

NORWEGIAN UNIVERSITY OF LIFE SCIENCES



Breaking the Norms: Gender and Land Rights in Tigray, Ethiopia



Mebrat Gebreslassie Gebru

**Norwegian University of Life Sciences, Department of International
Environment and Development Studies, NORAGRIC**

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Credit

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© Mebrat Gebreslassie Gebru

E-mail: mebratndf@yahoo.co.uk

Noragric

Department of International Environment and Development Studies

P.O. Box 5003

N-1432 Ås

Norway

Tel.: +47 64 96 52 00

Fax: +47 64 96 52 01

Internet: <http://www.umb.no/noragric>

Photos: Mebat Gebru and Anita Land

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I, Mebrat Gebreslassie, declare that this is a product of my own research work, and all other sources of materials are duly acknowledged. This work has not previously been submitted to any institution for an award of any academic degree.

Signature.....

Date

Mebrat Gebreslassie Gebru

Ås, Norway

May 2011

Table of Contents

Credit	i
Declaration.....	ii
Table of Contents.....	iii
List of tables	v
List of Figures.....	v
List of Pictures.....	v
List of Abbreviations	vi
Acknowledgment.....	vii
Abstract.....	viii
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Background.....	1
1.2. Problem Statement.....	2
1.3. Objectives of the study	4
2. THEORY AND LITERATURE REVIEW	5
2.1. Livelihood concept	5
2.1.1 Assets in Livelihood framework analysis.....	6
2.1.2. Land in Livelihood framework analysis.....	7
2.1.2. Gender and land rights in Livelihood framework analysis.....	8
2.2. Importance of land for women	11
2.2.1. Economic value	11
2.2.2. Land right as a basic Human Right issue	12
2.2.3. Empowerment.....	13
2.3. Access and control over resources and land.....	14
2.4. Land tenure system in Ethiopia pre -1974.....	16
2.5. Land tenure system in the Derg regime.....	17
2.6. Women rights to land in the Ethiopian Constitution	18
3. METHODOLOGY	19
3.1. Description of the study area.....	19
3.2. Site Selection and Sampling Procedure.....	20
3.2. Method of data collection	21
3. 3.1. Key Informant Interview	21
3.3.2. Household Interview.....	22

3.3.3. Focus group discussions	22
3.3.4. Secondary Data.....	22
3.3.5. Notes	23
3.3.6. Case study Interview	23
3.4. Data Analysis.....	23
4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION.....	24
4.1. Impact of rights to land.....	24
4.1.1. Economic Benefit	24
4.1.2. Bargaining power and social changes	26
4.1.3. Human rights	29
4.1.4. Empowerment.....	29
4.2. Marital status and Age characteristics of the household	30
4.3. Human Capital.....	30
4.3.1. Education	30
4.3.2. Family size.....	31
4.3.3. Access to Labor	31
4.4. Natural capital.....	32
4.4.1. Access to Oxen Ownership.....	32
4.4.2. Livestock Ownership.....	34
4.4.3. Access to Land.....	35
4.5. Financial capitals	36
4.5.1. Access to Financial Resources	37
4.5.2. Household incomes.....	38
4. 6. Control over resources and land	41
4.6.1. Control over resources.....	41
4.6.2. Women’s Negotiation power with sharecroppers.	43
4.6.3. Land claim during divorce.....	45
4.6.4. Land Security.....	46
4.6.5. Inheritance laws and land transfer laws.....	49
4.7. Perception of households and societies towards plowing	49
5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	53
6. REFERENCES	56
APPENDCIES	61

Appendix 1. Information from WAT and Woman from Kolatenbeien	61
Appendix 2. Questionnaires for Household Interview	62
Appendix 3. Guide lines for women focused group discussion	71
Appendix 4. Guide lines for Men focused group discussion.....	71
Appendix 5. Guide lines to stakeholders/key informant	72

List of tables

Table 1. Mean of age, family size and family labour in FHH and MHH.....	31
Table 2. Main agricultural constraints in female and male headed households in percentage.	31
Table 3. Mean of land size, oxen, TLU, crop yield and total income	34
Table 4. Percentage of livestock ownership in female and male headed households	35
Table 5. Reasons for not taking agricultural loans in percentage.....	38
Table 6. Mean income and contribution to total income female and male headed households	39
Table 7. Percentage of households doing off -farm and nonfarm income activities	40
Table 8. Contribution of livelihood assets to the total income of households.....	40
Table 9. Reasons for sharecropping out versus household types	43

List of Figures

Figure 1. Livelihood framework analysis (DFID 1999).....	7
Figure 2. Map of the study areas (Source: UN-OCHA).....	20
Figure 3. Percentage of oxen ownership versus household type.....	33
Figure 4. Size of land in female and male headed household	36
Figure 5. Purpose of loans versus household type in percentage	37
Figure 6. Reasons for not interested in plowing in percentage	50

List of Pictures

PICTURE 1. A woman growing vegetables on her land.....	26
PICTURE 2. Woman plowing with ox and donkey(Photo: Abay in Waters-Bayer (2000)).	42
PICTURE 3. Women in Female headed household holding a land certificate	47

List of Abbreviations

CEDAW-	Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
CIA-	Central Intelligence Agency
CSA-	Central Statistical Authority
DFID -	Department for Institute of Development
ETB -	Ethiopian Birr
FDREP-	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FHH -	Female Headed Household
Ha -	Hectare
Km -	Kilometers
TLU -	Total livestock unit
Masl -	Meters above sea level
MHH -	Male headed Household
MOFED-	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development (Ethiopia)
NRM -	Natural Resource Management
PAs -	Peasant Associations (Ethiopia)
Qtl -	Quintal
REST -	Relief Society of Tigray
TPLF -	Tigray Peoples' Liberation Front
UN-OCHA-	United Nations for the Coordination of Humanitarian Office
UNHR-	Universal Declaration of Human right
USD-	United States Dollar
WAT -	Women Association of Tigray
WB-	World Bank
WCED-	World Commission on Environment and Development

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Abstract

Rights to land determine the bargaining power of women in the society and the household, as well as determining their economic condition. Control to land and efficient use of the land is determined by the availability of resources and existing social and institutional structures. This study was aimed to assess the importance of land for the economic, social and empowerment change of the women, and the women's access to resources and control over land and produce of land. The study was carried out in two weredas of Tigray region, Ethiopia and mainly employed household interviews, focus group discussions and cases studies.

The study revealed that land rights have given the women improved social-, economic-, bargaining-, and empowerment- status in the household and in the society. The study also identified that oxen, lack of labor, cultural norms, lack of proper documentation on land title as main constraints the women face. In particular, female headed households lack control over the produce of land; the constraints as mentioned have forced many to sharecrop-out their land. When other sharecrop their land, they lose half to two third of the harvest (produce of the land). Compared with male headed households, female headed households are trapped by the lack of resources and lack of control over resources. The research also found out that because not being able to benefit the full product of the land forces women to break cultural taboos, e.g. that women are not allowed to plough. But this in fact, just adds to the already numerous burdens of the household.

Moreover, the rights to land have improved the women status to claim their land but still the women have difficulties in claiming land due to lack of financial capacity and improper documentation. Lack of certificate is identified as one of the reasons putting women in a disfavorable position when situations such as disputes over land or marital divorce occur. Women in male headed households are disadvantaged as the certificate is given to the named head of household, which is obviously the husband. Thus, women preferred to have individual certificates, or wished that their names should appear on the certificate.

Land rights improve livelihoods of women and strengthen their claims over land. However, this is being challenged by the fact that the households, particularly female headed households, lack non-land resources such as oxen, labor and so on that restrict the efficient and effective use of their land and lack of legal issues that limits claim over land.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

Land is a very decisive factor for the livelihoods of human beings, as it has political, economic, social and cultural intrinsic value. Access to land and the effect use of it has great importance for poverty reduction, economic growth and investment (Deininger 2003). Equitable access to land is a human right issue and its discrimination is regarded as violation of human rights. Land particularly has a big economic value for countries which are more dependent on it, such as, Ethiopia. Ethiopia's economy is mainly based on agriculture which is the main source of livelihood for more than 85% of the total population (CIA 2007). The issue of land has therefore become a main debatable political issue in both the former and recent governments in Ethiopia.

Women's economic condition, empowerment and social security are uncertain in the absence of rights to land (Mutangadura 2004). The ownership right and access to land determines the social status of women at household level and in the society (Ellis 2000; SDPI 2008). Independent asset ownership right enhance women's livelihood opportunities and increases bargaining power within the household (Agarwal 2003; Deininger 2003). Access to land is also one of the basic fundamental rights of women that ensure the equality of women with men. However, irrespective of the significance of land access to women, most of the African countries past tenure systems did not guarantee the equal rights of women (Deininger 2003). The land tenure systems failed to recognize how assets were controlled inside the household. Tenure system was discriminatory to women equal rights by taking the household as unitary model of system (Deininger 2003).

Women in Ethiopia have a vital role in the country's economy, mainly in the agricultural sector which is the backbone of the country's economy. Women in the country comprise half of the country's population and the majorities are poor and live in the rural part of the country (Tesfa 2002). Women have a significant role in the country's economic and social development and have a triple role in the society which is reproduction, production and social role. However, most of them lack independent access to production resources such as, credit, land and so on. Despite the significance of land and the fact that women have an important role in the country's economy and for well being of individual household, land tenure system in both Derg (military regime) and Haileselassie (the emperor) didn't guarantee the equal

right of women to own land. The tenure systems in both regimes were discriminatory to women and it did not improve the situation of women. Unlike the land tenure system in pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary Ethiopia, the FDREP (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia) with the new constitution declares land to be the property of the state and the people. Particularly, in article 35 of the constitution it clearly stated that women have equal access to economic opportunities, including land, employment and related matters. As a matter of fact women's right to land is clearly stated in the new constitution and it guarantee the equal rights of women to own land but in practice it is not all women who own land and the situation is different from one region to another.

Based on the constitution, many of the regional states made their own proclamation to implement the new land tenure system that assures the right of women to own land, and Tigray region is the first region to implement the constitution. Women in Tigray got land that was under the land lords in 1987 when there was a fight between the Tigray Liberation Front and the Derg regime. The land reform (redistribution) was made to all women and men who were old enough to get the land regardless of their marital status and assets of their parents (Wanyeki 2003). The new proclamation has given women the opportunity to enjoy their constitutional right in order to access resources and also improve their living conditions significantly like their counter partner. Some research findings also shows that the land reform has given the women to built self confidence within the household and the community (Tesfa 2002).

1.2. Problem Statement

Women in Tigray constitute 50% of the total population (CSA 2007) and they are the main actors in agriculture, development intervention, and household managers and in general they are the main part of a society that contributes to the economic development of the country. Hence for women's contribution to the country's economy, particularly to the household, is crucial to ensure their equal and legal right in education, physical resources (such as land), health and political issues.

Unlike the Derg and pre- revolutionary system, the new constitution assures the equal right of women to own and access land as an individual right, not as secondary right through their husband. Most women in Tigray have got land during the redistribution of land. The access right to land is very crucial for the women for their livelihood and social status. According to

research findings the equal rights to land have improved their social and economic status and make them empowered (Wanyeki 2003).

It is also a fact that the constitution has given them the right to benefit from the land and the right to the land has given them to improve their social status and economic changes, but most haven't been full beneficiaries of their land. This is mainly because of the lack of supplementary resources, mainly oxen and labor. The problem has been mostly seen in households headed by female, which comprises 30% of the total households in Tigray (Meehan 2004). According to studies done by various groups, women in female headed households give away their 50% of the product they produce to sharecropper due to the main constraints they have, particularly lack of labor and oxen (Ataklt 2005; Wanyeki 2003). In addition, because of the cultural taboos that women are not allowed to plow women are forced to go for share of the farm products (Bashaw 2005; Frank 1999; Wanyeki 2003). The lack of the resources they have and the cultural taboos together are affecting the women to have full control of the land (Bashaw 2005). These problems are seem to trigger women (i.e., female headed households) in breaking the norms – and started plowing farms which is a sole task of men for centuries in Ethiopia.

High percentage of land which was given to individuals in the household either men or women is registered and titled up to 1998. The certificate and the registration process have a drawback, for example it only included the name of the household head as the owner of the land in the certificate (Deininger et al. 2006; Verma 2007). The fact is the women were also given land as individuals but not as collective through the husband in households but the certificates only guarantee the head of the household as the owner of the land. In this case, women in female headed households become the beneficiary of the certificate but women in male headed households are the disadvantage one. Lack of clear and independent land title has become a main problem regarding tenure security and it causes many problems to the women, for example at a time of divorce and dispute with neighbors, and related social and cultural issues. Therefore, this study was undertaken to investigate the opportunities and challenges of women's land right in Tigray, Ethiopia with the following objective stated in the next section.

1.3. Objectives of the study

- To assess the livelihoods of women (i.e., economic, social changes, equality and empowerment) in response to the implementation women's land rights in Tigray. Specifically to answer the following questions:
 - *Have they seen a positive change in their livelihood status after the land redistribution?*
 - *Have they improved their bargaining power in the household and in the society?*
 - *Has the land rights changed their social status?*
 - *What the women think the land rights in terms of human right aspect?*
 - *What contribution has the rights to land on empowerment of women?*

- To identify the main constraints women in Tigray face related to land rights and production issues. Specifically to answer the following questions:
 - *Do the women lack resources which hinder their benefit from the land, for instance oxen, credit and labor?*
 - *Can the women plough and sow their land or is there a cultural resistance from the society?*
 - *What constraints do the women have regarding claiming of their land upon divorce?*
 - *Are women included in the certification of land together with their husband?*
 - *Has the land certification have an impact for the women's feeling towards land ownership?*
 - *Are they breaking the norm to improve their livelihoods?*

2. THEORY AND LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, the theory and literature review part of the thesis will be presented. The theory part tries to understand land and assets in general in the concept of livelihood approaches. It also discussed gender and land rights in livelihood framework analysis; to give an insight on access and ownership land rights meant for the livelihood of women. In this part of the thesis, research findings on the importance of land for women's livelihood, such as, economic, social, human right and empowerment aspects, and women's access and control over resources and land is incorporates. The background information on the tenure system pre 1974 till 1991 now and the women's land right in the present constitution is also presented.

2.1. Livelihood concept

Livelihood concept was introduced for the first time in the world Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) introduced forum in 1987. In the report, the definition of livelihood was set with a core concept of sustainable livelihood security. With a modification to the WCED definition, (Chambers & Conway 1992:6) proposes a definition of livelihood.

'A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base'.

According to Chambers & Conway (1992) livelihood combines the central concept of capabilities, equity and sustainability where all are the means and end of livelihood. In the concept of livelihoods approach the approach is people centered where it used the household level is a unit of analysis. They argue that poverty reduction, or development activities should be focused at as a base at household level and goes to micro and macro level. Asset in this approach is divided in to two: the tangible (resources and stores) and intangible (where claims and access which provide material and social means) (Chambers & Conway 1992:8).

The other definition which is given by Ellis (2000) excludes the concept of capabilities and sustainability. On the other hand it gives a more emphasis on social relations and also

institutions. According to (Ellis 2000:10) livelihood is defined as follows: “A livelihood comprise the assets (natural, physical, human, financial and social capital) the activities, and the access to these (mediated by institutions and social relations) that together determine the living gained by the individual or household”.

In both definitions given by Chambers & Conway (1992) and Ellis (2000), the central point is they all trying to be pro- poor and to putting asset as a main factor for people’s livelihoods or development. The definition adopted by Ellis (2000) from Chambers & Conway (1992) definitions gives a more and strong emphasis on access and also considered the importance of social relations and institutions in defining access. According to Scoones (1998) the different livelihood resources that different people have is based on the different access they have to resources such as asset and the different access they have is defined by institutional arrangements, organizational issues, power and politics. It also defines by the social relations that individuals or households has such as gender or class on this ability (Ellis 2000). For example, ‘permissible courses of action by women can make big differences to the livelihood options available for women compared to men (e.g. Dawyer and Bruce cited in (Ellis 2000:9)

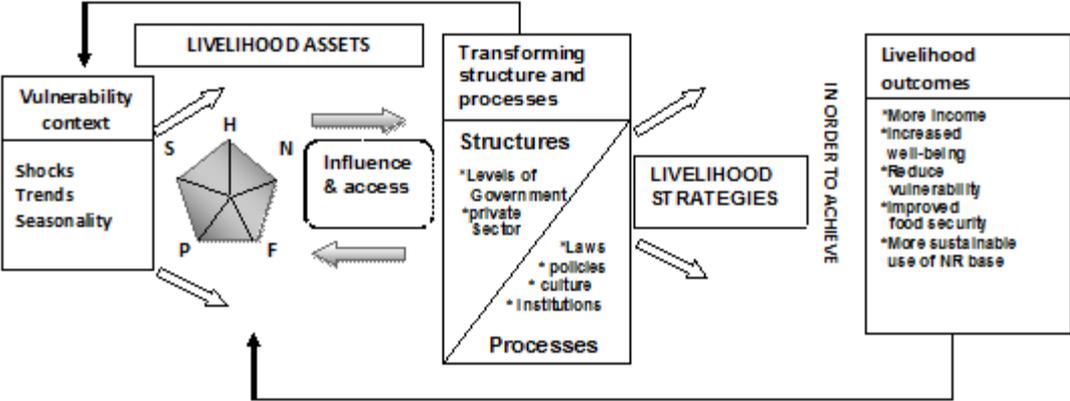
2.1.1 Assets in Livelihood framework analysis

As Both Ellis and DFID framework for the analysis of livelihoods, asset placed as a core starting point. Assets are owned, controlled, claims or in some other means accessed by the household (Ellis 2000:8). According to Scoones (1998) and as Ellis (2000) adopted the same ideas from Scoones; asset is divided in to five:

1.Human capital: knowledge, skills, ability to labor, good health and aptitudes, (2) Natural capital: land, water, biodiversity and services derived from these (3) Financial capital: savings, credits and other economic assets (4) Physical capital: roads, canals, electricity supply, and water supply; and also producer goods such as tools and machinery(5) Social capital is such as networks, social claims, social relations, affiliations, associations and mutual trust, upon which people draw when pursuing different livelihood strategies requiring coordinated actions. In Scoones (1998), physical and financial capital is categorized as Economic capital.

As Scoones (1998), the combination of all capital endowments people that have access to and control over creates livelihood. Livelihoods are also determined by the capabilities of individuals (Chambers & Conway 1992). As an example woman capability of plowing land

and women capability of claims over land determine the livelihood status of women. Total income of a household is categorized in to different types and different income source have different contribution to income and poverty reduction (Ellis 2000).



Key
 H = Human Capital S = Social Capital
 N = Natural Capital P = Physical Capital
 F = Financial Capital

Figure 1. Livelihood framework analysis (DFID 1999)

2.1.2. Land in Livelihood framework analysis

Land as a Natural capital defines the livelihood strategies of people (Scoones 1998). In the livelihood framework (DFID 1999), land is defined as the base of the asset of the household and it links with social relations and institutions and social capital such as networks, gender and classes. Land in the framework for the analysis of livelihood can achieve different objective: gender equality and sustainable use of s resources, improved access to education and training and it can also be an opportunity for the other types of assets to become easily accessible (FAO 2004). Quan (2003) states the framework ‘legitimized the importance of land’ and as he explains land and property rights, helped to bring focus on the policy and institutional processes which enable - or disable, people' ability to claim their rights’.

Land is not regarded in human right bases in the human right declaration but right as shelter and livelihood is declared as a basic human right land is also considered (Quan 2003). Though

it is not regarded as human right issues, land is an important source for a better livelihood status, and off course to build a shelter. Wisborg (2002a) stated that to have land ‘is not a ‘human right’, but rights to welfare, procedure and non-discrimination make land a diverse human rights issue’. Besides, the UDHR (1948) in article 25 stated “Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services. Wisborg (2002b) argued that access to land and land-based resources is necessary to realize the right to welfare, especially for rural people in developing countries.

2.1.2. Gender and land rights in Livelihood framework analysis

The definition of gender is more than biological differences between men and women. Gender ‘refers to socially constructed roles and socially learned behaviors and expectations associated with females and males’(WB 2001). The socially constructed phenomena vary with time and space (Agarwal 1994). According to Ellis (2000:139), ‘the social constructed roles are usually unequal in terms of power, decision making, control over events, freedom of action, ownership of resources and gender is about power, subordination and inequality, and it is therefore also about ways of changing these to secure greater equality in all its social manifestations for women’.

Asset as a core starting point for the analysis of livelihood framework Analysis (LFA) is also important to also see it in gender perspective. The main aim of the LFA is to alleviate poverty and to achieve development at individual or household level. However, land as a natural capital in the frame work, is not easy for women to put into effect the right to own land. According to Dwyer and Bruce, (1988) quoted in Ellis (2000), women’s ownership or access rights to land is rarely as firmly designated as that of men. Ellis (2000:157) also states that prohibiting women from land ownership can be considered as one of the most destructive of all gender inequalities. Considering the subordination or inequality of women to land rights to men, big donors for example, World Bank has given a focus towards the rights of women to land ownership and a gender mainstreaming in the livelihood approach has been developed (Ellis 2000).

Secured land ownership right to women also secures the other types of assets such as financial and social capitals and creates livelihood outcomes (FAO 2004). Ownership land rights makes easy to get loan from credit institutions by using the land as collateral. As

Agarwal(1994) and Ellis (2000), stated that women without land do not have also access to credit. It can be seen that the inequality of gender is not only on having land or not, it is also on the financial capital of asset. Ensured women's secured land rights are critical in many aspects and it avoids conflicts and hardship during death of husbands (WB 2003). Control to land is also vital for women where it increase spending on the girl's education. Lack of rural women's land rights restrict women's access to the other livelihood assets that flow from the control of land (FAO 2004). Women's access to land is significant even when is not the sole basis of livelihood and even smaller size of plots of land are very important for diversified livelihood system and poverty reduction (Agarwal 1998). Ownership of land rights it also enhance bargaining power and empowerment of women (Agarwal 1998). Therefore; land rights ensure and enhance the natural, social, economical and financial capital of assets that could create a better livelihood, bargaining power and empowerment for women.

As Agarwal definition, rights to land "claims that are legally and socially recognized and enforceable by an external legitimized authority, be it a village level institution or some higher level judicial or executive body of the state"(Agarwal 1994:19). For women to have secured land rights the land they use has to be legal and socially recognized and it has to be enforced by external laws, such as legal court system. Land given to a household has to make sure women own the land but most lands given to a household give recognition only to men. This does not give secured land right to women. As Duncan & Ping (2001) pointed out it only grants the women a usufruct right where they can use it s only as far as they are part of the household. According to Agarwal (1994) explanation, access to land doesn't guarantee the users the right to sell it or to use it as mortgage; it only allows users usufruct rights for the land. Women's use right to land through kinship relations doesn't guarantee enough security for women when there is family breakup (FAO 2002). In most cases the lack of secured right to land makes women to be dependent on relatives and left women without land holding (FAO 2002).

Ownership rights is full rights of women to use, sell, mortgage, transfer the land they have got either from the state, family or friends and the land has to be registered on their names. The ownership right they have has to be legally and socially recognized. Agarwal explanations showed that women rights to inherit land have to be in practice since it is also placed in paper and the legal rights should also get recognition by the society (Agarwal 1994; Agarwal 2002). In most cases, laws' regarding women's right to land is written and documented by

government officials but the challenge is to implement what is already enacted as law and to replace the customary law which has been used mostly while the statutory law also exists. Many researchers' findings show that putting in practice statutory laws are the challenge of many African countries governments and NGOs (Deininger 2003; Ikdahl et al. 2005).

Agarwal (1994 :20) and (2002) noted that for *effective* rights to land women should have 'independent titles' to the land they own. Agarwal argued that joint title creates problem for women to claim land during divorce and to control the produce (Agarwal 2003). Agarwal (2003) stated the independent right to women will facilitate access to credit and her ideas are supported by Jackson (2003) but with an argument where the independent right to land would help women in countries where land are used as a mortgage to credit. Therefore, women's right to land has to be legalized, recognized by society, institutions and state and it has to be registered independently.

Gender equitable land reform requires ensuring the access to credit, information and technical knowledge. Women's effective rights to land are also challenged by the fact that women have little access to financial credits and the 'gender biased of agricultural extensions'(Agarwal 2003) as well as women discrimination against plowing. Agarwal (2003) stated that the cultural taboos against women plowing affects the full control of women produce. Bashaw (2005) from his study in Tigray and Wello also showed that women with access to land have inability problem in order to use their land efficiently and effectively. He also revealed that women are found to be the poorest of the poor because of the limited control over produce of land.

This theory guides to assess the different type of assets that are determinant of livelihoods. It also helps to assess how the lack of non land resources affects the benefit of land rights to women. Moreover it guides on how independent land rights of women make women empowered to claim land during divorce and enhances their financial sources. In general concept, the theory guide on how this paper analysis the land rights of women and the benefit out of it and helps to analyze the lack of non- resources, socially and institutionally unrecognized land rights to women affects the livelihood of women.

2.2. Importance of land for women

2.2.1. Economic value

Women's need secured land rights to be food secured at household or individual level. Rights to access land make women to be economically strong, be less affected by shock or less susceptible to poverty. According to Agarwal (1994) women with secured land rights can send their children to school, get better facility to health center, and faces fewer problems in relation to income¹. As the example from her study in India showed, the family can sustain with strong economy as women spend most of their income to cover the expenses of the household than the man who spend most of his income in liquor and other personal expenses outside the household. Female headed households who owns land but who has lack of supplementary resources such as, oxen, labor, knowledge and so on, have a better chance to be less susceptible to poverty than women without rights to land. To elaborate this idea, Agarwal (1994) stated that single women or elderly people get a good support from families or societies because of the ownership rights they have.

Agarwal (1994) also stated that landless women get difficulty in engaging themselves in development activity such as cattle production in order to improve their livelihood. This means that rights to land for women is a prerequisite for any development activity related to land. Land is the basis for shelter, food and economic activities (FAO 2002) and increasing women's control over could have a strong and immediate effect on the welfare of the next generation (Deininger 2003). Rights to land are very vital for countries that use land as a prerequisite to access for credit. Rights to land helps women to use the land as mortgage to get loan and the loan helps the women in order to engage in small enterprises which brings a positive changes in the livelihood status of the women (Deininger 2003). According to his explanation, whether or not women's being engaged in agriculture, access rights to land is very important to change the economic status of women.

Insecure land rights, which means land access through husbands and relatives of men has a negative impact on the survival of women. Particularly, up on divorce time women loses the use right they have to the land (Deininger 2003; Ikdahl et al. 2005). According to (Agarwal

¹ 'The risk of poverty and the physical well being of a woman and her children could depend significantly on whether or not she has *direct* access to income and productive assets such as land , and not just access *mediated* through her husband or other male family members'P:30

1994:30) in cases of divorce and widowhood or desertion, even women whose parental and martial households are classified as rich peasants' become economically vulnerable due to the absence of independent economic resources, such as land. Therefore, independent land rights ensure the economic existence of women and reduce vulnerability to risk; in a way it secures the sources of income for the women and their family. Even up on marriage, independent right of women's to land has more advantages to households as women get incentives to invest more on the land and it improves the economic status of the household in general². Besides, as Agarwal explanation for women who have insecurity to the land they use and discourage to invest more, rights to land or land titles increases their motivation to adapt new technologies that enhances productivity.

2.2.2. Land right as a basic Human Right issue

Land right is not only about economic issue it is also about right issue. According to the UN declaration on Human rights in Article 17 of the convention all human beings have equal rights to own property. CEDAW Article 14 of the convention also stated clearly the rights of women to have equal right to access in land reform and economic activities. The Article 14) also state how land resources are critical for women's ability to earn a livelihood from it and provide adequate housing and nutrition for herself and for her family.

The issue of economic development and being food secured is related with land that having a land or not. Land right is a human right by itself which is linked with a right to develop, to be economically viable and strong. The UN convention also stated women's right to have access to development and to involve in agricultural sectors where development and engaging in agriculture is a matter of having land or not having it. CEDAW clearly states the significance of rights to own land by women. Land in terms of human rights should not be discriminatory and in Africa where the gender balance is not neutral, assuring right to land for women has to be taken as affirmative action to balance the gender inequality. Therefore, land has a human right perspective to develop, to have an income and to be food secured. Besides for countries to have economic development and agricultural production, women should have a role in the process which obviously requires land as a basic ground. In countries that land rights in discriminatory to women, recognition of access to land as basic human rights solves the

²Divergence between ownership and control rights 'can have negative effects on productivity. Where the husband controls the proceeds from cultivation, this reduces women's incentives to exert efforts, and thus lowers agricultural productivity' (Deininger 2003)

cultural and social problem of women. As Agarwal explanation on her equality argument to land rights states that land rights to women is about sense of equality which is an indicator of economic empowerment and it facilitates in challenging gender inequality in social and political areas (Agarwal 1994).

2.2.3. Empowerment

Agarwal (1994) developed a definition of empowerment based on the concept of Morgan (1988:4). Empowerment is a 'process that enhances the ability of disadvantaged (powerless) individuals or groups to challenge and change (in their favor) the existing power relationships that place them in a subordinate economic, social, and political position' (Agarwal 1994:39).. Land ownership rights to land, having access right to land gives economic empowerment to women as well as social and political power (Agarwal 1994:39) and being empowered means it will give them the ability to struggle for their freedom and to reduce the gender disparity in the household and the society (Agarwal 1994; 2002). Besides, empowered women gets social security where everyone treat them with a respect, acceptance in a society and decision making power within the household and family and women rights to land 'can make a notable difference to women's bargaining power within the home and community'(Agarwal 2003). According to Agarwal (1994) an old woman with a land gets good respect from grandchild than a woman without access or ownership right to land.

Giving land rights to women would empowered them economically and it strengths the women's ability to question social and cultural inequalities (Agarwal 2002). Jackson(2003) argued the rights to land alone do not guarantee the power of women within the household or society either. The author argument emphasizes that ownership of assets does not simply increases the bargaining power and material outcomes of women. Rather, 'values, norms, words and ideas' are also resources that can give power to women as ownership of assets. However, she emphasizes that women's position in society is strengthen by the women ownership right to land (Jackson 2003).

2.3. Access and control over resources and land

Most women in both male and female headed households have access and ownership rights to land in rural areas of Tigray. As the number of female headed households³ are increasing and 30% if the households are headed by female (Meehan 2004), independent access to and is crucial. Tesfa (2002) stated that most women in Tigray have both access and ownership rights to land which include female headed households. According to Mirtuse et.al (2006), 85% of female headed household from their sample size has ownership right to land. However, some evidence shows that the size of land owned by female headed household is less in size than male headed households and this is justified by the fact that the redistribution was taken the household as a size of unit (e.g. Verma 2007).

Though women in both households have ownership rights to land, they lack supplementary resources, mainly oxen, labor (Verma 2007). Particularly, female headed households are the one who is in lack of non-land resources (Verma 2007). As Yigremew (2001) findings, women have not been much better in their livelihood as the expectation of the outcome of the land due to lack of the resources. In Tigray where there are many female land owners but because of the lack of resources and cultural taboos, female headed households are found to very poor (Haile et al. 2005). The lack of having labor, oxen and access to credit are some of the factors which make them poor when they sharecrop out their land and get half or one third of the production (Bashaw 2005; Tesfa 2002). Study done in Burkina Faso shows that farms managed by women shows a less production than land managed by men and this is caused by lack of access to labor and inputs (Udry 1995). Lack of financial resources such as credit is observed as one of the problem that affects women in control of their land (Teklu 2005; Yigremew 2001) finding showed that during sharecropping agreement of the owners provides agricultural inputs such as, seed and oxen, the women keep hold of two-third of the products. This means that women's ability to provide agricultural input is also determined by their access to financial resources.

³ A definition of female headed household is recognized differently by many researchers as *de jure* and *de facto* female headed households (eg. Elite 2000....). A *de jure* female headed household is a household where it is managed by widows, by single or divorced women, while a *de-facto* female headed households is when women are responsible when the husband is available for some time(for example. a man going out for work migration or military service) (Ellis 2000). In Tigray Context, female headed households are defined as household headed by single, widow and divorced women. If the man is available for some period, the household is not considered as female headed households, rather considered as male headed households.

Cultural norm that restricts women from plowing land is also another factor that affects women to have full control of their land. Women not allowed to plow force them to sharecrop-out the land they own and makes them food insecure and vulnerable to shocks (Frank 1999; Teklu 2005). In some cases the women land found being uncultivated when disagreement made between the owners and the sharecropper (Teklu 2005). Research from Amhara region explained that women's in female headed households bargaining power and control to resources and land with sharecropper is affected due to the women dependency on male labor and their low social status (Yigremew 2001).

Women's control over land during divorce or disputes is affected by the security of the land where the land is registered and by the customary laws. Tigray region started registration of the land immediately after the redistribution of land was undertaken and 80% of registration and certification completed by 1998 (Haile et al. 2005). The registration process has been criticized for only registering the head of the household which is the husband in male headed households⁴, and for not documenting with precision the size of the land, boundaries and location of plots (Deininger et al. 2006; Holden et al. 2007; Menan 2007). Other regions such as Amhara have given certificates to both the wife and the husband (Deininger et al. 2006), and compared Tigray region with Amhara, the land certificates in Amhara regions has more quality in terms of stating the individual owners (women and men) and the quality of the registration process.

There is little evidence in Tigray region regarding women's claims at a time of divorce in male headed households where the land is registered in the name of the husband but results in Amhara region showed that land registered with joint titling (where both the husband and the wife name appears in the paper), it is very hard for women to claim the land at the time of divorce or death of husband (Kanji et al. 2005). Dokken(2007) study done in Tigray have also found out that land certificate strengthens the men's right but did not improve the right of women. It can clearly be understood that for women in male headed household who do not even have a joint title like the Amhara region women, claim over their land would not be easy. Holden and Tefera (2008) states that clearly defined name of the owners on the

⁴ The registration has not included the name of the wife together with the husband on the certificate. This is the same for women with land and without land in the household. Rather the certificate shows only the name of the husband as the owner of the households land. The land registration in Tigray neither shows a joint tile nor an independent title. Women denied joint titling together with the husband. It is only women in female headed household who get certificate to their land. The document in the certificate doesn't show any information, if woman has share of land together with the husband or not.

certificates have a significant effect on the women decisions power during divorce. Other study also showed that clearly defined (secured rights to land) would increase land rental markets (Holden et al. 2009). According to findings of Haile et al (2005), men have little perception towards the advantage of certificate but women have a lot. Women have a concern on the title of their land, so they have perceived the certificate as important as anything. Menan (2007) found out that conflicts with neighbours after implementation of the certificate have minimized.

Women's right to claim over land during divorce and inheritance are affected because of lack of implementation of constitutional laws. In most parts of Ethiopia, it is not easy for women to claim their land especially during divorce (Verma 2007). In some cases customary laws are overruling the constitutional right of women. The women control over land is affected by the lack of legal issues and customary laws. Teklu (2005) from her study found out that women control over land claim during divorce is affected because of lack of information on legal procedures, lack of physical capacity and financial problems. Even when women have access to resources to claim their land, women control over claim their land claim are suppressed as institutional services are dominated by men (Teklu 2005).

2.4. Land tenure system in Ethiopia pre -1974

Ethiopia had a very diverse and complex land tenure system. The land tenure system under the monarchy was feudal in character emphasizing tribute, personal services, and family ties, and the land tenure relation was a tenant to landlord relations. Under this feudal era, Ethiopia had three land tenure systems but the main ones were *rist* and *gult*. Land in *rist* system was hereditary and was considered as birth right for both men and women. Land tenure in a *rist* system is associated with founder⁵ (Joireman 2000) and the descendants (both male and female) of the founder have individual usufruct right. The individual's usufruct right to land could not be transferred to others and no user of any piece of land could sell or transfer as gift his or her share outside the family as it belonged not to the individual but to the group (Rahmato 1994).

The other major form of land tenure system was “*gult*”, an ownership right acquired from the monarch or from provincial rulers who were empowered to make land grants. Gult holders were not required to return any revenue to the central government but they were being loyal to

⁵ 'The first person to clear the land'.

the emperor. As Joireman (2000), gult holders were given land with an expectation to perform particular duties for the emperor, such as 'leading troops into battle in case of war'. The gult system was practiced in some places in Tigray, but mostly it was a common tenure system in the southern part of the country, for example Oromia region.

The gender aspect of the land tenure system was discriminatory against women. In Tigray, in rista system women had a customary right to inherit land from their ancestors but in practice they did not. When women got married they go to the husband's family and their brothers think that the women doesn't belong to the descendants group, therefore they ignore their sister customary right to inherit land and they divided the land among themselves (Woldemariam 2006). Hannah (1994) cited in Tesfa (2002) also stated that in the monarchal rule even if inheritance to land was theoretically possible a majority of women were land less besides, institutional structure favored men in transfer of property.

2.5. Land tenure system in the Derg regime

The Derg tenure was enacted as a new law in 1975 to end the old land system of the imperial regime. The new proclamation declares land to be the public ownership of all Ethiopians and it abolished private ownership. The proclamation stated that without differentiation of the sexes, any person who is willing to personally cultivate land shall be allocated land. The reform enabled the distribution of available land to the peasantry on a relatively equitable basis and thus gave usufruct rights over the land they cultivated (Tesfa 2002). The proclamation abolished the relation sheep between tenants and land lords and it also prohibited the use of land for sale, mortgage, lease and transfer (Teklu 2005; Woldemariam 2006).

In the 1975 land reform, land was distributed by family size and registered under male headed households. According to Rahmato (1994) and Wanyeki (2003), the proclamation assumed that households were uniform and thus failed to take intra- household distributional relations into account. This was in favor of male head of households. Women were disadvantage as the household head was given the land, which is mostly the man. Particularly, women in polygamous marriages were affected mostly as men tended to register just one wife this means that the second wife has not access or ownership to land (Wanyeki 2003). Though the proclamation stated land to be distributed irrespective of gender, in practice the law was discriminatory against women. The 1975 land redistribution was criticized for being gender

biased and for not ensuring equal and rights of women (Wanyeki 2003). The Derg land reform, instead of ensuring the equal rights of women to land, it rather destroys the traditional rights where they had in *rist* system (e.g. Teklu 2005).

2.6. Women rights to land in the Ethiopian Constitution

The 1995 FDRE (Federal Democratic Republic Ethiopia) constitution declared land to be the property of the State and the People of Ethiopia, over which individuals have only usufruct rights. Article (40) of the Constitution (which concerns property rights) noted that the right to ownership of rural and urban land, as well as of all natural resources, is exclusively vested in the state and the peoples of Ethiopia. Sub article (3) states that “Land is a common property of the Nations, Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia and shall not be subject to sale or to other means of exchange”. Regarding women rights to land the constitution has stipulated in article 35(7) which recognizes women equal rights on land stated that women have equal rights with men with respect to access, use, administration and transfer of land. The article also stated that women shall also enjoy equal treatment in the inheritance of property.

Using the power given by the FDRE constitution under article (51) and (52), the FDRE passed the Rural land Administration Proclamation of 1997 to the regional council that provides power to enact laws to administer land. Therefore, to provide a clear law concerning women land right issues the Federal Rural Land Administration Proclamation has defined issues related to the rights and obligations of users such as that of inheritance, leasing, investments, compensation, and use of hired labor. Article 4(4) of the Proclamation states that: “The land administration law of the regions shall confirm the equal rights of women in respect of the use, administration and control of land as well as in respect of transferring and bequeathing holding rights”. It also requires the councils to ensure the distribution of land without distinction on the basis of sex and provide security against eviction and displacement from holdings except for the purpose of land redistribution.

Besides, Article (4) Sub-article (3) of the proclamation allows: “women to use hired labor on their holdings or to, otherwise, make agreements thereto”. The proclamation, hence, in addition to ensuring the equal access to land of women provides assurance against eviction, which in most regions used to happen to women following divorce or marriage.

3. METHODOLOGY

In the first section of this chapter, description of the study areas is presented. In the second section site selection and sampling procedures is presented. In the third section, data collection methods are presented. In the last section, data analysis part of the study is presented.

3.1. Description of the study area

Kelte Awelaelo wereda (district) is one of the districts in Eastern Zone of Tigray, 45 km north of Mekelle, the capital of Tigray region, with a population size of 119,493 people (census 2007). The wereda has an average rainfall of about 350-550 mm per annum and a temperature range of 18-28 degree Celsius. The agro-ecology is dominantly mid-land (weina -dega). The district has 16,197 male headed and 7702 female headed households. The total cultivable land is 100,228 ha. Totally, there are 2963 male and 1313 female populations who are landless. The average land holding size per household is 0.75 ha.

Adi-kisanet and Negash are one of the sub-districts located in the northern part of the wereda (District). The Sub districts have the same agro climatology, which is mid land and they have rainfall in a range of 350-550mm annually. Adi- Kisanet has a total population of 8841, with 4332 and 4509 male and female population, respectively. Adi-kisanet has 1136 ha of cultivable land out of the total 5621 ha of land. There are 321 male and 174 female populations who are landless. Negash has a total population 4564 male and 4751 female population. It has a total are of 5868 ha of land size. The sub-district has 1089 ha of cultivable land. Negash has 178 female and 236 male landless populations.

Kola-Tenbeien district is located in Central part (Zone) of Tigray. Agro-ecology of the district is low land and intermediate high land (weina-dega). The district has rainfall in arrange of 500-800mm annually. The district has an average temperature of 25-30oc and attitude range from 1400-2300 m.a.s.l. The total population of the district is 138,115, with 69738 female and 68377 male populations. Number of households headed by female are 4245 and 22,249 headed by male. Total coverage of the sub-district is 147,000ha. Out of the total coverage, the district has 31,021ha of cultivable land. Average land holding size per household is 1ha.

Atakleti sub district is located in central part of kola Tenbeien district at a distance of 12km from Abi-Adi town. It has an intermediate agro-ecological zone and located with an altitude

of 1900m.a.s.l. It has a total area of 8855ha of land with 1572 cultivable land. The total population is 7766, with 3812 male and 3954 female population. The sub district has 1125 male and 178 female headed households.

Werekamba Sub district is located in the central part of Kola-Tenbeien wereda. It has a total area of 8649ha of land. It has an altitude of 1800 m.a.s.l. the total population of the area is 6921, with 3525 male and 3396 female population. W/Amba has 984 male and 246 female headed household.



Figure 2. Map of the study areas (Source: UN-OCHA)

3.2. Site Selection and Sampling Procedure

The plan to do the field work for this study was in four tabia's⁶ in four selected wereda⁷'s of Tigray from each zone in order to get vast coverage of the region. But, according to the preliminary assessment and discussion held with government officials at regional office and NGO representatives, the land reform and the laws enacted on it is the same, the plan was changed and the study was conducted in two Tabia in two wereda of Tigray. After having

⁶ As small administrative unit after district

⁷ An administrative unit, which is district.

discussions and formal interview with government officials, with simple random sampling methods two weredas were selected. Kelte-Awlalo and Kola-Tenbeien wereda from Eastern Zone and Central Zone of Tigray respectively were selected for this study. To include Muslims for this study, with stratified random sampling method two Tabia from each wereda were selected. The selected Tabias are named as follows: Negash and A/Kisanet in Kelte-Awlalo Wereda; Atakleti and Were-kamba Tabias in Kola Tenbeien wereda.

The selection of the households for individual interview was done with stratified random sampling to include both women in female and male headed households. The first plan was to select women from the sample frame of the wereda household list but in practice because of the missing data and lack of proper documentation that did not work. The initial plan was changed and the selection of the household was done with stratified random sampling without using the sampling frame.

The total sample size for individual interview was 78 where 17 households from each of the four sub districts. Besides, 10 women and 10 men were selected for focus group discussion in each wereda (district). To get perception of the Muslim community towards land rights issue and to relate it with Sharia law, strategically they are included in focus group discussion in Kelte -Awlalo wereda, where I Muslim farmers are found.

3.2. Method of data collection

3.3.1. Key Informant Interview

The first step that was done before undertaking the household interviews was having an informal and formal interview with district and sub district official of land administrative, food security and WAT. This helped me to get general information on background and to develop the questionnaire for individual interview.

The main informants interviewed with were wereda land administration officer, wereda women affairs office, 'tabia' administrator, etc. After coming back from field work, another interview was held with stakeholders at 'tabia' level and land administration office in Mekelle to clarify the information got from the study sites. The information got through the key informant's interview includes: the constraints of land registration, the main constraints of women in both female and male headed households in relation control over resources and land and the role of different sectors to change the situation of women.

3.3.2. Household Interview

An individual structured interview with both open and closed ended questions was done for both women in female and male headed household who has land. The individual interview was done entirely with women in both male and female headed households. There was no any interview made with men in male headed household. To make men part of this research and also to get information on their perception towards women being land owners and in some cases land cultivators, a separate focus group discussion was undertaken. The main aim of the individual interview with the women was to get information of household, income, assets, production, main constraints in production and land right issue, etc.

3.3.3. Focus group discussions

Focus group discussion was used to get in-depth information of specific topics as it allows participants to interact each other in a group (Bryman 2004). Focus group discussion was made with men's and women's groups separately in each wereda. The members of the group were 5 in both men's and women's groups. Totally, four group discussions with a total of 20 members, 10 women and 10 men, were conducted.

List of main questions that the groups needed to discuss was prepared and based on the outcome of the discussion; points were made to ask key informants at wereda and Tabia level. The questions included in the focus group discussions were about effect of land registration on women's right to land and perception of men towards women's right to land and plowing, impact of land rights, and constraints to claim land, etc. The outcome of the focus group discussion helped this study to make a conclusion on issues which were not so clear from individual interviews and it did also helped to make analysis in qualitative way.

3.3.4. Secondary Data

Secondary method of data collection is used for this study. Before starting the field work search on the back ground of the land tenure issues were conducted from previous studies. While writing the research proposal, BIBSYS data base were used as source of information on review of literature and building the theoretical part of this report. In general, the relevant secondary data used includes data (both qualitative and quantitative) from internet, books, libraries, unpublished thesis, government and non-governmental organization reports. The secondary data helped to get background information on the history of land, old and recent research findings in relation to women's right to land, etc.

3.3.5. Notes

Informal discussion with officials at wereda level and Mekelle town was conducted and it was not possible to record the information during normal chat and coffee time. As Bryman (2004) noted, both mental and field notes are so important to collect data when researchers are not in conducive condition to take notes. Therefore, information got during this study is written down later or kept in mind to use it the time of data analysis.

3.3.6. Case study Interview

Almost all women in Tigray do not plow their land; therefore for this study it was necessary to find women who started plowing by themselves without the support of men. The reason why this was done is to show how women could be better off, if they got a solution to the constraints they have. During the field work two women, one in the field study area and one outside the field study area were interviewed (Golo-Mekeda district). The interview was held with the woman who plows her own land and one with a woman who plows her own land and also plows other people's land. But for this thesis, only the women who also plow other farmers land as a sharecropper presented.

3.4. Data Analysis

Both quantitative and qualitative method of data analysis is used for this research. SPSS and Minitab computer programs were used to analyze the quantitative data. Descriptive statistics, mean comparison, and multiple response analysis method are used for the analysis of the household interview data. Comparisons between the female and male headed households were done when ever needed.

To support the quantitative results and to get in depth information which was difficult to quantify, information got from focus group discussion, key informants, and informal interview were analyzed qualitatively. Key informants and respondents view is also presented in order to magnify the qualitative information. Besides, cases study is presented, to show the in-depth information regarding women plowing in Tigray.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter includes findings from the analysis made from the household interview, focus group discussion and key informant interview, and case studies. The chapter presents results of the study and discusses the findings. The chapter is divided into four sections: section one presents impact of rights to land on the economic, social, empowerment and human rights significance. Marital status and age of the household is presented in section two. In section three, the human capital: education, family size and family labor of the households are presented. In section four, natural capital: oxen ownership livestock ownership and land financial capitals are presented. In section five, financial resources and income sources and total income of the household is presented. In section six, control over resources is presented. In the last section, the perception of women and men towards women involvement in plowing and a case study where a woman breaking the norms of against women plowing is presented.

4.1. Impact of rights to land

The study assessed the impact of women's land rights in economic, social, empowerment aspects. The households were asked if there are livelihood changes they have seen and also asked their perception compared with their rights in the last regimes with respect in change of livelihood.

4.1.1. Economic Benefit

Many women who did not have land in the Derg regime (military regime) and the former imperial regime have got land now. This study revealed that 76.2% of female headed households and 52.8% of women in male headed households did not have land during the past regimes and those women became land holders during the redistribution. The remaining women had land even before. However, as it is discussed in chapter two of this thesis, the access right they had as '*rist*' tenure system did not guarantee the right of women to take their part during divorce or inheritance (Rahmato 1994; Tesfa 2002). In this case the women right to the land was mostly access either through the husbands or relatives of their own or husband. Women's use rights to land through kinship relations doesn't grant enough security for women when traditional family structures break-up (FAO 2002). The main difference with the existing rights they have is the women have access and use rights to the land they hold without the interference of anybody either the husband or relatives; the land the women hold is given to the women to exercise the rights they given according to the country constitution.

Argument from Agarwal (1994:30) showed in cases of divorce and widowhood or desertion, even women whose parental and marital households are classified as rich peasants' become economically vulnerable due to the absence of independent economic resources, such as land. Therefore, independent land rights ensure the economic existence of women and reduce vulnerability to risk; in a way it secures the sources of income for the women and their family.

To assess the economic benefit of being a land holder, perception of the women was assessed. Out of the women without land before the redistribution, 2.1% and 1.3% of the women were migrated to towns and also stayed with relatives for their survival. As the women explanation, this was because land was accessed through kinship system and those women did not have ancestral land. Some women were tenants on the land of the land holders or the 'balabate'. According to the qualitative result of this study, the women believed that the land redistribution breaks the cycle of being a tenant and gives them to use the land as farming to earn income that they did not have before. Tesfa (2002) findings are in line with this study finding where he found that the independent access to land have improved the living conditions of women and their families. Increasing women's control over could have a strong and strong and immediate effect on the welfare of the next generation (Deininger 2003).

A woman opinion below shows how the land redistribution has been important to secure the survival of any given households or individual.

"I was 35 years old when I left my village to find my means of survival. I left my village because I did not have access to land in this village though I lived for several years. It was because land was used and accessed through kinship system. During land re-distribution women were entitled for land, I was given 0.25ha of land that I am now using and control it". (A Woman from Wukuro site)

The very important economic benefit of the land is that the women can produce something out of the land even though the production they get is not enough due to drought and lack of resources such as labor and oxen. Particularly, 90% of the women in female headed households stressed that the land is their main economic source of income. They strongly believed that rights to land as a vital economic source for their survival although many rent it for sharecropping. Besides both households, 94.2 % of female headed and 93% of male headed households stressed that the significance of the land as a prerequisite to engage themselves in other income diversifying activities, such as bee-keeping, small ruminants, and

so on. They are also confident that they can produce even a little from the land during drought seasons. As Agarwal (1994) findings from India showed land as a vital resource for landless women to engage in development activities such as cattle production in order to improve their livelihood. Deninger (2003) argued that whether or not women's being engaged in agriculture, access rights to land is very important to change the economic status of women. In spite of the fact that the women have seen changes on their economic survival, the women stressed that because of lack of non-land resources such as labor and oxen, and also cultural taboos, the women has not been able to enjoy the benefit of rights to land. As it is stated in the theoretical framework of this paper in the livelihood analysis not only land but all the other types of assets are vital for improvement of the life of the women and land is a base for the rural livelihood (FAO 2004).



PICTURE 1. A woman growing vegetables on her land

4.1.2. Bargaining power and social changes

An assessment made to see if the women bargaining power have increased in the household, for example, if the women decide what to plant in the farm. A majority (65%) of women in male headed households believed the rights to land has contributed to the more bargaining power in the household. Asked on who decides on the production decision of the farm, 76% of the women in male headed households replied that there is a joint decision making power in the household regarding what to plant in the land. The rest replied with men making decision on the land. However, the women in focus group discussion and in the household interview revealed that the men decision making power come probably because mostly only

head of the household go for agricultural technology trainings could give men the more knowledge to make decisions. The women also argued that the decision making power probably not only come because of the women's land rights, it is a combination of women's political empowerment and it could also be that the women in Tigray have had a strong decision power inside household and society which broke the norm that women must to accept the decisions made by their husband or men their relatives. Study done by Dokken (2007) showed that the women bargaining power on investment and production decision power is related to the women's land holding rights, as her explanation women who have land in the household have a joint decision making power.

As overall perception made showed that almost all women (in the study areas) believed they have better social value and more respect by the society in general and by their family in particular. They believed that the land rights they have given them an intrinsic value they are attached with. In female headed household (98%), women who did not have land in the last regimes, believed that the land reform has given them more confidence within their society and household and it has helped them to develop their self-esteem and more bargaining power. Tesfa (2002) showed that women have developed self confidence and increases social status. Women's position in society is strengthened by the women ownership right to land (Jackson 2003) and ownership of land rights enhance bargaining power and empowerment of women (Agarwal 1998).

All the women felt that having independent land rights in the household would help them to claim their share during divorce. Research finding from Dokken (2007) strengthen this and it indicates that women in Tigray have strong rights to claim their land during divorce. According to information got from the women focus group discussion and key informants, the difference with the last regime is that even if the women had lands that come through the ancestral land, the possibility to get their share was based on the willingness of the husband. As the women explanation, even looking back to the '*rist*' system, inheritance and divorce laws was in favor of the man; therefore, women in most cases did not get the land. In secured land rights affects women to claim their land during divorce and the women loses the use right they have to the land (Deininger 2003; Ikdahl et al. 2005). The result got from the Muslim respondents showed that when Sharia laws are applicable for women to get some amount of money (equivalent to 30 ETB) during marriage break up, but the women share the

land equally. As the women explanation showed that the men have believed the land is given to women as constitutional right.

Around 42 % of women in male headed households had access to land together with the husband before the redistribution, but the women believed the land right they have now is more clear and they have equal land with their husbands. They are more confident that the land is their own and they can claim the land any time. The most fascinating story is expressed by a woman as follow:

“Even before the redistribution, I had access to land that I got it through my husbands’ family. For sometimes I thought the land was ours and I realized I would get my share when I want it. But I saw many women who did not get the land during disputes with their husbands because their right was limited, only use rights upon marriage. I realize it now I own land and I am very confident I can get my land any time. Besides, my husband knows that the land I have is mine and I can take it with me when I don’t want not to be with”. (A woman from Wukuro).

The existing reform of land has assured the right to own the land for use and govern the land in the household; and during divorce despite the fact that there are lack of legal issues and unclear titles that makes hard to claim their land, the women are very confident that no matter what they will get their land.

Men also believed women have increased their self confidence and respect in the society. According to the focus group discussion with both men and women, men prefer to marry a woman with land than without. This shows the increased status of women in the society. The men also believed that the right of women to land increased the bargaining power of women in the society and inside a household. As Dokkon (2007) findings showed that women who got land from the state (land redistribution) have equal decision power in the household together with man (Husband). She also stated that the women decision making status is different across Tabias where cultural and tradition has a significant effect. The information got from the discussion held with Women Affairs Office of both district supports the men’s idea, as their explanation showed, men tries to work out when problems happened with the household as they are afraid of the women wouldn’t be patient to be in the marriage. Research finding from Teklu (2005) showed that marriage stability has increases as men are afraid of sharing land equally to the wife during divorce. On the other hand, few people in group

discussion also says that divorce has increased after women's equal rights with men to land being declared and their rights being clearly stated, but more evidence and further investigation is required.

4.1.3. Human rights

The land rights that women have changed their perception about themselves is an indication of breaking the norm that women in rural areas of Ethiopia have no equal right with men. Women from both households (87% of female headed and 83% of male headed households) believed that they are equal with anybody, and have developed a sense of equality within their society and household. The women think that equal right to land is a human right issue that every individual should exercise it. Besides, the women believed that the land right has also helped them to change about their perceptions towards the gender difference between their daughter and sons. The women had thought that land was only important to men, so they realizes they had a wrong believe that land had to be given to boys, as the boys is the only one who knows farming/plowing. The women (70% of the female headed and 80% of the male headed households) thinking have changed and they now believe that everybody is equal and they think the land has to be shared between their children; not favoring either the boy or the girl.

4.1.4. Empowerment

To achieve the equality on resources and decision making power, lots of women contributed their part on the fight between TPLF and Derg regime. By doing so the women have changed lots of gender disparities and one of it is the equal land right they have achieved. As the women explanation during group discussion knowing that they have equal right to land has helped them to open their mind in order to question and find solutions for the problems they have. Therefore, the women believed being given the equal right to women on land helped the women to organize for the others rights they don't have; for example, they have understood that they have to organize and raise issues in parliament (districts, region etc) so that they would change some laws that disproportion their equality with men. The women's participation in politics such as being members of parliament has increased (CSA 2007). Thus could have been resulted because of the affirmative action the government is taking. As Agarwal explanation on her equality argument to land rights stated that land rights to women is about sense of equality which is an indicator of economic empowerment and it facilitates in challenging gender inequality in social and political areas (Agarwal 1994) and it strengths the

women's ability to question cultural inequalities (Agarwal 2002). Bashaw (2005) argument from his study in Tigray and Amhara regions showed that higher the participation of women in local councils will have higher impact to encourage the need to address gender inequalities.

4.2. Marital status and Age characteristics of the household

The total number of household heads used for this study was 78. Of which, 53.8% of the respondents were female headed households and the rest (43.2%) of were male headed households. The age difference in between the households is not significantly different (Table 1). A higher percentage of the respondents who are participated in this study were young and middle age women.

Characterizing the households in terms of their marital status is important to use the relationship with land issues. Among the female headed households, 29.5%, 23.1%, and 1.3% were widowed, divorced and unmarried, respectively. Research done by Ataklt (2005) showed widowed to be the higher in percentage in female headed households. Other study showed divorce female headed households were to be high in percentage (Mirutse et al. 2006).

4.3. Human Capital

Human capital such as skills, knowledge, ability to labor and good health and physical capability are determinants of livelihoods (Scoones 1998). Labor and knowledge determines for the effective use of women's land.

4.3.1. Education

Level of education was assessed based on the respondents answer to be able or not able to read and write. Out of the total female headed household, 64.3% were literate and 35.7% illiterate while in the male headed household, 44.4% were literate and 55.6% of them were illiterate. The literacy rate is relatively higher in male headed household compared with the women in female headed households, but the difference is statistically insignificant. This study finding is line with Mirutse et al. (2006) findings where they found illiteracy rate in women in male headed households is higher compared with women in female headed households in both urban and rural areas. The finding of other researchers showed that men are to be literate than women in rural Ethiopia (FDRE and MOFED 2002).

4.3.2. Family size

Female headed households have a mean family size of 4.1 while the male headed households have a mean family size of 6.9 and the difference is significant with $p < 0.05$ (Table 1). Majority of (58.0%) of male headed household have a high family size which is in a range of 7-9; whereas only 29.7% of female headed households have a family size of 7-9. Widowed and divorced female headed households have almost similar percentage in a range of family size from 4-6, which is 43.5% and 48.5% respectively. The difference in between the households is insignificant ($p > 0.05$). In many researches done in Tigray, male headed households resemble to have more family size compared with female headed households (Ataklt 2005; Mirutse et al. 2006)

4.3.3. Access to Labor

At an average male headed households and female headed households have 3.36 and 1.83 family labors, respectively. The difference in mean is statistically significant (Table 1).

Table 1. Mean of age, family size and family labour in FHH and MHH

Demographic structure	FHH	MHH	p-value
Age	42.5	42.9	0.848
Family Size	4.14	6.92	0.000
Family Labour	1.83	3.36	0.000

Analysis was made to see the significance of the family labor to the income of the household and it is found that it is significant at 5.0% level (Table 8). To get more convincing results, the women were asked to list the main constraints that render their farming activity, and they have mentioned lack of labor as their main constraints (Table 2). The difference is statistically significant ($p < 0.05$). The lack of labor resources affects the women, particularly female headed household to sharecrop out their land.

Table 2. Main agricultural constraints in female and male headed households in percentage

Main agricultural constraints	FHH	MHH
Lack of Oxen	85.0	66.6
Lack of labour	82.5	66.6
Lack of information to development	5.0	0.0
Lack of credit Facilities	12.5	0.0

4.4. Natural capital

Natural capitals are important for the livelihood strategies for any households to pursue a living. As Scoones (1998) and Chambers & Conway (1992) stated that natural capitals includes land, water and biodiversity. Land in the framework for the analysis of livelihood can achieve gender equality and sustainable use of resources, improved access to education and training and it can also be an opportunity for the other types of assets to become easily accessible (FAO 2004).

4.4.1. Access to Oxen Ownership

Owning ox determines the income of the studied households as is the case elsewhere in Ethiopia. Overall, in Ethiopia and particularly in Tigray, it is the basic drafting power that is used for plowing purpose. The number of female headed households who doesn't own ox is 73.8% which is higher than the male headed households (11.1 %) (Figure 3). This indicates that male headed households are more advantages with regard to ownership of oxen. This result is in line with Kumar & Quisumbing (2010) where they found that 60% of male headed households are more likely to have at least some oxen compared to 37.0% of female headed households. The minimum number of oxen that is needed to plow is two; therefore, male headed household has the highest figure with two oxen. It can be seen clearly from figure 3 that the number of households who at least owning one ox is high in male headed household. The results found from the women perception towards the main constraints for farming is oxen and it is listed as one the main limiting resources that affects the women for not benefiting from their land (Table 2). The significance is different at 5.0% level of significance.

Actually, a pair of oxen is required for households to be able to plow. However, the advantage of having one ox is much better than not having one. This is because of the household with one ox can combine with another household who has one. Particularly, having one ox has more advantage to female headed household; this is because the women can lend the ox and contribute labor in weeding and harvesting time to the male headed household who own ox. This way of sharing is locally called 'lifintiy'. With "lifintiy" system, households retain all of the products without going through sharecropping activities.

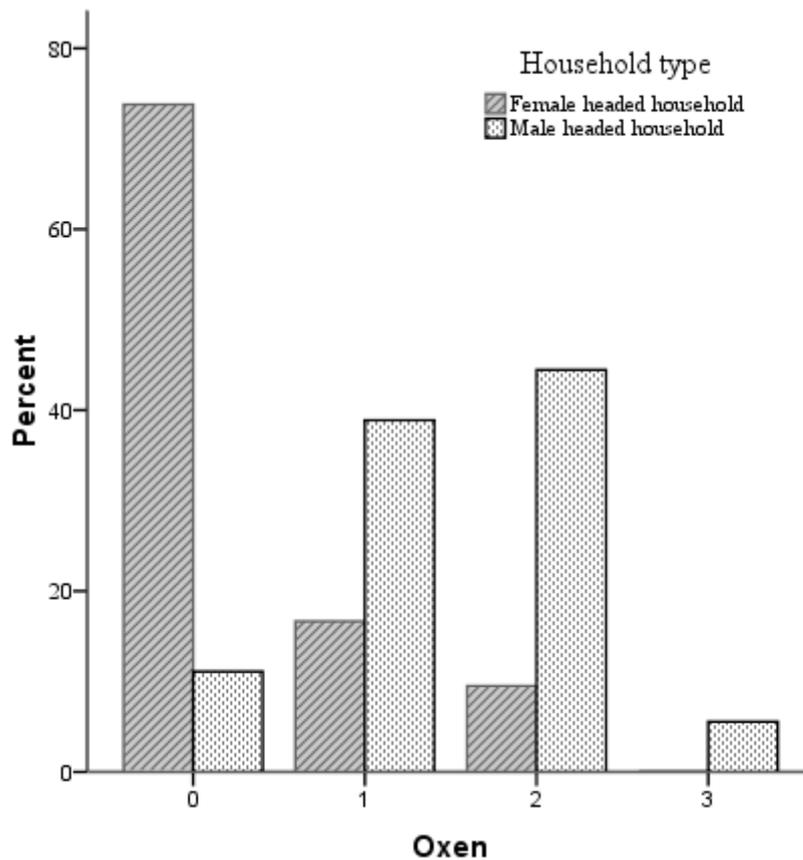


Figure 3. Percentage of oxen ownership versus household type

As it is discussed in the above paragraphs, both male and female headed households, are in shortage of oxen, but female headed households are worse off compared with male headed households. This indicates that male headed households are more advantages with regard to oxen ownership. This is in agreement with study done in Ethiopia by Kumar & Quisumbing (2010) where they found that female headed households in lack of resources mainly oxen and labor⁸. Studies done by many researchers' showed that vulnerability of female headed households to shocks and droughts are caused due to the lack of the resources they have particularly labor and oxen (Ataklt 2005; Teklu 2005; Kumar & Quisumbing 2010).

The women in female headed household being not able to plow because it is traditionally men's work, lack of labor and oxen contributes to less productivity. The result showed that female headed household gets at an average 3.04quintal (quintal=100 kg) crop yield comparing with the male headed household which is 4.21(Table 3). The difference in mean is

⁸ Research done in Tigray also showed the same trend. They found 62% of male headed households to own oxen compared with 17% of female headed households (Mirutse et al. 2006).

0.192, and it is statistically significant with ($p < 0.05$). Similar studies shows that comparing female headed households with male headed households with respect to labor endowments, female headed households are at disadvantage, especially as plowing by oxen is very labor intensive (Kumar & Quisumbing 2010), and the extreme disadvantages of the households to resources makes them food insecure (Frank 1999).

Table 3. Mean of land size, oxen, TLU, crop yield and total income

Physical Capital&				
Financial capitals	Unit	FHH	MHH	p-value
Land size	ha	0.61	0.74	0.076
Oxen	no	0.36	1.44	0.000
TLUs	-	1.16	2.38	0.306
Crop yield	Qtl	3.04	4.21	0.021
Total income	ETB	3235	5675	0.000

4.4.2. Livestock Ownership

Livestock ownership determines the livelihood status of households. It is found that households headed by men are better owners of different types of livestock (Table 4). This result is in line with (Mirutse et al. 2006). Donkey and horses are very important to be used for carrying of water and farm products, and it is very decisive to have at least one of those animals in areas where the market is very far, However, in this study area in both households, except 5.6% of the male headed households, drafting power animals for transport purposes are in scarce resources that render the capability of the households to get access to markets and resources. Especially, in female headed household, where they are the sole sources of labor, donkey is very crucial to make resources very accessible.

Animals such as sheep and goats are owned by both household but highly owned by male headed households (Table 4). This is probably because in male headed households there is high labor comparing with female headed households; for example children labor is used to shepherd of goats and sheep. Moreover, in both households' bee-colony and poultry is owned by few percentages of households. Still, Poultry and bee colony is owned more by male headed households. According to the regression analysis (Table 8), the contribution of bee colony is significant for the income of households. This is because the market value of honey is high. Bee colony can even be managed by household with shortage of labor. From accounts

of the informal and focus group discussions, it is also understood that the numbers of women who are adopting the technologies are increasing.

Table 4. Percentage of livestock ownership in female and male headed households

Livestock Type	FHH	MHH
Sheep and Goats	57.1	80.6
Cows	28.6	66.7
Oxen	26.2	83.3
Other cattle	11.9	19.4
Donkey	0	5.6
Horse	0	0
Poultry	61.9	72.2
Bee-colony	18.2	38.9

4.4.3. Access to Land

Land is the main focus of this research, therefore, with starting point all women who were included for this study owns land. But, the land that they own varies with household types and marital status. The average size of land in female headed household is 0.61 hectare, less than the average size of male headed household which is 0.74 hectare. However, the difference is not statistically significant. Higher percentage of female headed household own smaller sizes of land, which is 0.25-0.5 hectares comparing with male headed household where they holds bigger sizes of land (Figure 4). This is in accordance with Howard & Smith (2006) where they found male headed households to own bigger size of land compared with female headed households. Study done by Mirtuse et.al (2006) also found out 71% of female headed households to own less than 0.5ha compared with 50% of male headed households.

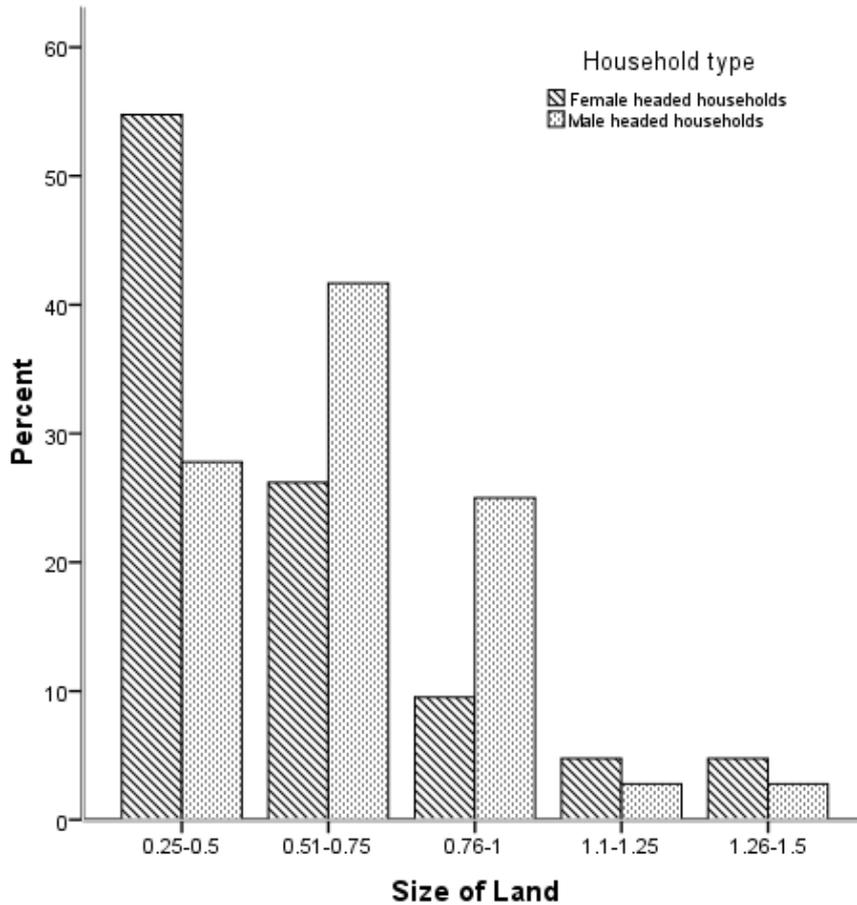


Figure 4. Size of land in female and male headed household

The mean size of land in widowed female headed household is almost equivalent to married households in male headed household which is 0.72ha. This is because widowed households keep and administer their deceased husband's land which makes their size of land bigger than the average size of land in female headed household. The result indicates that divorced women and unmarried women own less size of land comparing with both widowed and married women. In this study area, it is expected for female headed households to own less size of land compared with male headed households since 0.25ha (equivalent to half 'gibri') was given to individual adults during the land redistribution time (Beyene 2006).

4.5. Financial capitals

Financial capitals are one of the capital endowments that are important as livelihood strategies. This includes cash, credit/debt, savings, and other economic assets (Scoones 1998). The effective use of women's land is affected by different limiting factors including access to financial sources. (eg. Agarwal 2003; Bashaw 2005).

4.5.1. Access to Financial Resources

Agricultural credits are one of the important factors that determine the income of any given households. In this study, all women in both households have access to agricultural credits. The percentages of households taking loans for agricultural purposes are 64.3% and 63.9% in female and male headed households respectively. The difference is not statistically significant.

Both households take agricultural loans for the purpose of buying oxen, fertilizer, seed, cattle, bee colony, etc. However, as shown in the figure below, most of the female headed households took loans for bee colony and others where as higher percentage of male headed household take loans for the purpose of oxen. The percentage of female headed households is higher than male headed households in taking loans for the purpose of seeds, which is 52%. The probable reason for this is because the product they get after sharing with sharecropper is not enough to go through the whole year and there is not be any seed left to use for next production season. Teklu (2005) found lack of fertilizer and seed as one of the driving factor for the female headed households to give their land to a sharecropper.

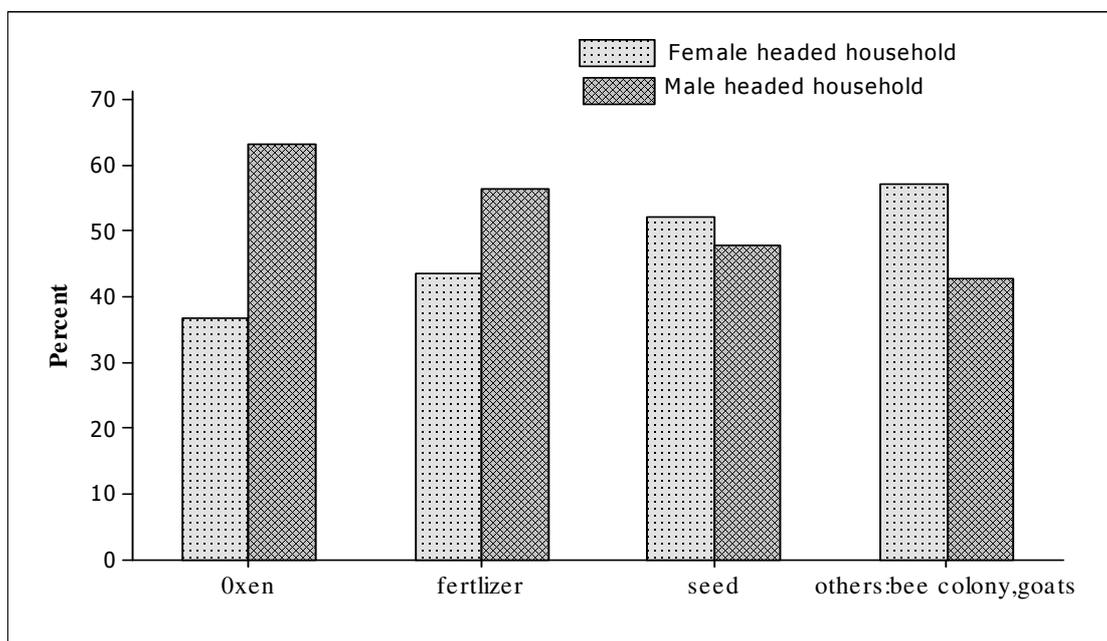


Figure 5. Purpose of loans versus household type in percentage

It is also assessed why the households are not taking loans while there are available credit sources. The main reason in both female and male headed household is the highest interest rate set by the credit institutions but higher in male headed households (Table 5), and the

difference is statistically insignificant with $p > 0.05$. According to the information got from the key informants, besides to the reason of high interest of the credit, most men have a better source of informal credit sources. Similarly Kumar & Quisumbing (2010) argued, male headed households can get access to credit from different sources as they have more social networks. The finding of the focus group discussion and the informal discussion showed the unavailability of many credit institutions and the rules in the credit institutions (for example, giving money to a group) are limiting the interest of the farmers not to borrow money. Fewer credit institutions are one of the problem mentioned in Amhara region (Yigremew 2001).

Table 5. Reasons for not taking agricultural loans in percentage

Reasons for not taking loans	FHH	MHH	χ^2	p- value
Highest interest rate	56.3	66.7	2.74	0.43
Afraid of loans	12.5	25.0		
Big members in one group	12.5	0		

In Muslim communities where Sharia laws are applicable, households are not willing to take loans. In this study, there were four Muslim women interviewed and all of them do not take loans because of the Sharia law. The Muslim who were interviewed and participated in the focus group discussion expresses their view about the Sharia law. The women believed that the Sharia law is affecting them from taking loans. If they take loan, they will be isolated; and some women did take loan and they got rejected by the religion leader. The women believed that taking loans from credit institutions would create a better way of living standard, however the interest rate and the religions are antagonistic each other and they have preferred not to take loans and stick to the religion.

4.5.2. Household incomes

Total household income is categorized into different types and different income source have different contribution to income and poverty reduction (Ellis 2000).

The most common sources of income to both household types are: on-farm, off-farm, and non-farm incomes. The on-farm, off-farm and non-farm incomes are defined according to the definition of the study places: On farm income is an income that is earned by the households working in his/her own farm from selling of animal products, vegetables, fruits and crops. Non-farm refers to an income source which is not farming sector but done in the compound of their own farm. As an example, selling of 'tella', local bear is considered as non

farming income sources. Whereas off farm income refers to an income earned working in another places. Income from activities like plowing other lands, food for work and employment wages (such as guarder at school and churches) is considered as off-farm income.

According to the results presented in Table 6, the average annual total income the female headed households earn is less compared with male headed households. The mean difference is significant between the two households ($p < 0.05$). The annual average income is also less in female headed households compared with male headed households in both on farm and off farm activities. The high incomes earned by male headed households are caused as men does labor intensive and highly paid jobs such as employment wages and also farming others land. As the result of this study showed high percentage of male headed household's does employment wages compared with female headed households, which is 75% and 25% respectively. The employment wage contributes high income to the household. The result of the focus group discussion showed female headed households are the sole responsible person and they cannot go far distance, for example to search for seasonal jobs and this contributes to the less income of the household.

Whereas the annual average income the female headed households earn from nonfarm income is relatively high and the high percentage of female headed households does the job compared with male headed households (Table 6). The reason for this could be it is because the activities are not labor demanding and most of it can be done at home while the women also do the reproductive and productive tasks such as cooking and care of children. However the activities are not high income earning sources.

Table 6. Mean income and contribution to total income female and male headed households

Types of income	FHH		MHH		p-value
	Mean income	Contribution to total income (%)	Mean income	Contribution to total income (%)	
On farm	1691	52	2469	43.5	0.01
Nonfarm	487	15	177	3.1	0.39
Off-farm	1067	33	3029	53.4	< 0.001
Total income	3235	100	5675	100	< 0.001

Income from only own farm is not enough for survival in both households, particularly for female headed households who already get half or two-third of their product as it is shared with the sharecropper. In both households, engaging in another source of income such as off farm or non farm income sources is vital for the survival of the household. Even with female households engaging in all sources of income, the total income they get is below 1USD per day. In this case female headed households are in more trap of poverty than male headed households. As many researchers findings showed that female headed households are vulnerable to shocks and poverty, and they lack human, capital and physical resources (Frank 1999; Atiklt 2005; Teklu 2005).

Table 7. Percentage of households doing off -farm and nonfarm income activities

Types of income	FHH	MHH	χ^2	P-Value
Non-farm	84.6	47.7	5.943	0.02
Off farm	53.2	46.8	0.02	

Household income is determined by the available natural, physical and human capital and financial resources available in the household. Resources such as land, livestock, and labor are the determinant factors for the income of households. In the regression equation all variables has positive contribution to the total income of the household and statistically significant (Table 8). As Scoones (1998) and Ellis (2000) explanation land as a central point of livelihood frame work analysis, human capital, physical capital and financial capitals are determinant factor for livelihood of households livelihood.

Table 8. Contribution of livelihood assets to the total income of households

Predictor	Coef	SE Coef	T	P
Constant	943.9	375.8	2.51	0.01
Family labor	308.4	104.2	2.96	0.004
Oxen	562.7	183.3	3.07	0.003
Total size (ha)	1135.6	471.5	2.41	0.02
Bee colony	404.9	156.3	2.59	0.01

S = 1337.72 R-Sq = 42.7% R-Sq(adj) = 40.3%

4. 6. Control over resources and land

4.6.1. Control over resources

Capability of individuals to what a 'person is capable of doing and being' (Sen A. cited in Chambers & Conway 1992) is vital for livelihood. Women's discrimination against plowing and the lack of accessible resources affects the effective use of rights to land (Agarwal 2003). Bashaw (2005) study revealed that households who have limited or no actual control over the produce of their land are found to be the poorest of the poor and women comprises the most.

Lack of resources mainly labor, oxen, and cultural taboos that restricts against women plowing are causing too many problems in both households. Particularly, female headed households are they are obliged to rent out their land which makes them not enjoying the benefit of rights to land. The finding of this study showed that the percentage of women who go for sharecropping is high in female headed household. Accordingly, 73.8% and 30.6% of households in female headed and male headed respectively goes for sharecropping-out of their land; and statistically the percentage difference is significant ($\chi^2= 14.6$, $p=0.000$). This result is in line with Mirtuse et.al (2006) research finding where they found out 72% of female headed households sharecropping-out their land as compared with 17% of male headed households. As finding of Howard & Smith (2006) showed the reasons for sharecropping out the land of female headed households is mainly lack of oxen and lack of labor (inability of women to plough or lack of men labor). Similar studies from Dokken (2007) also showed that, the probability of renting out land is higher in female headed households compared with male headed households; households with lack of oxen are the one who goes for rental market of land.

Hence, both households go for sharecropping⁹-out their land, 93.5 % of female headed and 87.7% of male headed households gets half of the production from their land. This result is accordance with many research findings (Howard & Smith 2006). This indicates that the lack of resources the households have causes an effect on the reduction of production they are supposed to get from the land. Particularly, female headed households are the victim hence

⁹ It is a system of cropping where the farmer gives his/her land to another farmers to share the product of the long together. The share of the product differs between the farmers and land owners. In this case, there is no any written agreement made between the land owner and the sharecropper and there is not also fixed agreement between them regarding supply of input and products (Source, own definition).

they are the one who sharecrop-out the most. As finding of Teklu (2005) study in Amhara region showed due to the economic vulnerability caused by losing half of the harvest most women leaves their village and reside in near town. Bashaw (2005) study revealed that women who have access to land are not able to use their land efficiently and effectively. The deprivation of poverty caused due to lack of resources both labor and oxen is pushed women to become innovators of solutions. As Waters-Bayer (2000) findings revealed women use donkey and ox and started plowing to overcome the food insecurity problem their household have.



PICTURE 2. Woman plowing with ox and donkey(Photo: Abay in Waters-Bayer (2000)).

Male headed households also sharecrop-out their land but the main reason for is not because of lack of oxen or labor (Table 9). The informal discussion and focus group discussion held also supports this. They expressed that men sharecrop- in the land of female headed households who lacks labor or oxen and sharecrop out their own land which is in far distance. Male headed households also lack labor and oxen but most of them don't go for sharecropping. This is because, if the male headed households lack oxen, the household borrow other households' oxen and make a pair of oxen; and lends their oxen to the other household who lacks one ox. This labor - oxen sharing way of farming resolve the shortage of resources that male headed households have enable them to retain all of the farm products.

Female headed households with no oxen are the more disadvantages one as they lack both labor and oxen resources, and in this case the female headed households are completely dependent of other peoples both labor and resources, such as oxen. As women's explanation during focus group discussion and household interview showed that if female headed household contributes labor to the land with the sharecropper, they do not get small share or full share of straw from land. This is because the women labor during harvesting and weeding

is regarded as weak labor. However, male headed households get half share or even full share of straw. This finding is in line with Frank (1999) where she found out that male headed households retain the straw from the land as their labor is considered as strong labor that can contribute ‘strong ‘labor such as roofing or masonry.

Table 9. Reasons for sharecropping out versus household types

Reason for sharecropping out	FHH	MHH
Lack of oxen	90.0	5.0
Lack of Labour	83.3	10.0
Lack of input	43.3	14.3
Remoteness	6.7	42.9

Lack of input is also one of the reasons that obliged households to sharecrop out their land, but not the main reason in both household types. The finding of Howard & Smith(2006) showed in addition to the lack of oxen and labor, 18.6% of the female headed households sharecropped out their land due to lack of fertilizer. During sharecropping-out the land, 32.3% covers input in female headed households and 63.6% in male headed households. It is expect that contributing input to the sharecropper would help the households to increase the share of the product they get from their land. As Teklu (2005) found out that contributing inputs such as fertilizer and seed increases the share of harvest that the household get with the sharecropper.

4.6.2. Women’s Negotiation power with sharecroppers.

As most of the female headed households are dependent on male labor, they were asked if it is difficult to find sharecroppers to farm their land. They all have responded that it is not difficult to get as there is ideal labor and oxen after men plowing their own small size of land. Rather, the women’s concern is negotiation power with the sharecropper on the share of the product of the land and the input to use on the land. This is explained by the bureau of the woman affairs of both districts as follows:

“In most cases the sharecropper has oxen and labor, and in some cases input. Therefore, the share of the crop is decided by the sharecropper. In this case, it is half share of the crop and no straws. The woman wants to get two third of the crop and straw, if they contribute labor and input. However, the sharecroppers are not willing to do that. Therefore, the sharecroppers take half share of the crop and the whole

residues, such as straw. The sharecroppers argue with the land owners that the straw is a feed for the oxen. 'They said to the women that how can I plough your land, if I don't feed my oxen'." (Women Affairs Office, Kolatenbein).

Lack of purchasing power of the women for inputs, such as fertilizer and seeds mainly contributes to the reason why the women are not contributing inputs to their land together with the sharecropper. This comprises 89.5% of the reasons. Thus, lack of purchasing power limits the women's share from the produce of the land. Besides to the lack of purchasing power, the women raise an issue that should not be ignored. The outcome comes from informal interview with households and from focus group discussion showed that the women wants to provide seed and fertilizer to the sharecropper but the sharecropper wants to take straw and then they do not come with an agreement to be provided with agricultural input. As one woman explanation showed that "If I supply input I would have got large amount of the share and also straws. But the sharecropper mostly comes with their own interest of taking the straw and ignoring my interest" (woman from Kola-tenbeien). It is understood from the discussion with women affairs office and the women; they want to contribute more labor and supply to the farm. The contribution of labor and supply of input would help them to get the straw so that they can sell it and get more money and also feed their cow which has a better contribution to their livelihood.

Plowing land on time is very crucial for farming system which is highly dependent on rain; particularly in Tigray where the rain duration is very short and unevenly distributed. However, women who sharecrop-out their land to the sharecropper find sometimes the land not ploughed and in some cases when the sharecropper get sick they find their land being uncultivated. Households who experienced of their land being uncultivated are all female headed household (11.9%) while there is no anyone (0%) in male headed household. Similar study from Amhara region showed the land of female headed households not being cultivated as timing of plowing and sowing passes when a dispute happened between the land owners and the sharecropper (Teklu 2005). Other similar study also showed that women dependence of women on male labor causes conflict between land owners and labor due high demand of produce, break of agreements and late start of plowing by a sharecropper (Bashaw 2005)

Hence, the land of the households is not cultivated and it is expected that the women face many problem as consequences. Even the share of crop they get from the sharecropper is not enough to feed one household. The cope up strategy that the women' use is to engage

themselves in other activities and go to community leaders for food aid and other support. Therefore, in this study area it is found out that 60%, 20% and 20% of female headed household go to community leaders for help, borrow food from neighbors and friends, and do other tasks such as food for work, respectively. The percentage of households who are dependent on relief aid is high in female headed households, which is 60% comparing with the 40% in male headed households and difference is statistically significant. The probable explanation for high percentage of dependency rate on relief aid in female headed household is their land being not cultivated on time which is making them more vulnerable to food insufficiency and in general poverty. This study is in line with Frank (1999) where she finds that female headed household's face food shortage as their land being not cultivated on time.

4.6.3. Land claim during divorce.

Most of the women know that they can get their share of land during divorce and article 42 of the Ethiopian constitution clearly states the equal right of both men and women. According to the result of this study, 95.1% and 100% of women in female and male headed households respectively are aware of their right and they know they can claim the share of their land during divorce. Dokken (2007) has also found out that 91% men and 90% of women are aware of their constitutional right during divorce. In fact they know the law and the laws support them, in practice the women faces lots of problem to claim their land. As the outcome of the focus group discussion showed most of the time a resistance comes from the men to get their share of the land and due to this the women spend their precious time on court. According to the women focus group discussion and the information got from different key informants, the resistance mainly comes as the land registration; particularly the certificate is not clearly stated and defined the individual of the land holder's names (more on certificates in the next sub section).

The women in the focus group discussion also believed lack of legal court system, lack of financial capital to get lawyer and lack of information about court systems affects them in order to claim their land during divorce and dispute with neighbors¹⁰. The other main problem

¹⁰ This study is similar with studies done in Amhara region by Teklu (2005). She finds out that women find it hard to claim their land because of lack of information on legal procedures and also because of physical and financial inability. According to her even when women are aware of the legal procedures and legal services and resources are available, the legal services are dominated by women and it suppresses women's rights. And, because of this women prefer to solve their land issues with through local elders; in most cases the local elders 'tend to weaken women's rights by influencing them to settle for fewer benefits than they are entitled to by law'

is that if land conflicts not resolved in Tabia (Village), the cases transferred to zone, which is the bigger municipality above district. In this case, for anybody who has unresolved land an issue, going to Zone is very time and money consuming. The court structure and clearly undefined certificates have become the main constraints that restrict women to claim the land. In some cases, as the women from the focus group discussion explanation showed that the women preferred to settle down disputes with elders as it is hard to travel longer distances with their financial and resources incapability. As per Agarwal (1994:19) argument on the theory part of this paper showed in order to claim land the rights to the land has to be recognized by the society and legally, and it has to be enforced by external laws. In this case, the lack of certificates is making the women's right to claim land difficult. As their explanation, in some cases, the women are disadvantaged in claiming their land. A case from Kola-Tenbeien gives more illustration:

“The woman has land together with her husband and the couples start divorcing. They went to court and the woman claims to get her land from the husband. The judge could not make any decision and the case transferred to Zone. The case took three years to get the decision. This means the woman went to Zone many times. The main problem that was in this case was the name of the woman and the quality of the land wasn't registered on the certificate. The husband tired to claim to get the good quality of the land and the women wants too. At the end the judgment was sent back to district desk land administration office. The district desk of land Administration took the cases and uses the older people who were land distributors at the time of redistribution as witness. In most cases, the certificate does not help to solve problems as the quality of the certificate is very poor”. (Wereda women's Affairs Bureau).

4.6.4. Land Security

In Tigray, the registration and certification of land was undertaken in 1998/1999. The name of the owner, size of hectare, border of the land and quality of the land is supposed to appear in the certificate but in most cases the certificate does not included all of it. In this study, in female headed households, the certificate is registered in the name of the women as the woman is the head of the household, except in some households without land certificate as certification has stopped for a while in the region. But in male headed households, the name of the household head is registered, which is the husband. In most of the male headed households an indication of the women ownership is not given to the women. However, if the women got land before she got married; there is two certificates in the household- one for the

husband and one for the wife. The finding of this study showed that the percentage of women with certificates are 85.8% in female headed households and 27.8% in male headed households ($\chi^2=26.2$). The difference in percentage of women with certificates is significant with $p<0.001$.



PICTURE 3. Women in Female headed household holding a land certificate

An analysis was made to find out the women's sense of ownership to the land to those without land certificates. The results showed that 85.2% and 33.3% women in male headed and female headed households respectively ($\chi^2=207.2$, $p=0.007$), have a sense of ownership to their land even though their name doesn't appear on the certificate. The probable reason for high sense of ownership in percentage in male headed household is because the household at least have one certificate given to the head of the household whereas in female headed household there is no certificate in the household. The certificates in the household recognizes the land right of the household by the state and society. This is a possible explanation for high percentage of women with sense of ownership to the land in male headed household. The women in male headed households believed that even when their name does not appear in the certificate they believe the land is theirs. But as there is no certificate given to women in female headed households (14.6% of the female headed household have no certificates), the women have less sense of ownership to the land.

Entitlement of the land through land certificates guarantees the right of owner to access, and usufruct rights, and transfer rights and the lack of individual certificates to the land owner effect cannot be ignored and it is discussed below. Women in male headed households while

they are in marriage are not very much concerned about the certificate. They have believed that the household is unitary structure and they have accepted the land to be registered by the husband names. The number of women who have asked the administrator for their name to appear on the certificate are less in percentage in male headed households comparing with women in female headed households, which is 11.1% and 50%, respectively (with $p < 0.05$). This could be explained by the fact that the male headed households have at least one certificate given to the male partner that shows the recognition of the land of the household by the state.

Women in both households were asked if they would face challenges because of lack of certificate, 33.3% and 3.7% were answered they would face challenges in female and male headed households, respectively. The difference is statistically significant with $p < 0.05$. One of the main challenges is dispute with neighbors due to borders. Similar studies done by Menan (2007) showed the implementation of certificates to farmers has reduced the conflicts between farmers. According to Menan (2007) results, 94% of interviewed farmers believe that conflicts have reduced after the implementation of the land certificates.

As it is discussed in before the women are aware of their constitutional right in both male headed household and female headed households, 53% and 48%, respectively thinks that it is not easy to get their share of land during divorce due to lack of clearly indicated ownership entitlement on the certificate but the difference is statistically insignificant with $p > 0.05$. As divorced women's experience shows that due to absence of the women's name on the certificate; the women suffered a lot to get their land from their husband. The women's explanation is that to get their land from the husband they have to get witnesses who were land distributors during land redistribution time. The women in male headed households also afraid as they have seen women suffered during divorce. The women explained, if the land certificate could have been given to individuals, it would have been very easy to deal with problems during divorce. Agarwal argument showed that women rights to inherit land have to be in practice since it is also placed in paper and the legal rights should also get recognition by the society (Agarwal 1994; Agarwal 2002). Results from Menan (2007) showed both men and women prefers to have clear certificate for name of both couples upper on the certificates in order to avoid conflicts over land during divorce. In Holden & Tefera(2008) findings stated that clearly defined name of the owners on the certificates have a significant effect on the women decisions power during divorce.

The study tried to assess if the lack of certificates has an impact in tenure security of the land for the women to trust the sharecropper. It has not been mentioned in the focus group discussion held with women and men if the land certificates affect towards trusting the sharecropper. The women believed that they can give their land to anyone who is clever and be trusted to plough their land properly. It does not seem that the lack of certificate has an impact in sharecropping out lands. Similar studies done by Segers et al. (2010) showed that certificate does not have any effect on the land market behavior of farmers. In contrast to Segers findings Holden et al. (2007) and Holden et al.(2009) finds out that, female heads of households in Tigray were more likely to sharecrop-out due to tenure security after receiving the certification of land.

4.6.5. Inheritance laws and land transfer laws

The FDRE constitution declares the equal right of women to inherit land (article 37/7). The women were asked if they know the existing inheritance laws and if they know they can give their land as inheritance. Out of the total households, 97% of female headed and 98% of women in male headed households they know they can inherit their land. The women believed the existing land rights improved the inheritance right to children (boys and girls). Tigray region land administration proclamation enacted in Tigray region in 2000 stated that land should not allocated below 0.25ha and the immediate (child and grandchild) family or adopt child and a person who stayed in the land holder's house and served as helpers of the individual land holders can inherit land. The land only be shared or given to people who are in need of land. For example a person who has other means of income or resides in another town with employment cannot inherit the land of his/her parents. The proclamation also stated widowed women to have the right to use and administer the land of their deceased husbands.

Moreover, the 2000 proclamation stated that if a person is not residing in areas where he/she has land for more than two years the land should be taken by the municipality and given to others who are in need of it. However, exceptional rules are stated made by Tigray land administration in 2000 for women who get married in others areas. Thus women's land can use their land until they get land in areas where they moved because of marriage.

4.7. Perception of households and societies towards plowing

In Ethiopia in general and specifically in Tigray plowing of farm by oxen has been the sole task of men but women do help the men in providing food to the field and also other helps

such as trashing (Frank 1999). The plowing task has been considered as a forbidden task that should not be done by women and it has been considered as one of the cultural taboos that discriminates women, and as Frank (1999) explained the plowing task perceived to be too exhausting. There are women who have started plowing, but plowing still perceived as men tasks which is discriminatory to women and also as tough task for women. This trend has continued in the country. As women have started plowing to break the cycle of cultural taboos¹¹, both women and men were asked see the change in perception. The women were asked if they are interested to plow if they were given training in plowing and also oxen. Accordingly, 93 % of women in female headed household and 71% in male headed household are not interested to plough. The reasons for the women not interested in plowing are both cultural in acceptance (cultural taboos) and toughness of the task (physical inability). Figure 5 indicates that toughness of the task is the main reason for women not to plough ($p < 0.05$).

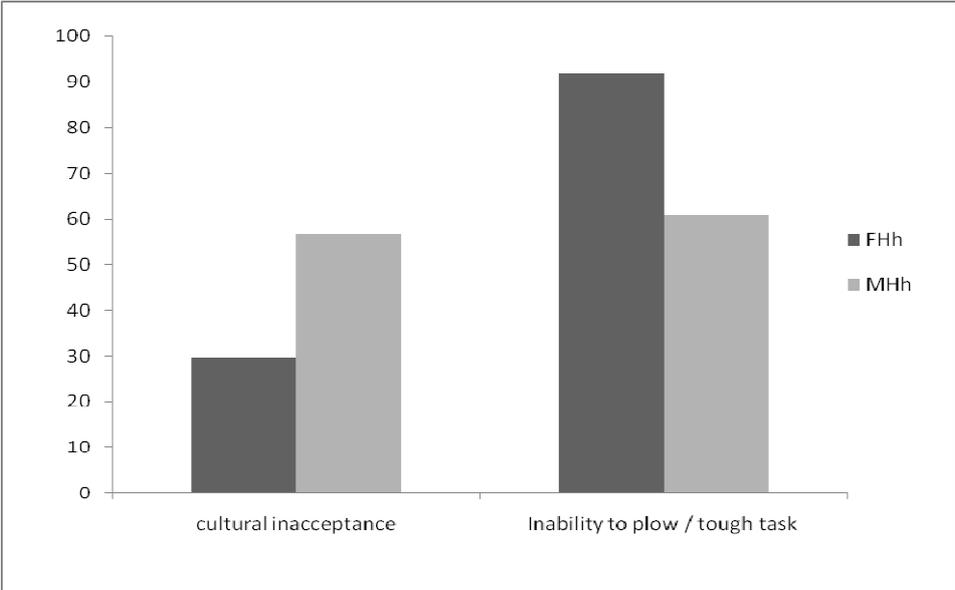


Figure 6. Reasons for not interested in plowing in percentage

The result of this study also showed that there are no any women in female headed households (0%) who think their society can be a problem if they start plowing, where as in male headed households (22%) think that the society wouldn't accept positively. This result could indicate the cultural taboo that restricts women is being changed and accepted women to plow. Male in focus group discussion also supports this result:

¹¹ See case study from a women who has started plowing

“We don’t have problems with women plowing. It was a problem in old ages but after the project was introduced during civil war between TPLF and Derg, women’s plowing has been accepted. Sometimes, we feel sorry when we see our sister’s land being given to a sharecropper”.

In spite of the fact that plowing of land by women start being accepted by the society and the women themselves, the task of plowing is being very tough to the women. This is not because the women are physically unfit to the task of plowing it is rather the task is very hard for women who are already being carrying the burden of the household. As the output of the women focus group shows, the task is particularly a burden for women in female headed households. This could be explained by the fact that the women are already the sole responsible person in taking care of their family. According to the TPLF and WAT office information (Annex-1) women started to plow their farm and later they stop doing it. Wanyeki (2003) also revealed that women joined the TPLF army performed plowing tasks and later after the end of the war changed to the old believes and practices (Wanyeki 2003). The reason was after coming from work there was not anyone who could take care of the house and there was even anyone who could provide them with food. “As one woman explanation shows that I plowed my land for three consecutive years and I stopped. With the reproductive, productive and social roles I have the task was very tough on me; I even got sick” (Women from Kola -Tenbeien) (Annex 2). Overall, the result of this study showed cultural taboos against women plowing by oxen has changed but the women found the job as very tough task that cannot be easily done by women who have lots of responsibilities in the household. This finding is in contrast with Frank (1999) where she found that inability of women plowing is based more on cultural perceptions than on actual physical inability.

Case Study 1: **Breaking the Norms**

Berhe Aregawi is a widowed woman who started plowing her land with oxen in 2006. She is 24 years old and has two girls. Berhe has a smaller size of land which is 0.25ha which she got it as inheritance from her parents. Both Berhe and her late husband did not have their own land to use for farming and for survival they were farming other people's farm as sharecroppers. As Berhe's explanation the deceased husband hated being in a trap of poverty and being dependent by staying with their parent's family and as a solution he decided to migrate to Arab countries for a better way of living. On the way to the journey, Berhe' husband died and life becomes even more harsh to Berhe as she becomes the sole responsible person for her family.

As cultural norms restrict women from plowing their land, Berhe was sharecropping out her land to men who has both labour and oxen. The share of the products she gets was not enough to feed her and her family. Berhe becomes very concerned about way of survival. One day in informal communication with Development agents she heard that women have started plowing and she showed her interest to plow. After a while she was told that she can be trained in plowing and she plows her land since 2006. Berhe had only one ox and to plow her land she used to borrow from others. But now she has two oxen and labour, and she calls herself a rich farmer with endowed resources, such as oxen and labour.



Berhe has become one of the model farmers in plowing and also in adopting new technologies to her farm. Since 2006 Berhe never give her land to be plowed by men. The fascinating story of Berhe is that she even plows other people farm with half share of products and maximizes her source of income. Berhe has an irrigated land which she grows mostly cabbage. She earns around 8000 ETB from her own land and around 4000 from other people land. She explains that she is now benefiting from her land and changed her well being.

Berhe has not ignore the fact that plowing is a very though job. She acknowledges the fact the task is very tough for women in female headed households as they are the only one who are responsible to take care of the family. In her case she believes she gets lots of help from her sister who lives with her, so she does not think of getting something to eat when she comes from plowing her farm or other people farm. She also stresses the fact that to sharecrop-in other farms people does not think she has the same ability and skill as men. But she said after seeing her plowing they change their mind.

Picture 4. Berhe Aregawi, Plowing her land in Gulo-Mekeda Wereda. Photo. Mebrat (2008)

5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Rights to land determine the decision-power of women in the society and in the household, and it also determines their social and economic well being. This study has tried to assess the importance of land ownership on the livelihood of women, and the main constraints the women face in relation to access and control over resources and land. The land redistribution undertaken in Tigray has given women equal opportunity to be land holders.

The land rights to women have improved their social, economic and empowerment status. Women who did not have land before believed that the land redistribution breaks the cycle of being a tenant. They are able to earn an income that they did not have before. The perception of the women revealed that they can produce at least something out of the land even though the production is limited. The limitations are due to lack of non land resources, such as labor and oxen, and environmental effects. Women in both (female headed and male headed) households have stressed the significance of the land for the economic source is very important as land is a prerequisite to engage themselves in other income diversifying activities.

Moreover, particularly female headed households who did not even have the access to land through ancestral land or husbands in the last regimes believed the land rights they have now have given them the more confidence within their society and household and it has helped them to develop their self- esteem and more bargaining power. A majority (65%) of women in male headed households believed the rights to land have contributed to increased bargaining power in the household. Besides, women in both households have felt that independent land right in the household has made it easier to claim their part during divorce, thus their bargaining power has also increased. The women also realized that land is a human right issue and they changed their perception towards the daughter and sons inheritance rights. The land rights give the equal right of both male and female children to inherit land from their parents. The women independent land rights has also contributed to the empowerment of women in Tigray. The women believed that because of the change of the land reform undertaken, they have developed the confidence to speak out and challenge the norms particularly to change the gender disparities they have.

In spite of the fact that the women have economic, social and equally and empowerment changes, they have been not able to enjoy the ultimate benefit of the rights to land. The

households, particularly female headed households, lack non land resources, oxen, and labor and credit facilities. Comparing the land size of male and female headed households, female headed own less size on average but this is not discriminatory against household type as land is given to the individual in the household who were grown up to receive land. In terms of access to labor, oxen, and livestock ownership female headed households are disadvantaged, compared with male headed households. They both lack the supplementary resources in order to efficiently use their land but female headed are the worst in terms of non land resources. The results of the regression results showed the significance of the land size, oxen and labor as a determinant factor for the income of the households. Comparing both households, female headed households earn less income than male headed households.

The access to resources of the households has affected the control over produce of women's land. Higher percentages of female headed households go for sharecropping compared with male headed households and losses of more than half of their harvest due to lack of oxen, labor, physical inability and cultural norms. Male headed have a better option to find for solutions when they are in lack of resources, and those who give out their land to sharecroppers give the land in remote areas. The female headed households are found to be in worst scenarios when the land is not cultivated as sharecroppers get sick. Thus, households are being forced to go for community help and the lack of resources make them food insecure and trapped in poverty.

The deprivation of poverty and women not being able to enjoy the benefit of their land forced women to break the cultural norms that render women from plowing their land. There is a change in acceptance to see women plowing lands but the task itself is a burden (adding to the many tasks women are already carrying out. The way of farming by itself is recognized as one of the difficult task that affects the women not to be able to plough and have control over produce of land.

Women in Tigray know the constitutional rights, e.g. that they have to get their share of land during a divorce. In practice, however, lots of women experienced problems in claiming their land due to lack of legal court system, lack of clear documentation and lack of financial ability of the women to get a lawyer. Lack of independent certificates to the land determines the women control right to the land. Women in female headed households have an independent certificate to the land but not most women in male headed households. This has an impact on the women's control over land during divorce and dispute with neighbors.

Women in both male and female headed households perceives the land certificates helps to avoid conflicts with neighbors and increases the claim over land during divorce. The women prefer to have individual certificates to be given to individual land holders inside the household.

Women's land rights have played an important role to break the norms which restricts the equal right of women to claim land through inheritance and upon divorce, as well as it improved the economic, social and empowerment status of women in the households and the society. However, their economic change that helps for better livelihood of women (particularly female headed households) is being challenged by the fact that these households, are in shortage of resources such as non-land resources that restricts the efficient and effective use of their land. Besides, their claim right over land is also challenged by legal issues that commonly limit their claim over land.

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APPENDCIES

Appendix 1. Information from WAT and Woman from Kolatenbeien

The information I got from TPLF office and WAT support my results. Plowing of farm by oxen have had been the sole task of male for many century. Women normally help the man by providing food to the husband and also helping with miscellaneous plowing. Woman in Tigray started plowing during the fight between TPLF and Derg. According to the WAT, around 400 women who sent their husband to the war were trained on plowing. The main objective of the training was to help the shortage of labor in households without husbands so that the household would secure their survival. However, the number of women who trained stops plowing gradually and today there are less than 20 women who plough their land. The main reason for this is not the women being afraid of the society; plowing of land by women has been accepted by the society. However, the women found the task of plowing being very labor demanding and as the women are also responsible to the other task of the household, such as child care, cooking and others, the women stopped plowing rather preferred to be dependent of others labor(Information from WAT).

In my filed interview and focus group discussion, I found women who ploughed their land for some times. According to their feelings, plowing by oxen is not an easy task for a woman who has lots of other responsibilities. A one woman expression gives details:

“I started plowing when I heard women started plowing in another places. I ploughed my land for three years and then I stopped. The reason is it is because after plowing, I felt tired. It is normal to get tired after doing something but mine was different. If it was a man who ploughed, women (their wife provide them with food and after plowing they come home and take rest. However, after I come home, there is no anyone who can give me food and let me rest and take care of the house. I am the only one who is the sole responsible person for the house. After, realizing that it is a stressing job, I stop plowing and find another way, like sharecropping out my land”. (Woman from Atakleti Tabia, Kolatenbeien)

Appendix 2. Questionnaires for Household Interview

Name of respondent _____

Wereda _____

Tabia _____

Kushet _____

Name of Enumerator: _____

1. Household information

1.1 Sex _____ Age _____ Type of household _____ Family size _____

1.2. Marital status: A widow____(1)____A divorced____(2)____Married women(3)_____Single_____

1.3. How many of the family members are involved in the family labour? _____

2. How did you get your land?

As inheritance_(1)_____Redistribution_(2)_____As a gift(3)_____Shareholder during divorce.....(4).....

3. There was land re- distribution under taken in three rounds, which round of the redistribution did you get your land? _____When did you get land? (Year)_____

4. Did you have land even before the redistribution was undertaken? Yes(1)____No(2)_____

4.1. How many hectares was it? _____

4.2. List the land you have in terms of size, fertility and slope

Plot number one	How many hectares if land do you have	Distance from your house	When did you get the land (year or round)	Quality of the land L, R, M	Slope of the land, M, D, G	Remarks

NB. M-Makelay, R-requeke, L lemuae and L- M-meda, D-daget, G-gedele

5. List the asset you own:

Assets		In 2007	During recent drought year (2002)	10 years ago	Remarks
Livestock	Cattle				
	Sheep and goats				
	Oxen				
	Horse				
	Poultry				
	Bee Colony				
Land	Cultivated				
	Grazing private				
	Irrigation				
	Grazing communal				
Labour	Family labour				
	Hired labour				

6. What do you grow in your land, what did you get from your land in different year, if you can please give us in detail if not the average that you got or you get annually?

Type of crops, fruits or vegetables	Hectare of land	What did you get in 2002	What did you get in 2006	What were you getting before you got the land ()	Remarks
Vegetables					
Fruits					
Cereals					
Honey					
Poultry					
Skin					
Hide					
Live Animals					
Milk and Butter					
Others					
Others					
Total income					

6. What economic, social and political changes you think you have achieved after you have being a landowner? Tell in detail. For example, what economic source did you have before you got the land?

6.1. You think you got more respect within your household or society?

6.1.1. Do you think the respect came because of the equal right of land?

6.2. Can you list down some of the social changes you have achieved?

6.2.1. If you had land before, what do you think the difference with existing land right?

6.3. Does the new right to land help you to claim your right during divorce? Or is it the same?

6.4. Do you think that the rights to land that you have now increases the women's bargaining power in the society and household? Yes.....No.....

6.5. As you are a landholder together with your husband, do you decide together with your husband what to do to your land?
No.....Yes.....No comment

6.6. This *question is for female-headed household*: Do you think that you would get a husband because you hold a land? Yes...1.....No...4...

6.7. What it means ownership right for you?

6.8. What is your feeling as *being equal land owners like men*?

7. Non-farm Activities

7.1. Do you have other source of income other than on farm activities?

Yes(1)_____ No(2)_____

7.1.1. If yes, would you please specify? For example

Employment wage (in Birr) _____1

Food for work/cash for work: List the amount you get per month in Birr or Kg _____2

Remittance(Birr/year) _____3_

Others.....4

7.1.2. If no, why did you choose to work only on the farm?

7.2 Do you involve in Non-farm activities? Yes___(1)No___(2)

7.2.1. If yes, list off-Farm activities

Activities	Income earned per year in Birr	Total days worked by the household	Total hired labour used		Do you have a grown up child that who can share labour? If yes please specify the total hours that he worked
			Total days worked	Paid wage in birr	
Weaving					
Milling					
Handcraft including pottery					
Trade in grain					
Trade in livestock					
Traditional; healer					
Transport by pack animal including selling salt					
Selling cactus					
Selling wood and charcoal					
Selling tela, kolo, and injera					

7.2.2. Why did you also choose to work on both on and off farm activities?

.....

8. Do you receive relief aid? Yes....1/No.....2.

8.1. For how many monthsamount of grain(kg)-----oil(liter).....

9. Sharecropping ploughing ability, input and credit questions

9.1. Do you plough your land yourself?

Yes(1)...No(2)

9.1.1 If no, who does plough your land?

-

Family...1.....Neighborhood.....2....Friend.....3.....Husband.....4.....child.....5..No
ne...6.....

9.1.2. If the assistance from family, Neighborhood or friend, is absent or not satisfactory what do you do with your land?

-Rent.....1....-Sharecropping...2..... -Labor sharing.....3..... Hired
labor.....4.....None....5

9.1.2.1.If you hired labor, how much do you pay per tsmdi.....Birr for plowing and
..... Birr for harvesting?

9.1.2.2.If you rent your land how much do you get per year per tsmdi?.....Birr
or.....Quental

9.2. If you give your land for sharecropping, what is the agreement in relation produce share?

Half share...1.....

Two third ...2.....

Three fourth...3.....

Other.....4..... Specify...5.....

9.3 Do you get straw when you give your land for sharecropper? Yes.....(1)No....(2).

9.4. If the answer for Q9.3 is No go to the next question. If you get straw(residue), what is the agreement in relation to seed and fertilizer?

You cover total cost...1....

Half share of fertilizer...2....

Half straw of seed.....3....

You cover the total cost for seed...4...

You cover the total cost for fertilizer...5....

9.5 If you give your land for sharecropping, what is the agreement in relation production process (seeds, fertilizer, oxen, weeding, harvesting, etc.)?

Seeds_____

Fertilizer:_____

Weeding:_____

Harvesting

9.6. What are the reasons behind for sharecropping?

-Remoteness_____1

-Lack of oxen _____2

-Lack of labor_____3

-Lack of input_____4

-Land of very poor quality____5

- others (specify)_____6

9.7. Do you give your land for many sharecroppers? Yes __ (1) No __ (2),

For how many?

.....

9.8. *Is there a year or years that you didn't get a sharecropper? Yes ___1 or No ___2*

9.8.1. *If yes, could you please specify the reasons*

- *Nobody wants to sharecrop my land*_____

9.9. Do you cover the total cost of the input? Yes(1)---No-----2

If no, what is the reason that you cannot cover the cost of it?

-Lack of access to get the input...1....

-Lack of purchasing power.....2

-Lack of knowledge3

9.10. Do you check up your land when you give for share crop?

Yes..... 1 or No.....2.

9.10.1. If yes, at what time?

-At weeding.....1...at harvesting.....2..... very regularly.....3

Never..... 4...Other...5....

9.11. Do you sharecrop in other persons land? Yes.....1..No...2....

9.11.1 If yes, how many quintals do you get per year?

In good year.....

In drought year.....

9.11.2. How many belle of straw do you get per year?

In good production year.....

In drought year.....

9.12. Do you have access to credit services? Yes...1..No.....2..

9.12.1 If yes, do you borrow money for agricultural inputs? Yes__1_No_2_

9.12.1.1 If yes, please specify for what purpose you borrowed the money?

-To buy oxen.....1

-To buy fertilizer.....2

-To buy seeds...3

-Others.....4

9.12.1.2. If no, why?

Lack of information ...1..... Highest interest rate...2.....

Isolation by the society.....3..... The institution system (many members in a group...4.....

Lack of mortgage...5..... Sharia law.....6..... Afraid of loans.....7

Others.....8.....

10. Do you have labor sharing arrangement? Yes.....1.....No...2.....

10.1 .If you have a labor sharing arrangement, can you specify which type of labor sharing arrangement you go through?

Lifintiy____1____. Lekah beeray__2____Ofera__3_____

11. Is there any cultural or social constraint that you cannot rent out your land or sharecrop out your land? Yes...1.....No.....2

Can you be specific?

12. Challenges

12.1. Have your land never been left not cultivated? Yes__(1)No__(2)

If yes, specify the reasons

12.1.1.If your land is not cultivated because of constraints, what do you do?

-Go to community leaders and ask for food aid...1.....

-You borrow food.....2

-You go outside your community and get a job.....3...

-Others.....4.....Specify.....5.....

12.2. What cultural and social constraints do you face by being a female-headed household?

-Lack of oxen.....1.....1....Lack of information to new development.....2

-Lack of credit facilities.....3.Lack of labor.....4

-Others.....5.Specify.....

12.3. If you could have oxen or given training in plowing would you plough yourself?

Yes....1/No....2

If No, what is the reason?

-Cultural in acceptance.....1.....Inability to plough.....2...

-Others...3.... Specify.....4

12.3.1. If yes, do you think you would face a problem by the society? Yes....1.No.....2

12.4. *If you are ploughing your land, what challenges do you face from the society?*

13. Constitutional law

13.1 As a landowner do you think you would get your share of land during divorce?

Yes...1..No...2...

13.1.1.If no, what are the main reasons?

-Lack of legal system...1.....

-Lack of knowledge about the court system.....2.....

-Injustice in the court3.....

-Lack of capability (money to get a lawyer).....4.....

- Reluctance of local administration in the interpretation of the law

Others.....5...specify.....

13.2. Do you even know that as constitutional right women can share their share of land during divorce? Yes...1...No...2....

13.3. If you have got your share of land through divorce, did you have problems to get your land? Yes...1No....2

13.4. If your answer is Yes to question...what do you think the problem is?

13.5. As constitutional right women can inherit their land to their daughter or boy; do you think that you can inherit your land? Yes.....1.....No.....2

13.6. Have you ever inherited your land to your children? Yes.....1.....No.....2.

13.7. If you have a smaller hectare of land and children who are boys and girls, for whom could you inherit your land?

To your boy...1.....your girl.....2... Both...3...

Why?.....

14. Land registration and certificate

14.1. Is the land you have own registered by your name in the certificate? Yes...1.....No.....2.....

14.2. If no, what are the reasons that your name is not registered?
.....

14.3 If no, have you ever asked the responsible body to get your name registered on the certificate together with your husband? Yes.....1/No.....2

14.4 Because your name has not been written in the certificate, do you feel sense of ownership (Yes.....1/No.....2) or face challenges? Yes...1.....No.....2.

Please specify the challenges.....

15. Land tenure security

15.1. Do you feel tenure security because you have land entitlement or certificate?

Yes...1.....No.....2.....No comment.....3.....

15.2. Do you think the certificate can help to solve problems during land dispute?

Yes...1.....No.....2.....No comment.....3

15.3. For Male headed household: Do you think that the certificate that is registered with your husband name can help you to get your share of land during divorce?

Yes.....1.....No...2.....I do no...3.....No comment.....4...

15.4. This *question is for female-headed household*: Do you think that you would get a husband because you hold a land? Yes...1.....No...4...

15.5. Do you think it is not easy to get share of your land because you don't have land certificate?

Appendix 3. Guide lines for women focused group discussion

1. After you got land through the redistribution, what changes you have seen in your life, either politically or socially and economically?
2. Do you think you have seen/got social acceptance by the society because you are a landowner?
3. Do you think you are economically powerful now than before?
4. Is divorce decreasing or increasing after women becomes landowner's? Why?
5. Is it very difficult to get your own share of land during divorce? Why?
6. Is it easy to get your land ploughed? Is it difficult to get a share cropper to you land? What is the reason?
7. Women are ploughing their land, what challenges do you face by the society?
8. Do you think that for a woman to plough her land is acceptable by the society?
9. Would you like to inherit your land to your daughter in case you have a smaller share of land?
10. What is the perception of males to towards women being equal land owners?

Appendix 4. Guide lines for Men focused group discussion

1. What is your feeling for women being landowners?
2. Women in your society do plough their land like you do, what is your opinion? Do you accept that?

3. If there are no women who do plough in your area, do you think you would accept in case if they do it? What is the reason for not accepting?
4. Do you think that because women are landowners: divorce is increasing?
5. Do men prefer to marry woman with a land?
6. What social changes have women achieved being land owners?
7. . What kind of benefit you think that women have got after being a landowner?
8. Would you inherit your land to your children (boys and girls)?
9. Do you think that women in your area are benefiting from their land? If no, have you ever wished their land to be yours?
10. If you are not comfortable about the land redistribution, give your suggestion how to do it?

Appendix 5. Guide lines to stakeholders/key informant

1. When did redistribution started? How long did it continued (round of the distribution)?
2. Do you think that women have changed their life after being a landowner?
3. Do you think being a landowner is the reason for women's to become politically strong? Are they really strong?
4. What constraints do the women face by being female headed households?
5. The certificate has draw backs, what has causes to the women? For example, during divorce, or dispute with neighbors?
6. Do you encourage for women who plough their land? What kind of support do you give them?
7. How is the acceptance of the women by the society on plowing?
8. What challenges do women face for being plowers?