



SECURING  
WOMEN'S  
RESOURCE RIGHTS  
THROUGH GENDER  
TRANSFORMATIVE  
APPROACHES



Investing in rural people



# Gender analysis to inform the development of gender transformative approaches to enhance women's land rights in **Ethiopia**



Full Research Report



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## ABOUT THE INITIATIVE

### SECURING WOMEN'S RESOURCE RIGHTS THROUGH GENDER TRANSFORMATIVE APPROACHES

In 2020, the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) invited a consortium of the Center for International Forestry Research and World Agroforestry (CIFOR-ICRAF), the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) and the Alliance of Bioversity International and the International Center for Tropical Agriculture (CIAT) to work with selected IFAD projects to promote and strengthen women's land rights through the integration of gender transformative approaches (GTAs) in rural development interventions by improving policies, tools and practices.

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[https://www.ifad.org/en/gender\\_transformative\\_approaches](https://www.ifad.org/en/gender_transformative_approaches)

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## Acronyms and abbreviations

CGIAR	Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research
CP	Community profile
FGD	Focus group discussion
FHH	Female-headed household
GALS	Gender Action Learning System
GMF	Gender Model Family
GTA	Gender transformative approach
HH	Household
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
PASIDP II	Participatory Small-Scale Irrigation Development Programme II
WRR	Women's resource rights

# Executive summary

## Background

This document summarizes results from a gender analysis conducted by the Women’s Resource Rights (WRR) project team in 2023. WRR is part of the Global Initiative for Gender Transformative Approaches to promote and strengthen women’s land rights through the integration of gender transformative approaches (GTAs) in IFAD rural development interventions by sharing learning to improve policies, tools and practices (<https://www.cifor.org/wlr>). The three-year initiative (2021–2024) conducts gender analyses; pilots context-appropriate GTAs to advance the recognition and protection of women’s land rights in different IFAD projects; and scales up the GTA agenda. The initiative team works collaboratively with IFAD project personnel in each country to share, add value and learn from ongoing efforts.

In Ethiopia, the initiative focuses on the PASIDP II, a programme implemented by the Ministry of Agriculture (<https://pasidp-moa.gov.et/>) between 2016 and 2024 with financing from IFAD. The programme has two project components: developing small-scale irrigation; and sustainable agriculture development for smallholder farmers. It aims to reach out to and benefit 108,750 household (HH) beneficiaries, of which 20% are female-headed households. PASIDP II envisages the development of 18,400 hectares (ha) through 160 small-scale irrigation schemes in four regions (former SNNPR, Oromia, Amhara and Tigray). Particular attention is given to women, young people, and vulnerable groups.

The gender analysis focuses on a GTA implemented by the Ministry of Agriculture in PASIDP II called the Gender Model Family (GMF), which works specifically with married couples (husbands and wives) in male-headed households. GMF consists of a series of steps that include promotion and awareness, training, monitoring, and providing a social support system for model families and their followers. GMF was piloted by PASIDP II in 2019 in three villages across three small-scale irrigation (SSI) schemes, involving 44 pioneer households, and rolled out in 56 SSI schemes involving 744 pioneer and 3,157 extended families (i.e., ‘followers’), totalling 3,901 households.

Expected outcomes of the analysis are to provide qualitative evidence and insights on the impacts of GMF on trained couples and the impacts of other PASIDP II interventions; recommendations on the monitoring and evaluation of couple-based GTAs such as GMF, to better capture individual, community and project-level impacts; and recommendations on the implementation of GMF – e.g., targeting, messaging, and synergies with other project interventions.

## Method

Data was collected in February to March 2023 in three regions (Amhara, Oromia, Central Ethiopia). In each region, we selected one village where GMF was implemented the earliest, to maximize learning across time, and a comparison village within the same woreda that is not a PASIDP II intervention village. Four survey instruments were used: (i) Project staff interviews (9 staff); (ii) Community profile (12 key informants); (iii) Focus group discussions (9 groups, 134 participants, 62 women and 72 men); and (iv) Couple, family and friends’ interviews (72 people, 36 women and 36 men).

## Local context

The differences between perceptions of women’s challenges derived from two research instruments (community profiles targeting community leaders/development agents versus gender-disaggregated FGDs) are interesting. They show that leaders (who are mostly men) will prioritize challenges they are familiar with (e.g., mobility, income), which may be different from how women would prioritize them



since women face challenges in different dimensions of life (e.g., attitudes against unmarried women, lack of decision-making power, patriarchal culture). Some topics (e.g., control over land) may overlap. It is therefore important to ensure that respondents are gender balanced.

## Main findings

In all regions, GMF aligns well with aspirations of being 'better off', suggesting that there is clear demand for the training regardless of prevailing gender norms. These include direct outcomes of GMF training (e.g., mutual respect, equality, working to improve the family, being a model) and indirect outcomes (e.g., love and harmony, economic stability, food security).

Gendered roles exist at household and community levels in the three study regions, although at different levels. This includes lesser access and control over irrigated and non-irrigated land, livestock, agricultural inputs, and income opportunities. Women are accorded less influence at the community level. Challenges faced by men are also faced by women, such as securing access to income and agricultural incomes. Yet women face additional challenges, such as being perceived to be weak and incapable, and having limited control over land. Land is mainly acquired through marriage and inheritance. Yet this implies losing access upon divorce; and in some areas, women cannot inherit or inherit less land than men. In our Central Ethiopia study site, women are restricted from participating in activities outside the home, including farming and tending to livestock.

One of the most common ways to overcome challenges faced by women in accessing and controlling resources involve collaborating with and being supported by men – the central objective of GMF. Government land policies are important: Joint land titling in our Amhara study site improved women's access to land compared to other study sites, which did not yet have it.

GMF's message as understood by participants and non-participants are consistent with GMF's objectives:

- GMF brings collaboration, equality and understanding between couples;
- Through GMF, couples can achieve more peace and love in their families;
- GMF helps couples move their families ahead and change for the better.

GMF respondents having a more equitable attitudes to non-GMF respondents on division of labour at the household level and community levels. At the household level, roles contested by non-GMF respondents were accepted by GMF respondents, such as that men should also run households and prepare food – not only lead or make decisions – and women should also earn incomes, make decisions on household resources, and do farm work. Only non-GMF men (and women, in some instances) agreed that men should *not* discuss resource management decisions with women. This correlated with non-GMF participant's view that women do not have the necessary knowledge, skills, rights and influence to be equally involved in decision making. GMF men did not agree to these views. At the community level, GMF increased the acceptance and understanding within households that women can have diverse and influential roles in communities.

Husbands have particularly appreciated the increased love and harmony and reduced conflicts within their households, while wives have appreciated their increased roles as household decision makers and beneficiaries. This has come with some concerns, such as men's shame and fear of rejection by their communities for going against their culture. GMF effects are visible to family members/friends outside GMF couples, who see the effects are positive. Observable outcomes from GMF include reduced conflict and increased income by changing attitudes towards gendered divisions of labour and increasing appreciation of the value of housework.

At the community level, GMF participants still assign more influential responsibilities (e.g., keeping peace and security, managing communal lands, earning income, making decisions for the community, and ‘Everything’) to men. While GMF couples and their family members/friends have clearly seen the positive changes from GMF, these effects are not so evident for others.

Extending collaboration between women and men beyond the intimate sphere needs an approach targeted at the community level. Results suggest that gendered division of labour is a social norm that can be shifted once the benefits of sharing tasks more equally become apparent to the wider community.

### Conditions enabling the above results

1. The baseline gender norms are highly patriarchal
2. Self-selection, and starting small to create a successful ‘model’
3. GMF works in many contexts as it addresses core issues underlying many gender-based problems: building empathy, knowledge, understanding and partnership.
4. GMF, as part of PASIDP II is attached to a development agenda (e.g., improving rural livelihoods sustainably) which has broad appeal.
5. Strong country ownership by the implementing agency (Ministry of Agriculture), which is very influential and highly committed to implementing GMF.
6. Due to difficulties in recruiting a gender-balanced team, the staff implementing GMF on the ground are mostly men. While not ideal, it may be better than an all-woman team to convince male community leaders and male household heads to give GMF a chance.
7. GMF implementation is impactful for the target population as it is for the implementor.
8. PASIDP II, as part of the Ministry of Agriculture, has a strong field presence to help maintain momentum during the interim period of around one to two years as the process takes place.
9. GMF benefits were felt by some households relatively quickly (e.g., reduced conflict, increased mutual respect), which encourages GMF households to support each other when times are difficult.
10. Monthly meetings between GMF trainees and other families that want to learn from them became a means to offering mutual support, sharing experiences and advice, and keeping each other motivated.
11. PASIDP II’s support on nutrition-sensitive agriculture, support for nutrient-dense crops like orange flesh sweet potatoes was an important enabling condition for enhancing nutritional impacts of GMF among women.
12. As these were the first villages where GMF were piloted, the level of attention to outcomes may be higher than in subsequent villages.

**For projects that aim to be gender-transformative, we suggest the following ways forward** based on our experience with GMF:

1. Integrating GTA implementation at the start of a programme design.
2. Incorporating GTAs and related indicators in the project’s logical framework (logframe)
3. Integrating GTA in monitoring and evaluation combining qualitative and quantitative data collection
4. Harmonizing GTAs that target different types of beneficiaries.
5. Having a better understanding of GMF’s value for money (i.e., costs and impacts)
  - a. Budget/cost tagging to understand the resources spent on GTAs compared to other project components
  - b. Establishing M&E systems that various types of GTA impacts at household and community levels. In the case of GMF, these are:

- (i) Direct: joint decision-making, joint implementation, time doing shared activities, attitudes on labour division, attitudes on roles and responsibilities, access to GMF training, frequency of conflict, number of followers, effects of GMF on followers. Moving towards mixed-methods to capture wellbeing effects such as love, respect, reduction of violence/conflict, food security, income stability.
- (ii) Indirect impacts, e.g., access to and control over inputs (e.g., land, water, public lands, agricultural inputs, training, income opportunities), diet diversity, mobility (distance travelled unaccompanied), types and exposure to violence, increased household asset value (e.g., livestock, housing value); increased savings rates due to increased financial prudence; increased livelihood and food resilience due to increased variety of crops planted; participation in income-generating opportunities; and increased numbers of girls in school..
- (iii) Catalytic: impacts of GMF on the effectiveness of other interventions, such as building community-level institutions, agricultural training, and provisioning of agricultural inputs.
- (iv) Spillovers: impacts on immediate family/friends, communities and neighbouring villages (e.g., sharing the same church/mosque or marketplace) and beyond, as this is an important cost-saving element. In some villages, there were so many GMF 'follower' households that it was difficult to discern between GMF and non-GMF participants.

## Acknowledgments

This report was made possible through the collaboration and support of various organizations and individuals. The research was funded by IFAD through the Women's Resource Rights grant. IFAD Ethiopia gender experts (Hai Ha Vu Thi and Lucie Vergari) provided technical and institutional support. The PASIDP II programme (Nuredin Asaro, Yaregal Zelalem) provided co-financing and logistical support to implement the field work. CIFOR-ICRAF Ethiopia office (Habtemariam Kassa, Niguse Hagazi, Kalkidan Damte, Samuel Hailu and Mekdes Sime) provided administrative and institutional support. Field work was led by Field Research Co-Supervisors, Teshome Beyene and Bersabeh Hailu and conducted with field enumerators Dagim Yosef, Mahlet Negasa, Netsanet Alemayhu and Yeabsira Tamerat. Field data collection was designed by Stibniati Atmadja with input from Hai Ha Vu Thi, Lucie Vergari, Yaregal Zelalem, Teshome Beyene and Bersabeh Hailu. The report was written by Stibniati Atmadja and Teshome Beyene, language-edited by Mark Harvard, and reviewed by Hai Ha Vu Thi, Yaregal Zelalem and Bersabeh Haile.

# Introduction

## Background

This document summarizes results from a gender analysis conducted by the Women’s Resource Rights (WRR) project team in 2023. WRR is part of the Global Initiative for Gender Transformative Approaches to promote and strengthen women’s land rights through the integration of gender transformative approaches (GTAs) in IFAD rural development interventions by sharing learning to improve policies, tools and practices (<https://www.cifor.org/wlr>). The initiative systematizes the knowledge and lessons generated, and uses IFAD and CGIAR scientific and communications infrastructure to target decision makers and development practitioners with demand-driven tools, guidelines, frameworks and knowledge products.

The three-year initiative (2021–2024) conducts gender analyses; pilots context-appropriate GTAs to advance the recognition and protection of women’s land rights in different IFAD projects; and scales up the GTA agenda. The initiative team works collaboratively with IFAD project personnel in each country to share, add value and learn from ongoing efforts. Appropriate and relevant approaches will be identified for scaling women’s land rights initiatives.

In Ethiopia, the initiative focuses on the PASIDP II programme implemented by the Ministry of Agriculture with financing from IFAD. The gender analysis is conducted in three regions namely Amhara, Oromia and Central Ethiopia (formerly SNNPR), and focuses on the implementation of a GTA called the Gender Model Family (GMF) within the PASIDP II implementation areas. GMF is a type of GTA that targets gender dynamics and social norms within households and communities, and works specifically with married couples (husbands and wives) in male-headed households.

The Gender Model Family (GMF) concept is conceived in the idea that “life has to change completely.” Gender relations of power and control are changed when men and women become models for gender equality, recognizing that men and women should enjoy the same rights and opportunities. A GMF approach is made up of a husband, wife and their children who want to be models for change and transformation in society by challenging traditional notions of gender roles and responsibilities. It follows six steps, as depicted in Figure 2. The underlying logic of this approach is – As we create more GMFs in a community, more women and men start to question some of the reasons for their relationships and actions, and decide to bring about change.

Based on our observations, the success of GMF in transforming households and communities in a sustained way relies on three assumptions:

1. The model families participating in the GMF programme see fundamental positive well-being changes to their family that they attribute to the GMF programme.
2. Others within the community feel the GMF programme brings positive outcomes to the model families involved, and are interested to see those outcomes for themselves.
3. Others within the community desire the same positive outcomes, which can be expressed by desiring/attempting to be part of the programme or wanting to attain the same positive outcome.

The above assumptions will express themselves differently according to the social and economic context. For example, the concept of well-being may differ depending on existing economic opportunities. The desirability of transformative changes brought by GMF depends on the desirability of the benefits in comparison to the costs of these changes from the point of view of others observing the model families. In this study, we devote special attention to understanding women’s access to different types of resources as an important – and often poorly understood – aspect of the local context.

This document aims to do the following:

- Set the scene (Section 1)
  - Describe the PASIDP II project and the Gender Model Family approach
  - Describe the methods used in this analysis.
- Describe local contexts (Sections 2 and 3)
  - Describe local sources of livelihoods, definition of well-being, PASIDP II and GMF interventions, community institutions, and women's roles and participation in community institutions (Section 2)
  - Describe the practices of how women access and acquire rights over land and resources, and challenges faced by women (Section 3).
- Identify GMF influence on couples – according to the couples and those around them (family, friends, non-GMF couples, community members) (Section 4)
- Provide recommendations for a future implementation of GTA in Ethiopia (Section 5)
  - How can effects be better monitored in the future?
  - How can community effects be realized?
  - To what extent can these effects be replicated elsewhere?

### **Participatory Small-scale Irrigation Development Programme Phase II (PASIDP II)**

Our analysis focuses on PASIDP II, a programme implemented by the Ministry of Agriculture (<https://pasidp-moa.gov.et/>) between 2016 and 2024. Its objective is to provide improved income and food security for rural households on a sustainable basis in Oromia, Amhara, Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR), Sidama, Southwest Ethiopia, Central Ethiopia and Tigray regional states. During the implementation of this analysis, SNNPR, Sidama, Southwest Ethiopia, and Central Ethiopia were one region called SNNPR. The programme has two project components: developing small-scale irrigation; and sustainable agriculture development for smallholder farmers.

It aims to reach out to and benefit 108,750 household (HH) beneficiaries, of which 20% are female-headed households. PASIDP II envisages the development of 18,400 hectares (ha) through 160 small-scale irrigation schemes in four regions (Figure 1). Particular attention is given to women, young people and vulnerable groups. In addition to increasing agricultural productivity and resilience of ecosystems, the programme is expected to create 15,000 new jobs, generating higher incomes and community resilience. The programme supports linkages to markets and services so that smallholder farmers can increase their productivity, competitiveness and incomes. It aims to enhance their resilience against external shocks and those induced by adverse weather and climate conditions. PASIDP II encourages women to join the decision-making bodies of water users' associations.

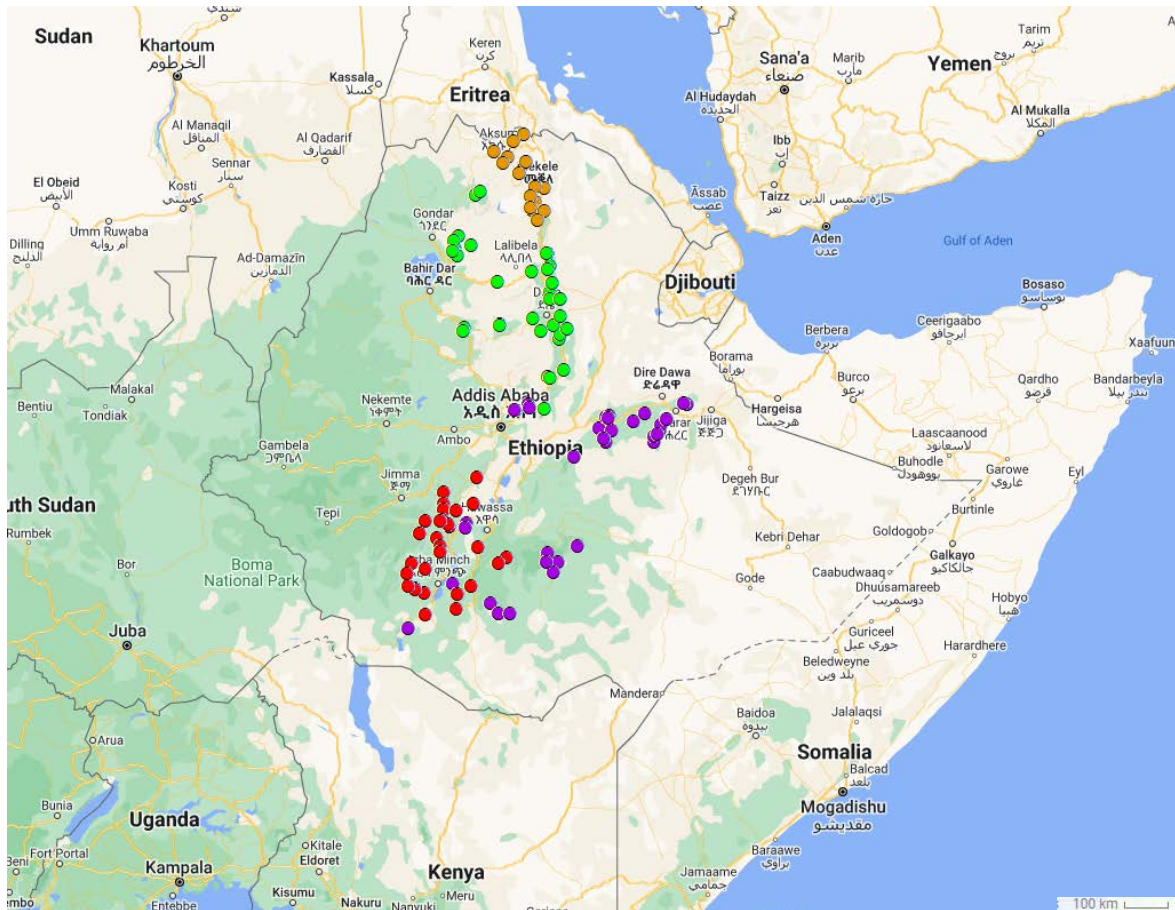


Figure 1. Distribution of PASIDP II irrigation schemes

Source: [https://pasidp-moa.gov.et/?page\\_id=492](https://pasidp-moa.gov.et/?page_id=492), accessed 3 April 2024 (Google Earth View)

### Gender Model Family (GMF)

GMF is a gender transformative approach (GTA) implemented as part of the PASIDP II component on Sustainable agriculture development for smallholder farmers. GMF aims to improve men’s and women’s understanding of gender roles, power and control; enable family members to improve household gender relations; achieve a balanced division of labour; and improve joint control and decision making on key resources. The methodology was created in Ghana and adopted by the Ethiopian Ministry of Agriculture in a previous programme called Small-scale and Micro Irrigation Support (SMIS). GMF uses a capacity development approach that enables husbands and wives to live in an equitable and just manner and be models for change in their communities.

In Ethiopia, it targets married couples, and facilitates joint training to identify work burdens and power imbalances; appreciate problems; and commit to taking action to address those problems. Each GMF pioneer family is expected to recruit at least three households after internalizing and practicing the approach, these – in turn – are also expected to recruit new households. GMF was piloted by PASIDP II in 2019 in three villages across three small-scale irrigation (SSI) schemes, involving 44 pioneer households. As anecdotal results were very encouraging, the project decided to roll out GMF in more areas. It is now being implemented in 56 SSI schemes involving 744 pioneer and 3,157 extended families (i.e., ‘followers’), totalling 3,901 households.

GMF consists of a series of steps that include promotion and awareness, training, monitoring, and providing a social support system for model families and their followers.

## GMF steps

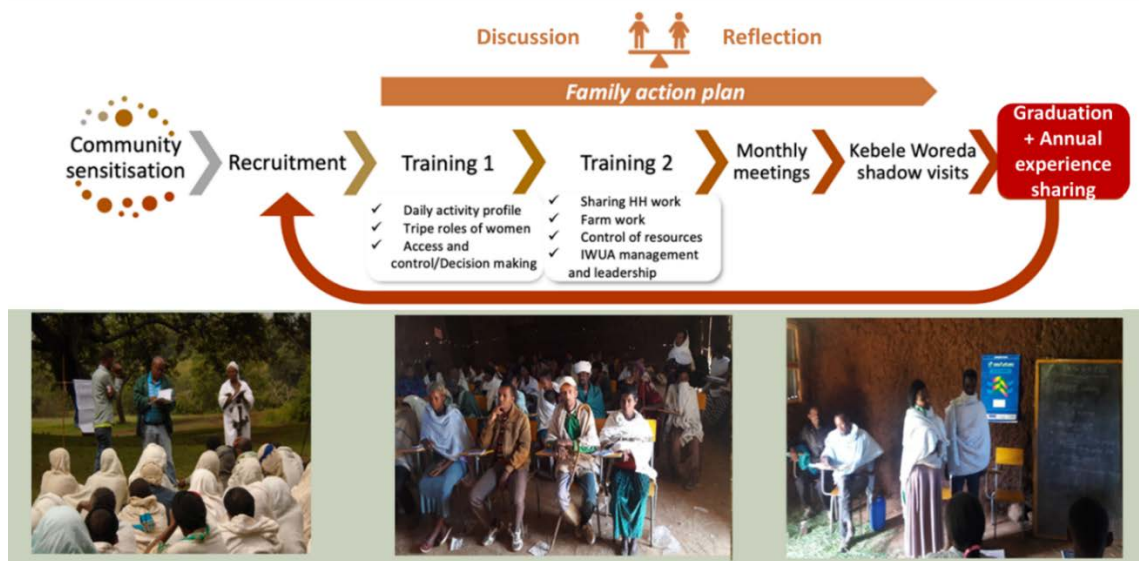


Figure 2. Steps in implementing GMF

Source: Hai Ha Vu Thi, Yaregal Zelalem

In each village, the following steps took place (See Figure 2)

1. A period of community sensitization, including a series of dialogues between the *woreda* (i.e., district) and *kebele* (village group) level officers, norm-holders (e.g., *kebele* leaders, elders and religious leaders) and different segments of the community to introduce the approach, and get further support for implementation. This step was crucial to receive buy-in and permission to continue with the implementation.
2. Registration of volunteer households: 10–15 households who volunteered to participate as GMFs were registered. These households were identified by leaders for their capacity to learn and adopt new approaches, and their need to change their lives. We found some identified households did not want to participate, while others did, but quotas were full.
3. GMF training #1 and #2 were implemented using a set of tools that are also found in the Gender Action Learning System (GALS), including the Harvard Gender Analysis framework.
4. Monthly meetings were held between model families, to share experience and challenges, provide encouragement and help each other solve problems.
5. Shadow visits were conducted by PASIDP II staff, to provide model families with technical and moral support.
6. Graduation and experience sharing: Graduation ceremonies were held for model families who had implemented the approach effectively and recruited their surrounding neighbours or colleagues. The ceremonies were purposefully held publicly, and attended by locally important figures (formal, traditional, religious) to provide recognition for model families. Experience sharing by model families on their progress, challenges and successes provide their communities with knowledge about how and why gender equality can improve a household's well-being.

## Gender analysis methods

### Analytical framework

Analytical framework objectives:

- Sampling frame (Figure 3): comparison of communities and individuals with and without GMF and PASIDP II interventions to qualitatively identify the impacts of GMF intervention;
- Site selection: villages with the highest potential for observable impacts were chosen to maximize learning, and were compared with adjacent communities that share the same sociocultural, economic and agroecological characteristics, but outside the PASIDP II implementation area and not receiving any PASIDP II interventions.
- Coverage across three regions where PASIDP II is operational: Amhara, Oromia and Central Ethiopia (formerly Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional state).

Expected outcomes of the analysis:

- Qualitative evidence and insights on the impacts of GMF on trained couples and the impacts of other PASIDP II interventions;
- Recommendations on the monitoring and evaluation of couple-based GTAs such as GMF, to better capture individual, community and project-level impacts;
- Recommendations on the implementation of GMF – e.g., targeting, messaging, and synergies with other project interventions.

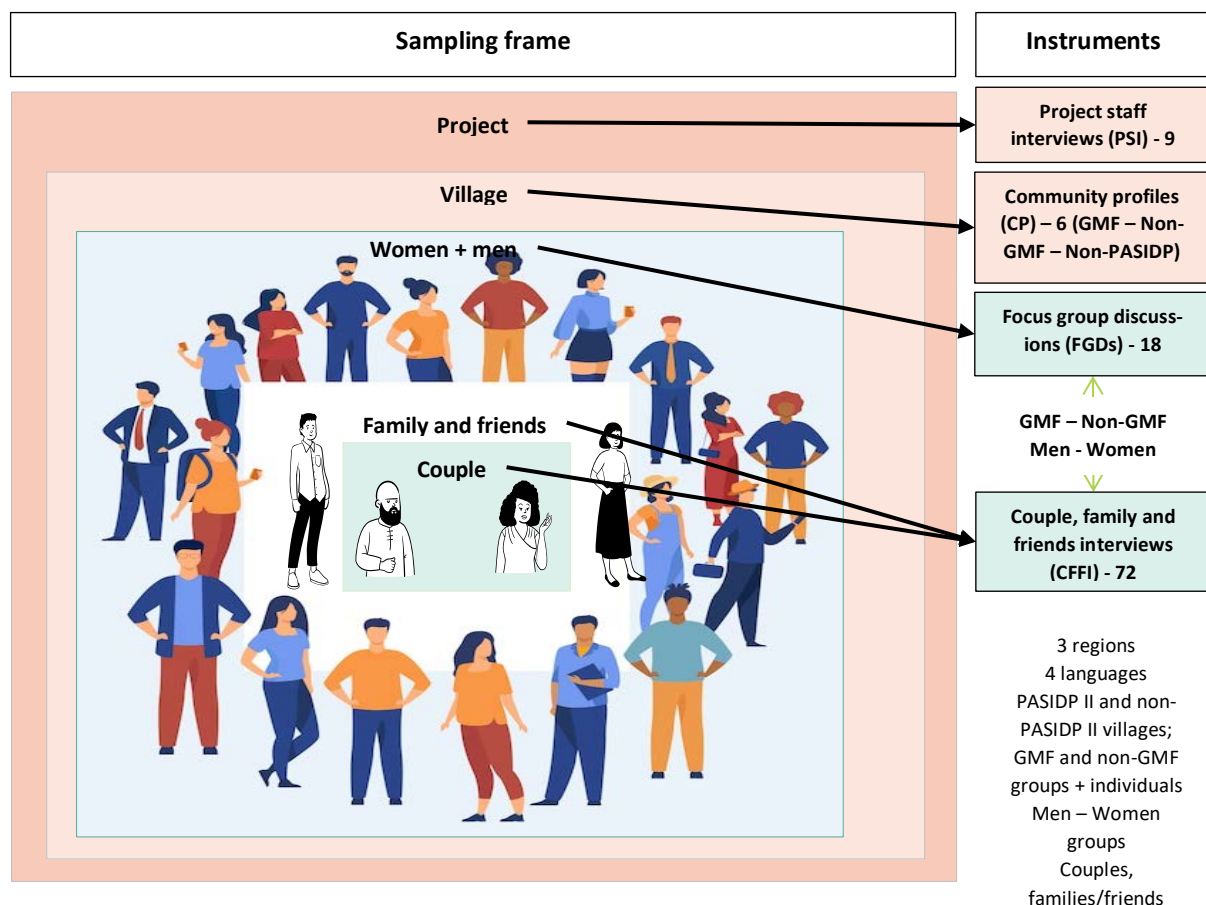


Figure 3. Gender analysis sampling frame and instruments

Source: Author



### Site selection for gender analysis

Village selection was conducted with the PASIDP II team, since they are aware of the way GMF implementation has progressed across the country. Site selection criteria:

- One PASIDP II village in each region: the earliest implementer of GMF in the region located in a PASIDP II irrigation scheme, to maximize the likelihood of observable impacts of GMF. Within these villages, we collected data from groups and individuals who received and did not receive GMF training.
- One comparison village in each region: a non-PASIDP II village in the same *Kebele* (subdistrict). These villages would serve as comparisons for the PASIDP II villages.

The resulting selection is in **Table 1**. Comparison villages were not ‘control’ villages, i.e., we did not perform quantitative matching exercises to ensure comparisons applied in a statistical sense. Instead, comparison villages were selected because of their proximity (social, geographic and economic) to the selected PASIDP II villages, and their accessibility by road, while being located outside PASIDP II implementation areas.

Comparison villages did not have access to the wide range of interventions PASIDP II provided to communities within its ‘command areas’, i.e., areas of intervention. PASIDP II interventions included:

- Small-scale irrigation schemes, and related training on irrigated agricultural production;
- Institutions/associations established by PASIDP II to operate the irrigation, i.e., Irrigation Water Users Associations (IWUAs) that performed watershed development activities; and cooperatives linked to inputs and markets.

Table 1. List of study sites

Region	Zone	Woreda	Village	PASIDP Command area (Figure 4)
Central Ethiopia	Kembata Tembaro	Hadero Tunto Zuria	Maze	Yes, Gombolozo
			Hansara	No
Amhara	Misrak Gojam	Machakel	Girum	Yes, Gedeb IV (PASIDP I)
			Yesankat	No
Oromia	Bale	Harena Buluk	Sodu Welmel	Yes, Welmel Tika
			Gindiba Badhe	No

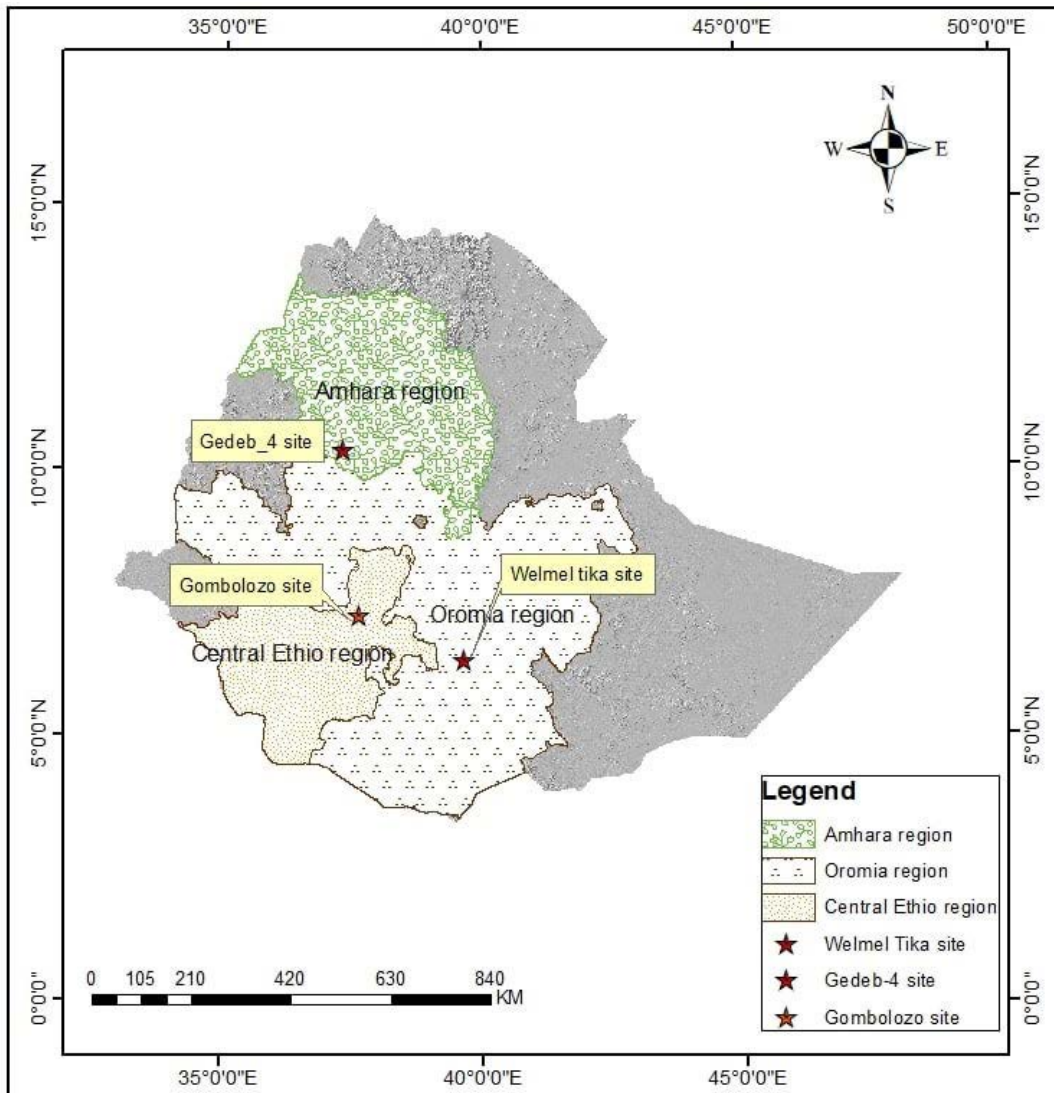


Figure 4. Map of study site locations in Ethiopia according to PASIDP irrigation command areas

Source: Created for this report by PASIDP II GIS team, 2024.

### Sampling frame

Respondents were sampled differently for each research instrument that we used (Figure 5). Each village had one community profile based on interviews with key informants. Focus group discussion participants were selected based on their gender, participation in GMF, and availability and willingness to attend discussions. We aimed for eight participants per group, though numbers ranged from four to 12 depending on community members' availability and interest. Couple, family and friends' interviews consisted of two sampling frames: the couples, i.e., two subsets of FGD participants. Wives and husbands were interviewed separately, with each nominating a family member or friend who was knowledgeable about their daily lives. Family and friends were interviewed using a subset of questions from the couple, family and friend's questionnaire about how the wives or husbands in the couples nominating them interact and share household responsibilities, and their personal views on gender norms in the village.

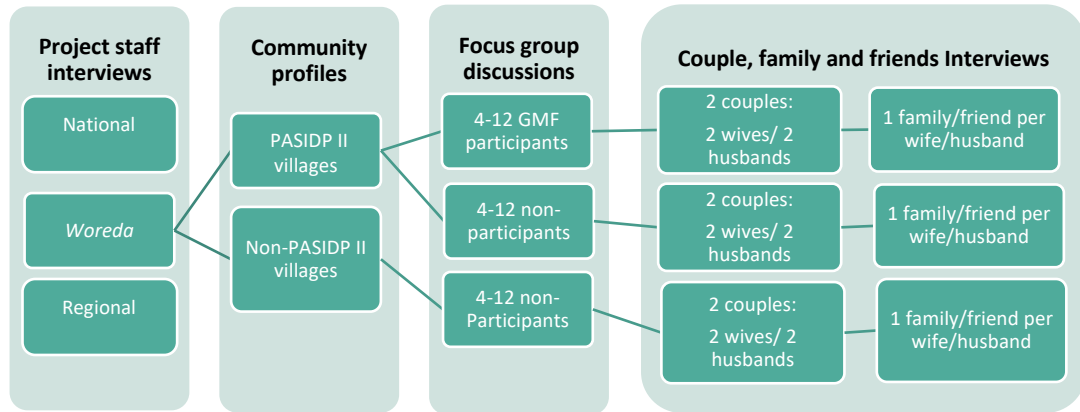


Figure 5. Sampling frame

Source: Author

### Caveats and limitations

- Trade-off between deep but narrow versus shallow but wide sampling: Given our objectives, time and budget, we chose to have a small number of villages (two per region) and respondents (two couples in non-PASIDP II villages, and 2 GMF and 2 non-GMF couples in PASIDP II villages), and the same numbers of family members/friends). We prioritized understanding the contexts and potential outcomes in three regions with different languages (representing recruitment and training of different teams), using a qualitative approach based on respondents' perceptions.
- Results are NOT representative of the populations in each region or village. Instead, they show what perceptions exist among the people we interviewed, the context within which those perceptions exist, and clues on general reasons why they exist.
- To maximize learning, we selected 'mature' villages where GMF was first implemented in the region. We tried to compare between groups with and without GMF in the same village to understand the effects of GMF training. There were significant spillover effects as GMF became models – as is the intention – for their communities. Spillover effects are an important impact of GMF training that we try to document in this analysis.
- Language and translations: The interview instruments were translated into Amharic and conducted in four languages: Amharic, Afaan Oromo, Kambatigna and Hadiyegna. This impacted our field team composition, and our intermittent reliance on local development agents, PASIDP II focal persons, and other local actors to act as translators. We had two teams, each consisting of four people: A male and female field research supervisor (who stayed across the two teams), each overseeing one enumerator (who changed across teams). All field research team members were fluent in Amharic. Team 1 covered Central Ethiopia and Amhara, with one female enumerator who spoke the Kambatigna and Hadiyegna languages spoken in the Central Ethiopia study villages. Women's FGDs were particularly complex, as women only spoke either Kambatigna or Hadiyegna, and were mixed together in the same FGDs. Hence, one and sometimes two local translators were recruited to assist our enumerators in conducting the FGDs. These translators were PASIDP II focal persons and/or *woreda* gender experts who were very knowledgeable of the local contexts, but their involvement may have had some indirect influence on the responses. Team 2 covered Oromia, and consisted of the same field research supervisors as Team 1, plus two enumerators who

spoke Afaan Oromo. Translators were sometimes needed to assist the field research supervisors, who did not speak Afaan Oromo.

- Paraphrasing: For brevity and clarity, results presented in tables and figures in this report are paraphrased from responses that our field team translated from the local language to English. Where quotes are used, they are based on those English-translated responses (rather than the original languages), and may be paraphrased for clarity.

### Data collection instruments

The analysis used four types of data collection instruments: Project staff interviews; community profiles; focus group discussions (FGDs); and couple, family and friends interviews (CFFIs), summarized in **Table 2**. Each instrument was compiled in a separate accompanying document. To obtain copies, please contact [s.atmadja@cifor-icraf.org](mailto:s.atmadja@cifor-icraf.org).

Each instrument was aimed at complementing, triangulating, or deepening information obtained from other instruments.

*Table 2. Summary of data collection instruments*

Source: Author

Instruments	Project staff interviews	Community profile	Focus group discussions	CFFIs
<b>Approach</b>	One-on-one interviews with key informants	One-on-one or group interviews with key informants	Group discussions (one response for the group) and polls (i.e., each participant votes for a response)	One-on-one interviews
<b>Respondent selection</b>	Staff of PASIDP II implementing GMF and M&E	Development agents, <i>woreda</i> gender experts, <i>Kebele</i> administrators, village leaders, IWUA committees in GMF villages	Village and DA recommendation of community members for their knowledge and ability to participate in interviews/discussions	2 couples selected from FGD participants based on their responses in the discussion; 1 family member/friend nominated by each husband and each wife
<b>Unit of observation</b>	Village, <i>Kebele</i> , <i>woreda</i> , regional and federal levels	Village (or <i>Kebele</i> if village-level data was unavailable)	Discussion groups; individuals in discussion groups	Individuals
<b>Number conducted</b>	9 interviews (2 federal, 3 regional, 4 <i>woreda</i> )	1 per village x 6 villages = 6 profiles	3 groups per region x 3 regions x 2 genders = 18 groups (9 women/9 men); 4–12 participants per group	12 couples + 12 family members/friends (1 per husband/wife) per region x 3 regions
<b>Total participants/people interviewed</b>	9	12	134 (62 women/72 men)	72 people (36 women/36 men)

### A note on hierarchy of units of observation

Below is the hierarchy of units of observations that we use in this report.

National/Federal > Regional > Zonal > *Woreda* > *Kebele* > Village > Discussion group > Individual (FGD participant or interviewee)

### ***Project staff interviews (PSIs)***

Information collected:

- Basic information on the project and communities in which interventions take place
- Factors affecting the way the project does (or does not) impact upon women's rights to resources
- Ongoing or past interventions that had an impact on women's rights to resources
- Current practices and approaches used in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of projects addressing women's rights to resources.

Relationship with other instruments:

- Complement and triangulate community profile on project information and context.

### ***Community profiles (CPs)***

Information collected:

- Social, economic, agricultural and political background information about communities, and prevailing situations in terms of use, access to, and control over key resources
- Community-level factors that generate or reinforce gender norms that hinder the full recognition and enjoyment of resource rights
- Comparative information between villages with and without implementation of the GMF and PASIDP II.

Relationship with other instruments:

- Complement and triangulate project staff interviews on project information and context.
- Complement and triangulate FGDs on gender-related norms and challenges.

### ***Focus group discussions (FGDs)***

Information collected:

- Well-being definition, status, changes and factors influencing change
- Rules, practices and functions relating to access to, and benefits from resources relevant to the PASIDP II project (i.e., irrigated and non-irrigated farmland, livestock, agricultural inputs, cash income).

Relationship with other instruments

- Complement and triangulate community profiles on gender-related norms and challenges
- Complement and triangulate couple, family and friend interviews on gender-related norms and challenges.

### ***Couple, family and friends interviews (CFFIs)***

Information collected:

- Individual, gender disaggregated information
- Questions asked about the respondents themselves, or commentary on the persons who nominated them as family members/friends (subsets of the questions directed to family members/friends)

- Respondent characteristics, household composition, income sources, participation in PASIDP II activities, resources controlled/accessed
- Changes in well-being and gender norms/attitudes; division of labour: practices and opinions; food types consumed (nutrition) using the Minimum Dietary Diversity for Women (MDD-W module<sup>1</sup>)
- Influence of GMF in terms of changing norms, attitudes and practices.

Relationships with other instruments:

- Complement and triangulate information on PASIDP II intervention, and resource access, and from community profiles and FGDs
- Complement and triangulate information on, and perceptions of gender attitudes and norms, GMF influence, and nutrition from FGDs.

### *A note on reference to data sources cited in this report*

The following section summarizes results taken from specific parts of the data collection instruments listed above. Statements and figure/table notes will use refer to specific questions in a specific instrument. For example: “Source: Community Profile, S1.1Q1-Q3” means that the data/figure/quotes come from the Community Profile, section 1.1, Questions 1, 2 and 3.

## Local context

### Livelihoods

Study villages within one region were located within the same *woreda* (district). They often had close family ties, and shared social events (e.g., funerals) and public services (e.g., churches, markets). Therefore, despite coming from different villages, individuals had strong possibilities of learning from one another about government programmes and benefits (e.g., those from PASIDP II, GMF). Consequently, non-PASIDP II villages should not be considered control villages for GMF, but rather close comparators for PASIDP II villages.

PASIDP II and non-PASIDP II villages in the same region shared similar cash crops, staple foods, animal products and vegetable/fruit products, indicating similar agroecological features (**Table 3**). They shared similar ethnolinguistic and religious characteristics: those living in Girum and Yasankat (Amhara) were predominantly Ethiopian Orthodox Christians, and spoke Amharic. Respondents from Sodu Welmel and Gindiba Badhe (Oromia) spoke Afaan Oromo and were mostly Muslim. In Maze and Hansara (Central Ethiopia), respondents (especially women) were mostly Protestant Christians, and spoke Kambatigna and Hadiyegna. Those with formal education (mostly men) also spoke Amharic. Because of this diversity, this gender analysis offers rich insights on GMF impacts across these different sociocultural contexts.

<sup>1</sup> <https://index.nutrition.tufts.edu/data4diets/indicator/minimum-dietary-diversity-women-mdd-w#:~:text=The%20Minimum%20Dietary%20Diversity%20for,in%20women%20of%20reproductive%20age>

Table 3. Demography, geography and economy

Source: Community Profile, S1.1Q1-Q3

	Amhara		Oromia		Central Ethiopia	
	Girum (PASIDP II)	Yasankat (non-PASIDP II)	Sodu Welmel (PASIDP II)	Gindiba Badhe (non-PASIDP II)	Maze (PASIDP II)	Hansara (non-PASIDP II)
<b>Total HH</b>	Approx. 150–200 HH	Approx. 150–200 HH	Approx. 300–400 HH	Approx. 150 HH	109	45
<b>Female-headed HH</b>	Kebele: 125		Kebele: 103. Gindiba Badhe: <10% of community		26	8
<b>Total area (Kebele)</b>	Kebele: 4,640 ha		Kebele: 1,250 ha		n/d	210 ha
<b>Farmland total area (kebele)</b>	Kebele: 2,658 ha		Kebele: 1,094 ha		n/d	153.5 ha
<b>Irrigated farmland</b>	175 ha	[No data – there is some irrigated land]	156 ha	[No data – there is some irrigated land]	29 ha	No irrigated land
<b>Cash crops</b>	Maize, wheat, teff, oil cereals, trees (wanza, giravella)	Wheat, maize, teff, oil, wanza in timber form	Coffee, khat, honey	Coffee, khat, honey	Teff, corn, wheat and barley; forest products – timber,	Wheat, teff, maize, beans, eggs, milk and milk products, wood for furniture, avocado, mango, papaya
<b>Local staple food</b>	Teff, bread, potato	Teff, wheat, maize	Teff, maize, wheat	Teff, corn, wheat	Godere, enset, corn	Enset, maize, cassava
<b>Animal products</b>	Meat, milk, honey, eggs, leather	Honey and dairy products	Goat, sheep, cow and chicken meat, cows' milk, eggs, leather	Goat, sheep, cow and chicken meat, cows' milk, eggs, leather	Animals, milk and milk products	Milk and milk products, eggs
<b>Vegetables and fruits</b>	Banana, avocado, cabbage, sugarcane, coffee	coffee, avocado, sugarcane, orange	Mango, avocado, pepaya, sweet potato, tomato, banana, cabbage, garlic, onion	Mango, avocado, pepaya, sweet potato, tomato, banana, cabbage, garlic, onion, ginger	Avocado, mango, banana, ginger, coffee	Potato, avocado, mango, banana, pepaya, tomato, spinach

## Well-being

We interviewed community leaders and development agents about the challenges women-headed households faced in their villages (**Table 4**). In Amhara, common issues across the two study villages were limited mobility due to discrimination and risk of violence, and lack of agency in managing their land (e.g., knowing their rights when renting or leasing land). In Oromia, these issues included difficulties of managing families alone, and lack of social acceptance of unmarried compared to married women. In Central Ethiopia, it was poverty.

FGDs with women on the difference in well-being between women and men in villages (**Table 5**) pointed to different issues such as household conflict (often leading to domestic violence), unequal land control, influence, decision-making power and labour division, and cultures that view unmarried women as inferior to married women, who are in turn inferior to men.

The difference between perceived relative well-being of women compared to men varied across genders and GMFs (**Table 5**). Most (14) of the 18 FGDs found gendered differences in well-being. The four groups that did not think there was a gendered difference were two women's GMF groups in Amhara, and one women's non-GMF and one men's GMF group in Central Ethiopia. All six non-GMF men's groups agreed differences exist due to attitudes/culture/religion viewing men as superior and women as inferior; and men as being breadwinners and leaders, and therefore more respected. At the same time, women are blocked from significant income sources, expected to do unpaid house labour, and considered weak and lacking knowledge and experience. Opinions were split among the three men's GMF groups, with the Central Ethiopia group saying there was no difference, the Amhara group saying there was no difference in GMF families, and the Oromia group saying there was a difference.

Analysing the definitions of well-off and worse-off families (**Table 6**) shows us what respondents aspired to be (or not to be), and GMFs' roles in realizing these aspirations. All groups aspired to one or more of the following goals indirectly related to GMF (See Section 4): (i) peace, love, harmony, less violence and strife; (ii) more savings, income and wealth; and (iii) food security and better nutrition. Many groups also aspired to achieving ideals directly related to GMF training: (i) sharing work, decisions and advice; (ii) mutual respect, equal rights among women and men; (iii) planning, changing and working to improve their families; and (iv) being model families and agents of change. Aspirations not addressed by GMF were: (i) well-raised/educated children; and (ii) health and hygiene.

*Table 4. Challenges facing women-headed households*

Source: Community profiles, S1.1Q4. **Highlighted** text shows common challenges across study villages in the same regions

		What do you think are the main challenges facing women-headed households in this Kebele? [At least two persons should respond to this question]
AMHARA	Girum (GMF)	Limited movement – can't work far away because of discrimination and fear of gender-based violence Lack of basic information about renting and leasing agricultural land Lack of coordination They are not used to cultivating land fully by themselves because they rent it out to others They do not exercise their rights fully Difficulty to materially supporting the irrigation water user's association
	Yasankat (non-GMF)	Limited movement – can't work far away Lack of basic information about renting and leasing agricultural land Lack of energy
ORO MIA	Sodu Welmel (GMF)	Managing a family alone, no one to help Lack of acceptance Loss of helpers, doing jobs that are difficult for women



		What do you think are the main challenges facing women-headed households in this Kebele? [At least two persons should respond to this question]
	Gindhiba Badhe (non-GMF)	Managing and caring for the family alone - no one to help Lack of acceptance and low participation in society compared to men and women with husbands
Central Ethiopia	Maze (GMF)	Economic hardship: shortage of food, children not having access to education, health problems
	Hansara (non-GMF)	Economic hardship: receive limited economic benefits Limited social participation Heavy work burden

Table 5. Differences in well-being of men and women in communities

Source: FGD discussions P1Q3-4

Is there a difference in the well-being of women and men in the community? In what ways do they differ or are the same? Why?				
	Men (GMF)	Men (non-GMF)	Women (GMF)	Women (non-GMF)
Girum (Amhara, PASIDP II)	Depends on family: In GMF families: no difference. In non-GMF families, there is unity and cooperation, but women are considered inferior	Yes. Gender inequality is unavoidable. Despising women, not honest with each other, or think women are inferior; being a family without love	No. We respect, love each other. So, there is no difference between women and men. At home and out of home we work together	No. There is peace. This makes them similar
Yasankat (Amhara, non-PASIDP II)	n/a	Yes. Women have knowledge gaps, and women are less experienced in performing different types of work	n/a	Yes. There is disagreement between them. This makes their well-being different
Sodu Welmel (Oromia, PASIDP II)	Yes. Men are superior here because of culture and religion. Women inherit half of men's family land inheritance, have no opportunity to work in farmland and sell the fruits of their labour. Only men sell the main agricultural products (coffee, beef and large volumes of khat). Women sell lesser products (vegetables, fruits and small volumes of khat)	Yes. Men do heavy work (e.g., ploughing and land clearing), women do HH chores. Sometimes women harvest, feed the cattle. The community affords a higher standing at home and in the community for men. Both participate in agricultural production and community responsibilities, make decisions and benefit from produce	Yes: Men buy seeds and fertilizers, and plough; Women bake bread and <i>Injera</i>	Yes. Women work a lot in a day (e.g., housework, take care of children, sell vegetables and fruits). Men farm and run the business of selling cattle and grain
Gindhiba Badhe (Oromia, non-PASIDP II)	n/a	Yes. Female family heads are not as well respected as married women. Men run households, lead their families, do labour and field work, and earn money. Women do unpaid household chores and are not as strong as men, so they cannot manage their households	n/a	Yes. Women are more vulnerable to problems in the home and on the farm. Women spend long hours in housework and in agricultural work
Maze (Central Ethiopia, PASIDP II)	No. Men do women's jobs such as housework. Women, too, do men's work. There is no such thing as men's or women's work. We collaborate	Yes. There is male dominance and disagreements between husbands and wives. Housework is for women and outside work is for men; Lack of	No. We work together because projects gave us training. There is change and improvement in our life. We have good relationships	Yes. Husbands feel superior because men work on agricultural land to provide for their children. They lead the household and decide. Women do not decide, we just support the men

Is there a difference in the well-being of women and men in the community? In what ways do they differ or are the same? Why?				
	Men (GMF)	Men (non-GMF)	Women (GMF)	Women (non-GMF)
		consultation and failure to make joint decisions		
Hansara (Central Ethiopia, non-PASIDP II)	n/a	Yes. We men rule as dictators. Women face work-related stress. Women are oppressed. Women have no decision-making power, in addition to that there is cultural influence	n/a	Yes. There is insecurity for women because of high workloads; inequality of property ownership. Women have no rights over property

Table 6. Characteristics of households who are better off in communities

Source: FGD Discussion, P1Q01, P1Q0

Yellow highlight: elements of GMF training – discussion, collaboration, gender equality, changing for the better, become a model for the community, hard work

Green highlight: elements that are often the impact of GMF training – more love, peace, less conflict, more mutual respect

	Men (GMF)	Men (non-GMF)	Women (GMF)	Women (non-GMF)
Girum (AmharaPA SIDP I)	Equal rights, mutual cooperation; decide together; Husband does not come home drunk and fight with wife and children; love and health; teach their children; hygienic; implement government health packages	Healthy family; pay annual alimony; being a loving and caring family; and teach their children	Work together; advise and listen to each other; respect for each other; equality, peace, love	They are good for their families and they are models; there is peace and love
Yasankat (Amahara, non-GMF)	n/a	Husband does not come home drunk and fight with wife and children; eat nutritious food; Implement government health packages; teach their children; keep their home and neighbourhood clean	n/a	Work together by helping each other; peace, good income, good ethics; their children's health is good; educate their children in a good manner
Sodu Welmel (Oromia, PASIDP II)	Help and respect each other; decide together; work in discussion; respect women; free from conflict; food security; raise their children effectively in a progressive way	They work together; decide together; try to improve their life; love each other; teach their children better	Husband and wife work, make decisions, discuss and sell what they produce together; educate women equally to men; love at home, avoid conflict; produce products in a better way; culture of saving	They work together; live in harmony and peace; change their children's diet; keep children clean
Gindhiba Badhe (Oromia, non-GMF)	n/a	They plan together, listen to each other, think of each other, plan together, live in love, and raise their families positively	n/a	Work and have fun together, Live in harmony, less conflict in the home

<p><b>Maze</b> (Central Ethiopia, PASIDP II)</p>	<p>Believe in the equality of men and women; are good role models in society; <b>work hard in agriculture</b>; educate their children; have hybrid cattle breeds; build house out of tin and decorate it</p>	<p>Support one another in the family; <b>have love in the family</b>; teach and care for their children; uphold morals</p>	<p>They show good progress and change in their life; <b>there is no stress; they are models for others</b>; they welcome guests; educate their children</p>	<p>Wife and husband walk to places like the market, and do weeding etc. together. <b>There is unity, love and mutual consideration; no stress</b></p>
<p><b>Hansara</b> (Central Ethiopia, non-GMF)</p>	<p>n/a</p>	<p><b>Love each other</b>; have many livestock; live comfortably; have food security; educate their children</p>	<p>n/a</p>	<p><b>Think of each other; husband does not become a drunk (so children see their father and don't respect their mother); unity, love.</b></p>

Table 7. PASIDP II and GMF interventions by community

Sources: <sup>a</sup> Community profile S1.2 Q1; <sup>b</sup> PASIDP II scheme mapping, March 2021; <sup>c</sup> Community profile S1.2 Q2, Women only, summarized; <sup>d</sup> Community profile: S1.2 Q3); <sup>e</sup> CFFI, S0.2Q6a; <sup>f</sup> CFFI, S1.1Q2

Region		Amhara		Oromia		Central Ethiopia	
Village		Girum	Yasankat	Sodu Welmel	Gindhiba Badhe	Maze	Hansara
Type		PASIDP II	Non-PASIDP II	PASIDP II	Non-PASIDP II	PASIDP II	Non-PASIDP II
<b>PASIDP II interventions</b>		GMF; irrigation and dam building; capacity building; seed and seedling houses; market linkage; establish and strengthen associations; experience exchange	Labor work to dig irrigation canal <sup>e</sup>	GMF; irrigation canal; seed and fertilizer supply; training and demonstrations; market linkage; establish associations	Member of IWUA <sup>e</sup>	GMF; irrigation and dam building; capacity building seed and seedling houses; experience exchange; market linkage; establish and strengthen associations	N/A
<b>Access to irrigation</b>		Yes – PASIDP II (Gedeb IV) <sup>e</sup>	Yes <sup>f</sup>	Yes, PASIDP II (Welmel Tika, 650 ha) <sup>b</sup>	Yes <sup>f</sup>	Yes (PASIDP II: Gomboloz, 51 ha) <sup>b</sup>	No <sup>f</sup>
<b>Women's involvement in PASIDP II interventions</b>	<b>Planning</b>	No women in planning, except GMF, where men and women are equally involved	N/A	N/A	N/A	Equally involved	N/A
	<b>Implementation</b>	Fewer women in some activities, and equal in others	N/A	N/A	N/A	Equally involved	N/A
	<b>Benefit</b>	Generally equal with men	N/A	N/A	N/A	Equally involved	N/A
<b>GMF participation</b>	<b>Implementation start</b>	2019	N/A	2019	None	2019	None
	<b>First batch graduated from GMF</b>	30 couples	None	25 couples	None	62 couples	None
	<b>Second batch</b>	47 couples	None	10 couples	None	16 couples	None

## PASIDP II and GMF interventions in study villages

PASIDP II study villages had received GMF training, irrigation systems, seed and fertilizers, and services linking them to markets, and had had irrigation water users associations (IWUAs) established with associated training and demonstrations (Table 7). GMF training began in 2019, three years prior to our data collection. The first batch of couples who volunteered for GMF received training directly from PASIDP II. They graduated after undergoing the entire GMF training cycle, which was hampered by Covid-19 in 2020–2021. Graduation ceremonies took place for the first and second batches of GMF couples, even as the number of couples joining as GMF ‘followers’ (i.e., third and subsequent batches) grew.

Despite not being part of the PASIDP II command area, some respondents in non-PASIDP II villages in Oromia and Amhara in our study participated in PASIDP II activities as daily labourers for canal digging, and were IWUA members. Some owned irrigated lands, but we did not discern whether these were part of the PASIDP II or another intervention (PASIDP I).

Women’s involvement in interventions varied across the PASIDP II villages. According to key informants, in Amhara, women were less involved in planning and implementation, but equally involved in receiving benefits from interventions. In Oromia, the opposite was the case – women were more involved in planning and implementation, but less involved in receiving benefits. In Central Ethiopia, women and men were equally involved in all stages of the intervention. Involvement showed women were included in communal processes, but did not necessarily mean they had any influence over decision making. In Section 0, male and female FGD participants share their perceptions on women’s rights over land and resources, and attitudes on women’s ability to decide on communal matters. These findings can better reflect women’s potential influence over communal processes.

## Women’s roles and participation in community institutions

The lowest administrative level of government in Ethiopia is the *kebele*, where community councils are found (Table 8). These councils take care of the distribution of public goods (e.g., agricultural inputs) and services (e.g., health, irrigation, savings services). There had been notable increases in female council members over the previous 10 years in all study villages, except the non-PASIDP II village in CENTRAL ETHIOPIA, where only men participated in important community-level institutions. This was in stark contrast to the PASIDP II village in the same *kebele*, where a women’s association was present, and some institutions were attended by both men and women. In Oromia, both predominantly female and predominantly male associations were present, along with a mixed gender social-help organization (*Idir*). In Amhara, *Idir* could be male-dominated or mixed. While some associations were predominantly male (*Idir, Equb*), no association was predominantly female.

## Discussion

The differences between perceptions of women’s challenges derived from two research instruments (community profiles targeting community leaders/development agents versus gender-disaggregated FGDs) are interesting. They show that leaders (who are mostly men) will prioritize challenges they are familiar with (e.g., mobility, income), which may be different from how women would prioritize them since women face challenges in different dimensions of life (e.g., attitudes against unmarried women, lack of decision-making power, patriarchal culture). Some topics (e.g., control over land) may overlap. It is therefore important to ensure that respondents are gender balanced.

Table 8. Women's roles and participation in community institutions

Sources: <sup>a</sup> Community profile S1.4 Q1; <sup>b</sup> community profile S1.4 Q2; <sup>c</sup> community profile S1.4 Q4; <sup>d</sup> community profile S1.4 Q5-Q

		Amhara		Oromia		Central Ethiopia	
		Girum	Yasankat	Sodu Welmel	Gindhiba Badhe	Maze	Hansara
		PASIDP II	Non-PASIDP II	PASIDP II	Non-PASIDP II	PASIDP II	Non-PASIDP II
Community council	Description <sup>a</sup>	Kebele council (none at village level)		Kebele council (none at village level)		Yes	None
	% female members <sup>b</sup>	Now: 20% 10 years ago: 7%		Now: 32% 10 years ago: 0%		Now: 50% 10 years ago: 0%	None
Council meeting in the past year <sup>c</sup>	Issues discussed	Distribution and providing of materials; irrigation use; good governance; health package		Income of the Kebele; infrastructure		Women's development; savings and credit	n/a
Important social organizations <sup>d</sup>	Women only	None	None	Kebele women's association		Women's development group	None
	Women and men	GMF	Idir (helping each other)	Idir (helping each other)	Idir (helping each other)	Idir (helping each other)	None
	Men only	Idir (helping each other)	Equb (savings group), social collaboration	Forest association	Forest association	Savings association	Savings association

The perception of women's and men's well-being in villages differed across GMF and non-GMF groups, even if the subject of discussion was the same village. A possible explanation is that expressing this well-being gap is easier among non-GMF groups because it is a fact that they find acceptable. In contrast, GMF groups may have had a harder time expressing the same inequalities because they represent a different world where such inequalities are diminished. Gendered differences in well-being are perceived as coming from attitudes/culture/religion, which not only view men as superior, but also deprive women of indicators that cause men to be viewed as superior, such as leadership experience, physical strength and income opportunities.

In all regions, GMF aligns well with aspirations of being 'better off', suggesting that there is clear demand for the training regardless of prevailing gender norms. These include direct outcomes of GMF training (e.g., mutual respect, equality, working to improve the family, being a model) and indirect outcomes (e.g., love and harmony, economic stability, food security).

## Existing rights to land and resources

### Characteristics of women's land rights

#### Women's land rights under various life events (e.g., deaths, marriage, migration)

Common trends on women's land rights applied among all study villages (Table 9). Many of women's land rights were received via inheritance from parents or husbands, or by marriage

- Migrants lacked land rights compared to non-migrants. Migrants may have been given land by the government or privately, but the main channels of marriage and inheritance were not available to them.

Each study village showed differences even within the same *Kebele*. Note that the terms used to describe land rights vary across languages, making it difficult to use consistent legal terminology (e.g. *use* versus *own* versus *share*). It was also difficult to understand whether land rights are transferred based on legal or customary/religious laws.

Amhara had adopted joint land certificates with couples' photos, that create a stronger sense of legal security. Upon a husband's death, wives retain their half of the land, while the husband's half is shared between their children.

In Oromia study villages, the communities were predominantly Muslim who follow Sharia law for inheritances, marriages and divorces. Under the Sharia law, sons normally inherit twice as much as their sisters when one of their parents die. When husbands die, wives without children are entitled a quarter share; those without children are entitled one-eighth. When wives die, husbands receive half share if she had no children, and a quarter if she had children<sup>2</sup>. We found that the rule varied between villages upon the death of a husband: the wife could inherit property fully, or ownership could fall to the family of the deceased husband (including the wife). Either way, women in Oromia did get a share of land ownership (albeit smaller than for men).

In Central Ethiopia study villages, women could not inherit land. In one village, interviews with key informants for the community profile showed women could share land, but data from FGDs in the same village indicated women having no role in farm work. (see Section 0). Both data sources suggest women have very limited power over land, either irrigated or non-irrigated.

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<sup>2</sup> <https://www.islamic-relief.org.uk/qiving/islamic-qiving/islamic-inheritance/how-to-calculate-inheritance-in-islam/>, Accessed 3 April 2024

### **Women's participation in deciding and caring for farmland**

Women's participation in deciding and caring for farmland is an important indicator of influence. We observed a difference between PASIDP II and non-PASIDP II villages in Oromia and Central Ethiopia (Table 10).

In these study villages, key informants expressed much higher levels of women's participation in PASIDP II villages. In both villages, women were members of IWUA committees, and there had been notable positive change over the previous five years. In one village, GMF was mentioned as the cause of this change. In Amhara, the difference was not as marked. Respondents in PASIDP II and non-PASIDP II villages remarked that they had low female participation in land conservation. Participants felt the role of deciding on land conservation/protection was predominantly for men (Table 9).



Table 9. Women's land rights under different conditions

Sources: Community profile, Section 1.3 Q 13-14; <sup>b</sup> Community profile, Section 1.3 Q 15-16; <sup>c</sup> Community profile, Section 1.3 Q 17

Characteristics		Amhara		Oromia		Central Ethiopia	
		Girum	Yasankat	Sodu Welmel	Gindhiba Badhe	Girum	Yasankat
		PASIDP II	Non-PASIDP II	PASIDP II	Non-PASIDP II	PASIDP II	Non-PASIDP II
Farmland ownership types <sup>a</sup>	Individual	Yes	Only for single mothers	Yes	Yes	No	No
	Joint	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ownership upon death of <sup>b</sup>	Husband	Divides with children	Given to wife and children	Land is owned by the wife	Owned by families of the deceased	Wife and their children have use rights	Wife will take ownership of land. Can bequeath to children, or to husband's family if there are no children
	Parents	Inherit	Inherit	Inherit half as much as male siblings (religious)	Inherit half as much as male siblings	Inherit	Inherit (more land for men compared to women)
How do rights to non-irrigated and irrigated farmland differ for women who are: <sup>c</sup>	Born in the community	Share with husband	No difference	Half as much as a man (religious)	Half as much as a man	Only men can inherit	Can share
	Married into the community	Share with husband	Have the rights for the farmlands after marriage	From husband and her family	Use the land owned by their husband	Gets land through her husband	Can share
	Migrated into the community	Rent	Do not own farmlands unless given privately	Granted by the government	No access to land	[No response]	Cannot share
	Widowed	Inherit from late husband	Inherit from late husband	From late husband	Continue to own their land after their husband's death	Her children and herself will inherit the land	Can share

Table 10. Women's involvement in caring for farmland

Source: Community profile, Section 1.3 Q 19-20

Characteristics		Amhara		Oromia		Central Ethiopia	
		Girum	Yasankat	Sodu Welmel	Gindhiba Badhe	Maze	Hansara
		PASIDP II	Non-PASIDP II	PASIDP II	Non-PASIDP II	PASIDP II	Non-PASIDP II
<b>Women's involvement in deciding and caring for farmland</b>		Similar for farmland, but limited participation in farmland conservation. Males participated more in protection/preservation of land	Women participated because they had legal ownership. But there were still gaps in involvement and making decisions	Women were involved in decision making and caring for irrigated and non-irrigated land; Women managed land and were association committee members	Insignificant participation in decision making and caring for land. Widows participated by representing their families	Occasional participation in IWUA (small numbers). Women had the right to sell or exchange land after husband dies	Produce vegetables and fruits
<b>Women's position of authority over land</b>	<b>Position</b>	Administrative position	None	Leadership in taking care of their land; members of committees	None	IWUA members	None
	<b>Changes over the previous five years</b>	None	None	Yes. GMF contributed greatly to change by creating awareness and increasing women's participation in a committee in PASIDP	Women had no positions of authority in caring for land because that was the domain of men in the community	After receiving gender training, women participated as members of the water users committee. Five of the 13 committee members were women	Yes, women held land, but the community was not focused on gender equality

## Knowledge on ways to acquire land

Generally, participants in men’s FGDs in all study villages were aware of more ways to acquire land than their female counterparts were (Table 11). During gender-specific focus group discussions, women mentioned inheriting, purchasing or land distribution, while men included additional options such as betrothal, renting, land occupation and land exchange.

Table 11. Current ways people acquire farmland

Source: FGD Discussions Q2.2

	How do people acquire irrigated and non-irrigated farmland today?			
	Men (GMF)	Men (Non GMF)	Women (GMF)	Women (non-GMF)
Girum (Amhara, PASIDP II)	Inheritance, gift, rent, land distribution	Inheritance, gift, rent, land distribution	Land distribution	Land distribution
Yasankat (Amahara, non-PASIDP II)	n/a	Inheritance, gift, purchase, land occupation	n/a	Purchase, land distribution
Sodu Welmel (Oromia, PASIDP II)	Inheritance, gift, land distribution	Inheritance, gift, exchange	Inheritance	Inheritance
Gindhiba Badhe (Oromia, non-PASIDP II)	n/a	Inheritance, gift, purchase	n/a	Inheritance
Maze (Central Ethiopia, PASIDP II)	Inheritance, gift, rent	Inheritance, gift, rent	Purchase	Inheritance
Hansara (Central Ethiopia, non-PASIDP II)	n/a	Inheritance, gift, and purchase	n/a	Purchase

## Women’s problems related to various resources, and suggested solutions

### Non-irrigated land

Common problems for women in managing non-irrigated lands varied between regions (Table 12). In Amhara study villages, problems related to women’s perceived physical frailties (i.e., they become pregnant, get sick, and lack strength); The common solution was ‘working together’, an idea repeated across GMF and non-GMF groups, and in the non-PASIDP II village.

The main problem in Oromia study villages was women’s vulnerability to the effects of drought (e.g., lack of food and money). This was a common problem for men in the PASIDP II study village, but a greater burden for women in the non-PASIDP II study village. Reasons for this were apparent in responses concerning problems accessing income opportunities (Table 15). Participants in the non-GMF men’s FGD in the PASIDP II study village said that socially, women are not allowed to farm on non-irrigated land. Women also mentioned having access restrictions to non-irrigated land, where use by men relates directly to women’s access to food. This implies that if the land is used for non-food cash crops, whose benefits are controlled by men, women’s food security is threatened. Social help, selling off livestock, borrowing and working as daily farm labour are ways to overcome this problem, but access to these solutions may also be more difficult for women compared to men. A solution proposed during the PASIDP II non-GMF men’s FGD was a government programme to contour the land. However, doing so would not address the issue of lack of access to non-irrigated land for women. The women’s suggestion was to introduce GMF training, as would lift the barrier on women’s access to farm land.

In Central Ethiopia, women were not involved (or were perceived unable to work) in agriculture. GMF men also identified physical strength as a limitation. Farm work is clearly reserved for men, with limited acknowledgment that women are directly impacted by it because they also need to eat and are responsible for feeding the family. Women in the non-PASIDP II village felt their contribution through 'light' farm work, such as watering plants, was acknowledged with punishment when it was not done. Women also cannot inherit land. Land inheritance rules are the same in the PASIDP II village, hence tenure is a common issue. Based on our other instruments (PSI, CFFI) and informal discussions, punishment and domestic violence also exist in the PASIDP II village, but seemed to have been reduced by GMF training.

### Irrigated land

The main issues on irrigated land were caused by water availability, with crops being spoiled either because of too much, or too little water (Table 12). Our observation was that some farmers (especially women) lack the ability to contour their land or manage water entering it to ensure irrigation water does not pool and cause spoilage. PASIDP II and GMF have ameliorated this issue by training couples together on irrigation usage, ensuring both know what to do when the other is not present. This is a serious issue for female-headed households, who – as mentioned in Table 4 – must manage everything alone. In Central Ethiopia, there is a belief that watering the garden at midnight will lead to sickness.

Table 12. Common problems for women related to irrigated and non-irrigated land, and how these are commonly resolved

Sources: FGD discussions D3Q1-Q4

	What common problems are faced by women related to irrigated/non-irrigated lands? And how about by men? How would these problems be commonly resolved?			
	Men (GMF)	Men (Non GMF)	Women (GMF)	Women (non-GMF)
<b>Girum (Amhara, PASIDP II)</b>	Non-irrigated: exhaustion due to farm remoteness and slope → Take breaks, men and women help each other ----- Irrigated: Same	Non-irrigated: Lack of strength → Help each other ----- Irrigated: Same	Non-irrigated: None. Since GMF training we have worked on different tasks together ----- Irrigated: Water scarcity and tardiness. → Use water from main canal, help from daily labourers	Non-irrigated: No problems ----- Irrigated: No problems
<b>Yasankat (Amhara, non-PASIDP II)</b>	n/a	Non-irrigated: Lack of strength → Help each other ----- Irrigated: No irrigated land	n/a	Non-irrigated: Workload → Help each other ----- Irrigated: No irrigated land
<b>SoduSodu Welmel (Oromia, PASIDP II)</b>	Non-irrigated: Shortage of food and money due to drought, same for men. → No solution ----- Irrigated: Farming inputs and technology. Men too → IFAD/PASIDP II provided above inputs and training but not enough, want more in future	Non-irrigated: Shortage of food, lack of income. Same for men. → Government contour the land ----- Irrigated: Lack of inputs. → Resolved by IFAD	Non-irrigated: Shortage of food and money due to drought, same for men → Irrigation water, sell cattle, work daily labour ----- Irrigated: Too much water, spoiled fruit/veg → Stop production	Non-irrigated: Shortage of food and money due to drought, same for men → Borrowing and getting support ----- Irrigated: Too much water, spoiled fruit/veg → Stop production

	What common problems are faced by women related to irrigated/non-irrigated lands? And how about by men? How would these problems be commonly resolved?			
	Men (GMF)	Men (Non GMF)	Women (GMF)	Women (non-GMF)
<b>Gindhiba Badhe (Oromia, non-PASIDP II)</b>	n/a	Non-irrigated: lack food and money due to drought, more difficult for women No such challenges for men → No solution ----- Irrigated: lack farming inputs, culturally higher positions for men → No solution	n/a	Non-irrigated: lack food and money due to drought, more difficult for women → Sell cattle, work daily labour ----- Irrigated: Too much water, spoiled fruit/veg → Stop production
<b>Maze (Central Ethiopia, PASIDP II)</b>	Non-irrigated: Lack of water, which reduces production efficiency Women get exhausted → Working and helping each other ----- Irrigated: No data	Non-irrigated: No issues for women because they are not involved ----- Irrigated: Women participate less; water leaks due to a lack of capacity → Help women watering	Non-irrigated: Community thinks women unable to do agriculture → [No solution] ----- Irrigated: No problem	Non-irrigated: Sickness from watering at midnight → Work equally with men ----- Irrigated: Women not allowed to inherit or administer this land; Land shortage and conflict → Education and training
<b>Hansara (Central Ethiopia, non-PASIDP II)</b>	n/a	No issues because women are not involved in agriculture	n/a	Non-irrigated: too weak to plough, fall sick or pregnant, leading to abortion/injury from high workload; Husbands punish wives for not watering the land → Government support, helping each other ----- Irrigated: No irrigated land

## Livestock

The main livestock-related problems for women in Amhara were their responsibilities for tending and feeding cattle, and scarce grazing lands, fodder and veterinary services/medicines (Table 13). One solution was to travel far, but women are less mobile than men (See

Table 4) and face security risks when grazing their livestock. In Amhara respondents mentioned the government several times – It is expected to provide or reduce the prices of inputs and enable fodder production closer to home using alternative feed sources and grazing techniques. Working together to share the burden of cattle feeding was another solution proposed mostly by women and men in Amhara, possibly because it is still gendered.

Similar problems with fodder, grazing land and veterinary services existed in Oromia, but were mentioned more by men. As a predominantly pastoral community, respondents suggested using existing (traditional) solutions, such as tethering cattle to limit their grazing area, using local cattle breeds, and using local methods for fattening cattle. None of the FGD participants expected government intervention.

In Central Ethiopia, contradictory statements concerning women's involvement in animal husbandry and agriculture reflected a significant gender gap. Participants in non-GMF men's FGDs in both PASIDP II and non-PASIDP II villages said women are not involved with livestock, and therefore have no livestock-related problems. Meanwhile, participants in GMF men's FGDs said the main issue was a lack

of improved breeds. Neither of these reflected problems voiced during women’s FGDs in both villages, where participants felt women shouldered greater responsibilities for breeding and raising cattle. Despite these responsibilities, non-GMF women in the PASIDP II village said men would not consult them when selling cattle. GMF-trained women felt there were no issues as they work together with men; a point not clearly confirmed by men.

Table 13. Common problems for women related to livestock and how these are commonly resolved

Sources: FGD discussions D3Q5-Q6

	What common problems are faced by women related to irrigated/non-irrigated lands? And how about by men? How would these problems be commonly resolved?			
	Men (GMF)	Men (non-GMF)	Women (GMF)	Women (non-GMF)
<b>Girum (Amhara, PASIDP II)</b>	Lack grazing land, modern breeds, fodder and veterinary expertise → Feed cattle with by-products, work with <i>kebele</i> agricultural officers to treat the cattle	Women being gored when stopping cows to milk them → Show women how to defend themselves	No problem; Both work together	No problem [NOTE: Women are engaged and perceive no problems]
<b>Yasankat (Amahara, Non-PASIDP II)</b>	n/a	Lack strength so women cannot prepare fodder and feed cattle → Work together; Husbands prepare cattle fodder	n/a	Animal disease (same problem for men); animal rearing and breeding mainly women’s job → Modern medication from government
<b>Sodu Welmel (Oromia, PASIDP II)</b>	Lack of improved cattle, grass seeds, veterinary clinics and medicines → Feed at home, raise local cattle, use local seeds, go far for veterinary clinic/medicine	Lack of fodder, health, and improved seeds → Fatten cattle traditionally	Lack of land and fodder; Same for men → Reduce cattle, use improved seeds, tether cattle to restrict feeding range	Lack grazing land as most land is ploughed; → Tether cattle to restrict feeding range
<b>Gindhiba Badhe (Oromia, Non-PASIDP II)</b>	n/a	Lack cattle fodder and feed; Same for men → Prepare cattle fodder and fatten cattle themselves	n/a	Lack grazing land as most land is ploughed → Reducing cattle numbers, using improved seeds, binding when feeding
<b>Maze (Central Ethiopia, PASIDP II)</b>	Lack improved breeds → Artificial insemination	Women not involved Men go far for fodder → Plant grass and bananas near irrigation canal	No problems	Women breed and graze animals, but men sell without consulting; Lack money for modern breeding → Work together, advise each other, save money for modern breeding
<b>Hansara (Central Ethiopia, Non-PASIDP II)</b>	n/a	Women not involved. Men face cattle disease and lack fodder → Nothing	n/a	Women responsible for keeping and tending animals, which is tiring. Men lack money for fodder → Help each other

### Agricultural inputs

Women and men voiced similar problems with agricultural inputs (Table 14), which included issues with quantity (lack of money, seeds, fertilizer, tools/machinery); quality (no ‘modern’ tools, poor quality seeds); prices (too expensive); and availability (i.e., unavailable when needed by farmers). Potential solutions mentioned were improving government services, substituting with inferior or traditional inputs, diversifying income sources (daily labouring, trading), working hard, training, and

withdrawing savings were mentioned as potential solutions. Unlike other resources (Sections 0, 0 and 0), helping each other was rarely mentioned as a solution for agricultural input problems, as solutions were expected to come from outside the communities. There seemed to be no difference between GMF and non-GMF groups, or between genders in terms of ability to access fertilizers, which was a common constraint mentioned by all discussion groups.

Table 14. Common problems for women related to agricultural inputs and how these are commonly resolved

Sources: FGD discussions D3Q7-Q8

	Men (GMF)	Men (non-GMF)	Women (GMF)	Women (non-GMF)
<b>Girum (Amhara, PASIDP II)</b>	Lack of fertilizers, seeds; price rises → Use liquid fertilizer	Lack of inputs e.g., seeds and fertilizers; incomplete irrigation canal → None	Fertilizer shortages and costs; seeds and agricultural equipment not timely; same for men → Expect government support (help); work hard and help each other	Shortages of fertilizer, not timely → Expect government to provide agricultural equipment
<b>Yasankat (Amahara, Non-PASIDP II)</b>	n/a	Lack good seeds and fertilizers; expensive; same for men → Compost fertilizer training from Kebele Agricultural Bureau	n/a	Expensive equipment; lack fertilizer → Expect government to provide equipment on time
<b>Sodu Welmel (Oromia, PASIDP II)</b>	Lack of/expensive fertilizer and improved seeds; no responsible government bodies → Buy agricultural inputs with own money	Lack agricultural inputs → Cereals and banana seeds from IFAD for those with irrigation; None for those without irrigated land	Lack money; low participation → Work together, use bank savings	Lack money; low participation → Work as day labour; buying and selling
<b>Gindhiba Badhe (Oromia, Non-PASIDP II)</b>	n/a	Expensive agricultural inputs (Same for men) → Expect government support	n/a	Expensive agricultural inputs → Sell cattle
<b>Maze (Central Ethiopia, PASIDP II)</b>	Lack agricultural equipment → Borrow from each other	Women underrepresented; Lack good seeds, fertilizers, modern equipment → Use of old axes, compost and dung	Lack money → Work hard; help each other	Lack money → Work hard and help each other; get training
<b>Hansara (Central Ethiopia, Non-PASIDP II)</b>	n/a	Women not involved; Men lack agricultural inputs like seeds, fertilizer, equipment → Enable us to buy agricultural inputs	n/a	Poverty (same for men) → Work hard; get government support

### Income opportunities

There were different perceptions of problems in accessing income opportunities across the different study villages, even within the same *kebele* (Table 15). Results were mixed In Amhara study villages. Some groups saw no significant problems for women to access income opportunities, which – in the women’s GMF group – was attributed to improved collaboration between couples. Non-GMF women’s groups in both PASIDP II and non-PASIDP II villages viewed unemployment as a problem, and felt government should provide work. Men’s groups either identified no problems, or proposed no solutions.

In the Oromia PASIDP II village, participants in the non-GMF men’s FGD said that culturally women have the right to farm only on irrigated land, as farming on non-irrigated land is reserved for men. If this is true, PASIDP II could have a large impact in reducing unemployment (and under-employment) among women. Another issue was the right to earn income from lucrative crops, notably large-volumes of khat. Women were only allowed to practice small-scale trading.

In Central Ethiopia, male non-GMF respondents in both PASIDP II and non-PASIDP II villages felt the topic of income opportunities to be irrelevant for women, saying they are not involved in activities outside the home. In contrast, male GMF respondents felt women had no problems accessing income opportunities. The only consistent manner to interpret these findings is that all male respondents believe income opportunities are irrelevant for women, who are either not allowed to engage in activities outside the home, or are not responsible for generating income for the household. In contrast, women do not directly evoke gender norms, and acknowledge challenges in accessing income opportunities. Women attribute those challenges to lack of knowledge, training and collaboration among women and men, and lack of access to money to get jobs.

*Table 15. Common problems for women related to income opportunities and how these are commonly resolved*

Sources: FGD discussions D3Q9-10

	Men (GMF)	Men (non-GMF)	Women (GMF)	Women (non-GMF)
<b>Girum (Amhara, PASIDP II)</b>	As mentioned above (lack production inputs) → No solution	No problems. Men: lack strength, low pay → No solution	No problem because together we produce, sell, use money together and save	Unemployment → Government provide work
<b>Yasankat (Amahara, non-PASIDP II)</b>	n/a	No problem (men too)	n/a	Unemployment → Government provide work
<b>Sodu Welmel (Oromia, PASIDP II)</b>	Unemployment; lack money; lack farmland to supply market (men too) → Women do small-scale business (e.g., selling khat) but the norm in society is men benefit more than women	No income/job opportunities because no irrigated land; Culturally, only men can work on non-irrigated land → Use income from irrigated land and livestock	Before GMF training it was a problem for women to go out and do agricultural work, sell what they produce and use the money. Now no problems → GMF training	Before GMF training it was a problem for women to go out and do agricultural work, sell what they produce and use the money → GMF training
<b>Gindhiba Badhe (Oromia, non-PASIDP II)</b>	n/a	Job opportunity and income generation (men too) → No solution	n/a	Women do not have the right to sell large crops or ask for the money → By training
<b>Maze (Central Ethiopia, PASIDP II)</b>	No problems	Women are not involved; men lose energy	Lack knowledge (men too); economical problems; lack of savings habit → Learning, working together on income-generating activities	Lack of savings habit and trading. Men: conflict with others, poor money management → Association, training, income-generating activities
<b>Hansara (Central Ethiopia, non-PASIDP II)</b>	n/a	Women not allowed to work outside the home. Men: Low pay → No solution	n/a	No jobs because no money to get jobs (men too) → Government must solve this and provide work; work hard



## Discussion

Women's rights over land, and the way in which they acquire and control land, varied across our study villages, as expected. Nevertheless, general patterns emerged:

- Women's land rights are mainly received via inheritance from parents or husbands, or by marriage. New migrants, who do not have marital and filial links to existing landowners, lack possibilities to gain land rights compared to non-migrants.
- Women's participation in managing and caring for farmland differ between PASIDP II and their comparison (non-PASIDP II) study villages in Oromia and Central Ethiopia. Positive change was observed in the last five years, attributed to GMF and increased female membership in IWUA. In Amhara, we could not identify any differences in roles for managing and caring for farmland between men and women. Our observations indicate this is because joint land titling has advanced considerably for many years, giving women and men equal land ownership. The impact of GMF has been more about reducing conflict, sharing household chores, and improving joint decision making.
- Men are more aware of ways to acquire land compared to women.

There is limited community acknowledgement over women's contribution to farming and the impact of farming on women's welfare even when farming is not seen as women's 'work'. Suggested solutions to overcome women's problems relating to the management of various resources were often men and women working together and consulting each other, suggesting GMF has an important role to play. Some solutions are gendered (e.g., ownership of livestock for emergency sales, access to farm labour work) and within the scope of household-focused GTAs like GMF.

Unequal resource and land rights, under-representation of women in agriculture, and the perception by both men and women that women are weak were recurring problems identified across different resources. Aside from GMF training, alternative ideas on how to remedy these issues were lacking. This suggests that GMF is an existing – although rare - solution to correct these inequalities.

FGD results suggest gendered norms to land may differ between whether land is irrigated or not. The introduction of an irrigation infrastructure in the Oromia study village came with a different, more equal gender norm, compared to non-irrigated land. It is unclear whether these norms were influenced by how PASIDP II put more focus on women and female-headed-households as beneficiaries and implementing GMF. It may be unrelated to PASIDP II's stance on gender equality and more related to an existing norm for irrigation projects, or if there are systematic differences between non-irrigated and irrigated areas (e.g., pastoral lands are non-irrigated, agricultural lands are irrigated). This requires further investigation.

# GMF's influence on couples

## Participation in and knowledge of GMF

Table 16A and 16 B summarize what GMF couples mentioned as reasons for their (non) participation. Common among husbands and wives were inward facing motivation: their desire to get more knowledge, improve or change their lives or families, and get more peace and love in the family. Reasons mentioned only by wives or husbands tended to be outward facing, such as because they were selected (wives), and being models, hard workers and good citizens (husbands).

Shared reasons by non-GMF wives and husbands to NOT participate were that they had had no opportunity or were not invited, and they did not understand GMF. Some wives mentioned wanting to participate, but being unable to (too busy, it was full), while others did not want to participate. Some husbands were worried about being excluded from their culture/community. This worry was consistent with findings in previous sections that gendered labour divisions and gender inequality are parts of local culture, and that equal collaboration between men and women would be a statement against that culture.

What non-GMF respondents knew about GMF shows the kinds of values that the approach represents for outsiders (Table 17). Shared reasons among male and female respondents included: increased collaboration, change the division of labour, respect and listening in the household, education about gender equality, and becoming models in the community. Men also mentioned increased love in the household. Although most respondents (12) in non-PASIDP II villages did not know about GMF, one respondent from Amhara did. Conversely, most respondents in PASIDP II villages knew about it, except for two (of 24).

Table 16 Reasons for participating/not participating in GMF

Table 16 A. Reasons for participating

Source: CFFI S0.2Q14A, PASIDP II villages only

Reasons for participating	GMF HH	
	Wife	Husband
Get more knowledge		
Improve or change our life/family		
Get more peace and love in the family		
We were selected		
Be a model in our community		
Demonstrate we are hard workers		
Be good citizens of the community/country		
Other reasons:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>the participant learned from a previous gender model family and agreed with planning and deciding everything together (husband)</li> <li>to care for children and discuss and talk with each other (wife)</li> <li>to understand our rights and obligation (wife)</li> </ul>	

Table 16 B. Reasons for not participating in GMF

Source: CFFI S0.2Q14B, PASIDP II villages only

Reasons for not participating	Non-GMF HH	
	Wife	Husband
I was not invited/had no opportunity		
I don't understand GMF		
I wanted to participate but it was full		
I didn't want to participate		
I was busy		
I was afraid to be excluded from my culture		

Table 17. Knowledge about GMF among non-GMF respondents

Source: CFFI S1Q15, PASIDP II villages only

Knowledge about GMF (non-GMF)	Women	Men
Nothing/don't know		
Increase collaboration, respect, listening in the household		
Change division of labour (e.g., reduce/share women's workload)		
Educated about gender equality		
Become model in our community		
Increase love		

## Gender roles and responsibilities

### Responsibilities at the community level

We asked respondents in PASIDP II and non-PASIDP II villages about their perceptions of the responsibilities women and men have in their communities. We coded their responses into 12 themes, and arranged them in the order of influence from Nothing (no role whatsoever) to Everything (Figure 6A – Women, Figure 6B – Men).

In general, non-GMF respondents assigned women less influential roles (i.e., the left side of Figure 6A) such as communal labour, sharing ideas, knowledge and contributing to the local economy by doing small-scale trade (low income). Many non-GMF respondents mentioned women being able to represent them at the community level, but an equal number disagreed. As the influence increased, more non-GMF respondents disagreed these are women's roles. The most mentioned response among non-GMF respondents was "Nothing/I don't know".

GMF respondents assigned the entire range of roles to women and rarely contested women being able to have more influential roles (e.g., represent HHs in the community, implement community

decisions, take care of communal land, and make decisions for the community). Neither GMF nor non-GMF participants assigned the role of keeping peace and security, or “Everything”.

For men, the picture was very different (Figure 6B). No respondent disagreed with any of the major roles we identified. Roles assigned to men were often influential, i.e., on the right side of Figure 6B. The role most often mentioned by both groups was “Make decisions for the community”. Unlike in the women’s case, no one assigned “Share ideas and opinions” to men, as the more influential roles were afforded to men. Both GMF and non-GMF respondents only assigned the role of being responsible for ‘Everything’ to men.

The only equal, uncontested role that men and women had was to participate in communal labour. Hence, while women and men were equally expected to contribute to this, the roles of making decisions at the community level, and representing HHs in related discussions were afforded more to men.

The differences between GMF and non-GMF participants were significant. GMF participants assigned more influential roles to women; never responded ‘Nothing/ I don’t know’; and rarely disagreed that women had relatively influential roles. GMF participants were the only group who mentioned implementing community decisions and taking care of communal land being women’s roles. When comparing how they assigned the roles of men versus women, GMF participants still assigned the responsibilities of keeping peace and security, managing communal lands, earning income, making decisions for the community, and ‘Everything’ to men.

Almost all (22 of 24) GMF participants, family members and friends said that GMF had influenced how women and men fulfil their community level responsibilities; the remaining two were family members/friends who responded I don’t know (Figure 7)

Many explicitly said that GMF had had a positive influence, mainly by changing attitudes towards women, improving respect and collaboration between women and men, and increasing women’s involvement at the community level. GMF’s influence on reducing conflict and improving love among couples in the community was only mentioned by male respondents.

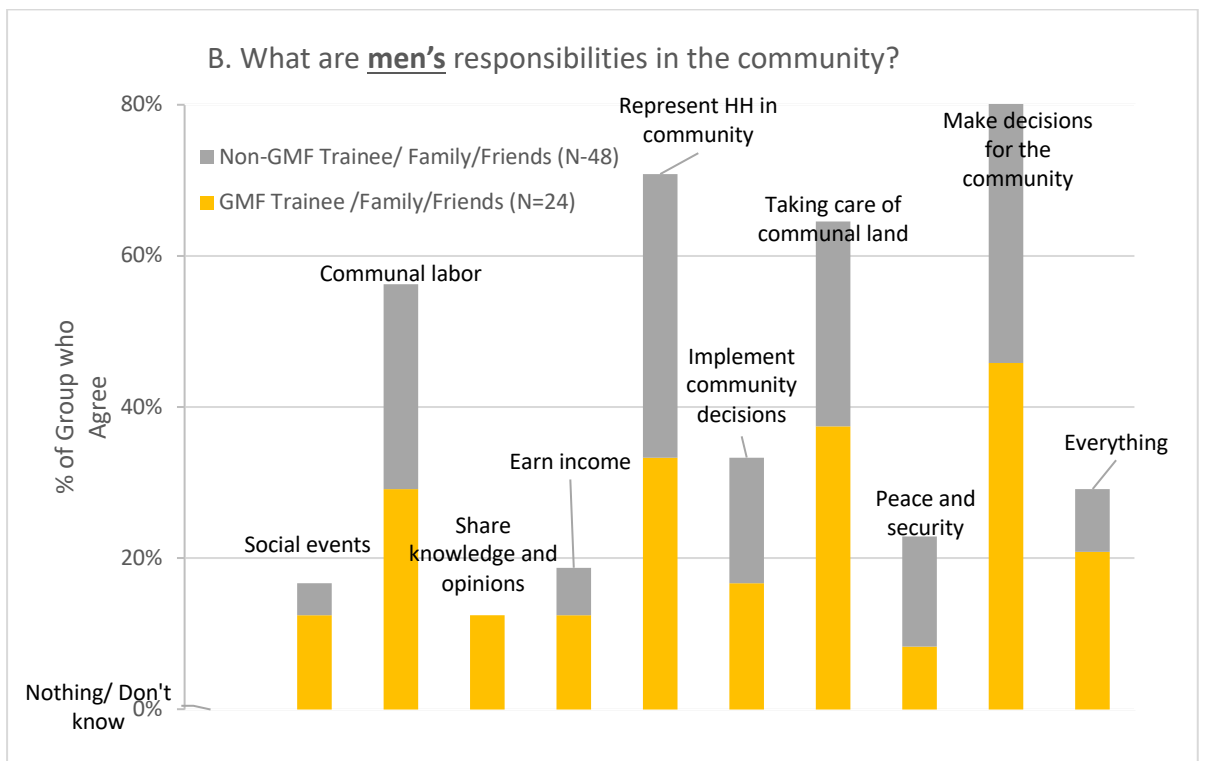
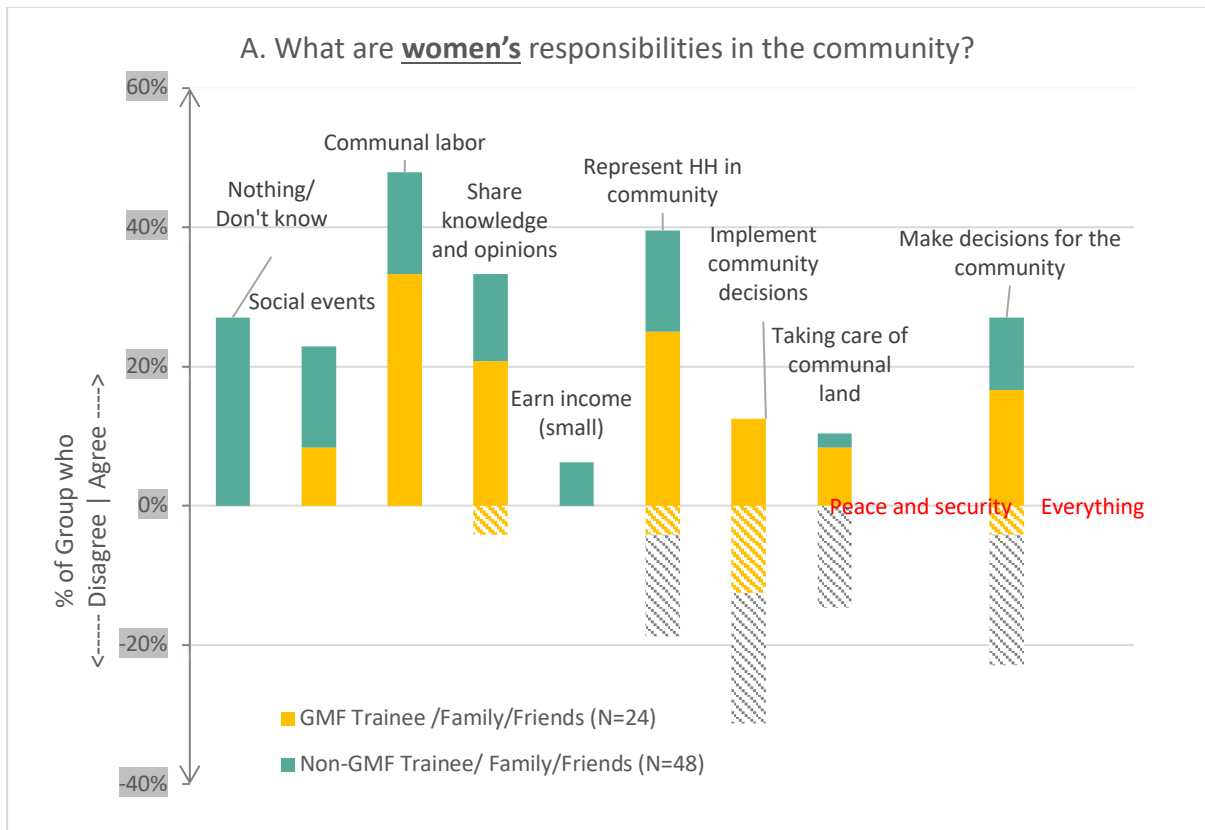


Figure 6 Women's and men's responsibilities in the community

Source: CFFI A2.1Q1A, A2.1Q2A (N=72 – GMF = 24; Non-GMF = 48)

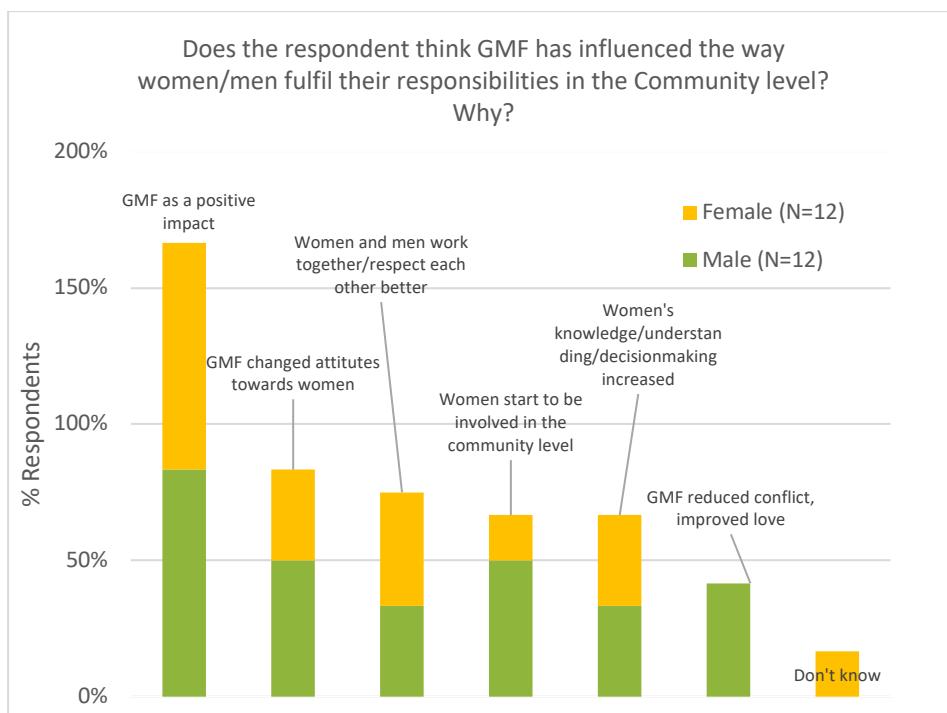


Figure 7. GMF influence on the way women and men fulfil their responsibilities at the community level

Source: CFFI A2.1Q5A – GMF couples, family and friends (N=24)

### Responsibilities at the household level

Using respondents' descriptions, we coded women and men's responsibilities into 11 themes (See Figure 8). Comparing between GMF and non-GMF respondents, including couples, families and friends, we observed:

- Only non-GMF respondents disagreeing that women were responsible for farmwork, income generation and making decisions;
- Only/mostly GMF respondents mentioning women being responsible for collecting fuelwood, earning income, children's education and 'Everything', with GMF respondents mentioning women being responsible for farmwork almost twice as frequently as non-GMF respondents;
- The two groups mentioning running the house, preparing food, washing and childcare in relatively similar frequencies.

The most mentioned and uncontested responsibilities for women agreed upon by both groups were running the household, childcare and preparing food (Figure 8A). Despite the resources required to fulfil these responsibilities, women were mainly not responsible for administering/leading them, nor making related decisions.

For men (Figure 8B), the GMF and non-GMF comparison showed the following patterns:

- Only non-GMF respondents disagreed that men run the household. In contrast, they mentioned men administering/leading the household and making decisions almost twice as frequently as GMF respondents.
- Mostly GMF respondents mentioned men being responsible for preparing food, and 'Everything'. They mentioned running the household and childcare almost twice as often as

non-GMF respondents. These responsibilities more or less coincided with the most mentioned and uncontested responsibilities for women.

- Both groups mentioned the following responsibilities with similar frequency: washing, farming/tending livestock, earning income, and collecting fuelwood/water.
- Some non-GMF participants explicitly disagreed with some roles for women: farming/tending livestock, earning income and making decisions. GMF men did not explicitly disagree on any roles for women.

The most mentioned and uncontested responsibilities for men agreed upon by both groups were farming/tending livestock and earning income. Note that both were contested as women's responsibilities by non-GMF respondents.

We asked non-GMF respondents whether GMF had influenced the way men and women fulfil household responsibilities (Figure 9). Results showed GMF's influence being largely seen as positive. These were categorized into seven themes (sorted from most to least mentioned):

- GMF has a good impact for the household, children or community.
- Non-GMF respondents learned the culture of working together (including listening, consulting and deciding with each other) from GMF couples.
- GMF changed people's minds (including their own) about sharing work, ideas and responsibilities.
- GMF improved certain aspects of well-being, such as peace, love, harmony and income.
- GMF changed their view on the culture of gendered labour division – only men agreed with this; one woman respondent was unconvinced.
- Some non-GMF participants explicitly disagreed men have a role in running the household.
- Increased involvement of women in decision making at the household and community level.

Some responses were specific to GMF families, family members of non-GMF respondents, and communities. Otherwise, they referred to people in general. Six of the 48 respondents (all men) did not know or did not respond.

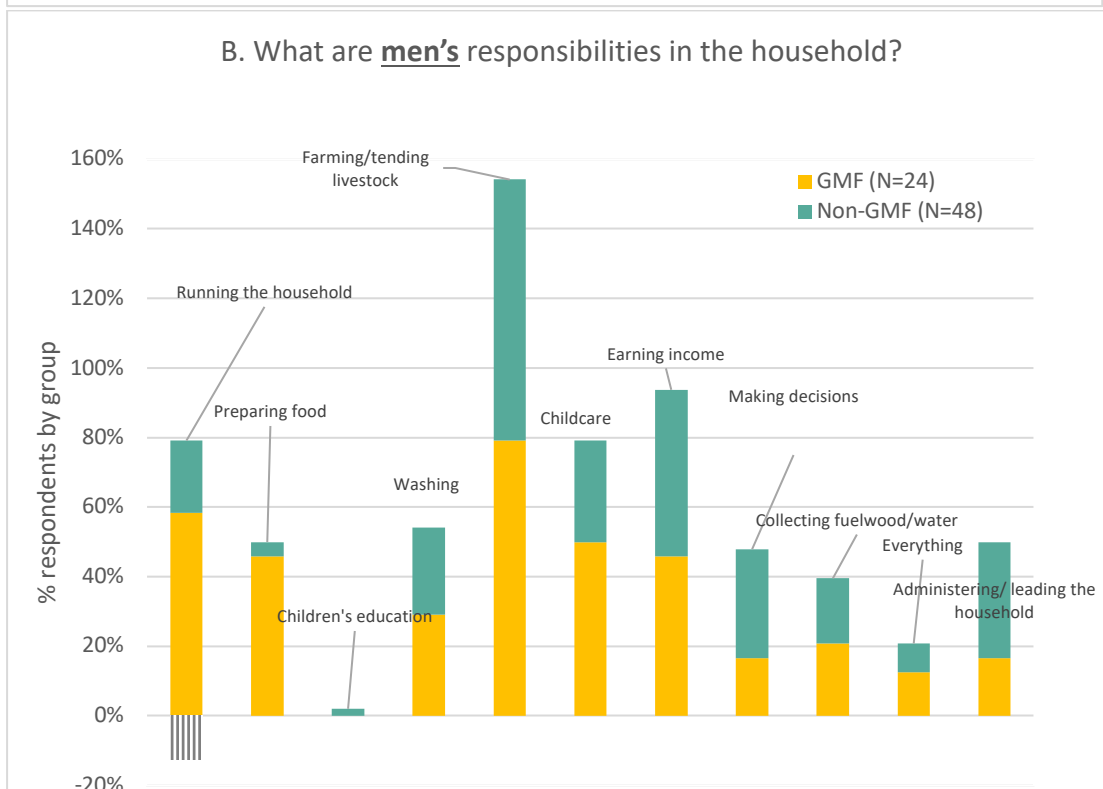
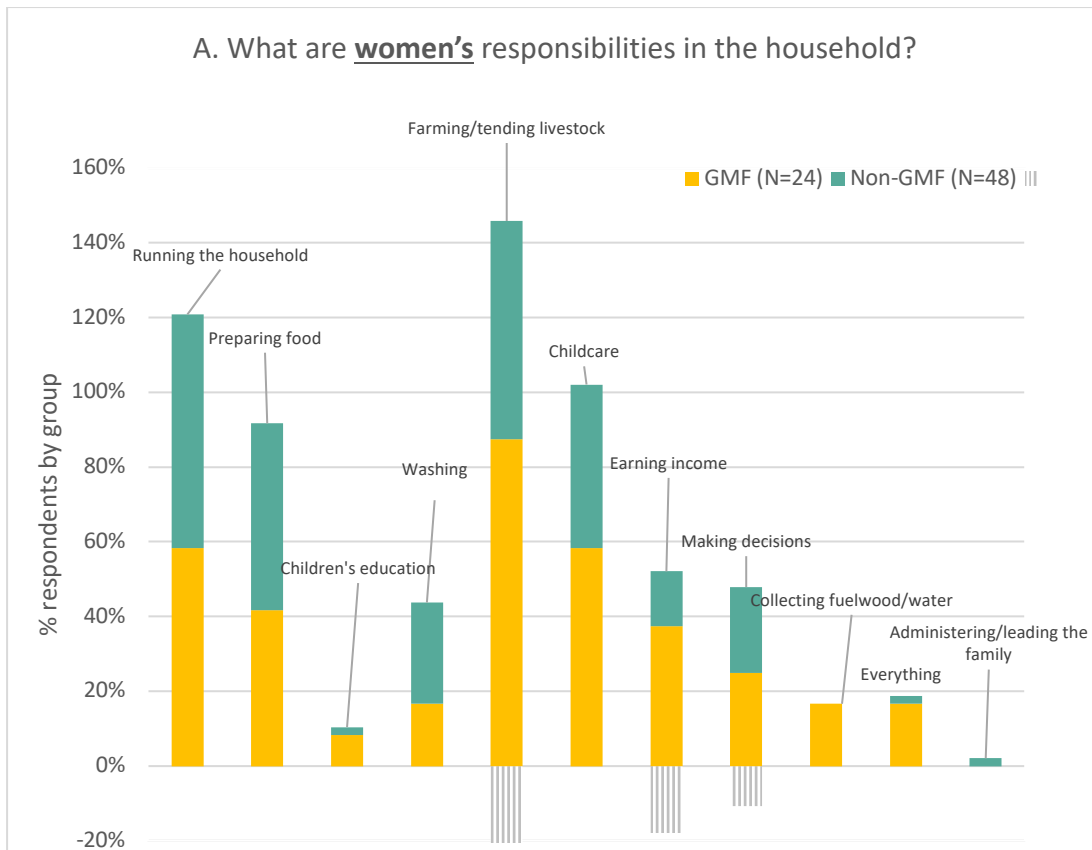


Figure 8. Women's and men's responsibilities in the household

Source: CFFI A2.1Q1A (N=72 – GMF = 24; Non-GMF = 48)



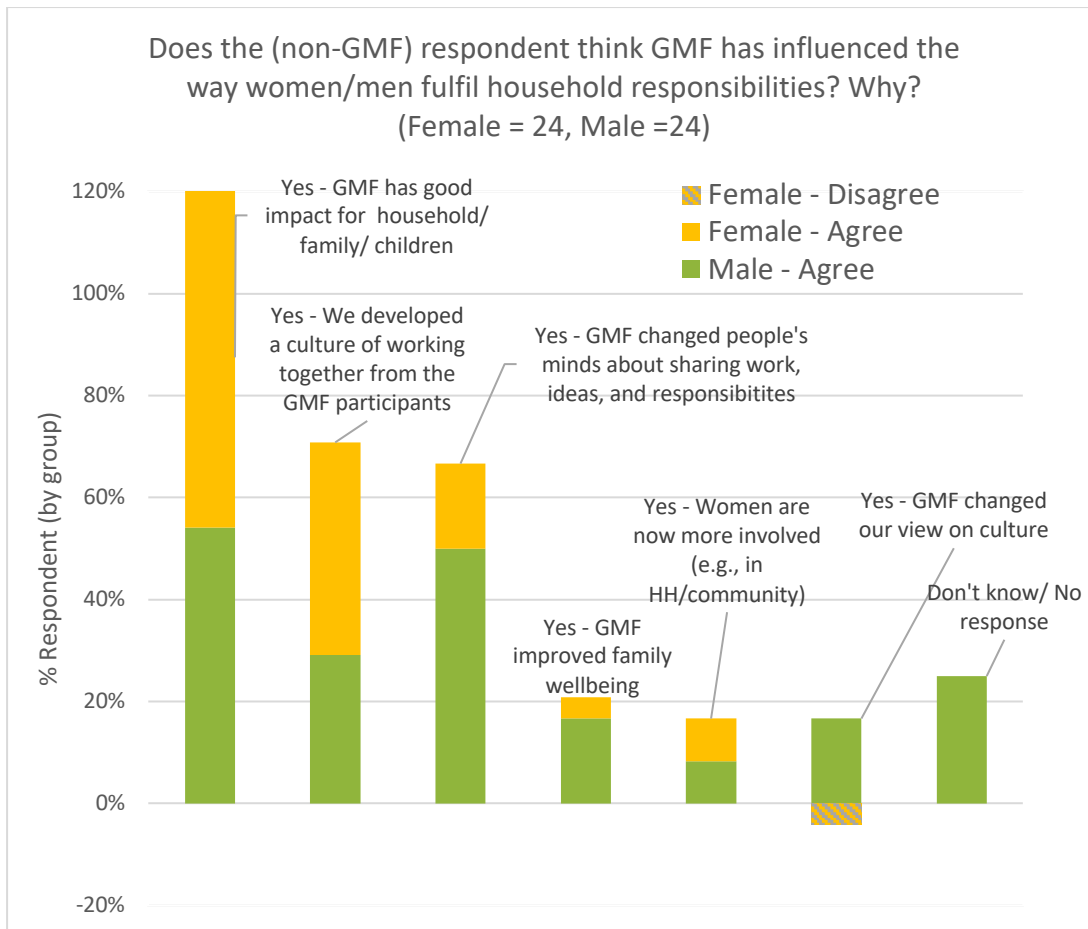


Figure 9. GMF's influence on the way women and men fulfil their responsibilities at the household level

Source: CFFI A2.1 Q3B – Non-GMF couples, family members and friends in PASIDP II and non-PASIDP II villages

Men and women participating in GMF and their friends and family members had seen positive changes in the way couples shared work relating to irrigated farmland after receiving training (Figure 10). Both men and women noted improvements in how they worked together. Men particularly mentioned fewer conflicts, and increased love and respect between couples. Women voiced more appreciation over the positive changes in culture, attitudes and society at large, and mentioned improvements in crop diversity.

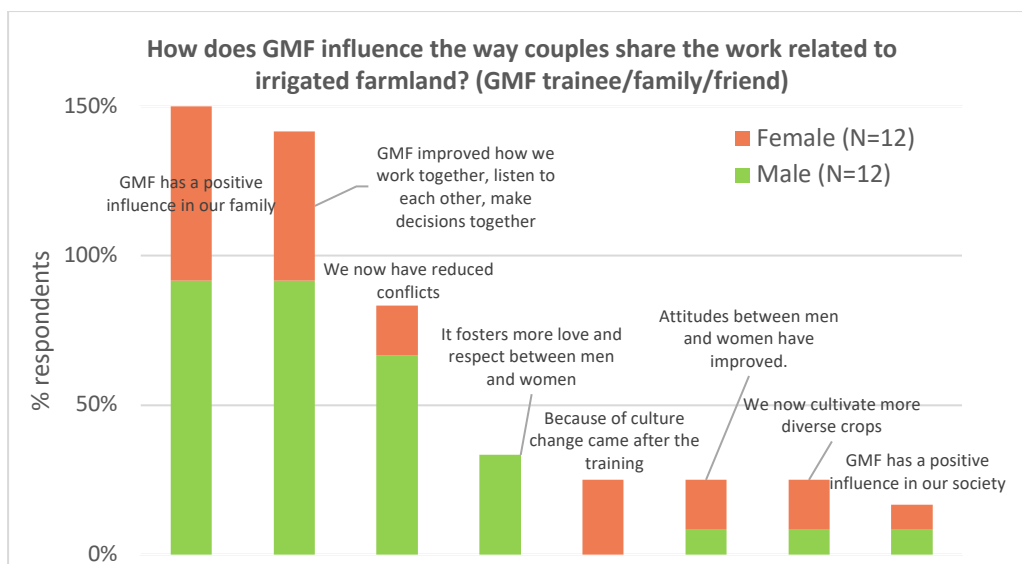


Figure 10. GMF influence on how couples share work on irrigated farmland

Source: CFFI S2Q11

### Sharing decisions and responsibilities on various resources

Using poll questions, we compared responses between GMF and non-GMF FGD respondents in PASIDP II villages. We identified marked differences between GMF and non-GMF men's groups, on their perceptions of whether men should discuss how to manage resources with women (Figure 11), and whether GMF had influenced the sharing of decisions/responsibilities between women and men (Figure 12). These differences were notably found among male FGD respondents in Oromia and Central Ethiopia, across all four types of resources studied: farmland (irrigated and non-irrigated), livestock, agricultural inputs, and cash income. In Amhara, a difference between GMF and non-GMF male respondents was found only for agricultural inputs.

Non-GMF male respondents in Oromia and Central Ethiopia (and Amhara, for agricultural inputs only) generally disagreed that men should discuss decisions on managing their resources with women, and that GMF had not influenced that. Other groups (GMF and non-GMF women, and GMF men) agreed that men should consult women, and that GMF couples shared more decisions and responsibilities.

The perception that it was unnecessary to consult women on resource management decisions prevailed mostly in non-GMF male respondents, and was related to other perceptions listed below, some of which were supported by non-GMF female respondents:

- Women do not have the necessary knowledge and skills to manage those resources (also found among non-GMF women in Central Ethiopia for all resources, and Oromia for farmland only).
- Women are not able to manage them properly (also for non-GMF women in Oromia for farmland only).
- Men should have more influence over decisions (also among non-GMF women in Central Ethiopia for all resources, and Oromia for farmland only).
- Men have more rights over the resources (also among women non-GMF in Central Ethiopia for all resources, Oromia for farmland only)

None of the GMF groups agreed with any of the above statements.

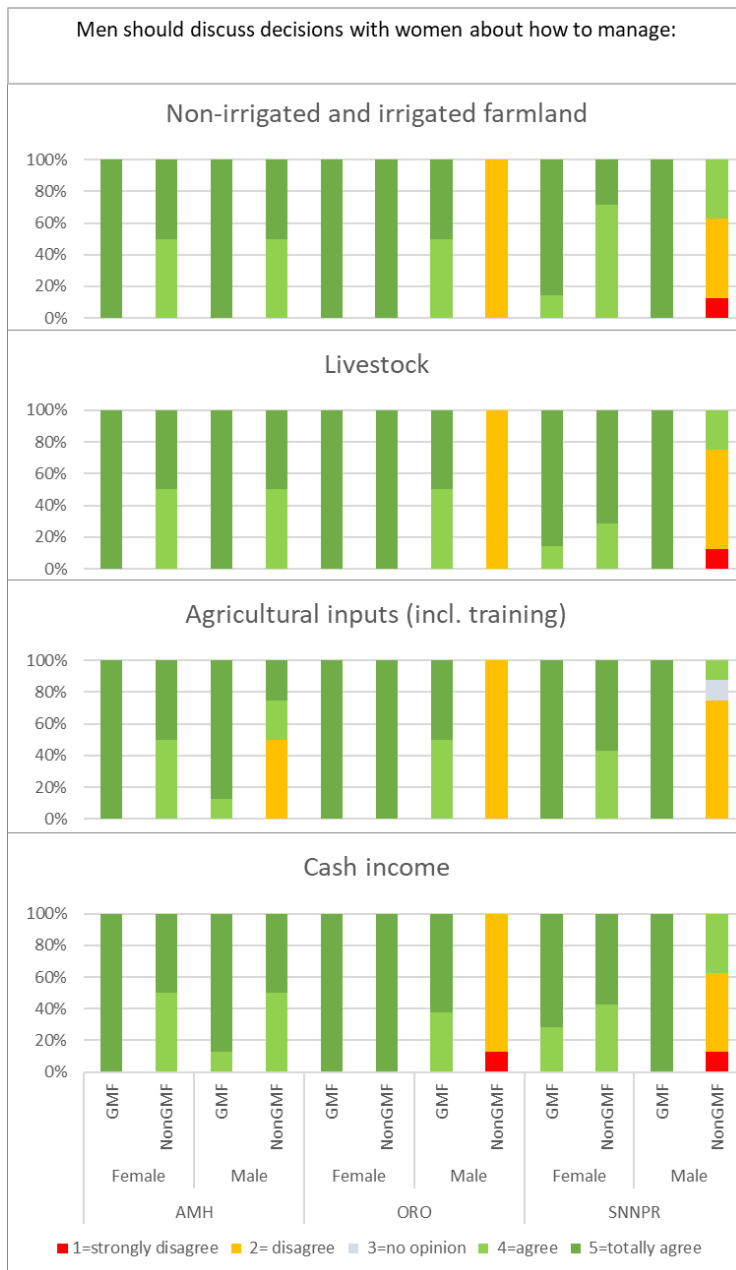


Figure 11. Perceptions on whether men should discuss resource management decisions with women

Source: FGD poll questions P3Q17-20.

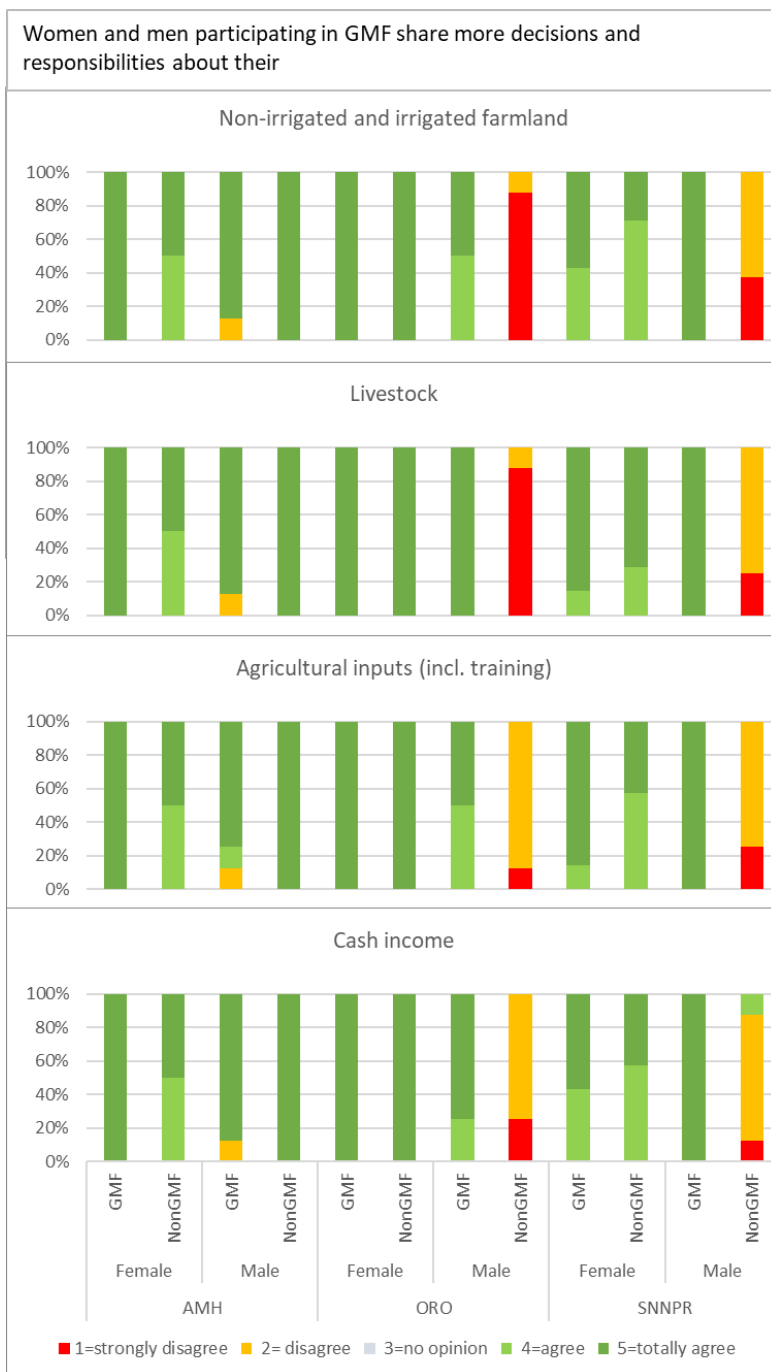


Figure 12. GMF's influence over women and men sharing more decisions and responsibilities on various resources

Source: FGD poll questions P3Q21-Q24

### Division of labour between wives and husbands in running households

Across the three regions, husbands and wives shared some household chores (Figure 13). A notable exception was three of the four non-GMF couples interviewed in Central Ethiopia (as confirmed by their family members/friends) stating that none of the household tasks were shared, and were only performed by wives. This was in stark contrast with the other regions where some household chores were shared by men, and with GMF families in the same region (and village) who shared household tasks between wives and husbands.

The most frequently mentioned shared tasks were childcare, washing/cleaning, collecting fuelwood and water, and farm-related activities (e.g., crop care, tending livestock, crop collection). Trading and cooking were shared tasks more frequently mentioned by GMF couples.

Men tended to mention more types of shared tasks than women, especially childcare, washing/cleaning, tending livestock and cooking. The opposite was true for some tasks – women were more likely to mention crop collection as a shared task. Some possible reasons for this were men and women having different views on what constitutes ‘work – sharing’ (i.e., men/women felt they shared work, but their spouses did not see it the same way); or men were more able to provide more complex/varied answers as they had been more exposed to discussions and debates in their communities. It is also possible that men only claimed to co-share tasks they did not actually do. The small proportion of respondents saying household tasks were only done by wives were exclusively male or female non-GMF respondents.

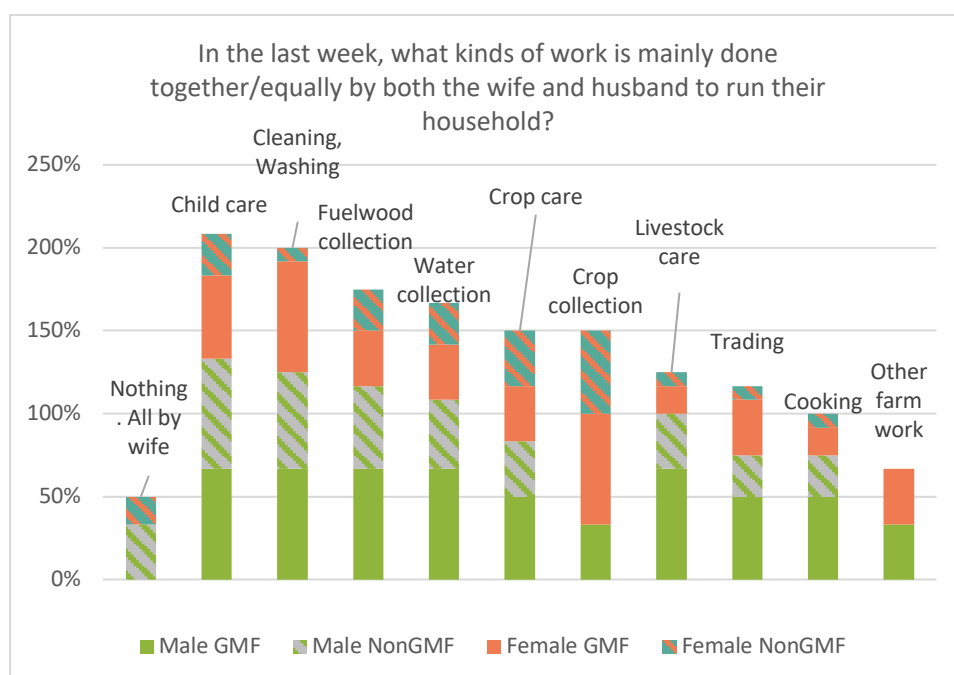


Figure 13. Types of activities done together/shared equally between wives and husbands

Source: CFFI, S3Q5A. Data includes only couples, not their family members/friends

### Possibility of sharing work between wives/husbands

The data suggests that the perception of whether men and women can share the same paid work and (unpaid) housework increases as couples are more exposed to GMF. The proportion of respondents saying that sharing is possible increased as we moved from non-PASIDP II to PASIDP II villages, and non-GMF to GMF couples. All GMF couples agreed work sharing was possible (Figure 14).

For those saying sharing was not possible, the main reasons cited were cultural (men earn money and do not do housework); shame or prohibition (of men doing women’s work), and that labour is simply divided by gender. For those saying work sharing was possible, non-GMF couples could be more selective on the housework men do, with men doing some things (childcare, fetching fuelwood, tending livestock), but the majority of work being for women. The most commonly mentioned benefits of doing housework together were reduced fatigue and less time spent doing chores, increased love from doing things together, and increased income. Many mentioned that working together was

generally a good thing and improved their lives. One person mentioned that the government wanted them to share work between women and men.

Results from interviews with family members and friends showed the same patterns, and noted similar reasons for work being or not being shared. This suggests that labour divisions are observable by people close to couples.

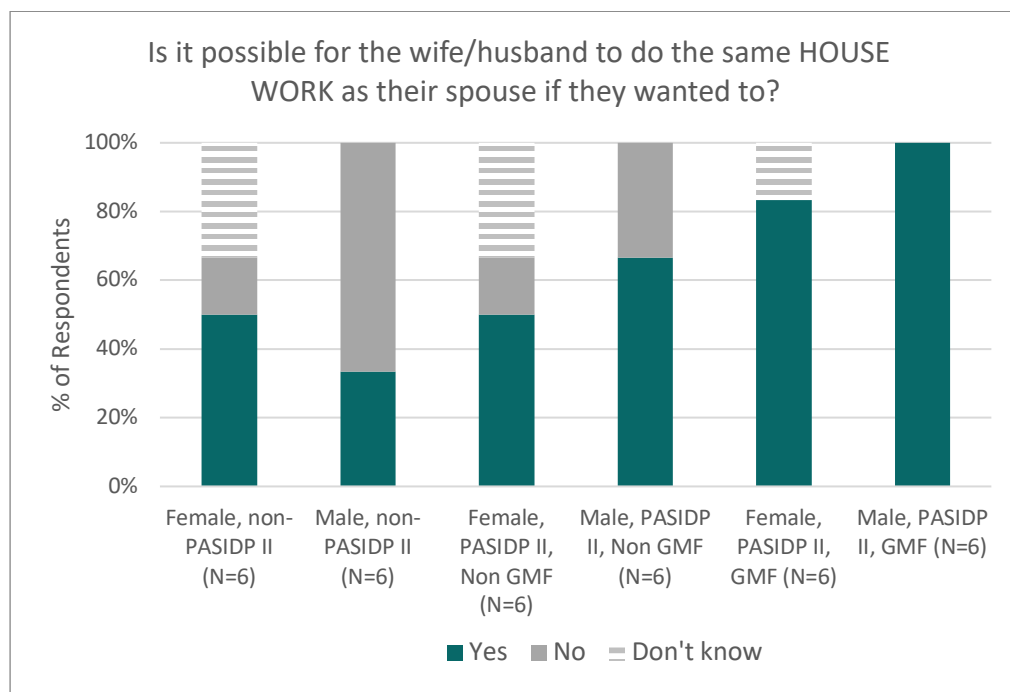
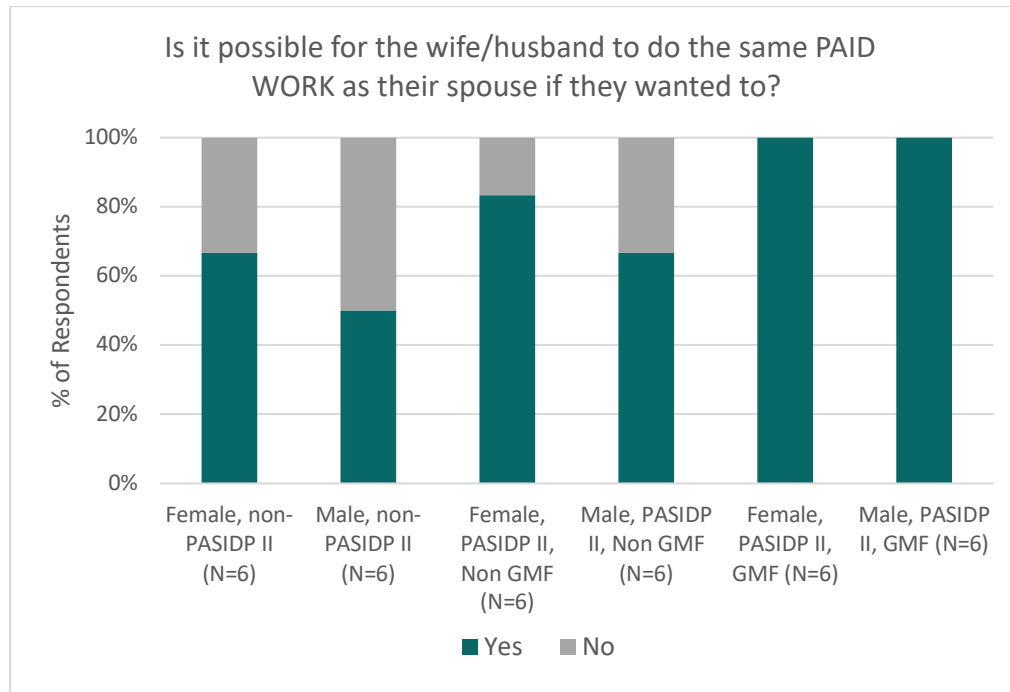


Figure 14. Possibility of sharing paid work and non-paid housework between wives and husbands

Source: CFFI, S3.1.3 Q1

## Women and men's income opportunities/housework labour

In PASIDP II villages, all GMF-trained couples and nearly all family members and friends felt that GMF had influenced men's and women's **income** opportunities (Figure 15), by improving collaboration between men and women (23 respondents), changing social norms (18), increasing income (15), increasing knowledge about gender equality (4), and decreasing workloads (4). Of the 35 respondents providing a response, one (male, non-GMF family/friend from a PASIDP II village) said that GMF had had no influence, saying, "GMF did not change or influence the cultural gap and social norms that limit women's participation in the money-making process". This was contradicted by seven other GMF and non-GMF respondents from the same village, who specifically mentioned changes in social norms or attitudes.

Similar outcomes were observed for GMF's influence on men's and women's **housework** (Figure 16). All respondents in the PASIDP II villages either observed GMF influence, or did not know because they were either family members/friends or from non-GMF couples. Of the 37 respondents providing a response, some said GMF's influence had mainly been bringing a positive change in attitude (23) and views on housework (13), increasing discussion/sharing opinions/joint decision-making among couples (12), increasing income (5) and changing people's perceptions to feel there are no separate jobs for women and men (5).

When asked if GMF had influenced how GMF couples managed their cash income, most respondent couples in the PASIDP II villages (18 of 24) – including non-GMF couples – said that GMF had had an influence. Three non-GMF respondents, all of whom were men and from the same village in Central Ethiopia, do not think so. Central EthiopiaThe other was a GMF husband, who said, "No it doesn't influence our income and asset management. I am the one in charge of controlling the money". This was reiterated by two non-GMF participants in the village, saying that husbands decide, and women are not involved in cash management. Interestingly, this was contradicted by all of the women in the same village, who had noticed GMF having a positive impact. In other regions (Amhara/Oromia), all the male respondents either said there had been an influence (13), or did not know (3).

Of the 37 GMF couple respondents and their family members/friends, some mentioned GMF improving couples' understanding of the need to manage money and assets together (14); GMF training changing their lifestyle, working habits and attitudes (12); their ability to manage incomes properly (11); improving their lives in general (12); reducing conflicts (7); and giving couples the opportunity to learn together (7).

A remaining challenge involved the prevailing perception among non-GMF participants in Central Ethiopia that only men should make decisions over money and assets. We also noted that many – mostly female - respondents answered 'I don't know/no response' (Figure 17), indicating their uncertainty over whether GMF had had an influence or not. They may not have been comfortable saying 'No'. Alternatively, as women have more limited interactions with each other and with people outside their households, they may not have had enough information to form an opinion.

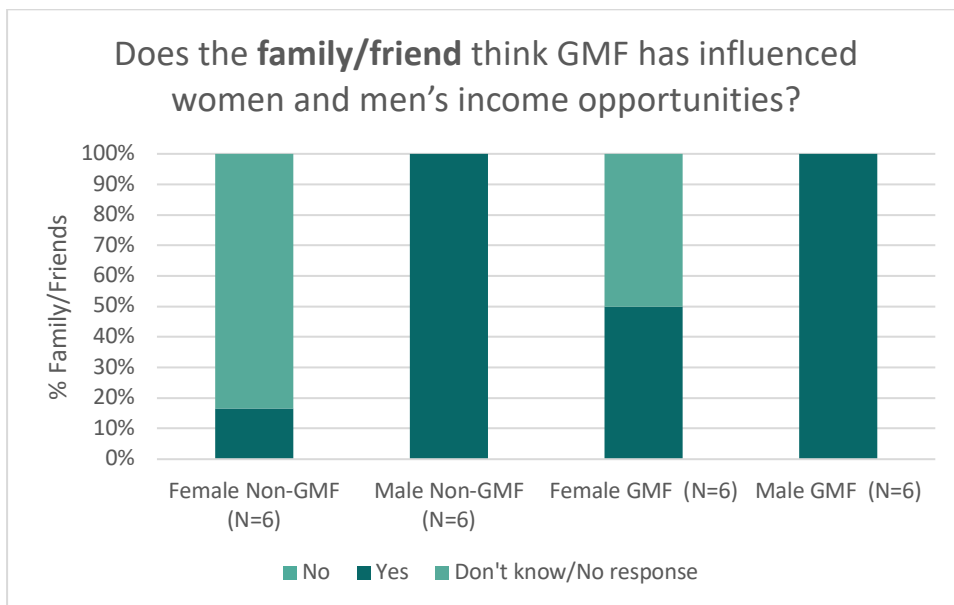
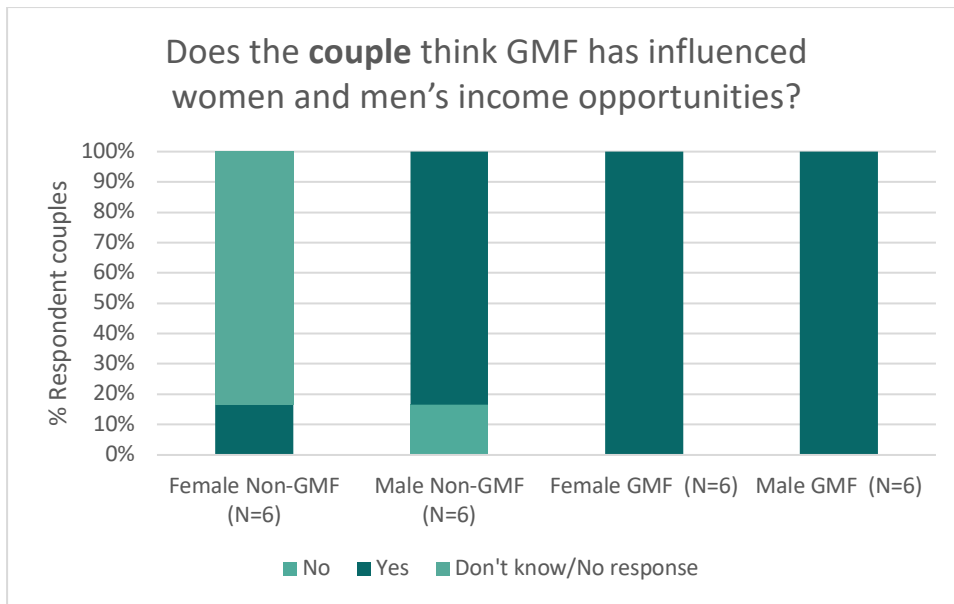


Figure 15. GMF's influence on women and men's income opportunities – for PASIDP II villages only  
 Source: CFFI, S3.1.3 Q7A



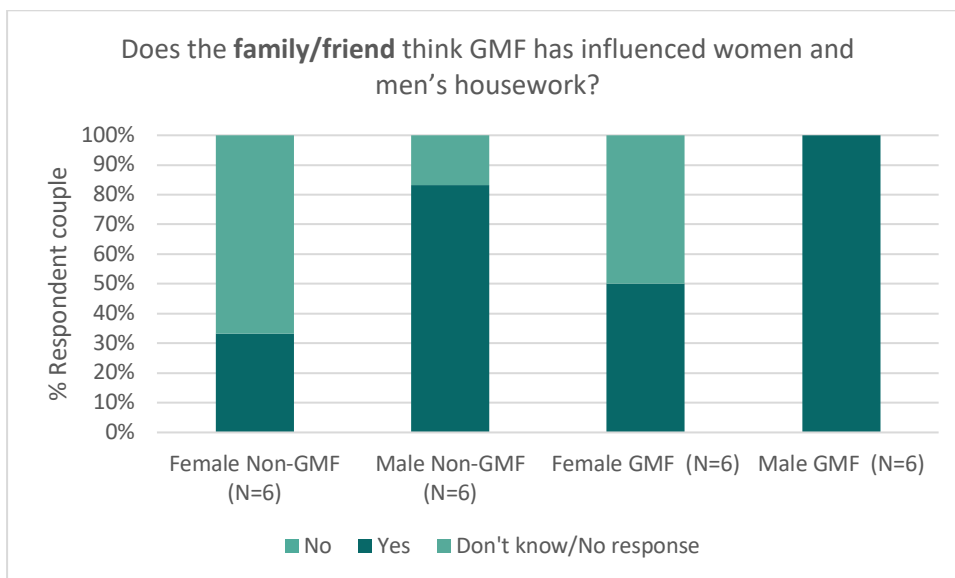
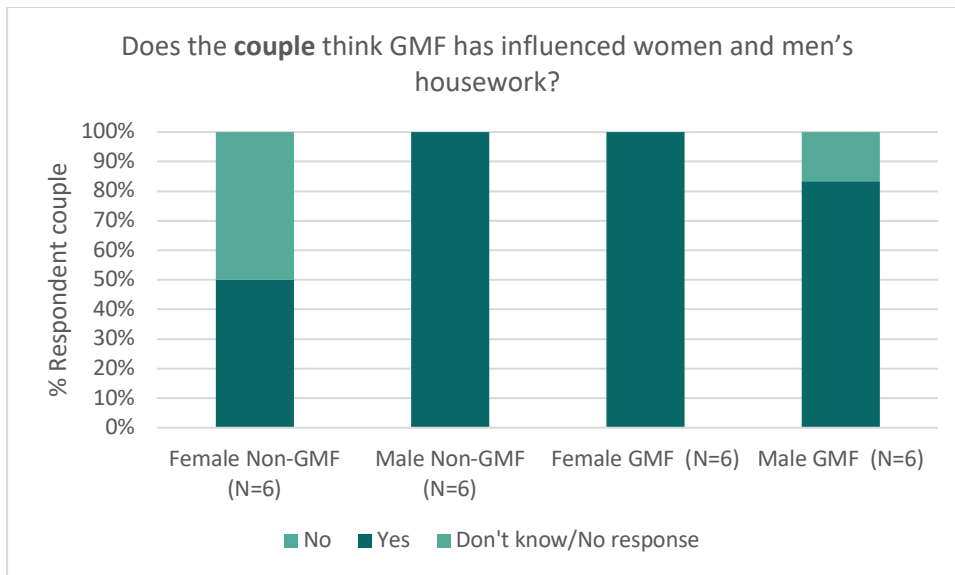


Figure 16. GMF's influence on women and men's housework – for PASIDP II villages only

Source: CFFI, S3.1.3 Q7B

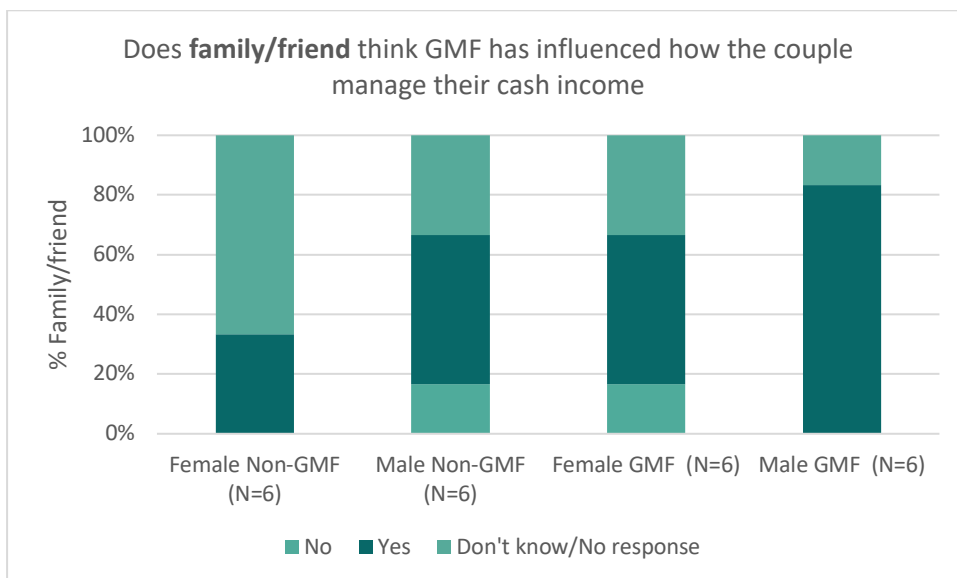
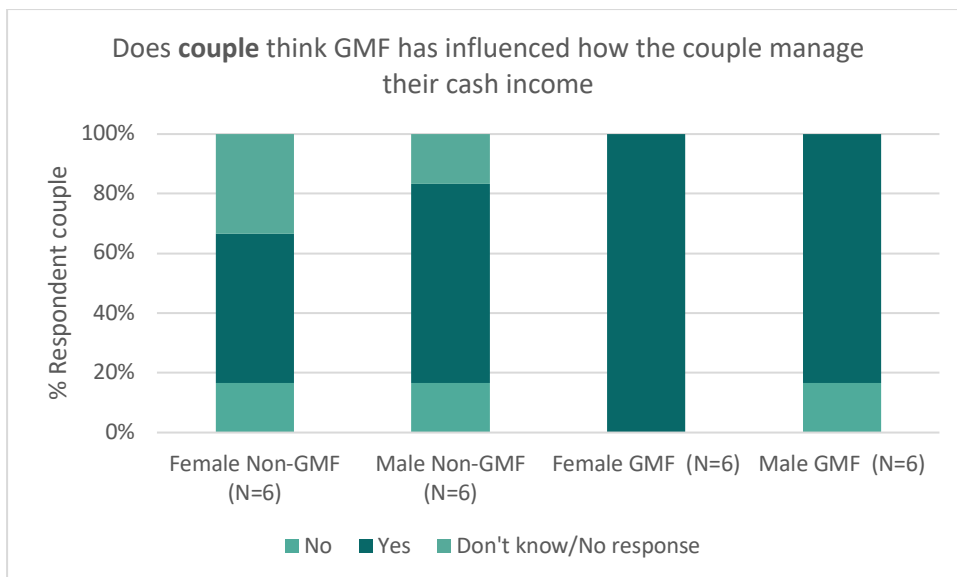


Figure 17. GMF's influence on how GMF couples manage their cash income – for PASIDP II villages only

Source: CFFI, S3.1.3 Q9A

### Attitudes towards earning cash income

Most male respondents believed that people in their villages assign the responsibility of earning income to husbands (**Figure 18**). This was in contrast to female respondents, who mostly believed it to be a shared responsibility. The largest differences between personal beliefs and community norms were found among male GMF participants and their family members/friends, with a large proportion believing the responsibility was shared between husbands and wives, despite also believing the community assigns the responsibility to husbands. Such differences were not found among female GMF participants. The results for GMF couples were mirrored in those for their family members/friends.

This suggests GMF changing the views of male participants from income generation being solely the responsibility of husbands, to being a shared responsibility.

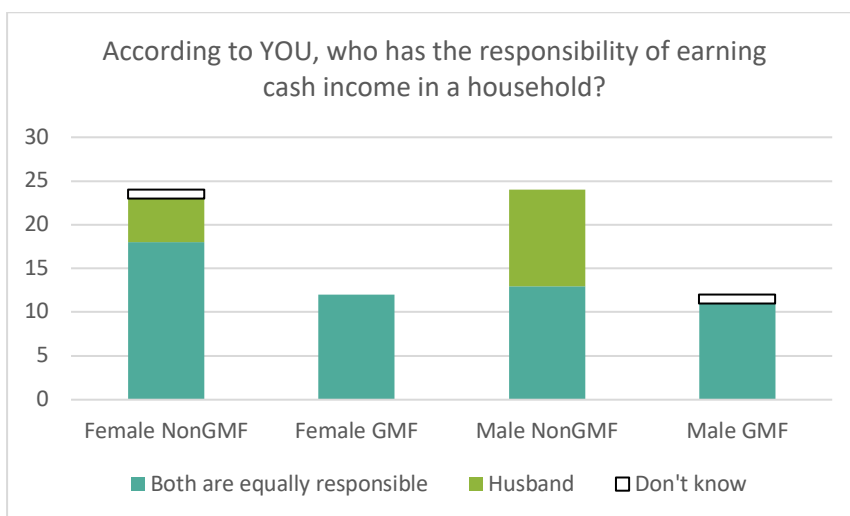
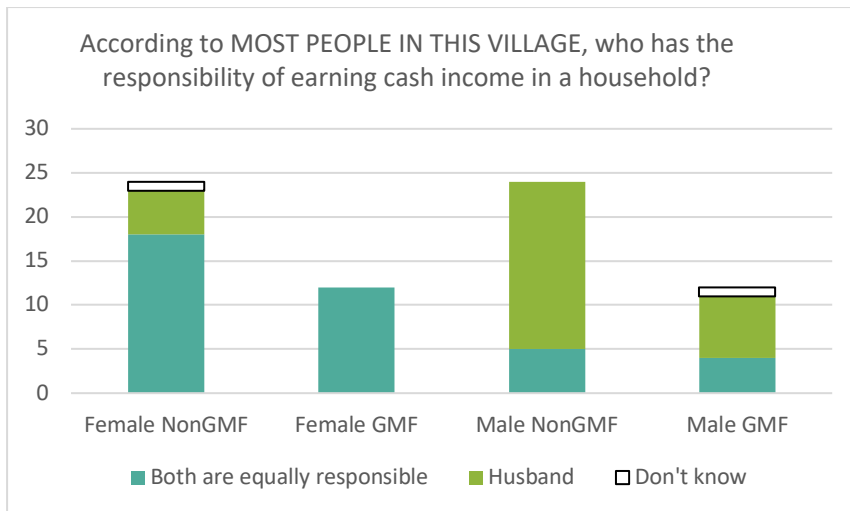


Figure 18. Responsibility for earning cash income in the household – societal expectation versus personal opinion

Source: CFFI Q3.1.1, Q1

### Attitudes towards women’s involvement in community groups

In PASIDP II villages, most GMF couples and their family members and friends said it was now possible for couples to participate in the same community groups. The proportion feeling this way was lower among non-GMF couples and their family members/friends (Figure 19). In the same villages, we asked whether GMF had influenced women’s and men’s involvement in community groups. Answers from these respondents were ‘Don’t know’ (13), ‘Yes’ (32), and ‘No’ (3) (Figure 20).

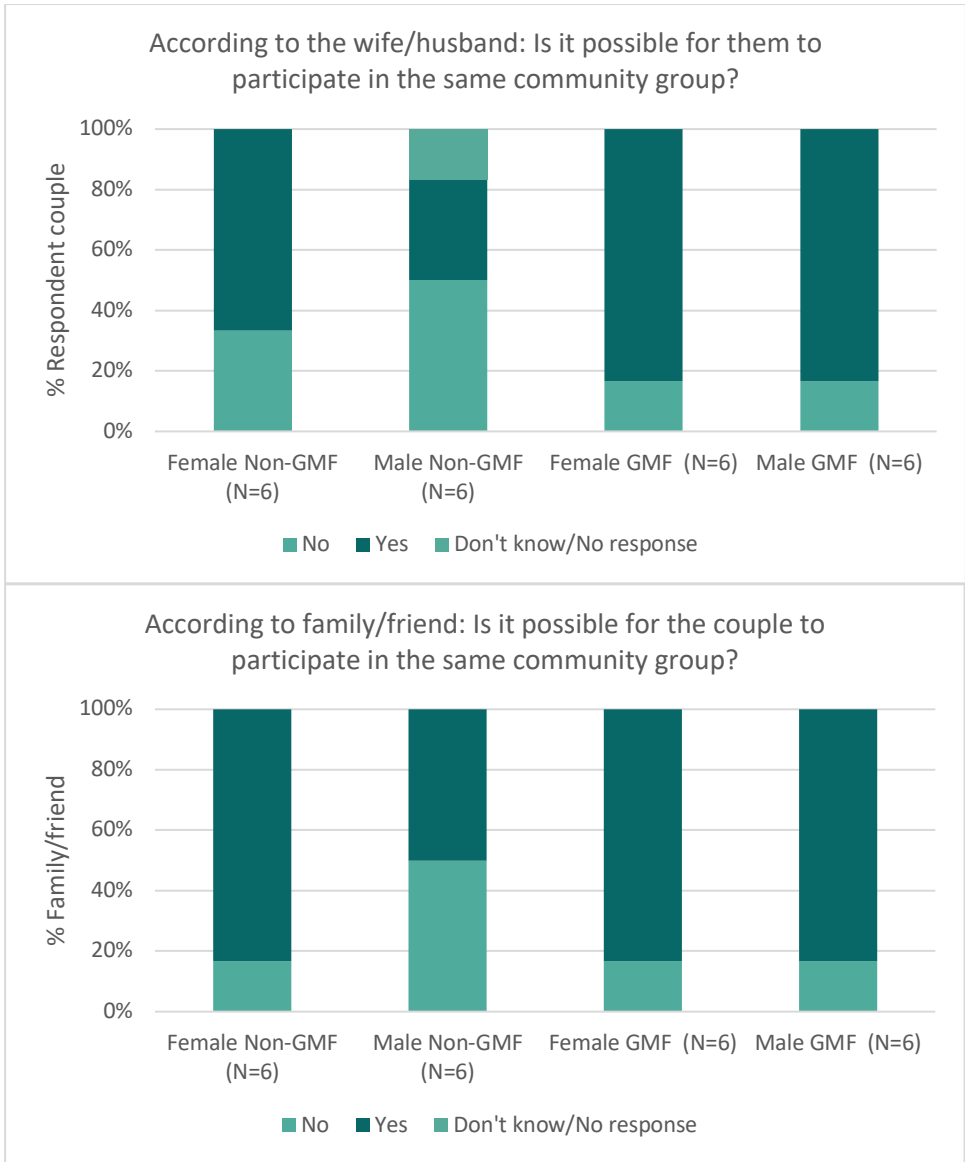


Figure 19. Is it possible for wives/husbands to participate in the same groups?

Source: CFFI S3.2.2Q4, for PASIDP II villages only (N=48)

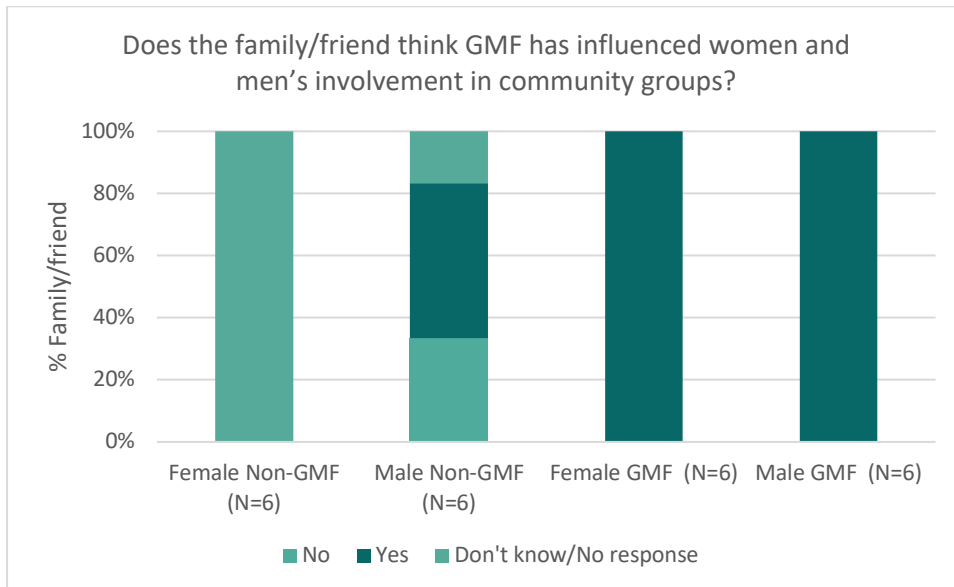
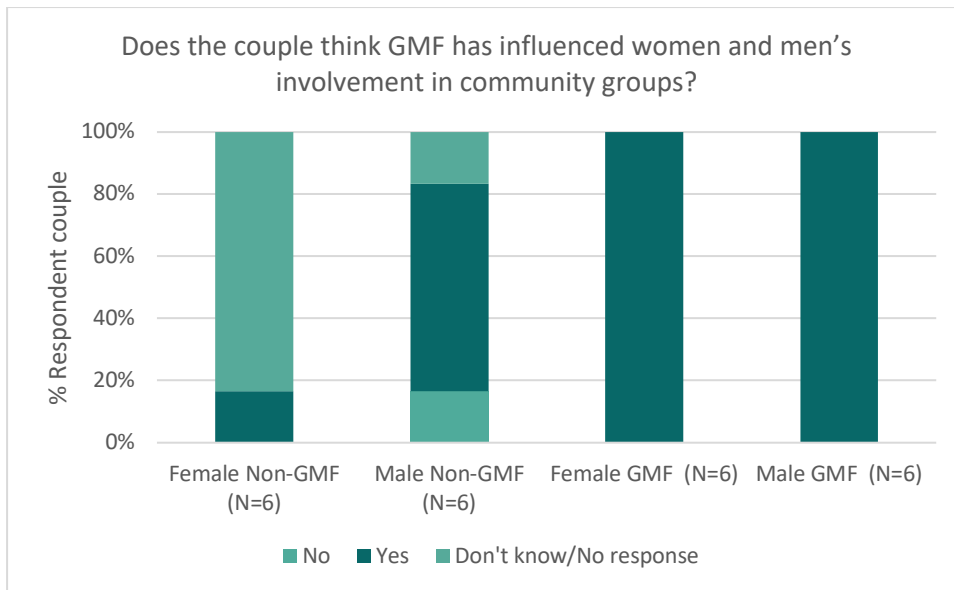


Figure 20. GMF's influence on women's and men's involvement in community groups

Source: CFFI S3.2.2Q4

Those saying GMF had had influence (N=32) mentioned it having a generally positive impact or changing their lives for the better (11); changing attitudes that limited women's participation in community-level action (14); and encouraging women to participate in more activities (7). They said GMF had done so by providing an opportunity (often for the first time) for husbands and wives to be trained together (5); empowering women or providing them with opportunities to participate in community-level actions (7); and teaching them how to work cooperatively, discuss and decide together (8). Four respondents provided specific examples of women's increased participation by being more involved in different groups (militias, as zone leaders, forest cooperative leadership members and heads of women associations); and representing their households even when their husbands were present.

One respondent confirmed this effect saying, "Prior to the training, our culture stated that if men are involved in one group, women are not allowed to join the same group. However, following the

training, GMF changed the culture, and their involvement brought collaboration in the workplace and collaboration for a better change for the family” (R57, husband in non-GMF couple, Amhara).

These positive effects at the community level were more apparent among GMF couples and family members/friends than among their non-GMF counterparts. Of the 24 non-GMF couples and their family members/friends, eight said GMF had had an influence, three said it had not, and 13 said they didn’t know. In contrast, all 24 GMF couples and their family members/friends said unanimously that GMF had had an influence.

Three respondents disagreeing that GMF had changed prevailing social norms and attitudes (one from Amhara and two from Central Ethiopia), were all male non-GMF respondents. Two said GMF had indeed changed the GMF couples, but doubted it had changed others beyond those couples. One of them said, *“As a member of the community, I am only seeing the people who attended the training and how they implemented the change. However, when it comes to my family, GMF intervention did not change the way we perceive and identify with my wife. It is not possible for us to be in the same cultural group. As a result, GMF has no influence in our lives.”* (non-GMF husband, Central Ethiopia).

The other respondent (a male family member/friend of a non-GMF couple) said GMF may have had effects within the couple, but had not influenced societal norms, commenting that, *“The couple expresses a desire to be in the same group. However, the cultural gap and social norms of the society remain. As a result, GMF had no influence on the couples’ involvement in the same community group.”* (male family member/friend of a non-GMF couple, Central Ethiopia).

## Well-being and violence compared with a year earlier

### GMF Influence on household well-being

We asked respondents to compare several dimensions of well-being (economy, food security, access to education and health services, and peace and security in the family) (Figure 21). They were asked to compare situations one year earlier (i.e., Feb-Mar 2022) with those at the time of the survey (Feb-Mar 2023). During this period, Ethiopia was undergoing significant political and economic shifts, resulting in lower purchasing power (due to high inflation and a devalued Ethiopian Birr) and insecurity in two study regions (Oromia and Amhara). We therefore expected most respondents to report worsened well-being.

Across all dimensions, GMF couples we interviewed reported higher well-being; non-GMF couples in PASIDP II villages reported worsened well-being more often than GMF couples; and Non-PASIDP II villages reported worsened well-being more often compared to the other two groups. Differences across the three groups were corroborated by their family members/friends, and sometimes differed according to the dimension of well-being. This was a highly interesting finding as there was a significant contrast between GMF and non-GMF families.

The most visible differences were in economic well-being and food security – two aspects that are often related. GMF couples often mentioned improvements being due to GMF intervention and better cooperation between couples. Both GMF and non-GMF couples also attributed better economic well-being and food security to increased agricultural productivity, and planting vegetables and fruits – which related to improved access to irrigation, as almost all respondents had irrigation.

The perception that access to education had improved was higher among GMF couples, with respondents attributing this to improved incomes and GMF training. One respondent in Oromia mentioned girls and boys now being taught equally. Most respondents, regardless of group, felt access to health services had improved. Among Oromia respondents (Sudo Welmel village), this improvement was attributed to a health insurance programme implemented by the government. Other reasons included GMF training, as it had improved awareness of hygiene, and access to more nutritious foods. Perceptions of better peace/security in the family were more frequent among

respondents in PASIDP II villages, with no clear differences between GMF and non-GMF couples. Both GMF and non-GMF couples, and family members/friends in PASIDP II villages cited reasons for this improvement being increased awareness of working and discussing together, various forms of training, and GMF.

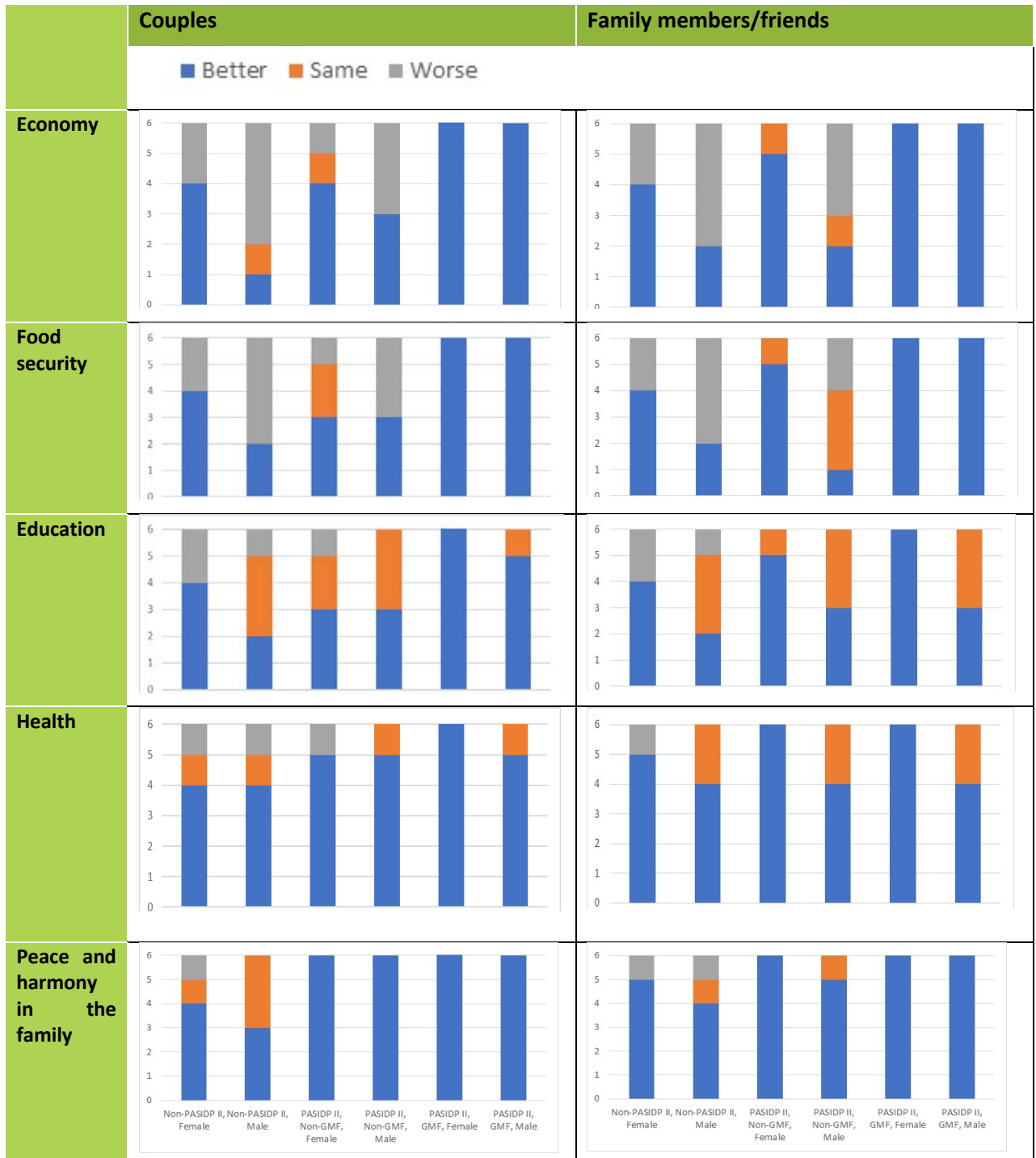


Figure 21. GMF's influence on various dimensions of well-being

Source: CFII S4.1

### GMF's Influence on frequency and forms of violence in couples

Individual interviews with couples and their family members/friends on forms of violence showed levels of violence generally falling/improved situations compared to one year prior to the survey (**Figure 22**). This was observed across all study villages, with results between couples and their family members/friends being consistent with each other.

Among the 28 respondents elaborating on their responses, the most frequently mentioned reason for improvements across all forms of violence was GMF training. On the question of physical violence, GMF was the most mentioned reason for improvement (N= 17), followed by education and training (N=3); and increased focus on work (N=1). Of those citing GMF as a reason, eight were non-GMF respondents, mainly from Oromia (N=6), indicating the influence of GMF on the wider community. Reasons for things staying the same or being worse were, “because men’s behaviour has not changed” (N=1), and lack of training/education (N=1). The same general outcomes were observed when discussing other forms of violence.

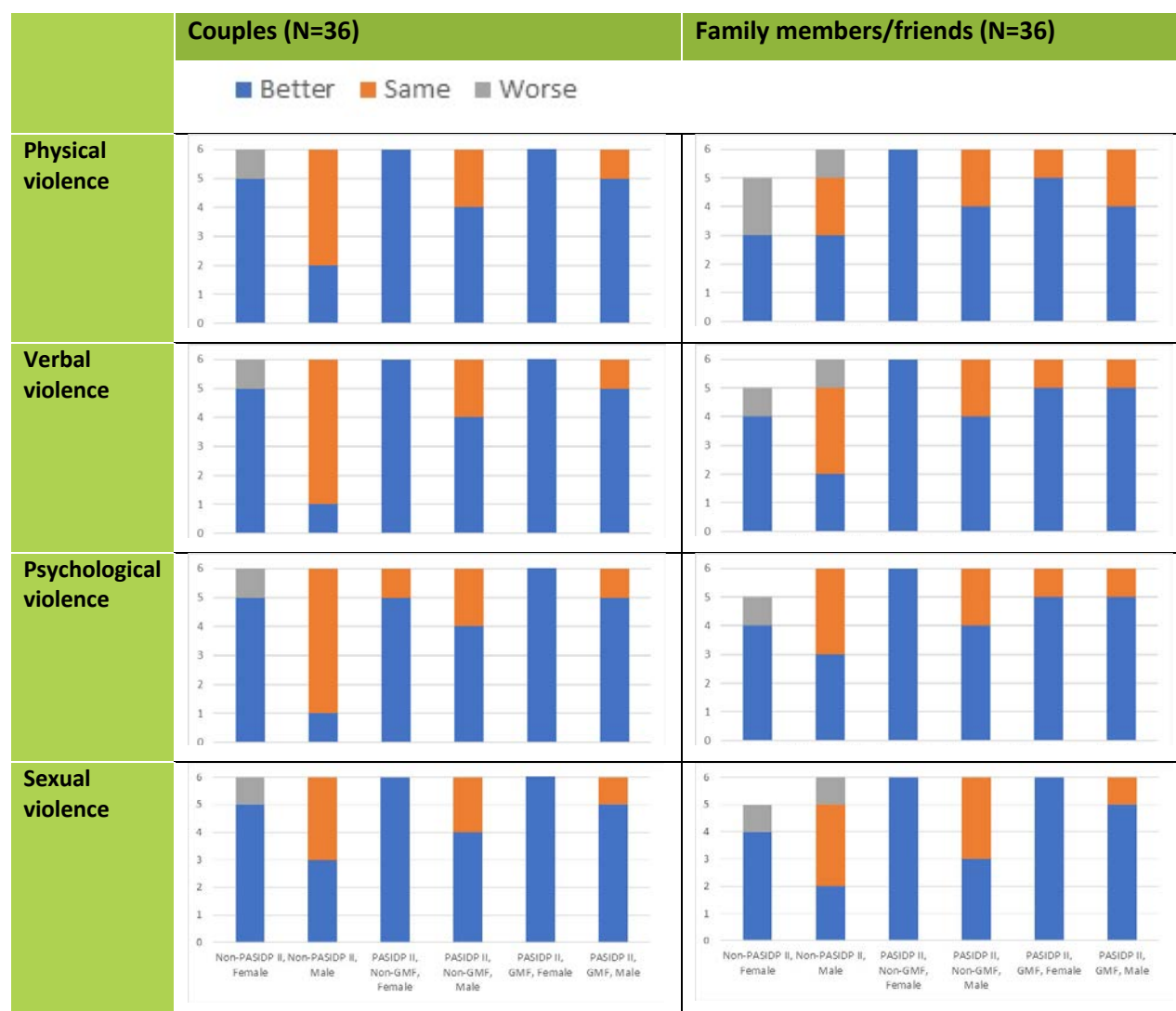


Figure 22. Changes in forms of violence to the respondent’s gender compared to one year earlier

[Question: “How have the following things changed compared to one year ago?”]

Source: CFFI S4.3. Note: Vertical axes = number of respondents. Respondents that answered “Don’t know” or did not respond are excluded from the graphs.



## Diet diversity

In focus group discussions comprising around eight people per group, we asked respondents in PASIDP II villages to indicate “Yes” if they had eaten different types of foods the day before the survey (Figure 23). We asked about beans/peas, nuts/seeds, milk and dairy products, meat/poultry/fish, eggs, green leafy vegetables, vitamin A-rich foods, other vegetables and other fruits, by posing the following question:

“Can I ask you about the food you consumed yesterday, in your home or elsewhere, from early morning until you went to sleep? Please tell me what you ate and drank from after you woke up in the morning to the time you went to bed at night. Mention any food that is more than XXX (local measure equivalent to 15 g. such as spoon full, hand full etc: ‘Yes’ if >15 g and ‘No’ if <15 g.”

By group, the data suggested non-GMF women in PASIDP II villages having less varied diets than GMF women, GMF men and non-GMF men. This difference was present in study villages in the three different regions.

In Amhara, non-GMF women’s FGD participants had the least varied diet compared to other groups (GMF women, GMF men, non-GMF men). They mainly consumed grains/tubers and meat/poultry, whereas their female GMF counterparts also consumed other foods: dairy products, beans, green leafy vegetables, vitamin A-rich foods, and other vegetables. The contrast between female and male non-GMF respondents was just as stark. Foods consumed by men in both GMF and non-GMF groups were very similar, with neither group consuming meat/poultry, but consuming other nutritious foods such as nuts/seeds, fruits, green leafy vegetables, vitamin A-rich foods, and other vegetables. These results suggest GMF may have significantly improved dietary diversity among women.

Findings in Oromia also suggested non-GMF women having less varied diets than other groups, notably GMF women. Non-GMF women consumed grains/tubers, nuts/seeds, dairy products and vitamin-A rich foods, but GMF women also consumed eggs, green leafy vegetables, beans/peas and meat/poultry. GMF men had slightly more diverse diets than non-GMF men, but the difference was not as stark as that between GMF and non-GMF women. We arrived at a similar conclusion to that for Amhara, in that GMF may have significantly improved dietary diversity among women.

In Central Ethiopia, non-GMF women had the poorest dietary diversity compared to other groups, consuming mostly grain/tubers, green leafy vegetables and other vegetables. GMF women consumed additional foods, such as beans/peas, nuts/seeds, dairy products, and vitamin A-rich foods. A notable difference with other regions was that GMF and non-GMF men ate different foods as groups, with both eating grain/tubers, beans/peas, nuts/seeds, dairy products, and vitamin A-rich foods, but non-GMF men also eating meat/poultry and eggs that GMF men did not consume. Conversely, non-GMF men did not eat the green leafy vegetables and other vegetables consumed by GMF men. We were unsure why this was the case; however, in general we concluded that like the other regions, GMF in Central Ethiopia may have significantly improved dietary diversity among women.

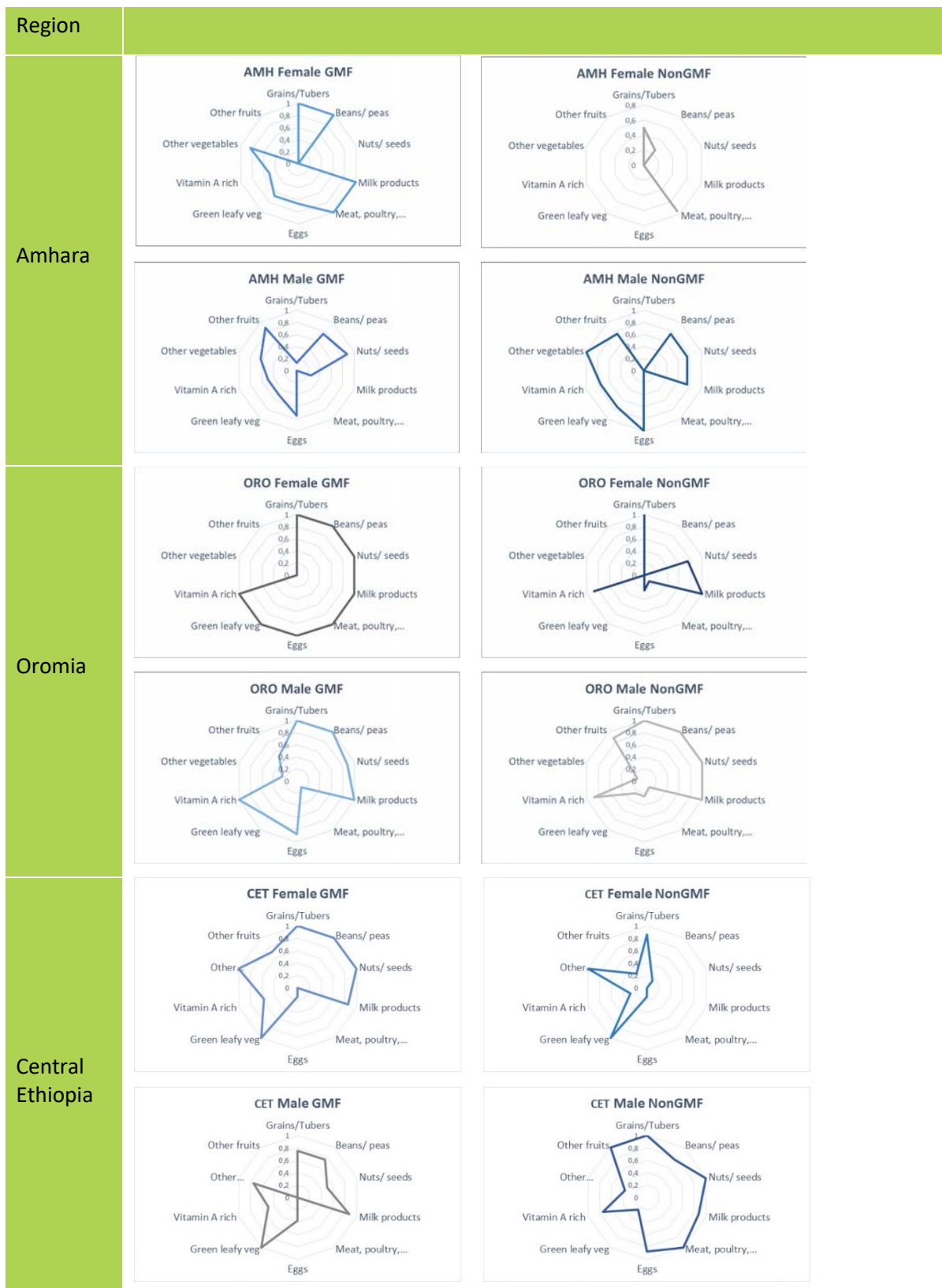


Figure 23. Recollections of food consumed during the previous 24 hours

Source: FGD poll questions P5Q1-Q10.

Note: Axes represent the proportion of FGD respondents in PASIDP II villages saying 'Yes' on whether they consumed different food types in the past 24 hours.

## Discussion

There was consistency between the motivations for couples participating in GMF and the knowledge that non-GMF respondents had about GMF, suggesting the messages of GMF were understood across the study communities receiving PASIDP II and GMF interventions, and that those messages were consistent with GMF's objectives and principles. The main messages of GMF are:

- GMF brings collaboration, equality and understanding between couples;
- Through GMF, couples can achieve more peace and love in their families;
- GMF helps couples move their families ahead and change for the better.

A question we did not pose, but should have was: What were the difficulties of participating in GMF? This would have provided insights into the fear expressed by men of being excluded from their communities; a fear based on a gender-divided, and unequal culture.

The data shows GMF respondents having a different attitude to non-GMF respondents on division of labour at the household level. In all cases where gender roles for particular responsibilities were contested or not recognized by non-GMF respondents, GMF respondents were more likely to mention them as responsibilities for the other gender as well. Examples were men should also run households and prepare food – not only lead or make decisions – and women should also earn incomes, make decisions on household resources and do farm work.

Beyond its effects on attitude, the data suggests GMF improved access to more varied diets for women. This is based on a markedly more varied diets of GMF women compared to and non-GMF women across the three regions.

There were indications that the word 'responsibility' had the following different meanings for respondents:

1. Ensuring a task is successfully implemented;
2. Taking the final decision/having a veto on something;
3. Managing resources on a daily basis (e.g., income, farmland);
4. Controlling the resource base (e.g., earning income, owning land or livestock).

One possible indicator that the division of labour was more gender-equitable was when the four ways of interpreting responsibility (i.e., to decide, to manage resources, and to implement) were considered equally important and shared equally between women and men.

The differences between GMF and non-GMF participants in how they assigned community-level responsibilities to men and women suggest that GMF had a positive effect on participants and their family members/friends in increasing the acceptance and understanding that women can have diverse and influential roles at the community level. At a higher level, there were still clear inequalities between men and women in how responsibilities were assigned, with GMF participants still assigning more influential responsibilities (e.g., keeping peace and security, managing communal lands, earning income, making decisions for the community, and 'Everything') to men.

This suggests that while GMF had influenced interpersonal interactions between men and women, elevating this influence to the community level may require complementary approaches targeting community-level gender roles and responsibilities. GMF is a crucial component, as it allows individuals in couples (and family members/friends) to interact and see each other as equals. Extending that outside this intimate sphere into the community space needs an approach targeted at the community level.

GMF participants showed much more equitable attitudes than non-GMF participants on how women and men should share responsibilities and roles. Only non-GMF men (and women, in some instances)

agreed that men should *not* discuss resource management decisions with women. This correlated with their agreement that women do not have the necessary knowledge, skills, rights and influence to be equally involved in decision making.

GMF has had a profound influence on division of labour, and couples' willingness to share housework, income opportunities, decision making and time to listen to each other and do activities together. This has come with some concerns, such as men's shame and fear of rejection by their communities for going against their culture. Results suggest that division of labour is a social norm that can be shifted once the benefits of sharing tasks more equally become apparent. Those families modelling a more equitable division of labour have clearly seen such benefits. Husbands have particularly appreciated the increased love and harmony and reduced conflicts within their households, while wives have appreciated their increased roles as household decision makers and beneficiaries.

Close families' and friends' perceptions on division of labour can shift by being in the same village and witnessing observable benefits/improvements in well-being. These include less fighting/domestic violence, less drunkenness, better furniture, modern housing materials, cleanliness and ownership of valuable assets (e.g., hybrid cattle breeds).

The data strongly suggests that GMF has had a positive influence in bringing more equality in how couples manage income and household labour. These outcomes have been visible to family members/friends outside GMF couples, and have generally been seen as positive. Concrete outcomes mentioned include reduced conflict and increased income by changing attitudes towards gendered divisions of labour; increasing appreciation of the value of housework; convincing couples that making decisions together is better than deciding alone; and increasing the value of discussion within couples.

GMF couples and their family members/friends have clearly seen the influence GMF has had in changing social norms so that women have more equal opportunities to participate in traditionally male-dominated communal groups and activities. These effects have not been as evident for those not participating directly in GMF. This suggests the cultural change being observed and acknowledged by close family/friends has yet to permeate to the wider community.

## Conclusions and recommendations

In all regions, GMF aligns well with aspirations of being ‘better off’, suggesting that there is clear demand for the training regardless of prevailing gender norms. These include direct outcomes of GMF training (e.g., mutual respect, equality, working to improve the family, being a model) and indirect outcomes (e.g., love and harmony, economic stability, food security).

Gendered roles exist at household and community levels in the three study regions, although at different levels. This includes lesser access and control over irrigated and non-irrigated land, livestock, agricultural inputs, and income opportunities. Women are accorded less influence at the community level. Challenges faced by men are also faced by women, such as securing access to income and agricultural incomes. Yet women face additional challenges, such as being perceived to be weak and incapable, and having limited control over land. Land is mainly acquired through marriage and inheritance. Yet this implies losing access upon divorce; and in some areas, women cannot inherit or inherit less land than men. In our Central Ethiopia study site, women are restricted from participating in activities outside the home, including farming and tending to livestock. One of the most common ways to overcome challenges faced by women in accessing and controlling resources involve collaborating with and being supported by men – the central objective of GMF. Government land policies are important: Joint land titling in our Amhara study site improved women’s access to land compared to other study sites, which did not yet have it.

The gender analysis sought to understand the influence of GMF in bringing more gender equality to the couple, household and community levels. We used qualitative approaches and multiple data collection instruments to understand the scope of GMF’s influence, which we summarize below:

Before GMF	After GMF
Couples rarely did anything meaningful together. Time for doing so was neither prioritized nor desirable due to frequent conflicts. Labour was not distributed efficiently within households, leading to simultaneously unproductive labour use, overexertion, and untapped productive potential due to lack of labour.	Sharing time, energy, ideas and resources has become the means for building a better future together. Conversely, a better future means having the time, energy, ideas and resources to share together.
In line with social norms, women’s contributions outside the household (e.g., earning substantial income through livestock or off-farm work, working on the farm) were either not allowed, not encouraged, or not recognized positively by their husbands. The same was true for men’s contributions within the household. Recent recognition of women’s equal rights over land through joint titling has provided women with recognition to decide over land use, although the process of making decisions together as equal partners within the household continues to be hindered by poor intra-household collaboration.	Women’s contributions outside the household (e.g., earning income, working on farms) is now allowed, encouraged, or recognized positively by their husbands, who have accepted bearing the social pressure of doing so. The same is true for men’s contributions within the household. GMF has contributed to improving joint decision making among couples, which is a powerful tool in combination with land tenure reform laws such as joint titling.
The indicators defining who held power in households was determined and controlled by men and could be unrelated to who ultimately contributes to transforming them for happiness and well-being. For example, physical strength for manual labour, income, land, and technical knowledge meant men were responsible for household decisions, even though women were essential in transforming those inputs into goods and services essential for households’ well-being, like food, childcare, and a well-run household.	The indicators of who holds power are negotiated by couples, since there is now a shared objective (e.g., improving the family’s well-being) and a shared vision on how to achieve it. GMF has helped trainees realize that attaining this objective requires equal partnerships within their households, which cannot be achieved in a model where one person governs the rest.

While the results do not represent the population of GMF-trained couples and villages, they do provide the basis for narrowing down further investigations into several hypotheses, as suggested by our results. The following hypotheses are a step forward from our point of departure, which was simply asking whether GMF works.

1. GMF-trained couples share labour, roles and responsibilities within and outside of the household more equitably.
2. The influence of GMF on improving household labour division can be observed in a wide range of cultural, livelihood and land ownership contexts.
3. GMF influences perceptions of who can have access to and control over which resources.
4. GMF does not influence institutionalized rules, e.g., on land inheritance.
5. GMF reduces social acceptance of beliefs that women are too inferior to successfully do men's jobs, and it is shameful for men to do women's jobs.
6. GMF puts into question the perception held by (mostly) men and (some) women that women lack the capacity and right to decide and lead others.
7. The influence of GMF on improving household labour division has far-reaching effects for improving the well-being of men and women on a wide range of dimensions (income, happiness, food security, security from violence).
8. GMF training improves the likelihood that women understand and benefit from agricultural and other technical assistance, and that households more effectively use that knowledge to make more financially and technically sound decisions.
9. The effect of GMF can be monitored within the lifetime of a project – the current gender analysis is able to document GMF influence after only 3–4 years of implementation, including a slowdown of implementation due to Covid-19 in 2020.
10. GMF's positive influence on improving the spirit of collaboration, conflict management, deliberation and inclusiveness is felt beyond the couple, and extends to close family and friends (within 1–3 years), and eventually the community and beyond.
11. GMF increases women's access to nutritious foods and does not affect men's access to nutritious foods.
12. GMF in synergy with joint land titling can accelerate and enhance the positive well-being effects of public investment in rural agriculture development.
13. GMF's effects on couples recruited by model families are fewer than those on the model families themselves.
14. With time, GMF's effects within households are maintained, and are amplified at the community level.

What project conditions have enabled GMF to produce these results? We provide several suggestions based on our discussions with respondents and PASIDP II staff:

1. The baseline gender norms are highly patriarchal, with gender inequalities touching every aspect of life in different ways in each location. GMF could therefore have a more visible impact than in areas where gender inequalities are more visible/pronounced.
2. Self-selection is part of the overall GMF logic: GMF tries to create the first 'model' (either family or village) to create an example for others to see and follow. Hence, the approach does not shy away from pioneer villages with unique characteristics. Implementers can 'start small'

by focusing on a small number of villages and households who are open to the proposed changes.

3. GMF tries to address the core issue underlying many gender-based problems: building empathy, knowledge, understanding and partnership. Because of this, it can work in many contexts. It does not focus on women's empowerment per se, but on enhancing equal and more effective partnerships within households.
4. At the same time as PASIDP II implements it, GMF is attached to a development agenda (e.g., improving rural livelihoods sustainably), rather than a human rights agenda (e.g., ending gender-based violence). The development agenda has broad appeal at the national and community level, given the communities targeted are seeking more economic development, and are patriarchal at the baseline.
5. There is strong country ownership by the implementing agency (Ministry of Agriculture), which is very influential and highly committed to implementing GMF. The implementation of GTAS (e.g., GALS) in other countries with financing from IFAD relies mainly on NGOs and other civil society organizations. In contrast, GMF implementation in Ethiopia is through government channels. This includes the initial process of training of trainers and follow-up visits with GMF households by PASIDP II regional gender office and extension officers from the regional bureau of agriculture.
6. The staff implementing GMF on the ground are mostly men. This was due to difficulties in recruiting a gender-balanced team. While this is not ideal, it may be better than an all-woman team as it results in GMF implementers who are better positioned to convince male community leaders and male household heads to give GMF a chance.
7. GMF implementation can be as impactful for the target population as it is for the implementor. In the three study villages, PASIDP II could recruit very dedicated local focal points/gender experts that know the local culture very well while being open minded enough to support the objective of reducing gender inequalities.
8. GMF men and women face great challenges in learning and playing their role as model families. In the end, they may enjoy the rewards, but the interim period of around a year is the most crucial to manage, maintain and invest in. Risks include community backlash against women/men and their families for straying away from their culture, couples straying off course (e.g., going back to drunkenness and fighting), and staff turnover. PASIDP II, as part of the Ministry of Agriculture, has a strong field presence to help maintain the momentum.
9. GMF benefits were also felt by some households relatively quickly (e.g., reduced conflict, increased mutual respect), which encourages GMF households to support each other when times are difficult.
10. GMF includes monthly meetings between GMF trainees and other families that want to learn from them. These become a means to offer mutual support, share experiences, seek advice and keep each other motivated.
11. PASIDP II's support on nutrition-sensitive agriculture, support for nutrient-dense crops like orange flesh sweet potatoes was an important enabling condition for enhancing nutritional impacts of GMF among women.
12. As these results were from the first villages where GMF were piloted, the level of attention to outcomes may have been higher than in subsequent villages.

**For projects that aim to be gender-transformative, we suggest the following ways forward based on our experience with GMF:**

6. **Integrating GTA implementation at the start of a programme design.** GMF was initiated in 2019, roughly three years after the start of the PASIDP II programme. If it were integrated since the programme was designed, PASIDP II would have been better positioned to benefit from stronger intra-household partnerships, knowledge retention, decision making, and more efficient household division of labour.
7. **Incorporating GTAs and related indicators in the project's logical framework (logframe)**
8. **Integrating GTA in monitoring and evaluation combining qualitative and quantitative data collection:** GMF outcomes touch on deep intra-household changes that are often overlooked by classic M&E indicators used in agriculture development projects (e.g., numbers of people receiving benefits, amounts of income increased). It also has inter-household effects, i.e., 'spillovers' that are often not monitored.
9. **Harmonizing GTAs that target different types of beneficiaries.** For example, GMF targets men-headed households, and could be harmonized with other gender-transformative approaches that target community-level gender norms, female-headed households, and single women.
10. **Having a better understanding of GMF's value for money (i.e., costs and impacts)**
  - a. Budget/cost tagging to understand the resources spent on GMF compared to other things;
  - b. Designing M&E systems to better capture:
    - i. Direct impacts, e.g., joint decision-making, joint implementation, time doing shared activities, attitudes on labour division, attitudes on roles and responsibilities, access to GMF training, frequency of conflict, number of followers, effects of GMF on followers. Move towards mixed-methods to capture wellbeing effects such as love, respect, reduction of violence/conflict, food security, income stability
    - ii. Indirect impacts, e.g., access to and control over inputs (e.g., land, water, public lands, agricultural inputs, training, income opportunities), diet diversity, mobility (distance travelled unaccompanied), types and exposure to violence, increased household asset value (e.g., livestock, housing value); increased savings rates due to increased financial prudence; increased livelihood and food resilience due to increased variety of crops planted; participation in income-generating opportunities; and increased numbers of girls in school.
    - iii. Catalytic: impacts of GMF on the effectiveness of other interventions, such as building community-level institutions, agricultural training, and provisioning of agricultural inputs
    - iv. Spillovers: impacts on GMF followers, immediate family/friends, communities and neighbouring villages (e.g., sharing the same church/mosque or marketplace) and beyond, as this is an important cost-saving element. In some villages, there were so many GMF 'follower' households that it was difficult to discern between GMF and non-GMF participants.