in another ministry.  MoWA is not a Cabinet member and lacks authority to enforce gender-related change.
<b>Women's Affairs Departments (WADs)</b>		WADs are found in each of the 16 line ministries and are responsible for addressing gender inequalities in their own sector. They monitor progress on gender issues, ensure that gender is mainstreamed in all projects in their sector and are required to report to MoWA (AfDB, 2004).	
<b>Regional Women's Bureaus (RWB)</b>		RWBs are responsible for gender mainstreaming at regional level and report to the Regional Administrative Council. They develop strategies for the technical and sectoral bureaus in their region, develop awareness, undertake and disseminate gender-related research and foster conditions that enable the implementation of the National Policy for Women.	

<sup>63</sup> Table based on AfDB (2004).

<b>Women's Coordination and Desk Officer</b>		Zone- and Woreda-level officers work in communities to identify gender needs and implement programmes and policies.	Staff at local levels have a lack of awareness of key laws impacting gender rights. They also lack budgets, which impacts data collection.
<b>Joint Group on Gender Equality (JGGE)</b>	2003	This group is composed of government officials and donors and is working to strengthen gender mainstreaming in national policies and strategies, particularly in relationship to the implementation of the PASDEP. It created the DGGE and established the GPF.	
<b>DGGE</b>	2003	The DGGE is working to support MoWA in its implementation of NAP-GE, primarily in terms of capacity building. The DGGE was established by the JGGE to support the 'achievement of gender equality and women's empowerment in Ethiopia' (DAG, 2008). It is working to develop partnerships between MoWA and various civil society actors in order to further capacity and effectively implement NAP-GE. It is co-chaired by the UN and a donor agency.	The 2008 work plan has been delayed.

## 6.2 Socio-cultural drivers

There are also a number of important socio-cultural dimensions that will need to be more explicitly addressed so as to strengthen programme effectiveness from a gender perspective. Programme participants are overwhelmingly illiterate or semi-literate, and women in particular have often had very limited exposure beyond their village and to opportunities to articulate their views. Expecting women in such communities to be able to formulate and voice an independent vision for how public works activities could strengthen community infrastructure in ways that would most benefit them in the absence of ongoing awareness-raising activities therefore appears to be quite unrealistic. These constraints are reinforced by a strong pro-government orientation among many rural citizens and the absence of a rights-based approach to the programme, both of which limit the space and potential for constructive criticism of programme design and implementation practices on behalf of the community. When programme participants were asked during the course of the project's fieldwork about how the programme could be strengthened, most were at pains to emphasise how grateful they were to the programme for improving their livelihoods and, except for expressing a desire for higher transfer amounts, had limited ideas as to how the programme could be improved. The lack of a rights-based discourse additionally hampers the potential for the programme to strengthen citizen demands for more effective government provision: instead, the programme is widely seen by participants as a 'gift' from the government which no one wants to jeopardise.

There are some concerns that recent developments in state–civil society relations may further undermine the emergence of such a rights-based culture. The Ethiopian Parliament in 2009 passed a controversial law – the Proclamation for the Registration and Regulation of Charities and Societies – restricting activities and funding for civil society organisations, which includes a ban on civil society organisations with more than 10% non-domestic funding engaging in policy dialogues around gender equality.<sup>64</sup> Accordingly, organisations such as EWLA and NEWA, which have been vocal champions of the importance of addressing gender inequalities in multiple societal spheres, are likely to find the windows of opportunity to call for strengthened attention to gender issues

<sup>64</sup> Other issues that have also been identified as off-limits include governance, human rights, children's rights and disability rights. See <http://www.civicus.org/press-release/993-new-law-will-cripple-ethiopian-civil-society>.

within flagship poverty reduction programmes such as the PSNP significantly narrowed. There are, however, various women's associations at the sub-national level, which could be supported through capacity strengthening in rights-based approaches to help rural women better demand the fulfilment of their legal rights.

## 7. Conclusions and policy implications

Public works programmes have emerged as an important strand of social protection initiatives, and represent an initiative with strong potential to address a range of gendered economic and social vulnerabilities among the rural poor. Overall, our gender analysis of Ethiopia's PSNP has found that the programme has made important advances in enhancing women's participation in rural public works programmes and addressing their practical gender needs, including increasing the quantity and quality of food consumed, helping to cover basic education expenses and contributing to the creation of community assets such as water points which help reduce women's time burden. Moreover, in terms of design, the programme's focus on tackling women's time poverty through gender-sensitive participation options and a conceptualisation of community assets that includes efforts to address women's time poverty, are noteworthy and offer important lessons for designers of public works programmes in other contexts. All of this is particularly noteworthy in a resource-poor and decentralised governance system such as Ethiopia. Our findings suggest, however, that a number of design features, and especially implementation practices, should be improved in Phase 2 of the programme in order to improve overall programme effectiveness and to fully harness the programme's transformatory potential.

### 7.1 Policy and programme design

Integrating gender issues into policy and programme design entails strengthening attention to gender dynamics at the household and community levels, as well as ensuring gender-sensitive mechanisms are embedded within programme governance structures.

At the **household level**, a number of gender-sensitive components are embedded within the PSNP core design. These include recognition of women's time poverty and allowances for women to attend public works sites on a more flexible time basis; ability to transition from public works to direct support during pregnancy and lactation in the case of labour-constrained households (although delinking this requirement from household labour capacities would help ensure that all women have access to such support irrespective of intra-household power relations); and provision for child care facilities. Although, as we reiterate below, implementation of these provisions suffers from a number of shortcomings, these design features have the potential to address significant gender vulnerabilities and, as such, measures should be taken in Phase 2 to ensure that there is both adequate awareness of these programme components and sufficient human and financial resources to implement them.

The PSNP's focus on the specific vulnerabilities of female-headed households is another positive feature, given their more limited options to achieve livelihood security and disproportionate representation among the poor and food insecure. However, whereas the programme's design assumes that households enjoy a labour surplus, many female-headed households are labour poor, especially when children are young and require more care. They could therefore benefit from opportunities to undertake activities that enable them to better combine their productive and reproductive roles. Possibilities include taking on the role of childminders at worksite crèches, or the creation of more health extension-related roles, which would allow women to bring their infants or children along but with less potential risks to their physical health than in the hard physical labour that is the norm.

PSNP design would also be more effective in addressing the vulnerabilities of women living in diverse households if it included more explicit attention to the particular economic and social risks faced by women in male-headed households, especially in polygamous households. Although in a minority of cases officials have decided to channel programme cash or grain transfers to wives rather than husbands to avoid misuse, payment is in principle channelled to the head of the



household, thereby reinforcing men's dominance in household decision making over labour allocation and use of resources. Similarly, although there has been a recent and important change regarding the provision of differential labour inputs into the PSNP in response to household experiences of shocks (including chronic illness) and labour profile, this could usefully be expanded to take into account a broader array of care economy responsibilities. In the case of polygamous relationships, second and subsequent wives may be even more vulnerable unless they can secure female-headed household status and participate independently. (In this case the recent introduction of guidance for PSNP implementation vis-a-vis polygamous is a welcome addition and should be carefully monitored).

At the **community level**, a number of important gender-sensitive design features have been included, especially the incorporation of public works activities aimed at reducing women's time poverty, such as improving fuel wood and water collection sources and undertaking agricultural work on female-headed households' private land in recognition of the labour shortage they often face and the limited range of activities gendered cultural norms allow women to undertake. Asset creation should also recognise that ensuring men's and women's participation should build on differential skill-sets and not just assign women 'light' or work that is deemed culturally inferior.

However, a broader conceptualisation of the types of works necessary for rural productivity could potentially enhance the benefits accruing to women and tackle some of the key vulnerabilities outlined in Section 3. In particular, expanding the understanding of community assets to include human capital development, especially outreach activities to address health and nutrition vulnerabilities, which constitute a common theme across the life histories of men and women, young and old, could be beneficial not only for individual women and children but also for the broader community, through access to key health prevention messages and checks.

Finally, although linkages between the OFSP and the PSNP provide for access to credit and agricultural extension services, in order for programme graduation to become a reality, and also a stage in programme participation to which beneficiaries aspire, it will be critical to establish sustainable institutional linkages to other services and programmes, such as skills training and activities to support the removal of institutional barriers preventing women's access to productive inputs, credit and markets, in order to support women's take-up of new and more remunerative opportunities in the agriculture sector.

At the level of **programme governance**, PSNP design encourages women's participation by calling for their inclusion in decision-making bodies (sub-national Food Security Taskforces) and encouraging women to take on roles as work team leaders at worksites. However, without clear results-oriented commitments, given Ethiopia's deeply gendered social institutions and norms, equality is unlikely to be achieved. More specifically, there is an urgent need to put in place measures such as quotas for women's involvement in community decision-making processes, flexible meeting times that are compatible with the structure of women's roles in locations in which they feel comfortable and awareness-raising opportunities that could support women's participation and voice in community decision-making processes about assets creation. The facilitation of study tours to successful models in other communities would also be an innovative way of disseminating best practice.

Inter-sectoral coordination is also vital to promote understanding of and attention to both gendered economic and social risks and vulnerabilities and the way they intersect. Technical capacity building for staff in governmental gender machineries at all levels to effectively articulate the importance of gender equality for rural development and poverty reduction is critically important. Better monitoring and evaluation of data collection and reporting on gender-related programme aims is also needed. Data collection should include questions in terms of who is participating (not just which households are enrolled as programme beneficiaries); types of assets created and gender-related benefits; participation in decision-making structures; and budget allocations for capacity building on gender-related programme dimensions.

## 7.2 Implementation issues

While gender-sensitive programme design is a critical first step, effective implementation requires strong political will and adequate investment in both human and financial capital. The PSNP has made important advances in terms of involving a significant number of women and especially female-headed households in public works activities, and has established – however unevenly – the recognition that women in advanced stages of pregnancy and lactation are entitled to a period of direct support rather than work-based payments. There has also been some – although not yet widespread – recognition of the value of public works activities tackling some of the time poverty barriers that women face, such as fuel wood and water collection.

Overall, however, the effectiveness of the PSNP as an instrument to tackle gender-specific economic and social vulnerabilities has been hampered by a number of significant, yet not insurmountable, implementation shortcomings.

First, greater efforts are needed to tackle equity issues. This includes ensuring the provision of equal wages for public works activities and the allocation of appropriate work, and may necessitate greater awareness raising among development agents and foremen and women about men and women's complementary skill-sets, rather than the perpetuation of a male-productive-based norm.

Second, in order to reduce women's time poverty, there is an urgent need to raise awareness about the value of community child care so as to encourage higher demand, and to establish adequate child care facilities in order that families feel comfortable leaving their children there while carrying out public works tasks.

Third, tailored and ongoing capacity building about gender-related programme aims for participants and programme implementers alike is an area of critical importance, raised by officials, programme implementers and NGOs, from the community through to the national level. In the case of programme officials, it is essential that gender moves beyond being seen as a technocratic task to be completed and instead is conceptualised as critical to programme effectiveness. Linked to this, mechanisms need to be in place whereby the implementation of lessons from training can be translated into clear performance indicators which are monitored, with good performance rewarded. Providing clear guidance to woredas in local languages on options for the implementation of gender-related provisions would also help to overcome capacity constraints. Institutionally, linkages and lesson learning between government- and NGO-implemented programmes should be promoted through frequent knowledge exchange opportunities and lesson learning among donors and international agencies so as to identify additional complementarities.

In the same vein, women's education, skills and participation in community-level participatory processes need concerted investment so that women can contribute to programme design, input into discussions on the appropriateness of assets in the community and utilise grievance processes and other such rights-based mechanisms to improve programme implementation. Community awareness of the entitlements and rights provided for in programme documents also needs to be strengthened overall, including the gendered programme components.

Fourth, the transfer amount is very low, especially in the context of the global food price crisis, and is only able to support women's practical gender needs to a limited degree. As a result, negative coping strategies such as distress sale of assets persist in many households, especially in an effort to provide for children's education expenses and to cover family members' healthcare needs.

Fifth, while recognising that the PSNP needs to have clear parameters to be feasible and cannot be a catch-all initiative, more could be done to address intertwined economic and social vulnerabilities and risks by maximising linkages between social protection and complementary activities aimed at gender empowerment, capacity- and skills-building programmes and more equitable access to agricultural inputs and credit. In this regard the recent 2010 PIM revisions to include adult literacy classes, a nutrition-related pilot, community creches and HIV/AIDS-related awareness activities provide a possible model for such approaches. They could also be facilitated by supporting a more strategic use of community conversations and dialogue opportunities in programme-related spaces such as community meetings on public works plans or payment points to raise awareness about social vulnerabilities and risks for women and girls, especially gender-based violence, early marriage, women's land rights and reproductive health issues.

Finally, it is critical that the implementation of gender-related programme features are embedded within routine monitoring and evaluation processes, regularly analysed, disseminated and reflected upon. While independent evaluation studies have served to flag up gender-related concerns, the 2008 Food Security Programme Monitoring and Evaluation Plan largely overlooks gender dimensions and thus there is considerable scope for improvement.

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## Appendix 1: Research instruments

### Life history questions

#### Key information

##### Aims:

- To explore in-depth individuals' gendered experiences of risk and vulnerability, and the individual, household, community and policy-level factors which shape available coping/resilience strategies
- To gain an understanding of the relative importance of the focus social protection programme intervention in diverse individuals' lives

##### Scope:

- Eight life histories among participants per sub-national district for the following life stages:
  - Adolescent (m and f)
  - Married (m and f)
  - Single-headed hh (m and f)
  - Aged (m and f)

##### Data collection and other issues:

- Gift
- Recorded, transcribed and English verbatim translation
- Field notes on interview dynamics
- Interview to last between 60 and 90 minutes

##### Useful resources:

- 'Report on CPRC workshop: Panel Surveys and Life History Methods'. See especially page 8 (Figure 2, Life History Diagram, Bangladesh)

### Life history interview questions for adolescents (male and female)

#### Introductions

- Basic background information (name, age, place of birth, living arrangements etc)
- Explain the objectives of this study and the format of the interview

#### General (optional depending on judgment of lead qualitative researcher in country team)

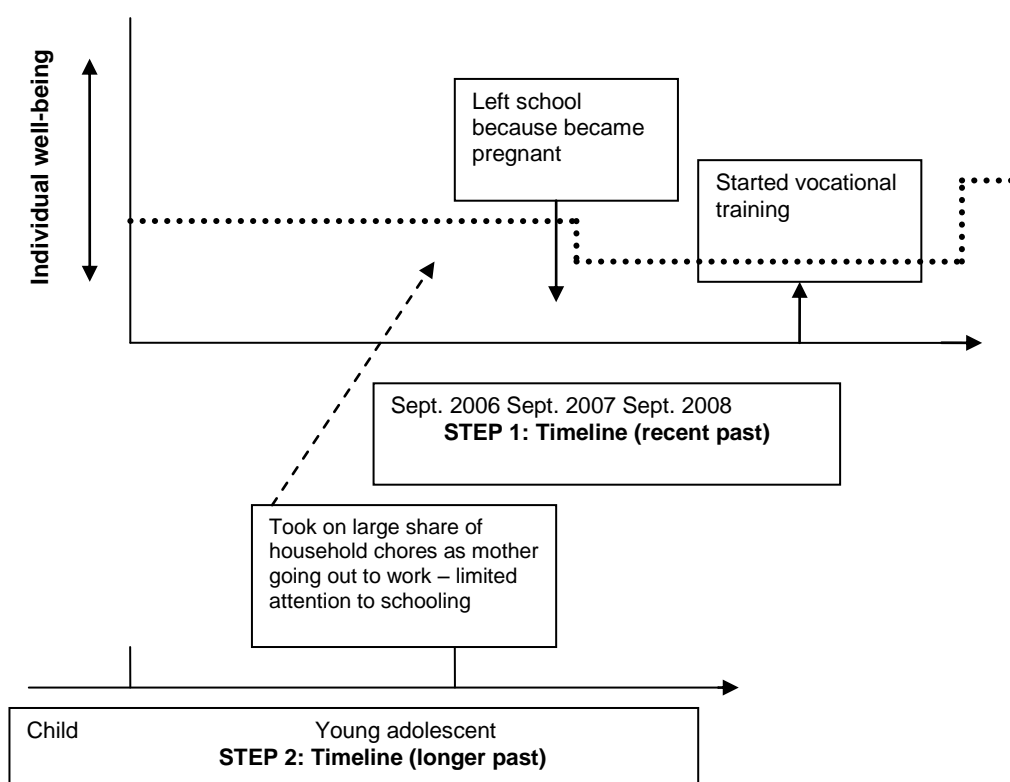
- What are some of the key challenges that girls/boys [choose the same sex as your interviewee] of your age in this village face? E.g. at the following levels:
  - Individual level (e.g. lack of schooling, health-related problems, hunger, violence, teenage pregnancy)
  - household level (e.g. lack of decision making in the household; unequal allocation of time doing tasks in and out of the household between siblings; unequal distribution of food)
  - Community (lack of participation in community decision making, lack of provision of basic services; lack of opportunities for young people; significant generational differences between old and young)
- Have they always faced these challenges?
- How do people tend to cope with these challenges? E.g.
  - Borrow money (from relatives, friends, micro-finance institutions)
  - Work in paid employment

- Make different family arrangements (e.g. living with different family members)

### Individual recent past

- Can you tell us about your life over the last two or three years?
- Has anything gone particularly well during this period? What have been the positive changes? Who and what was responsible?
- What particular challenges have you faced over the last two/three years?
- Can you explain why you think you face these challenges?
- Have you / your family tried to overcome these challenges? What strategies have you used? How well have these strategies worked?
- Have other families in the village also used these strategies to overcome similar challenges?
- How do you think your options / strategies have been similar or different from girls/boys (opposite sex to interviewee) of the same age?
- Have you been involved in any government or non-government programmes/activities that have helped you overcome these challenges?
- Has the PSNP provided specific support to overcoming these challenges? If no – why not? If yes - in what way?

*Interviewer draws key events on a timeline over the past two/three years in order to summarise content (STEP 1 in diagram below).*



### Longer past

*Interviewer uses a longer visual timeline to prompt the discussion around the longer past (e.g. interviewer draws a longer timeline underneath the one above (shorter timeline) and draw arrows between the two to show connections) (STEP 2 in diagram above).*

- Thinking back to when you were younger, can you map out **key events** in your life up until now (positive and negative) that have influenced the type of choices you have made or the alternatives you've had? Why have these been important?

- At individual level (e.g. schooling, health)
- Household level (e.g. livelihood opportunities; available household resources; decisions in the household to spend on schooling, health, income generating; changes in the family (birth, death, marriage, divorce etc));
- Community level (e.g. discrimination/exclusion from community activities or resources; exclusion from participating in community decision making, violence)
- How has the way you and/or your family lived life until now influenced the way you deal with the challenges you identified before?
- Do you ever think that if you had made a different choice before, your life would be different now? What would you have done differently?

### **Future plans**

- Given your present circumstances what are you planning to do in the short term? What are your longer term plans?
- How do you think your options are similar or different from someone from the opposite sex of the same age?
- To what extent can the PSNP help you achieve your short term and long term plans?
- How would you change the social protection programme to better meet your needs?
- Is your view the same as others in the household or do different members have different opinions?

### **Life history questions for married/single/aged (male and female)**

#### **Introductions**

- Basic background information (name, age, place of birth, living arrangements etc).
- Explain the objectives of this study and the format of the interview

#### **General**

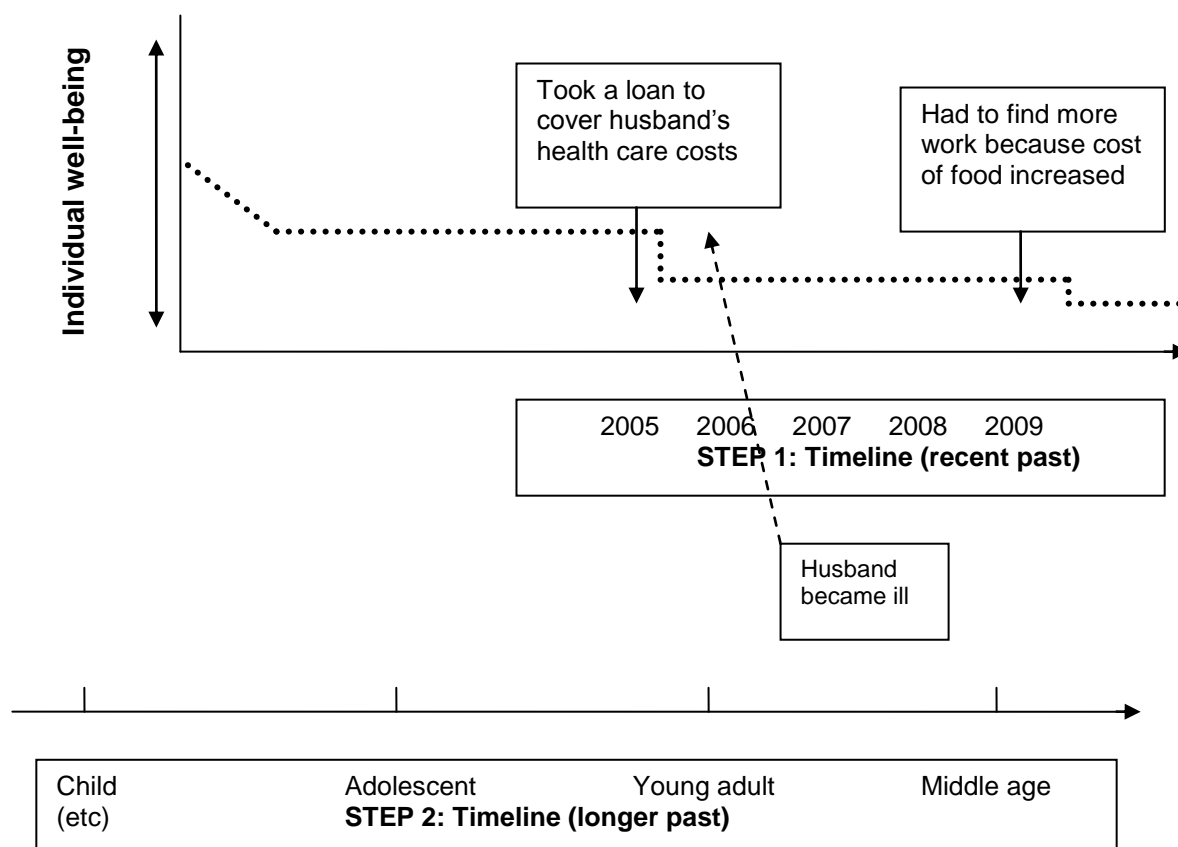
- What are the some of key challenges that women / men [choose the same sex as your interviewee] your age in this village face?
  - individual level (e.g. lack of schooling, health-related problems, food insecurity, violence, lack of ownership of assets (e.g. land, livestock, housing))
  - household level (e.g. lack of decision making in the household over household expenditure e.g. on productive activities, on health and education, on food; unequal allocation of time e.g. in domestic and care responsibilities and income generating activities; unequal distribution of food in the household)
  - Community (lack of participation in community decision making, lack of provision of basic services)
- Have they always faced these challenges?
- How do people tend to cope with these challenges?

#### **Individual recent past**

- Can you tell us about your life over the last two or three years?
- Has anything gone particularly well during this period? What have been the positive changes? Who and what was responsible?
- What particular challenges have you faced over the last five years?
- Can you explain why you think you face these challenges?
- Have you tried to overcome these challenges? What strategies have you used? How well have these strategies worked?
- Have other families in the village also used these strategies to overcome similar challenges?
- How do you think your options / strategies have been similar or different from women / men [choose opposite sex to interviewee] of the same age?

- Have you participated in any government or non-government programmes/activities that have helped you overcome these challenges?
- Has the PSNP provided specific support to overcoming these challenges? If no – why not? If yes - in what way?
- Over these last five years has anything gone particularly well? What have been the positive changes? Who and what was responsible?

*Interviewer draws key events on a timeline over the last five years in order to summarise content. STEP 1 in diagram below.*



## Past

*Interviewer uses the visual timeline to prompt the discussion around the longer past (e.g. interviewer draws a longer timeline underneath the one above (shorter timeline) and draw arrows between the two to show connections). STEP 2 in diagram above.*

- Thinking back to when you were younger, can you map out key events in your life up until now (positive and negative) that have influenced the type of choices you have made or the alternatives you've had?
  - At individual level (e.g. schooling, health)
  - Household level (e.g. livelihood opportunities; available household resources; decisions in the household to spend on schooling, health, income generating; changes in the family (birth, death, marriage, divorce etc));
  - Community level (e.g. discrimination/exclusion from community activities or resources; exclusion from participating in community decision making)
- How has the way you have lived your life until now influenced the way you deal with the challenges you identified before?

- Do you ever think that if you had made a different choice before, your life would be different now? What would you have done differently?

**Future plans**

- Given your present circumstances what are you planning to do in the short term? What are your longer term plans?
- How do you think your options are similar or different from someone from the opposite sex at the same life stage?
- To what extent can the social protection programme help you achieve your short term and long term plans?
- How would you change the social protection programme to better meet your needs?
- Is your view the same as others in the household or do different members have different opinions?

## Focus group discussions

### Key information

#### Aims:

- To understand the strengths and weaknesses of the implementation of the focus social protection intervention
- To understand the strengths and weaknesses of the focus social protection intervention in terms of shaping community experiences of inclusion/ exclusion and/or discrimination

#### Scope:

- 4 FGDs (2 men, 2 women) per sub-national unit with programme participants

#### Data collection required:

- Maximum 75 minutes
- Provision of snacks
- One person leading
- One person recording identity of participants and the sequence in which they speak
- One translator for ODI team
- Detailed notes from discussion around the four questions including areas of debate among participants and dominant opinion among participants for each question
- Observation of group dynamics

#### Useful resources:

- Slater, R. and Mphale, M. (2008) Cash transfers, gender and generational relations: evidence from a pilot project in Lesotho. See especially Annex 2.

## Focus group discussion: Key questions/themes and suggestions for prompts

- 1. What have been the direct impacts of the social protection programme on the household?**
  - Improving economic security
  - Improving food consumption (quality and quantity)
  - Helping to provide better protection and care for household members
  - Improving household human capital
  - Providing adequate protection from the impacts of shocks (e.g. community and idiosyncratic shocks)
- 2. What have been the indirect impacts of the social protection programme on the household?**
  - Has participation in the programme influenced power relations between men and women? Between generations? How and why?
  - Has participation in the programme influenced access to social capital (formal and informal)?
  - What impact does the programme have on child well-being?
  - Impact on access to credit services
  - Reduce impact of seasonality
- 3. What have been the direct impacts of the social protection programme on the community?**
  - Increased access to/utilisation/accumulation of community assets – for whom?
  - Increased utilisation of social services

**4. What have been the indirect impacts of the programme on the community?**

- Better quality basic social service
- Increased civil society agency to demand entitlements – representing which types of groups?
- Increased government responsiveness to citizen demands
- Reduced exclusion of marginalised social groups
- Negative impact on community E.g. exacerbating existing community tensions
- Tensions between women in different social groups

N.B. For analysis, refer back to conceptual framework levels: individual, household and community

## Household survey on gender and social protection (Ethiopia)

### Instructions

1. Who? This questionnaire should be answered by Productive Safety Net Programme participants who are either: a) female heads of household or b) adult women or men who are either the household head or the partner of the household head. Please ensure proportion of respondents from categories in a) and b) is proportionate to the proportion of female headed households who are programme beneficiaries in your Woreda.
2. How should households be selected? Based on the list of PSNP participants, select every 10<sup>th</sup> member on this list, but be sure to fulfil the quota of (a).
3. How much time? We envisage approximately 1 hour per survey (max 1.5 hours) and that one researcher can complete 5 surveys per day
4. Use the surveys to help you select the life history case studies – all life histories should be a member of a household who was surveyed

### A. BASIC HOUSEHOLD PROFILE (defined by: sleep under the same roof/compound and eat from the same kitchen)

1. Name of the respondent \_\_\_\_\_  
 1.1 Position of the respondent in the household (1= head; 2= wife/husband, 3= son, 4= daughter; 5=Other- specify)  
 1.2 Sex of the respondent ( 1= Male; 2= Female)
2. Name of location  
 2.1 Region = \_\_\_\_\_; 2.2 Zone = \_\_\_\_\_; 2.2 District = \_\_\_\_\_;  
 2.4 PA/Kebele/Village = \_\_\_\_\_
3. How long have you lived in this community? \_\_\_\_\_  
 1. 01 = less than one year  
 2. 02 = between one and five years  
 3. 03 = more than five years
4. Are you a member of the Productive Safety Net Programme?  
 1= Yes; 2= No
5. Name of head of household \_\_\_\_\_  
 5.1. Sex of the household head \_\_\_\_\_ (1=Male; 2=Female)

### 6. Household roster: For all household members please fill out this table:

Member id	Name of the household member	Sex 01=M 02=F	Age In completed years	Marital status (see code 1)	Highest education level achieved (see code 2)	Religion (see code 3)	What does each household member do? (list up to 3 activities in order of how much time is spent ) (Use code 4)		
							Activity 1	Activity 2	Activity 3
1									
2									
3									
4									
5									



6									
7									
8									
9									
10									

**Code 1: marital status:** 01=single; 02=married; 03=divorced/ separated; 04=widowed; 05=cohabitation; 06=polygamous relationship (record number of wife)

**Code 2. Education level** Grade 1-12 (enter number 01-12 as appropriate); 13=Tertiary education; 14=vocational training; 15=religious education; 16=adult literacy

**Code 3. Religion:** 01 – Orthodox Christian ; 02 – Muslim; 03- no religion ; 04 – protestant; 05 – Animist; 06- Catholic; 07-Hindu; 09-Buddhist; 10-Other (state)

**Code 4. Activity**

Agriculture	Non-agriculture	Unemployed or unpaid
01 – self-employed (food)	08 – self-employed (manufacturing)	15 – unemployed
02 – self-employed (non-food/cash crop)	09 – self-employed (business)	16 – household chores
03 – aquaculture	10 – self-employed (services)	17 – care of household dependent (sick, disabled, child, elderly)
04- livestock	11 – wage employment	18 – begging
05 – wage employment	12- regular waged employment	19 – schooling
06 – other (specify)	13 – other (specify)	20- play
		21- unpaid herding
		22 – other (specify)

7. Does your household own land? \_\_\_\_\_ 1= yes; 2= No. If no, skip to Q9.

8. If yes, please fill the following table about the size and type of land

	Type of land	Size of land in hectares
1	Own cultivated land	
2	Rented in land	
3	Rented out land sharecropped in land	
4	Share cropped out land	
6	Share cropped in land	
6	Other type of land (specify)	

9. Household assets (see code 5 on next page):

- i) Land \_\_\_\_\_
- ii) Livestock \_\_\_\_\_
- iii) Equipment (e.g. farming) \_\_\_\_\_
- iv) Transport \_\_\_\_\_
- v) Radio / TV \_\_\_\_\_
- vi) Toilet type \_\_\_\_\_
- vii) Drinking water \_\_\_\_\_
- viii) Number of rooms in house \_\_\_\_\_
- ix) Savings (in bank, credit group) \_\_\_\_\_
  - i. If yes, how much have you saved in Birr? \_\_\_\_\_
- x) Do you have loans? \_\_\_\_\_
  - i. What is the value of these loans? \_\_\_\_\_
- xi) Other \_\_\_\_\_

**Code 5**

Livestock – yes/no and how many of each?	Equipment	Transport	Communication tools	Toilet type	Drinking water	Number of rooms in house	Savings	Loans Yes/no. If yes, can you make the payments?
01= poultry	01= kerosene stove	01=working bicycle	01=working mobile phone	01= forest/field/ open place	01 bore well	01=1 room	01=yes	01=yes and can make payments
02=sheep	02=water pump	02= animal and cart	02=working landline phone	02 neighbours/ relatives – latrine	02 bought water	02=2 rooms	02=no	02=yes but can't make payments
03=cows	03=plough	03= horses	03=radio	03 own pit latrine	03 piped into dwelling	03=3 rooms		03=no
04=oxen	04=other (specify)		04=tv	04 none	04 piped into neighbours or relatives' dwelling	04=4 or more rooms		
05= mules					06 public standpipe or tubewell			
06= donkeys	06= water pump				07 protected well			
07= goats	07= other, specify				08 unprotected well			
08 = other, specify								

10	Do you own the house you live in? (1=yes; 2=no) If no skip to question 14	
11	If yes, materials from which WALL of the house is made	
	1= Brick/concrete/stone	
	2= Adobe/mud	
	3= Wood/branches	
	4= Galvanized iron	
	5= Matting	
	6= Other: SPECIFY _____	
12	Materials from which the ROOF is made	
	1=- Straw/thatch	
	2=-Earth/mud	
	3=- Wood/planks	
	4=- Galvanised iron	
	5=- Concrete/ cement	
	6=- Tiles/slates	
	7=-Other: SPECIFY @ _____	
13	Materials from which the FLOOR is made	
	1=- Earth	
	2=- Wood	
	3=- Stone/brick	
	4=- Cement/tile	
	5=- Laminated material	
	6=- Other: SPECIFY @ _____	
14	What is the main source of drinking water for members of your household?	
	1=- Piped into dwelling/yard/plot	
	2=- Public standpipe/tubewell	
	3=- Unprotected well/spring/pond/river/stream	
	4=- Other: SPECIFY _____	
15	What kind of toilet facility does your household use?	
	1=- Flush toilet/ septic tank	
	2=- Pit latrine (private)	
	3=- Pit latrine (communal)	

	4= Open air	
	5= Other: SPECIFY _____	
16	What is the main type of fuel you usually use for cooking?	
	1= Wood	
	2= Kerosene/paraffin	
	3= Charcoal	
	4= Gas/electricity	
	5= Cow dung	
	6= None	
	7= Other: SPECIFY _____	
17	What is the main type of energy source you usually use for lighting	
	1= Wood	
	2= Kerosene/paraffin	
	3= Candle	
	4= Gas	
	5= Electricity	
	7= None	
	8= Other: SPECIFY _____	

### Social capital

18. To what kind of groups do members of your household belong? (fill 1= if yes; 2= if no in each box) Take member id from Q6

member id (from Q6)	Religious organisation	Savings/ credit group	Trade organisation	Women's association	Youth association	Peasants association	Labour union	Self-help group	Other – please specify
1									
2									
3									
4									
5									
6									
7									
8									
9									
10									
11									
12									

19. Who can you rely on for support (financial, personal, in-kind) in hard times? (Mark 1 = yes ; 2= 0)

Member id (from Q6)	Extended family members	Neighbours	Religious organisation	Local NGO	Self-help group	Savings/ credit group	Women's Association	Peasant association	Youth association	Traditional authority	Community leader	Work colleague	Other
1													
2													
3													

4													
5													
6													
7													
8													
9													
10													
11													
12													

## **B. KEY TYPES OF RISKS AND VULNERABILITIES**

### **B1. Tangible/ economic risks**

20. Has your household suffered from any of the following types of vulnerabilities over the last five years? Are particular family members more affected than others? If so, who?

Types of vulnerabilities (codes for risks)	1=Yes; 2=No	extent of cost burden 1=small; 2= medium; 3= high	Which family members are affected the most (list up to three member ids from Q 6)		
			mem code	mem code	mem code
<b>1. Environmental vulnerabilities</b>					
1.1 = pollution					
1.2= deforestation					
1.3=droughts					
1.4=floods					
1.5= death of livestock					
1.6=outbreak of insect and pests					
1.7= Others (specify)					
<b>2. Economic vulnerabilities – a lack of:</b>					
2.1. =employment					
2.2=regular employment					
2.3=adequate pay					
2.4= access to credit					
2.5=access to land					
2.6=access to productive assets					
2.7=access to markets					
2.8=access to extension services					
2.9=access to affordable education services					
2.10=access to affordable health services					
2.11=access to affordable vet services					
2.12= Others (specify)					
<b>3. Lifecycle events- Costs associated with:</b>					
3.1= weddings					
3.2= religious festivals					
3.3=funerals					
3.4=birth of another child					
3.5=death of a family member					
3.6=serious acute illness of a family member					
3.7= serious chronic illness					
3.8 = other					

**B2: Social risks**

21. In every family some household members are in need of more support than others. Do you have family members who fall into the following categories? In your family who is (are) the main care-giver(s) for the following and for how many hours a week?:

		Yes/No? If yes, how many?	Main care giver? (give code from q6)	Hours per week spent caring for this category of family member
1	Infants (0-3)			
2	Young children (3-11)			
3	Adolescents (12-18)			
4	Sick adults			
5	Disabled			
6	Aged			
7	Other			

22. In many families there are tensions and conflicts between men and women and young and old. In your household what are the key sources of these tensions/conflicts? Who are these tensions between?

Tension code	Types of tensions/ conflicts	1=Yes; 2=no	If Yes, between whom? 01 – husband and wife 02- children and parents 03 – children and grandparents 04 – daughter and mother-in-law 05 – daughter and father-in-law 06 – son and parents-in-law? 07- other, specify
22.1	Control over resources		
22.2	Decision making on expenditure		
22.3	Care / responsibility of children / sick / elderly		
22.4	Distribution of domestic responsibilities		
22.5	Decision-making over mobility		
22.6	Decision making over labour allocation		
22.7	Decision making about government or NGO programme participation		
22.8	Other, specify		
22.9	No tensions in household		

23. Does your household face any of the following types of social discrimination?

	1= yes; 2=no
Religion	
Ethnicity	
HIV/AIDS status	
Polygamous household status	
Poverty status	
Migrant status	
Female headed household status	
Political affiliation	

24. Has your household experienced any other big changes or events in the last few years?

a. What have been the two most important changes? (positive or negative)

i. \_\_\_\_\_

ii. \_\_\_\_\_

b. What caused these changes?

i. \_\_\_\_\_

ii. \_\_\_\_\_

c. Have things got better or worse overall? \_\_\_\_\_

d. Have the changes had the same impact on all members of the household or have they been more significant for some members than others? If so for whom and why?

\_\_\_\_\_

### C. COPING STRATEGIES

25. Summarising from the previous section (q20), what are the 2 most important tangible risks/challenges your family has faced over the last five years?

a. \_\_\_\_\_

b. \_\_\_\_\_

26. Summarising from the previous section (q21-23), what are the 2 most important social risks your family has faced over the last five years?

a. \_\_\_\_\_

b. \_\_\_\_\_

27. For each of your four biggest risks (2 tangible and 2 social), what three main coping mechanism did you employ? (1=yes; 2= no) (use codes from questions 25 and 26).

	Risk 1 Code=_____	Risk 2 Code=_____	Risk 3 Code=_____	Risk 4 Code=_____
1. Received government / NGO support				
- Received a cash transfer [name]				
- Received an asset transfer [name]				
- Enrolled in public works programme [name]				
- Enrolled in social insurance programme (health, agriculture) [name]				
2. Undertook more paid work				
3. Undertook more unpaid work				
4.Reduced food consumption quantity for				
• Adult males				
• Adult females				
• Female children				
• Male children				
5.Reduced quality of food consumed for				
• Adult males				
• Adult females				
• Female children				

	Risk 1 Code=_____	Risk 2 Code=_____	Risk 3 Code=_____	Risk 4 Code=_____
• Male children				
6. Relied on social networks for food, money or support				
7. Joined a group to which you previously didn't belong				
8. Joined a rights-based group				
9. Migrated				
• Adult males				
• Adult females				
• Female children				
• Male children				
10. Developed a new group				
11. Distress sale of assets. What was sold? To which family member did it belong? (use codes from question 6)				
12. Increased indebtedness				
13. Withdrew girls from school				
14. Withdrew boys from school				
28. Other				

29. In order to cope with these risks, based on what we have just talked about your family has used the following main coping strategies [*summarise what interviewee has explained so far*].

- a) \_\_\_\_\_  
b) \_\_\_\_\_  
c) \_\_\_\_\_

However, we know that in some cases these types of coping mechanisms are not available or do not work. For example, in some places, some individuals or families might be forced to break up, desert certain members, abuse certain members, agree to send children away to work or for marriage, perpetrate physical, sexual, psychological violence against girls.

- a) What types of problems like this are you aware of in your community? List three key problems.

1. \_\_\_\_\_  
2. \_\_\_\_\_  
3. \_\_\_\_\_

- b) How widespread to you think these behaviours are in your community?"

	Problem 1	Problem 2	Problem 3
01=not at all 02=a little 03=relatively widespread 04=widespread			

#### D. IMPACT OF SOCIAL PROTECTION PROGRAMMING

30. What impact has your involvement in the Productive Safety Net Programme had on your household and household members' experiences of vulnerability and risk?



a) PSNP members involved in cash for work:

Member id (from q6)	Since when have you been involved in [this social protection programme]  1= One month or less; 2= Six months or less ; 3= Up to one year 4=Up to two years; 5=Three years or more	To what extent has the programme made a difference to tackling the risks identified above for the following family members?  1=High; 2=Medium; 3= Low; 4=No impact	What have been the positive impacts of the programme?  (use Code 16.1)	What have been the negative impacts of the programme? (use Code 16.2)
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10				
11				
12				

b) PSNP members receiving direct cash support due to inability to work (disabled, pregnant /lactating women/ elderly)

Member id (from q6)	Since when have you been involved in [this social protection programme]  1= One month or less; 2= Six months or less ; 3= Up to one year 4=Up to two years; 5=Three years or more	To what extent has the programme made a difference to tackling the risks identified above for the following family members?  1=High; 2=Medium; 3= Low; 4=No impact	What have been the positive impacts of the programme?  (use Code 16.1)	What have been the negative impacts of the programme? (use Code 16.2)
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10				
11				
12				

**Code 16.1 : positive impacts of the programme**

1. Improved livelihood security
2. Improved household consumption
3. Improved access to basic health services
4. Improved access to basic education services

**Code 16.2 : negative impacts of the programme**

1. transfer is inadequate
2. conditionalities are too time-consuming to comply with
3. it only benefits one type of family member (not the

<p>5. Improved access to extension services</p> <p>6. Improved access to credit</p> <p>7. Decreased household tensions between men and women</p> <p>8. Decreased household tensions between young and old</p> <p>9. Reduced women's time poverty</p> <p>10. Improved participation in the community</p> <p>11. Improved women's decision-making power within the household</p> <p>12. Reduced social exclusion in the community</p> <p>Other</p>	<p>whole household)</p> <p>4. it provides a stop gap measure but does not lead to sustainable change</p> <p>5. it creates tensions between men and women, children and adults</p> <p>6. it aggravates existing tensions between men, women, adults or children</p> <p>7. it aggravates time poverty</p> <p>8. it is stigmatising</p> <p>9. it is not flexible to existing household activities</p> <p>10. it is not flexible to existing productive activities</p> <p>11. it has not adequately addressed prevailing social norms/ attitudes</p> <p>12. another type of transfer/programme would be more suitable</p> <p>other</p>
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## Key informant interviews

### Key information

#### Aims:

- To enrich our overview of social protection design and evaluation decision-making processes
- To explore political economy dimensions of the integration of gender into social protection policies and programmes
- To better understand implementation dynamics (of the above) at the sub-national level

#### Scope:

- National level GOs, NGOs, int'l agencies and donors
- Sub-national implementing agencies (GOs and NGOs)

#### Data collection required:

- Detailed notes about content of interviews in terms of our key questions above
- For issues relating to framing of social protection debates we require *verbatim* notes
- Recorded tape (preferable for back up purposes)
- Brief field notes describing interview dynamic and other relevant information
- Full list of key informants details – position, organisation name, where they fit in alignment influence matrix

#### Useful resources:

- DFID (2009) Political Economy Analysis How To Note

### Key informant interviews at national level

#### 1. Stakeholder analysis

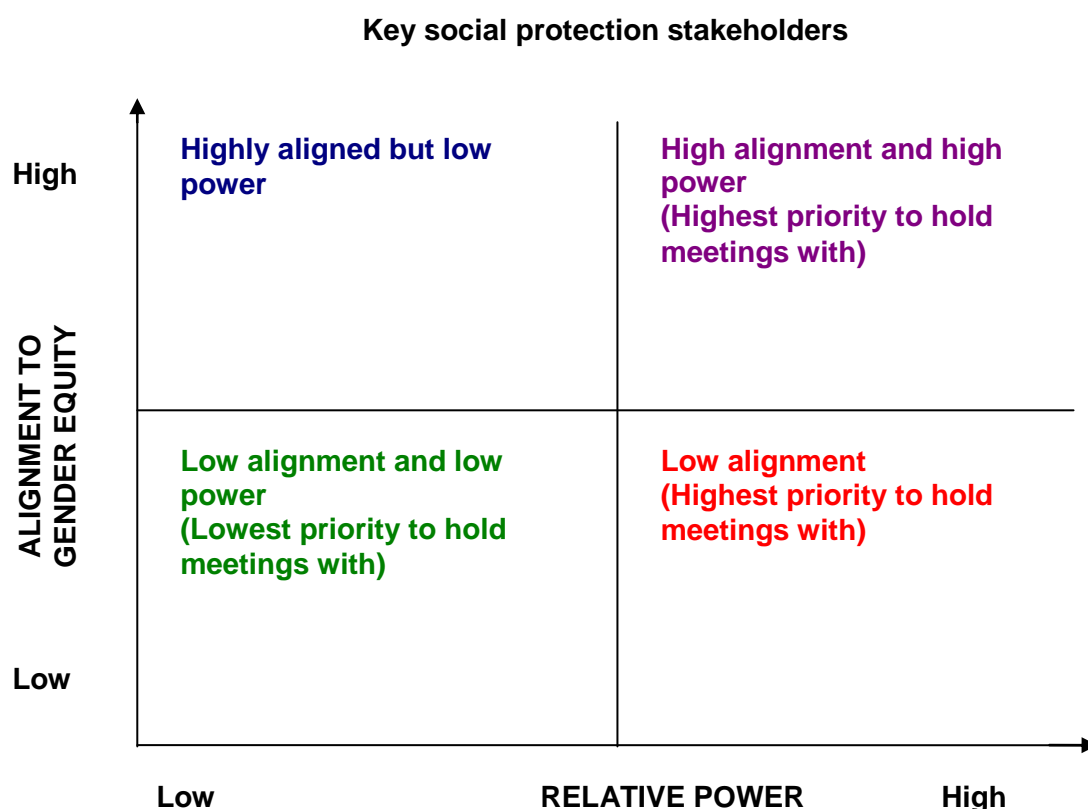
- a. Map key social protection stakeholders according to the stakeholder analysis figure below (aligned and powerful). Include governmental, international and national agencies.
- b. Map women's agencies machineries – e.g. from national government level to local level (e.g. gender focal points)

#### 2. Key informant interviews – who to interview

- a. Refer to stakeholder analysis figure and prioritise meetings with “powerful” stakeholders (aligned and non-aligned)
- b. Identify who to talk to in an institution/organisation by starting with existing contacts and using the snowballing technique (asking them to refer you to other individuals in a given institution/organisation)

#### 3. Semi-structured interview questions

- a. If you are unsure of whether the institution/organisation/individual is aligned or non-aligned, ask the non-aligned questions first to get an idea (then you can move to the aligned questions if appropriate)
- b. See matrix of questions below to give an idea of the types of questions we need to ask – please add in specific country-focused/specific social protection programme questions if/when appropriate



### Key informant questions at national level

N.B. In order to avoid standard answers on gender, it is important that interviewers refer back to the background work to identify key gendered risks and vulnerabilities and social risks which can be used to prompt the interviewee to think in more depth and more systematically about gender in social protection policy and design.

<b>NOT ALIGNED Objectives:</b>	<b>Country/Programme-specific additions</b>
<b>1. To understand to what extent gender has been integrated in to the design of social protection policy and programme</b>	
• What are the main goals of your social protection programme / policy?	•
• What factors have been most influential in the development of social protection? (e.g. government priorities, attainment of MDGs, civil society pressure, donor funding). • What are some of the challenges which constrain the scaling up of social protection?	•
• To what extent do you think that the types of vulnerabilities and risks your programme is trying to address (e.g. see goals above) have been considered by gender? Can you give some examples? (prompts can be used to refer interviewee to country specific risks and vulnerabilities)	•
• To what extent are social risks considered in social protection programmes in your context (can prompt with country specific examples of social risks and vulnerabilities)? What explains your view?	•

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>What kind of evidence shapes the design and evaluation of social protection policy and programmes? (e.g. poverty data and analysis? disaggregated by gender? Programme M&amp;E?)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li></li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>With which actors (NGO and GO) do you work most closely on this agenda?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li></li> </ul>
<b>ALIGNED Objectives:</b> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>To identify the pathways (recent and historical) in which gender has been successfully integrated into the design of social protection policy and programming at a national level;</li> <li>To identify the key actors driving the social protection and gender agenda forward;</li> <li>To identify the challenges which have been overcome (or still need to be overcome) to successfully integrate gender into the design and implementation of social protection policy and programme. E.g. political / ideological resistance from other Ministries/departments/organisations? Administrative challenges – e.g. resources, staff capacity, co-ordination?</li> </ol>	<b>Country/Programme-specific additions</b>
<b>KEY QUESTIONS</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li></li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>In what ways is gender integrated into the design of social protection policy and programming in your context? Can you provide some specific examples? (Prompts can be used to refer interviewee to country-specific gendered risks and vulnerabilities)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li></li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>What strategies have been used so far to integrate a gender perspective into social protection design?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li></li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>What are the challenges/ tensions involved in enhancing the integration of gender into social protection policies and programmes?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li></li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>What are the potential opportunities for strengthening gender sensitivity of social protection design and implementation?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li></li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>What factors (political economy, cultural drivers and historical legacies) have shaped policy choices about social protection? (in general and at specific historical junctures (e.g. 2008 food price crisis?).</li> <li>To what extent have these factors in turn shaped the relative strength of a gender perspective in social protection policy decision-making?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li></li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>What was the role of research and/or programme evidence within this decision-making process?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li></li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>What are the constellation of actors (GOs and NGOs) which have influenced the decision-making process around social protection and gender?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li></li> </ul>
<b>INFLUENCE</b> (ask to all interviewees) <b>Objectives:</b> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Assess the relative influence of key actors in shaping the social protection agenda</li> </ol>	<b>Country/Programme-specific additions</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>What is your role in informing / influencing the design / resource allocation to social protection policy and programming? How would you rate your influence in the social protection decision-making arena in comparison to other actors? What accounts for this?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li></li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>What is the role of national / international civil society in shaping the social protection agenda in your country?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li></li> </ul>

• What is the role of the donor community in shaping the social protection agenda?	
• What role has research or programme evidence played in this process?	•
• What role has the framing of specific social protection debates played in this process? E.g. do different actors have different objectives for social protection? (E.g. rights based approaches? social protection for non-productive poor (children and elderly?) or social protection to contribute to economic growth / food security etc). What are these? Have different discourses on social protection this created conflict or tensions?	•

In addition, questions can be asked to plug specific knowledge gaps that were not addressed through the matrix or literature review:

- a) M and E systems
- b) Data collection systems especially with regards to gender indicators
- c) Learning from programme implementation

### **Key informant interviews at sub-national level: implementers, programme staff, local government**

N.B. In order to avoid standard answers on gender, it is important that interviewers refer back to the background work to identify key gendered risks and vulnerabilities and social risks which can be used to prompt the interviewee to think in more depth about gender in social protection policy and design.

- A) Coverage (gendered and general)**
- B) Quality (gendered and general)**
- C) Underlying reasons for quality and coverage of implementation**

<b>Implementing / coordinating agencies</b>	<b>Country/programme-specific additions</b>
<b>COVERAGE</b>	
Are you satisfied with the implementation of the programme to the target population so far? Why (or why not)?	
Can you tell us more concretely the results of coverage to date? (disaggregated by sex, social group etc.)?	
Are there any barriers which women face in particular to participating (partially or fully) in the programme (e.g. timing of participation in the programme conflicts with domestic and/or income generating activities; women are not allowed to move freely to participate in programme meetings). Do these challenges differ by age? How can the barriers be overcome?	
If you want more coverage of specific target groups (e.g. women and girls) what are the constraints and how would you overcome them? (Explore the socio-economic constraints, and at different levels (hh, intra-hh etc))	
Do you think there are social groups which have not been included that should be included and why? (e.g. outside the scope of the existing social protection programme?)	
<b>QUALITY</b>	
To what extent do the people in charge of operationalising the programme have knowledge on gender or are sensitised to gender issues?	
To what extent have women been consulted in the design and implementation of the programme?	

Are there any complaints mechanisms which beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries (excluded) can access?	
Does the programme's implementation consider gender vulnerabilities / constraints that might reduce its impact or reach? (e.g. women's time constraints, child care responsibilities etc). Please give examples.	
What measures have been put in place to promote a more equitable demand for the uptake of the programme e.g. communications / information?	
<b>UNDERLYING REASONS FOR COVERAGE AND QUALITY</b>	
What have been the roles of each level of government in the implementation of the programme? Which kinds of conflicts have arisen? e.g. resources, decision-making. How could these conflicts be resolved?	
To what extent are different agencies involved in delivering social protection? E.g. gender-focused organisations/government departments (e.g. women's affairs offices). To what extent are the gender focal points involved or briefed in programme implementation?	
How is staff capacity evaluated for implementation of the programme? What are the main limitations? (staff capacity number or quality)	
Are the resources available sufficient for effectively delivering the programme? Do the implications of resource constraints affect women and men differently? To what extent are the gender components outlined in policy/programme design documents budgeted and allocated? (e.g. child care facilities)	
Is there conflict between institutional objectives and programme objectives for the main implementer of the programme?	
To what extent has civil society been involved in the social protection programme?	
To what extent is there demand at the community level for the programme? Who has been taking the lead role in this?	
To what extent has the implementation of the social protection programme had spill-over effects to the implementation of complementary services (e.g. basic services).	

## Appendix 2: Key informant interview list (April and August/September 2009)

### Research sites

Research site	Key informant, role	Name
Merebmeti	Development Agent (natural resources sector), Didba	Ato Yilma Tafere
	Kushet Foreman, Mereb Meiti tabia, Didba	Ato Geregziher Welde-Tinsai
	Women's Association of Didba tabia	Yetimwiha Mehari
	Women's Association Leader, Enderta woreda	Awetash
	Woreda Officer	
	Kushet Leader, Mereb Meiti tabia, Didba	Ato Geregziher Weldu
Shibhta	Development Agent, Shibhta	Tewolde
	Foreman, Shibhta	Atsede Meressa
	Women's Association's Chairperson, Shibhta	Nigisti Debalkew
	Village Head, Shibhta	
Enderta woreda and Tigray region	Managing Director, Save the Children US, Tigray Sub-office	Ato Abadi Hagos
	1. Programme Officer, WFP Tigray Sub-office; 2. Focal Person for PSNP, WFP Tigray Sub-office	1. Ato Awash Mesfin 2. Ato Haileselasie Gebre-Medhin
	Head of Women's Affairs Bureau, Enderta woreda	Shishay
	Programme Officer, Women's Association, Mekele	Ato Kinfe
	Regional Food Security Bureau, PSNP Public Works and Environmental Specialist, Mekele	Ato Tsgabu Lemma
	M&E Specialist, REST, Mekele	Dawit Weldelibanos
	Women's Affairs Bureau, Mekele	Ms. Roman
	Women's Association Director and Programme Coordinator, Mekele	Ms Tirfu Kidanemariam and Mr. Kinfe
	FS Coordinator, Member of PSNP Taskforce) (Enderta Woreda)	Ato Yared
Sidama	Deputy Regional Program Manager, GTZ	Ato Tewodros Gebregziabher
	WFP Program Officer, Awassa	Ato Yohannes Desta
	Head and Forewoman, Jara Damuwa	Mrs Melkamnesh Mamo
Wolayta	1. Food Security Coordinator; 2. Precaution Response to Food Security Expert, Dorye Bafena	1. Ato Tilahun Hamiso; 2. Ato Abiyote Negussie
	Development Agent	Alemhesh Assefa
	Kebele Administrator, Waraza Shoho	Elias Wana
	Project Manager, Medan Acts Wolayta Area Programme	Tesfaye Dunda
	PSNP Coordinator, Food Security Office, Soddo Zuria	Faris Jemal
SNNPR	Gender Expert, Women's Affairs Office, Soddo Zuria	Mekdes Desta
	Deputy Head of Regional Women's Affairs Bureau	Damench Chaffo.
	Gender, HIV and Social Development Technical Assistant, Regional Agriculture Bureau	Ato Negusse



## Addis Ababa

Institution	Key informant role	Name
GTZ	Deputy Program Director	Tesfai Mebrahtu
DFID		Robin Milton
NEWA	Director	Saba Gebremedhin
Population Council	Director	Annabel Erulkar
Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs	Gender Department Head	Abebech Asfaw
Ministry of Works and Urban Development	Gender Department Head	Yayesh Tesfahunegn
Ministry of Sport and Youth Affairs	Gender Department Head, MoFED	Getachew and Tiruwork
Independent	Gender Expert	Habtamu Fekadu
CIDA	Gender Specialist	Seblewengel Demeke
Irish Aid	Senior Advisor	Fiona Quinn
Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development	Gender Department Head	
Ministry of Women's Affairs	Programme Specialist	Yayesh Tesfahunegn
Norad	1. Gender Specialist; 2. Agriculture and NRM Project Officer; 3. Counsellor/Head of Development Cooperation,	1. Mekeleya Bargicho; 2. Etenesh Bekelle; 3 Bente Nilson
PANE	Programme Officer	Zinash
AfDB	Programme Officer	Halima Hashi
World Bank	PSNP Donor Coordinator Team	Sarah Coll-Black
IFPRI	Research Fellows	Dr. Alemayehu Seyoum and Kristin Davis
Save the Children UK	Programme Advisor	Mathew Hobson
UNICEF	Communications Officer	Hiwot Gebeyehu
USAID	Senior Policy Officer and Gender Program Advisor	John Graham (senior policy advisor) and Alemnesh Hailemariam (Gender program advisor)
WFP	Programme Advisor	Fithanegest

## Appendix 3: Life history graphics

