

Water for Food Security, Women's Empowerment and Environmental Protection Project

Gender In-Depth Assessment (Gender specific social norms and barriers)



East and West Belesa Woredas of
Central Gondar Zone, Amhara Regional State

29 April to 11 May 2018

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I. Background

West and East Belesa woredas are among the areas that have been identified by the Government of Ethiopia as chronically food insecure since 1999. In addition, according to the Joint Rapid Assessment Report conducted by CARE and government staff from the Regional Bureau of Agriculture and zone and woreda Water and Agriculture offices in March 2017, 19 out of 30 kebeles of West Belesa and all 30 kebeles of East Belesa are severely food insecure.

The joint rapid assessment report also indicated that potable water coverage of East and West Belesa is 45% and 34% respectively. This undoubtedly overburdens women and children as the task of collecting water for the family falls on them in addition to the overly extended household activities and their support to farming. According to this in-depth assessment conducted by CARE, women in East and West Belesa woredas are facing different challenges ranging from unequal division of labor in the household and the community, to inequality in terms of access to resources and information and underrepresentation in leadership and community engagements. Furthermore, they are also primary victims of gender-based violence and harmful traditional practices. These and other multifaceted discriminatory social norms continue to act as social barriers to achieve gender equality in these two woredas.

One of the strategic approaches of the SWEEP project is to empower marginalized groups by giving them access to clean water, building their capacities to manage water/natural resources sustainably, and creating an environment where women and girls can feel and be empowered.

II. Introduction

Marginalized communities or individuals are those who are denied or excluded from services, information, education, among others, due to different socio-economic reasons. Because they are marginalized they often are not consulted, their voices are not heard and they have no influence over decisions that affect their lives. Development initiatives often target poor regions, communities or even households. But looking into the reasons why marginalized individuals may further be excluded and what needs and priorities those marginalized groups have, is not commonly exercised. This is why this analysis will focus on answering these questions in particular.

Since East and West Belesa are amongst the most food insecure woredas with critical water needs, the project decided to target poor and food insecure communities with limited to no access to clean water. The project specifically targets marginalized rural women and girls (14-17 years), unemployed youth (15-29 years) and people with disabilities. To achieve meaningful engagement of marginalized groups as well as to ensure that all people, especially women and girls, in the targeted areas are benefiting from SWEEP, CARE conducted this in depth gender assessment.

III. Objectives

The main objectives of this assessment were to:

- Identify the priorities, needs, roles, capacities (gaps/demand) and responsibilities (access/control/decision making powers) of men and women, boys and girls in the various roles they play in the community;
- Identify the social norms and barriers that hold back marginalized rural women and girls in the 20 targeted Kebeles from the rest of the society, and how they intersect with other inequalities due to age, socioeconomic and disability status;
- Identify opportunities within the existing structure that enable marginalized rural women and girls to improve and gain control over their lives;
- Make programming recommendations on how best to engage marginalized rural women and girls, as well as men and boys, to achieve the project's purpose and outcomes.

IV. Methodology

This assessment mainly relied on qualitative methods (focus group discussion, observation, and key informant interviews) to get a better insight into the existing gender norms and barriers, women and girl's daily experience and workload, access to resources, their role in decision-making and leadership as well as engagement in development activities. In addition to this, harmful practices, current gender related interventions, challenges and opportunities were also assessed.

a) Overview of the study sites and study population

The study was conducted in four rural and two semi-urban kebeles of East and West Belesa woredas (3 kebeles from each woreda), taking agro-ecology and settlement pattern variances into consideration. Accordingly, Diquana, Jandab, and Wareb in West Belesa; and Bursa, Dengora and Arba Tsegua in East Belsa are the specific kebeles selected for the assessment

The assessment focused on adult women and men of ages within the range of 30-65 years, coming from both male-headed and female-headed households. It also focused on boys and girls of ages within the range of 14-29 years that are either students, graduates but unemployed as well as married and unmarried. Overall, the study involved 197 individuals in 17 focus group discussions (62 men (including 6 with disabilities), 45 women – of which 13 are widowed; 44 girls and 46 boys (including 1 with a disability) and 23 respondents (21 men and 2 female) in key informant interviews /consultations, including government and non-government office representatives (such as Amhara Nationalist Democratic Movement and cooperatives).

Effort was also made to have a broad representation within each focus group discussion by involving female/male headed households, religious people, HTP practitioners/ex-practitioners, and 'gote' representation within each kebele.

The key informant interviews involved different government sectors at the zonal and woreda levels. These are Women Affairs Bureau of central Gondar zone and offices in East and West

Belesa woredas, Labor and Social Affair, Agriculture and Natural Resource, Education, Water Resource and Energy Development, Woreda Administration, Justice, Police, Rural Job Creation, ANDM (Amhara Nationalist Democratic Movement), and TVET (Technical and Vocational Education and Training).

b) Limitations

Except in two kebeles (Diquana and Wareb), the number of persons with disabilities who came to our meetings was insignificant (6 men and 1 boy). Two things might have contributed to this. One is the infrastructure in place, which might have restricted them to be part of our meeting. And secondly, we have informally been told that families are not willing to report and even admit the existence of persons with disabilities in their household. Because of this, persons with disabilities were included in different FGDs as well as interviewed separately as the number was not enough to form one focus group.

V. Findings of the Assessment

a) Roles and responsibilities

Gender-based division of labor results in the assignment of specific roles to women and men, as designed through the socialization process. The division of labor varies from one society and culture to another. This assessment found out that in East and West Belesa woredas women are primarily responsible for repetitive, tiresome, time-consuming and economically unrewarding activities.

According to the focus group discussions, women in East and West Belesa are responsible for all household chores including but not limited to cooking, cleaning (household, utensils, clothes and the children), and taking care of children and the family in general. They have to fulfill these tasks in addition to their reproductive and social role such as cooking for big events, supporting families who are grieving due to a loss of a family member, among others. Their participation and support in agricultural activities starts from feeding those who work on the field and includes seed, soil and manure preparation, weeding, harvesting and collecting crops to the field, and threshing preparation. Although farming is considered a task exclusively taken on by men, both male and female FGD participants said that only plowing and sowing is reserved to men only. Adult male FGD participants said that ‘plowing is too labor intensive for women and they just can’t properly handle seed spreading’. Hence, despite the significant amount of time women spend in conducting farming activities, i.e. on average 10 hours a day during farming season, their contribution is unrecognized. In fact, women are considered only as *supporters* of outdoor activities (mostly productive) and as *responsible* for in-house activities, that are totally unaccounted for by their community and the economy.

Gender-based division of labor also trickles down to the roles of boys and girls in the household: boys and girls follow the example of their fathers and mothers respectively. Accordingly, girls are expected to support their mothers in the house and shoulder much of the burden of household labor. In fact, girls play a main role in helping their mothers run the household smoothly, and

“training” them to do so from a young age is thought to prepare them for their life as future wife and mother. Boys start supporting their family from the age of seven onwards. Their support is directed to their father, especially during farming season, and even school boys have to provide support before and after school hours. According to the boys’s FGD in Wareb, which was also confirmed by the girl’s focus group, boys are expected to support in taking care of livestock, collecting firewood, preparing farm land, weeding, trashing and sowing. On the other hand, girls’ support to the household chores include cooking, preparing fodder for the cattle, fetching water, cleaning the house and utensils, taking care of children, preparing farmland, as well as transporting and serving food for the family during the farming season. According to the SWEEP baseline survey, girls spend more than 8 hours a day for household chores while boys spend 2-4 hours a day on household activities. Most of the time, these activities are being performed by both boys and girls who are going to school. In our FGD in Dengora kebele, it was agreed by both participants (boys and girls) that the workload for household chores negatively impacts girl’s education as often times they reach school very late. Also, their chances of getting time to study during the day is minimal while boys can often study during day time and relax at night. Absence of electric power/light in rural areas makes this situation even more challenging for girls to study as they rarely finish their household activities before it gets dark.

b. Role sharing

There is very little or no engagement of men in household related activities. When women are seriously sick, heavily pregnant or have given birth, men stated that they exceptionally take over roles that are socially ascribed to women. This is not a common practice but we have been told that it is mostly done by men who have no relatives living near their house or have no children who can take on that role. We have, however learnt that men have recently started taking part in collecting firewood when it comes from remote places; they also fetch water when donkeys are used and prepare ‘wot’ and ‘tella’ for big events such as weddings.

“I do make ‘wot’ and fetch water for the family. We also prepare dough at the church to prepare pitta. But I haven’t tried doing that at home”, Zemed Alemu (priest), Diquana

In general, respondents justified the gender-specific division of roles with the lack of skills: “We are willing to support but we don’t know how to do it” is what male FGD participants said. But some changes are taking place nowadays: for example school children (boys) who attend schools that are far away from their parents’ home have no choice but to prepare their own food and often start to support their mothers and sisters in doing household chores when they come back for holidays. These boys even said they did not worry about the critics coming from their neighbors when doing so, even when they are given female nicknames.

Some anecdotes also include: a man giving a bath to his wife and washing her clothes when she gave birth; school boys and unmarried men baking ‘Enjera’ and preparing ‘Tella’ – the local beer, for household consumption; and another man who completely took over the role of taking care of the family including feeding the children and his wife.

Other than the exceptions mentioned above, the majority of adult men FGD participants said it was culturally unacceptable for men to take part in what is prescribed as women's responsibilities. Most of the women said they would like to be supported in managing household chores, and only few boldly said they do not want to see their husbands meddling with what is ascribed as women's activities. The reason given by the respondents is that men

"Let alone a flour that is made of the crops we have grown, we are mixing soil with water to build our houses. So, it should not be difficult to mix flour with water and support my wife, it's all about ignorance and due to the culture we inherited from our fathers", Nigus Sendeku, Wareb

performing women's tasks is assumed to put men in an inferior position. Moreover, male FGD participants in Jandab said they could not stand the naming and shaming attached to it. They are sometimes given female names, or their wife is being called the head of the household and they are also not taken seriously in dealing with community matters as they are said to be easily influenced by their wives. The community says they are acting "like a woman" and that they "seem to be a wife". One elderly man said the following: *"Household activities are easy to handle and by nature women are weak and can handle household activities only. Activities performed outside of the household are masculine, require skill, thinking, exerting too much labor and travelling in the desert. All these are difficult for women."* In addition to the physical and intellectual skills men think women are lacking, they also said that women who focus on household activities are protected, as they will not be exposed to unwanted attacks that come with long distance travelling.

Likewise, when women do activities that are ascribed to men, in rare cases they are seen as brave but in most cases they are perceived as 'aynawta,' meaning uncultured. If they are unmarried, it can even be a reason for them not to find a husband – saying that they will not be loyal to their husbands but instead be dominant in the house. Generally, it is considered as defying the cultural values and norms of the society for a

FGD members in Bursa mentioned the case of a girl who lost her father and because she could not cultivate his land (even if she wanted to), she had to rent it out and at times pay labor to cultivate the land. This, FGD participants say, negatively affected her economic situation. Most of the time she did not have any grain left at home and was starving.

woman to engage in what is prescribed as a man's responsibility. Because of this, the breadwinner, the head of household and main decision-maker in the house is the man. This was also confirmed by one religious leader who was part of the FGD, saying, *"women should be respected and protected but cannot take the role of the man in the household. She is also not meant to be exposed to the desert (engage in out of the house activities) nor is she supposed to be heading a family. A man is a lead and bread-winner of the family"*.

Table 1: Division of labor as described during the FGDs

	Roles ascribed to		
	women	men	both men and women
Household activities			
• Food preparation/cooking ('wot' 'Enjera', bread, 'tella', 'arekae', coffee, etc.)	X		
• Washing dish and others	X		
• Cleaning household floor	X		
• Fetching water from pond/pipe			X
• Fuel wood preparation (collection)			X
• Grinding grains by hand	X		
• Taking grains to the mill		X	
• Taking care of small animals (newly born animals)	X		
• Family care	X		
• Washing family clothes	X		
• Taking food to the farm	X		
• Taking care of children (breast feeding, cleaning poo, bathing, carrying, etc.)	X		
• gardening			X
• poultry	X		
• basketry	X		
• Spinning/cotton threading	X		
• Pottery	X		
Crop production			
• Storage container preparation			X
• Storing process/post-harvest			X
• Weeding unwanted plants			X
• Collecting crops to field floor			X
• Keeping crops from wild life		X	
• Cutting and gathering crops			X
• Field preparation for planting			X
• Ploughing farm in animals		X	
• Carrying farm tools		X	
• Threshing ground preparation		X	
• Transport yields to home		X	
• Planting/sowing seeds		X	
• Taking (selling) crops to the market.			X
• Taking (selling) animal (poultry) products to the market	X		
Livestock activities			
• Milk processing (e.g. extracting butter)	X		
• Cleaning animal waste/barn cleaning			X
• Care of new born animal			X
• Milking cows	X		
• Animal feeding			X
• Herding animals		X	
Total	18	8	11

The statements above are also in line with the activity profile completed both with the adult women and men focus group (Table 1) showing that women are responsible for multiple tasks while men are mostly busy during the farming (pick) season. The average list of activities that are expected to be covered during pick seasons are about 8 by men, 16 by women and about 13 activities can be handled by both men and women – whereby most of them are still handled mostly by women. Furthermore, a majority of women's tasks are routine activities and need to be attended every day while farming activities are not done on weekends and on saint's days. Because of this, women work more hours per day than men, including nighttime, and their leisure time is compromised. In fact, according to the activity calendar, women work between 16 to 18 hours per day. On the other hand, men have extended leisure time during non-farming seasons.

According to the FGD with adult women, the norms that over-burden them have never been challenged by the women themselves. Instead, we observed a common appreciation of the roles ascribed to them. Their common understanding is that *"yes, we can't handle the outside activities and we/I don't like to see my husband spending his time in the kitchen"*. To cope up with the time shortage, women perform two or more activities at one point in time. This undoubtedly occupies their thinking potential and keeps them in the cycle of poverty. Conversely, men usually benefit from this gender division of labor, which allows them to perform activities which are economically rewarding. According to the participants of the women's FGD, unequal power relations between men and women already start at the time of birth. When a girl is born in a family, the family and neighbors ululate 9 times, when the child is a boy they ululate 12 times showing the son preference in the area.

Non-farming seasons are leisure time for men unless they are engaged in natural resource protection activities. Women's *leisure* time consists of coffee time, mealtime and child feeding. Otherwise, whether it is peak (farming season) or slack time, women in rural East and West Belesa work from 10a.m in the morning until 11 p.m. at night, which stretches their daily working hours close to 18. Their leisure time can only be longer during holidays as they are exempted from activities such as spinning and grinding which are not allowed to be performed during holidays and saints' days. Also, during slack season women are free from farming activities but have to use their additional time for other activities such as spinning, basketry etc., which are either for market or family use. Furthermore, the women's FGD group mentioned that though the slack seasons are relatively free from agricultural activities, the natural resource protection campaign is one of the regular activities they also have to participate in, which starts around January and ends in May every year. This again increases the workload and women's engagement in additional/alternative livelihood activities is negligible. Both men and women engaging in natural resource protection activities get nominal payment (in grains) which does not increase their financial capital.

Finally, the FGD also showed that women with disabilities have the lowest status in the community. In most of the cases, they are left to watch over the household as the community thinks they cannot perform any other activities. According to the discussion in the male adult FGD, except for some who have minor disabilities and engage in for example, farming and

carpentry, those who have physical impairments are engaged for example in cleaning grains - separate the seed from the dirt. However, if their impairment is visual, they are considered an even bigger burdens to the family. *'We don't consider their existence except during meal time,'* is what one of the participants mentioned.

c) Access and control over resources

Control over resources implies the ability to use and even dispose of a resource or of a benefit. Women's control especially over productive resources means that women can own them, make decisions on selling, renting or lending them. However, in many societies, it is very difficult to realize women's equal control over productive resources. The case is not different for women in East and West Belesa.

Table II – Control over major household assets as reported by FGD participants

Assets	Controlled by			Remark
	Men	Women	Both	
Farm land	X			
Home garden		X		
Farming tools	X			
Oxen	X			
Cows		X		The product from the cow (milk & butter) is controlled by women but if the cow needs to be sold, it will be decided by the man
donkey	X			
Mules	X			
Sheep"s	X			
Goats	X			
Poultry		X		
Cash from Equib				
Cash from Micro-finance			X	The man and the woman jointly take the loan from micro-finance entities but in most cases, the decision upon how the money is being spent lies with the man
Edir	X			
Cash at Bank	X			
Cash at home		X		
Safety net	X			
credit from persons			X	
Rifle	X	X		
Kitchen utensils				

According to the table above, which was completed based on the discussion we had with the FGD participants, in 90% of the cases the right to control livestock lies mostly with men - only 10% is reserved for rural women. From this data, one can conclude that women in East and West Belesa have almost no control over livestock and their production. Some men might in fact inform and discuss it with their wives beforehand, but the final decision will be taken by men. As a result, women need permission from their husbands to use a horse or donkey for household benefits.

The only exception exists for less valuable livestock such as chicken as women engage in poultry farming and hence often control the use of chicken and eggs. They decide if they want to sell the eggs or the chicken and can use the money they earn mostly for any of the household needs they want. Only few of the women FGD participants said that in some families, even though women have control over the chicken and egg, the decision on using the money gained after the sale is made by men or jointly. The same is true for butter and milk.

With regards to land, even though it is the state which controls land ownership, rural farmers are guaranteed with lifetime “holding” right which give them all rights, except sale and mortgage. Ownership of land is determined whether the land belonged to the woman or man before their marriage, according to both men and female FGD participants in Belesa. But decision on land use is always made by the man. In case the couple is getting a divorce, legally speaking the land ownership should stay with the initial owner. In case the land is owned by the couple and they should get a divorce, the law protects equal distribution between the couple. However, the current practice consists in giving the land to the man and leaving the woman with an insignificant amount of money as a compensation. Another challenge the communities face (mainly the youth) is the fact that in most highlands of the country, there is shortage of arable land. Because of this, newly wedded couples can often only share farmland with their parents - unless there is a redistribution of land by the government from large to small holders, which has not happened for a long time in Belesa. This results in a further diminution of control over plots by single households and pushes the youth to migrate to look for other job opportunities in town.

It was clear from the FGDs that the reason for denying women control and access to resources is linked to the position women have in society in general: *“Men are bread winners, and hence head of the family. The head of the family should control all critical assets”; “If women control these assets, they can easily be cheated on when lending or selling these assets.”; “Women can give it/sell it (product) for a low price if some man flirts them.”; “They – women – are not educated and do not even know the value/how much what costs.”; “If a woman controls these assets, she feels she controls the household and she won’t be loyal to her husband”* are some of the responses from the majority of male FGD participants. Also, some FGD participants reported that if a woman takes livestock to the market buyers often will not buy it from them as they want to negotiate with a man.

Generally, this assessment shows that women’s control over productive resources is almost non-existent in East and West Belesa. Control over assets is directly related to decision-making power in the household; hence, women have no say when it comes to making decisions on selling, lending or transferring high value livestock and cannot own the income generated from the latter. Other areas with unequal decision-making power include: crops grown for household consumption vs. cash crops, selling and transferring large and small livestock, market negotiations, sale or purchase of agricultural inputs, non-farm business activities, use of agricultural land, buying or selling of household property, use of income, savings, and children’s education.

Without fair control over productive resources, gender equality is unlikely to be realized and by the same token, women’s contribution towards poverty alleviation will stay negligible.

d) Means of Livelihood

Agriculture is the economic mainstay of people in the study areas. They engage in mixed agriculture that include crop production (West Belesa) and livestock husbandry (East Belesa). In addition to farming, they practice herding cattle like oxen, cows, sheep, goats, and poultry. As discussed above, men are in charge of farming and selling big income cash crops, whereas women manage mainly household chores, support their husband in farming activities and exchange small income cash crops for household consumables.

2. Engagement in Additional Earning/job creation

Other than farming, there are instances of women engaging in preparing and selling '*tella*' and '*arekae*' – both local drinks, to support the household economy. Spinning cotton thread, pottery and basketry are also some of the additional activities mentioned but not commonly used as a source of income. Some say, they cannot produce enough as it is done when they are sitting for coffee or when they get some time between their household chores. Some other also say, that they never thought about it.

Unemployment, particularly among youth, is high as there are limited off-farm jobs. According to the Rapid Gender assessment there were a total of 3,981 (1,151 female) unemployed people in both woredas in 2017 (based on data collected from the TVETs and Small and Micro Enterprise offices). Most of the unemployed are youth who dropped out of school for various reasons, completed secondary school, fresh graduates and landless youth and women. According to the information from the rural job creation office, there is a council committee which includes members of 7-8 sector offices. The main role of this council is to create jobs in consultation with its members (government offices) and assess the gaps in the locality. The council, which is evaluated monthly by the job creation office, mainly targets unemployed youth and women between the ages of 18-64. The poorest segments of the society (which includes People with Disabilities (PWD), elderly people, Persons Living with HIV/AIDs (PLWHA), women, economically poor - landless households) are reached through direct support such as loans through governmental and non-governmental organizations. Some jobs that have been created in the last five years in East Belesa woreda included government employment (42 men and 22 women in the urban and 93 men and 60 women in the rural areas), government projects (33 men and 44 women in urban and 396 men and 224 women in rural areas) and also rehabilitation of existing enterprises (19 men and 13 women in the urban and 300 men and 212 women in the rural areas). In addition, the youth are also supported by the job creation office to establish enterprises and develop business plans. Once they form enterprises and develop their business plan, the job creation office links them with micro finance institutions which require them to save 10% of the loan amount to get financial access/loan.

The table below, which was extracted based on our discussion with the key informant from TVET's office of East Belesa woreda, shows efforts made by the Job Creation Office, through direct support at the urban and rural areas of the woreda. Though this will be further probed in

the project's job creation assessment, it shows that TVETs now also involve women, which was not the case before.

Table III. Job Creation in Urban and Rural Areas

S/N	Professional Areas	Men	Women	Total
	In urban areas			
1	Manufacturing	44	19	63
2	Construction	42	12	54
3	Urban Agriculture	50	10	60
4	Service	42	59	101
5	Trade	111	86	197
6	Mining	22	4	26
Urban total				501
	In rural areas			
1	Manufacturing	7	2	9
2	Construction	-	-	-
3	Rural Agriculture	826	377	1203
4	Service	18	20	38
5	Trade	45	40	85
6	Traditional Mining	113	13	126
Rural Total				1,461

Our discussion with the youth group (boys and girls) revealed that Amhara Credit and Saving Institution (ACSI) is facilitating credits also for youth who are interested in engaging in income generating activities. Mostly boys have taken advantage of this and engage in activities such as nursery/seed production/, road construction, livestock rearing, sand and stone production as well as renting land for crop production. Skills to engage in innovative activities, inadequate access to water and roads have been mentioned as major challenges to properly run their activities. The criteria to get loan includes completing a training from TVETs, and forming a group (at least five should be registered in a group) as ACSI makes group members accountable if a member is not able to return the loan on time.

Women and girls rarely benefit from this scheme. The challenge for married women is their inability to form the group which is directly linked to their limited or controlled mobility. Educated women youth/girls try to collaborate with boy/men's groups but are mostly challenged by social norms which perceive women/girl's exposure to an environment outside of the household as well as networking with boys/men, as uncultured. Those who try to resist these challenges still fear that they may be cheated on by the boys/men in the group. Nevertheless, the girls mentioned their interest in engaging in activities such as hair dressing, catering in cafés and restaurants, and selling stationaries. Both the boys as well as the girls' group mentioned the need to access financial services by ACSI and continuous skill development opportunities including business planning. The girls specifically mentioned the workload at the household limiting their ability to engage in innovative activities and their hope that access to water will minimize their workload at home. The young boys in the FGD stated that they prefer to engage in sand production, catering in cafés and restaurants, selling stationery, and concrete production.

According to the job creation office, unemployment among persons with disabilities is also high. Two people (a man and a boy) we interviewed mentioned the discrimination they face even in the government and kebele administration offices as well as corruption in the system when it comes to job opportunities. They say the system favors people with no disabilities instead of supporting and encouraging persons with disabilities who are willing to work and have the potential to do so. We also learnt that there are persons with disabilities who are engaged in farming and beauty salon (who have hearing impairments), shoe shining and attending shower houses.

3. Decision Making

Men and women in both East and West Belesa do not have equal decision-making power on household resources, more importantly on household income and land use. The exception is with widowed and single women who make the household decision by themselves. Areas with unequal decision making power include selling and transferring large and small livestock (such as ox, cow, horse, etc.), crops kept in greater containers (produced mostly for selling) vs. grown for household consumption; purchase and use of agricultural inputs and tools; use of income and credit money; renting and or using agricultural land. This undoubtedly erodes women's equal participation and contribution to the household economy and above all efforts of development intervention and poverty reduction within the community.

"A good wife is the one who accepts direction and decision without any compromise and is loyal to her husband",
Worotaw Yekoye, Jandab.

This also has an implication in times of divorce and wealth division where the man in the household takes most of the household resources leaving the woman with little or no resources. This is mostly done with the support of influential people in the community (comprising of elderly men and religious people) who are doing the arbitration and somehow have an adverse effect by taking sides with the man. This is mentioned by the west Belesa women's affair office as the main cause for women to migrate to urban areas and engagement in petty trading and even prostitution.

The Ethiopian family law protects the rights of women to have equal share of properties. However, because many are not aware of these laws, they do not make use of it. According to the Women's affair bureau, a shift started to take place now as women are more aware about the law and their rights to own resources together with their husbands. The key informant from the bureau stated that an increasing number of women approach the police and that there is an increasing number of cases filed by women who were able to get a fair division of resources eventually. According to the Justice office, there was a case where a couple was divorcing and a rifle estimated to cost around 30,000 birr was under their belongings: the court decided that half of the rifle's value should go to the woman. This can be considered as a major milestone, as in East and West Belesa, a rifle that is bought with the household's income has never been considered the property of a woman.

Finally, one of the reflection from the KII conducted with the Women and Children Affairs office is that the decision making power of women differs when women are married or divorced; the

latter generally ask and seek for their rights, even if they have to go against all the cultural barriers in place.

a) Mobility: According to the discussion with the FGD members as well as the KII with women's affair bureau representatives, women in the assessment area have limited freedom of movement. We have learnt that women in East and West Belesa are able to access local markets, attend funerals in the neighborhood, participate in local religious ceremonies, or visit people who live in the neighborhood. However, if they want to access the larger markets, travel to another place to visit relatives or attend religious ceremonies or even access health services, they must not only get permission from their husband but also need to be accompanied, wherever they are planning to travel to. Other than this, they cannot move out of the house even for critical issues such as the death of parents. In the absence of a man/the husband, her in-laws occasionally give her permission depending on the urgency of the matter. On the other hand, men rarely consult their wives before travelling except when they are not sure when they will be back or are planning to spend the night somewhere else. In this case, they will inform their wives so that the women and children in the house can attend the livestock and other household matters.

"My wife was sent a message from her relatives saying that her father has passed away and she needs to be at the funeral. The message came while I was away. She said, she cannot attend the funeral because I was not home to give her permission. It would have been the end of our marriage, if she has made that trip without getting my permission", Idris Hashim, Jandab.

This reduced mobility impacts women's access to information, services and limits the reach of their social networks. As expressed by the male FGD participants, the reasons for limiting women's mobility are:

1. The husband is the head of the household (immediate decision maker) and should manage the house properly.
2. If she is moving with her own decision, the community will say that she is not the right wife for the husband.
3. The husband suspects that she will be spending time with another man.

If a woman moves to distant places without permission, it can even be a reason for divorce.

When it comes to children's mobility (boys and girls), it is the male head of household as well who has to give permission to the children. The mothers have no say on this. They sometimes can express their agreement but the final decision lies with the man. Boys usually are not expected to inform their parents when they are going out of the house except for night outs or when they are not sure if the journey will keep them away for long. This was mentioned by the

Male FGD members at Diquana said

- "A woman who once decided to take contraceptives was travelling to a health center. On her way, she realized that her husband is following her. Out of fear of losing her marriage she decided not to take the contraceptive."
- "Another woman started taking contraceptives without letting her husband know about it. When he found out, he took her to 'shengo' – the elderly community justice group. He said, "She has to choose between the contraceptive and her marriage". Out of fear of losing her marriage, she stopped taking the pills and conceived her 4th child in the family."

group of unemployed youth (girls) as one of the limiting factor to accessing information e.g. to frequently see job adverts which are mostly posted in the rural towns.

b) Access to Loans: Taking loans from saving and credit association requires the permission and presence of both the husband and wife. Women cannot take a loan without their husbands' permission and men cannot take one out without their wife's permission. The adult women FGD participants noted that when they take loans from saving and credit associations, the money is kept in the hands of their husbands and the decision on how to use the money is also made by them. Because of this, the women are not encouraged to take loans even if they want to.

c) Child Marriage: Another area of critical decision-making is child marriage which is widely practiced in East and West Belesa. A girl is given for marriage while she is an infant through promises made between the children's family. This is mostly decided by men (the fathers) and the mother is informed afterwards. In most cases, the girl/boy and the mother have no say on this.

d) Family planning: As opposed to previous experiences, thanks to the continued intervention of CSOs and the health office, if a woman visits a health post/center to take a contraceptive, she is not required to get her husband's permission. This was mentioned as a concern in the male FGD, where it was said that it should be a concern for both male and female. In this case, women are given the full decision-making power. But in practice and in some families, this becomes a source of conflict and divorce. To avoid such instances, some women do it by hiding it from their husbands. In the course of this assessment, we also found out that there is little or no awareness about sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDs. For example, most link the benefit of using condoms only for family planning purposes.

The above findings show that the decision-making power imbalance is highly persistent in both targeted *woredas*. Although there is a growing number of households who quite often engage in consultation, the majority of decisions in the household are made by men; or in some cases they might inform their wives after or before the decision is made. The general understanding by all male FGD members and most of the female FGD members is that the head of the household should decide on everything. Both also say, on some of the issues where women have a stronger say, e.g. selling milk and butter, that men should be consulted - the reason being that if a woman decides without consulting her husband, she will be taken advantage of by other people. For example, if a woman lends household assets, the person borrowing it will most certainly take advantage of that and may not return it at all or in good condition. Eventually, it is clear that the community in East and West Belesa generally values and trusts the men's decision and judgment but not the women's.

Furthermore, households who have a son reported that they will engage him in some decision-making processes (for example in boundary setting discussions with neighbors or conflict resolution discussion) instead of the wife/mother. In our women FGD we also observed a tendency of women appreciating that decisions are taken by others. Many women in the FGD

accept their lower status by saying that they are illiterate and cannot do better than. As a result, access to public meetings, trainings and access to information is limited or blocked for women.

4. Participation and decision making in social and development groups

East and West Belesa woredas are rich in social and community groups that are established to facilitate and mobilize support in times of sorrow and happiness. Such social groups include 'Idir', 'Jemiya' (for Muslims), 'Ekub' (urban context) and 'Senbete' (for Orthodox Christians). These networks are not only important to mobilize resources (both financial and labor) but they are key to ensuring security, stability, information sharing and strengthening societal bondages. They are voluntary groups but include obligations and criteria for members to fulfill. According to the FGD participants, though there is no agreed restriction on this and both men and women can be members, usually the members of these social groups are heads of households. Because of this, unless a woman is single or widowed, she will not be considered a member of the social groups. Similarly, she will not participate during meetings, cannot be elected to be part of the leadership/committee, and hence will not be able to contribute ideas and be part of critical decision-making processes in the community. As a result, meeting and training invitations in relation to development activities often go to the head of the household. It is therefore very unlikely for married women to attend such meetings and be part of the trainings. The male FGD members said that since women are busy at home, they do not like to be part of such initiatives. However, the women FGD participants argued that if women are invited to trainings, they can attend without reservation; indicating a window of opportunity to invite women to different trainings, especially during slack season.

We observed that women who are leaders of women development armies (WDA) are strong communicators and have confidence when participating in discussions. Meeting invitations and trainings continuously target those who are in the cabinet, development army members, and other affiliated group members. The trainings that are given to men include security, crop production, and orientation about state of emergency while those given to women include health prevention package and introduction to farmer's model households (which includes guidelines on the necessity for separate rooms for human and cattle, a latrine attached with hand-washing facility, wells for either damping/composting waste or burning, fuel saving stoves, etc.). The capacity building efforts by ASCI include proper use of finance, repayment procedures and effective business planning. These are however only offered to groups (either male or female only or mixed) who are already qualified to get loans from ASCI.

Some 'gotes' within the assessment kebeles have WASH, irrigation and natural resources protection committees. It is in the government's WASH committee guidelines and also a common practice for NGOs to have 7 people in the WASH committee; of which 3 to 4 are female. That is also the practice in East and West Belesa. However, we have learnt that the women in the WASH committees are either single or widowed as men won't allow their wives to be part of the committee. Furthermore, the irrigation and natural resource committees have no criteria that actively encourage women to be members.

From the KII conducted with the ANDM (Amhara Nationalist Democratic Movement) political party office in East Belesa woreda, we found out that there are structures where both women and youth participate. These are the women's league, women's federation, women's association on the one hand, and youth league, youth federation and youth association on the other. The women's league has "an executive committee" both at kebele and woreda levels, each comprising 5-7 members; and there are a total of 2,985 women's leagues in the woreda. The criteria for being a member is that the women should be a member of the ANDM political party, and pay an annual fee of 3 Birr in the case of rural women; for government employees the payment is as per their salary scale and for student members the payment is 1.20 Birr. The executive committee recruits 5 women for leadership positions and sends their suggestion to the woreda and zone levels for decision.

Although the structures are in place, the leagues are not functioning because there is no training and follow up by the woreda and zonal levels due to budget constraints. Moreover, although agricultural, natural resource and health issues are incorporated into their plans, progress is not being evaluated since there is no follow up. Some good experiences have been recorded in Dengora kebele where 90 women took loans from a revolving fund from a TVET and out of the 90, 33 were members of the women's league. Moreover, in Hamusit kebele, 57 women's league members out of a total of 120 women saved 24,000 birr and were given land by the government where they constructed a house to start an income generating activity. The women's federation consist of an executive committee which has 7 members in the woreda and 5-7 members in the kebele making it a total of 150 executive committee members in a kebele. The federation's main responsibility is to serve as a bridge between the leagues and the association and it oversees what the two structures do. Though the federation is supposed to evaluate the progresses done in the two bodies and provide trainings and capacity building, they said that due to budget constraints the federation is not functioning properly.

Another platform is the women's association, which consists of 6,648 members at the woreda level comprising both community and government representatives. The association is a civic and not politically affiliated body with 7 executive committee members in each kebele, which aims at ensuring women's rights by fighting injustice. It also links women with the Women's and Children's Affairs office, and promotes loan and saving services for them to be economically independent. Other areas of work include ensuring women's participation in natural resource management, crop production and also health promotion by advocating for proper nutrition and safe delivery at the health posts. There is also a practice of collecting money, usually 10 Birr from the community for women who give birth and provide support to the health posts. Finally, the women's association also works towards the abolition of harmful traditional practices (HTPs) by reporting such cases to Women's and Children's Affairs office and other responsible bodies, and also works with schools to minimize dropout rates.

However, the women's associations face the same functional problems as the women's leagues and women's federations. Our key informant from ANDM recommended equipping leaders in all the three structures with the required leadership skills. In addition, awareness on gender equality is also an area these structures can benefit from as there are critical social norms and barriers observed that underestimate the abilities of women. For example, whenever a woman has a

leadership position, rumors circulate saying that she has an affair with someone in the leadership instead of appreciating her success and the position she earned. There is also no updated manual or strategy that guides the performance of the leagues, federations and associations. Such guidelines would enable the structures to identify real challenges women face in the community and offer tailored support according to their needs. Awareness on the existence and role of these three structures would also be needed from the woreda level onwards so that coordination and collaboration with the government offices can be ensured.

Unfortunately, the issue is completely different for persons with disabilities. As the overall perception is that persons with disabilities cannot participate in any development activity, they will not be made part of any discussion or trainings, unless they get tailored support, for example, from government offices or CBOs. These include a training provided by Gondar University and the Social and Labor Affairs Bureau on Information and Communications Technology (ICT) and metal works. We have also noted that in order to access loans, PWD are encouraged to form groups with persons with disabilities only, as other members of the communities would not want to collaborate with them. However, this effort has not been successful so far.

5. Access to information, finance and education

a. Access to Information

Information is key to develop capacities of women and girls and achieve gender equality. It enables women and girls to carry out their different roles in the community. However, girls and women are those who have the least access to information while they most need it.

In East and West Belesa, communities access information mainly through meetings and trainings organized by the government and non-governmental organization. Other than this, radio, mobile phones, social groups (such as Idir, Jemaya and Senbetae), local bars and market days are key channels and platforms for community members to exchange information. However, these means and channels are not accessible to all. As indicated before, women's and girls' mobility is more limited than men's in East and West Belesa. In addition, women's and girls' multiple roles and domestic burdens gives them less time to access information. Whereas men have access to a greater array of information channels, rural women stated that their key information channel was their coffee break; and few have mobile phones. The channels of communication within these society are totally inaccessible for persons with disabilities. The limitations include a lack of mobility and financial means, for male and female persons with disabilities alike.

Women who are already members of different development structures established by the government (e.g. 1 to 5) have most of the time the opportunity to be part of meetings and trainings. However, it is important to add that a majority of these women are female head of households (FHH), either single or widowed – marginalizing married women whom the society normally refer as housewives. This indicates the need for the SWEEP project to take a differentiated approach when targeting women in East and West Belesa to implement activities that are tailored to the different needs of marginalized women and girls in this area.

Finally, the discussion with both boys and girls in the FGD revealed that boys have more access to information than girls. This is again mainly because of the boys' greater freedom of movement and reduced workload. Of the unemployed youth who are looking for job opportunities, one of the barriers mentioned was access to information about job adverts. However, the boys often travel to the nearest towns and therefore get information more easily than the girls who mostly rely on the information they get from friends and family either through mobile phone or in person.

b. Access to Finance

In terms of access to loans, there are institutions such as ACSI and cooperatives in East and West Belesa that provide loan and saving services to all segments of the society. The institutions have their own criteria which individuals or groups need to fulfill in order to qualify for a loan. These include group formation as collateral or an alternative to this is a house in a semi-urban area, or saving equivalent of 20% from the total loan amount. In the cooperatives one criteria is for a person to take up a membership (when the number of members in a group reaches 20, they get registered as a cooperative).

Even though women are aware of the importance of saving money, they are not encouraged to save and take loans because of their multiple roles at home. As their mobility is guided by their husband/partner they often do not attend meetings. But those who participate are asked to save 30 Birr per month as down payment which is then handled by the treasurer who collects and deposits the group's contributions. While comparing the situation of female-headed households and women who live in a male-headed household, the former have a better experience of participating in meetings, saving and taking loan. There are also few cases where both the husband and wife save together. The Cooperative's office together with Women and Children Affairs office are collaborating and creating awareness creation sessions on loan and saving and explain how individuals can be part of that at the kebele level. According to our key informant from the Cooperative Office, this increased the number of women who accessed saving and loan schemes this fiscal year. According to the information obtained from the West Belesa Cooperative office, there are 30 cooperatives (each consisting of 20 members), of which 3 were established by women only. According to the key informant from West Belesa Cooperative office, women benefit significantly from saving money. Compared to men, women who are able to save do it consistently and pay their debts on time. Once they go into savings, women engage in different income generating activities such as shoat (sheep and goat) fattening, poultry and at times in petty trading.

For persons with disabilities, forming cooperatives is a challenge. Persons with no disabilities do not want to involve persons with disabilities in their groups as they feel they cannot engage in any meaningful activities. Because of this, efforts to encourage people with disabilities to take part in different forms of groupings or to establish their own are almost non-existent.

c. Access to Education

Education enables girls and boys, women and men to fully participate in social, economic and political life and is the foundation for the development of a democratic society. It is also vital for women's and girls' empowerment and to increase their ability to access and exercise their rights.

Without bringing advancement in girls' and women's education, progress is less likely to be attained in any of these prioritized issues in our development goals and our agenda.

The assessment team noted that the adult men FGD member's level of education is mostly limited to the ability to read and write, and a majority of adult women included in the FGDs are illiterate.

According to the education policy of the country, parents are obliged to send school-aged children to school. Because of this, there is high enrollment of both boys and girls. By the same token, the dropout rate as well as absenteeism is higher for girls than boys; although our key informants say it is now getting better. Reasons for increased dropout and absenteeism by girls include child marriage, high workload and safety concerns. For example, in Arba Tseguja kebele of East Belesa, girls are not allowed to join high school due to fear of attacks and of unwanted pregnancy. Female FGD members mentioned cases of gender-based violence affecting girl students, even at the primary school level. It is not common or not encouraged to report cases of rape and sexual attacks in the locality. When that happens, girls prefer to run away and put themselves in an even greater danger instead of revealing the issue and the perpetrator to their own family. As is the common practice, they fear that their father will kill/attack the perpetrator or his family; and by doing so, the father may put himself in danger. Other factors contributing to girls' absenteeism include water collection and supporting mothers in doing household chores, which is expected to be done by girls. Only when donkeys are used will boys also support the family in collecting water. For girls, spending time to fulfill these activities before school means that they often reach school exhausted and/or late. In addition, as mentioned before they often have no time to study after school, as they are required to support their mothers as well.

This and other similar challenges hold back girls who cannot compete with male students who are not facing these challenges. In order to overcome the security threat for girls who have to travel long distances to reach school, some parents rent a house for them to live in, closer to the school. However, being far away from their families, these girls often feel vulnerable and unsafe, and therefore do not necessarily focus on their education, as intended. In addition, public servants can take advantage of girls by offering them financial support, in exchange for sexual favors. Girls FGD participants in Arba Tseguja said therefore that they prefer to travel in groups or want to be accompanied by other male students.

We have learnt that there are two schools for persons with special needs; in Dengora (East Belesa) and Hamusit (West Belesa). In addition, a monthly financial support of 400 birr is provided to participants to support the household economy. However, the school being in town, it is very far for the rural youth with disabilities; it is also the only school we found in the woreda.

6. Leadership Role

With regards to women in leadership position, be it at the community, government structure and at household level, we have realized that there are restrictions in both East and West Belesa woredas. Membership and participation in social structures like *Idir* and *Jemiya* are dominated

by men; so are the leadership positions within this. In the few cases where women are part of the leadership, they are often given positions as treasurer. These restrictions are associated with the social norms attached with what the society thinks of women in leadership or of women who want to be in leadership. The society labels women as incapable of being a leader. In addition, as the majority of women are illiterate, that is also taken as an excuse not to give leadership positions to women.

But more importantly, the situation gets even harder for married women because, according to some male FGD participants their husbands assume they will have less respect for them if the wives start to engage in leadership positions. Other perceptions discussed in the male FGDs include, ‘when they focus on community activities, they will leave behind their household roles’, “women are not vocal” – “they don’t know how to organize their thoughts”, “husbands are not willing for their wives to take in social roles let alone leadership positions in the social or government structures”. The only exceptions that exist are for health posts, in women development groups and few positions at ASCI where women are included in leadership positions. But very often, when a woman is holding a leadership position in the government organizations, there is naming and shaming attached to it – people would say she has a relationship with one of the male leadership members as mentioned before. Therefore many women avoid to take on leadership roles.

In the adult male FGD, participants in Diquana responded to our question on how they see the performance of women in leadership by saying the following: “who, in the first place, would give them the leadership position?”. Others who were asked how they would react if their wives were elected to hold a leadership position, answered differently, from ‘I would be happy...’ to “I will file for a divorce”. This shows that, although some are not happy and even strongly reject women in leadership roles, there are few people who are willing to support women. Taking this into consideration, SWEEP should take the baseline results with regards to the communities’ perception of women’s capability to take on leadership positions – which was mainly positive – with caution.

During the KII conducted with the Women’s and Children’s Affairs office, the respondents made recommendations on how to bring women into leadership positions. They suggested to integrate awareness creation about women’s empowerment both to men and women into health and agricultural promotion packages in order to bring women into leadership positions. They stressed that women should be offered loan and saving options to make them more financially independent, and that they should be supported by engaging them in other income generating activities such as fruit and vegetable gardening or poultry farming so as to make the men understand that their wives can support the household economy. That way they hope that this will help men to believe that she is fit to be a leader.

The male FGD participants openly say they have never thought of engaging persons with disabilities in any development or income generation activities let alone appointing them to leadership positions. This will have to be further analysed and taken into consideration when SWEEP will work with PWD.

7. Commonly Practiced HTPs and GBV

Harmful traditional practices and gender based violence are rampant in most parts of Ethiopia. Though their prevalence and degree may vary from place to place and from community to community, the practice has long-term and devastating effects. Harmful traditional practices and gender-based violence mainly affect women and children; they are known to have bad effects on their health and obstruct their social rights and economic development. Until very recently, the problem in Ethiopia remains that these traditions continue to be practiced and that the people who participate do not know about the harmful effects of their actions.

However, different actors including the Women and Children Affair Office, the Ministry of Health through Health Extension Workers and other development actors such as civil society organizations are working to change the situations. In East and West Belesa, in addition to teaching communities about the effect of these practices, those who used to be practitioners of HTPs are given specific trainings. Because of this, although improvements have been observed (according to FGD participants and KII), there is still resistance to change some of these practices. According to the FGD participants and key informants, the traditional practices in East and West Belesa include child marriage, milk teeth extraction, uvula cutting, extravagancy (festivities), and extended time of mourning. Rape and physical violence belong to the widest forms of gender-based violence.

a. Child Marriage: The legal age of marriage in Ethiopia is 18 for both boys and girls. However, according to respondents in all FGDs and KII at the Women and Children Office, child marriage is one of the widely exercised harmful traditional practices in both East and West Belesa woredas. A girl is given for marriage while she is at the infant stage through promises made between her family and the person's family whom she will be marrying when she comes of age. The current experience in the two woredas is that girls are married off starting from the age of 8 and 10. In most cases, the child is taken to her in-laws immediately after the wedding and in other cases the parents agree for the girl to stay with her parents until she is mature enough to live with her husband.

In addition to the family's promises explained above, reasons attached to practicing child marriage in East and West Belesa include the need to see children get married before parents are of age; to get back resources which have been contributed to other weddings; fear of not finding a husband for a girl after she passes a certain age; to protect virginity and avoid premarital affair and pregnancy; the wish to see the daughter giving birth at an early age; and to strengthen social bondage between the boy's and the girl's family. Also, the deacons at the Ethiopian Orthodox Church are required to marry a virgin girl and for that reason they mostly marry girls before the age of 18.

Reasons for child marriage

- To see children's marriage before getting old
- To get back resources (money back)
- Difficult to get married if older
- To protect virginity
- To avoid prenatal affair and pregnancy
- To strengthen social bondage
- Prestige
- Religious fulfillment

The effects of child marriage on the girls are manifold. Girls married at an early age are more likely to be illiterate and most likely unable to be enrolled in school. The members of the adult women FGD for instance were all married as children and the majority is in fact illiterate. According to the KII, health complications like fistula, infections, STDs and HIV/AIDs are also common in the area; especially the latter two since many husbands practice sex outside of their marriage. We also learnt that the case of fistula and STDs affect the women's sexual performance and is one of the leading causes of marital instability. This again forces the women to engage in prostitution as they will be left with no economic backing after their divorce. Family dependency – for fistula and divorced girls, and psychological challenges - are also some of the impacts mentioned both in the FGDs and KIIs.

Child marriage is predominantly pressured by fathers followed by mothers. Community elders and other community members also have a role to play in this. When weddings are arranged, in most of the cases the girls are not informed and by and large they are not even asked for their consent. Now that communities are aware that it is an unlawful act, they started doing the marriage ceremony by covering it with other social events such as 'Senbete'. We realized that religious leaders are very influential in this process. No marriage is conducted without their consent and blessings – be it formal or informal. It would therefore be strategic for CARE to work with religious leaders to address this challenge in the community.

The police, in collaboration with the Women's and Children office, as well as a number of schools are working to control child marriage in the area. According to the information from the police office in East Belesa woreda, this year there were 11 attempts of child marriage and the police stopped 10 of them - it was too late to stop one marriage as the report reached the police after it was performed. Moreover, the information from the Women's and Children's Affairs office shows that in the year 2010 (E.C.¹), 16 child marriage attempts were reported and 13 of them could be stopped.

b. Prostitution: According to the KII with Women's Affair office, prostitution is practiced widely throughout the two woredas of Belesa. Our key informant from the women's affair also said, those who go into practicing prostitution are mostly women whose marriage ended. The main reason mentioned for marriage instability or separation is the practice of child marriage. Girls who go into marriage early face different health problems including infection, STDs and fistula which in one way or another limits their sexual interaction with their husbands. This, as well as finding another woman with better resources – like land – are some of the main reasons for men to divorce their wives, which leaves them with no economical support. Culturally, it is unacceptable for a divorced woman to remarry a person who comes from a similar village as the ex-husband. Generally the women leave their residence with no specific plans and resources to run away from forced child marriages, divorce, or because of the death of parents. They often engage in selling 'tella' – the local beer and 'arekae' – the local alcohol mostly in semi-urban areas. As the income from this small business is insignificant especially for those who have children, the women will be forced to look for additional money which mostly comes from engaging in prostitution. Women in need of resource also get into prostitution regardless of the consequences like HIV and other related health matters.

¹ E.C.: Ethiopian Calendar

c. Concubine or keeping mistresses: Adult male FGD participants both in Diquana and Wareb admitted that roughly 2 out of 5 men have between 1 and 3 mistresses. In East and West Belesa, keeping mistresses is considered a sign of masculinity, a “show-off”, and at times adds social status or respect for the man. Sometimes, the aim is also to get more children especially from a woman whom they consider is from a good family – ‘has a good gene’. The practice has spread on a computation bases – ‘if so and so have mistresses in town, why don’t I keep one too’; ‘what is wrong with him? Is he a priest?’ is what others say if a man does not have a mistress. According to the women FGD members, women who are selling ‘tella’ and ‘arekae’ also see benefits in entering into these relationships: (1) as a way of getting more customers through the man, (2) to get financial support from him and (3) for security reasons, as women who are mistresses will not be victims of rape by customers, if the latter know that they are someone else’s mistress.

According to the East Belesa Women’s Affairs office, the main actors of this practice are part of the leadership at kebele level. Almost all kebele cabinet members have mistresses in urban areas whom they meet whenever they go for meetings. We have also heard grudges from married adult women focus group members about cabinet members abusing their power and favoring their mistresses when it comes to identifying women who qualify for interventions such as Productive Safety Net Programs (PSNPs). Young women with disabilities are also victim of this practice especially if they are either considered “good looking” or have inherited wealth (land in this case) from their parents. Although the men do not want to marry a girl with disability, they still want to keep her as a mistress to either get a child or benefit from her wealth. By doing so, some women with disabilities are lead to choose prostitution as their means of livelihood.

In West Belesa woreda Arbaya kebele only, 1,500 prostitutes were registered at the Women’s and Children’s Affairs office asking for support, but the office believes that many more remain unregistered. According to the Justice Office in East Belesa woreda, it is illegal for spouses to have another sexual partner while being married. But despite the law, a significant number of men exercise this widely. It is also difficult to take measures against it, as there is often no substantial evidence against the men. The only evidence that could be brought to court is the proof that the man has a child from his mistress- only then can his wife take the matter to justice, and file for divorce. However, because of a lack of awareness of the law, women do not even seek compensation for the man’s wrongdoing, even though they would have the right to do so. Furthermore, if the man gets a child from his mistress he is legally responsible to support his child. By doing so, the man often has to share his wealth with his mistress and his wife. Hence, both the wife’s and the mistress’ family fall victim to the man’s behavior.

Prostitution and the tradition of having mistresses is a very serious issue that is leaving women and girls vulnerable to diseases and poverty. There is no doubt that women and men involved in this act are prone to sexually transmitted diseases including HIV. The economic and psychological implications on women and children are manifold.

d. Milk teeth extraction/ ‘geg masfelfel’: Milk teeth extraction or pulling out the early teeth of a child is another harmful practice which is often performed to cure the child from diarrhea and other infections. We have learnt that this is also openly practiced in East and West Belesa.

e. Uvulectomy: One of the harmful practices mentioned both in East and West Belesa is Uvulectomy, which is an unlawful procedure involving the cutting of the uvula and sometimes the nearby structures such as the tonsils. The uvula is a small soft tissue between the two tonsils. It helps to prevent choking during swallowing and is used in producing certain sounds necessary for language communication. Sharp blade, horsetail hair or thread attached to a loop are used to cut the uvula in the community. According to the Ethiopian Public Health training module, uvula cutting can lead to people getting Tetanus and even HIV/AIDs. Other implications include excessive bleeding, infections and long-term dental problems. According to FGD participants, the community continue this practice. Despite being aware of the harmful effects – due to current awareness creation by health extension workers and health centers, the practice is taking place openly. Communities say that modern treatment - the services given at the health centers - are not safer than what they have been practicing for generations.

f. Rape: rape is widely taking place for different reasons such as revenge (marriage proposal decline, disagreement with parents of the child, etc.). Cases are not being reported because families want to preserve their respect in the society and because in some cases girls are scared that their father will go after the perpetrators. There are also cases where families get into a consensus and give the girl for marriage to the perpetrator.

g. Physical Violence: According to the women's affair office, there are some cases of women being beaten by their husbands and even cases of killings. One key informant also said that young girls in school face different types of violence by their peers and on their way to schools since they walk long distances. For example, according to a 2018 East Belesa police report, the police interfered in 194 cases of violence against women (mainly beatings) and 2 rape cases.

8. Persons with disabilities

According to the Labor and Social Affair Office, there are a significant number² of persons with disability who are denied opportunities and face discrimination from the community due to the different social norms attached to disabilities. The types of disabilities in the area include sensory, physical and mental impairments and the causes mainly are natural, health related and in a few cases accidental.

The Labor and Social Affairs Office in both woredas cooperate together with social workers in several kebeles to reach out to disadvantaged groups, one of them being people with disabilities. They organize a meeting every month with people with disabilities along with other disadvantaged groups like the elderly, to listen to their concerns and link them up with PSNP (Productive Safety Net Program) and ORDA (Organization for Relief and Development of Amhara). ORDA works in all the 30 kebeles of West Belesa woreda supporting people with disabilities. According to the data gathered from the Labor and Social Affairs Office, ORDA

² Unfortunately the Office could not provide any data or statistics, as there is no systematic collection of data on people with disabilities in East and West Belesa.

provides material needs such as wheelchairs, walking sticks and eyeglasses. In total, up to 1,699 people (885 men and 814 women) were supported. The office in East Belesa woreda is working towards documenting the situation of people with disabilities and facilitating loan services, as well as integrating them into the PSNP and ORDA programs.

In East and West Belesa, there are different discriminatory social norms related with disabilities, not only at the community level but also at the woreda level. At the community level, people with disabilities face marginalization as most of them are kept at home. Families are often concerned with what society associates with disabled children, which are said to be “a curse from God”. We learned from the KII that families would only step forward and admit they have a child with a disability, if they knew they can receive economic support from the Government of external parties. In terms of access to water the problem is particularly severe for people with disability because of the topography and inaccessibility of the water points.

It was pointed out by experts from the Labor and Social Affairs Office that educated and capable people with disabilities who passed recruitment exams were in some instances denied a job only because of their disability. In terms of access to saving and loans, people with disabilities are theoretically entitled to get the services as long as they fulfil the criteria. However, there is a general prejudice towards people leaving with disabilities that they will not be able to pay back their loan at all. The issue of collateral also remains a major problem. For instance, there is a membership fee in the disability association in Central Gondar Zone and members have received land from the government in order for them to construct a shower service which is aimed to support their livelihoods – however the disability association could not get a loan from ACSI (Amhara Credit and Saving Institution) because they could not provide collateral- even though they already had a capital of 80,000 Birr. There are also youth with disability who were trained by Gondar University and the Labor and Social Affairs Bureau in Central Gondar Zone, but due to financial constraints they could not secure a loan and they remained unemployed.

In the rural areas, land certificate serve as collateral for taking a loan from ACSI, however even when they have that option they still could not save the 10% of the loan amount they are seeking, which is a requirement before taking up a loan. Another challenge that should be mentioned is that ACSI provides loans for groups and joint ventures. Hence, the members of the groups cannot work/invest for their individual business plan because the loan amount would not cover the needs of each individual.

When it comes to food security, people with disabilities mainly rely on PSNP since they do not produce food themselves. Literate people with disabilities sometimes participate in development works in PSNP such as natural resource conservation works but this depends on the type of disability they have. Visually impaired people and people with critical physical disabilities do not totally participate for instance.

Even though people with disabilities face different kinds of problems, in general the situation is different for men and women, which is manifested in terms of participation, access to services and opportunities. Men with disabilities still participate in community gatherings and activities while the women have to stay at home. If women go out or go to the kebele to access services, they often do not get equal treatment. According to the woreda labor and social affair office, there was a case in West Belesa woreda where a woman with a disability applied for a job and passed the exam but was denied the job - the job was offered to another woman without disability. The woreda labor and social bureau took up the matter to the zonal level but no follow up took place. Women with disabilities also face problems to get married and as mentioned before, some are pushed into accepting to be a man's mistress.

Regarding youth with disability, there is an education program for people with special needs at the woreda level they can participate in. However, most young people are not benefitting from that service as it requires them to travel from their respective kebele to the woreda center. It would be useful for SWEEP in collaboration with BtG II to influence the woreda government and its financers so that this program can be facilitated at the kebele level and integrated within existing schools.

Finally, there is a structure called community care coalition (3C) which starts from the federal level and goes down to the kebele level. Its main objective is to redistribute resources for disadvantaged groups including people with disabilities, which is done by taking resources from volunteers in the community through awareness creation in social institutions such as churches. The support can be given through different mechanisms such as cash, crops and fixing of houses of the disadvantaged by using the money gathered from the volunteers.

The main recommendation which was given from the KII conducted from the Labor and Social Affairs office was to offer capacity building to people with disabilities and create awareness among the community at the kebele level. The importance of law enforcement was also pointed out in order for facilities to consider people with disabilities and make their infrastructures easily accessible.

VI. Enabling Environment

Ethiopia is signatory to a number of international conventions that include the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, 1948), the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW, in 1981), Beijing Declaration and the platform for action (1995), the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) Agenda 2030. At the national level there are several legal and policy frameworks regarding women's rights and among these is the Ethiopian Constitution. The government of Ethiopia under its new constitution reviewed its commitment (in 1995) towards gender equality under article 35, focusing on the rights of women. Some of the entitlements in the constitution include equal rights in marriage with men, the right to full consultation in the formulations of

national development policies and projects, the right to acquire, administer, control, use and transfer property, the right to equality in employment, promotion, pay and transfer of pension entitlement, and entitlement to affirmative actions.

The Rural Land Administration and land use Proclamation Number 455/2005 has special provisions addressing the issue of women and land in the country. In dealing with the issue of acquisition and use of rural land, Art 5(1 c) of this proclamation states that women who want to engage in agriculture shall have the right to get and use rural land. According to this proclamation, where land is jointly held by husband and wife or by other persons, the land holding certificate shall be prepared in the name of all joint holders. The above are few of the many proclamations, policies and plans that show the country's commitment to address gender based inequalities.

As mentioned in the SWEEP project document, the Government of Ethiopia has an institutional set-up in place to implement these various plans and policies, starting from community level up to regional bureaus. In addition to the administrative structure at kebele level, the government assigns agricultural development agents, health extension workers, kebele chairperson and manager, agricultural and one health supervisor per kebele as well as health professionals like health officers at health centers where the minimum education qualification is attainment of a diploma in their respective assignments.

In the case of gender, key government organizations mandated to oversee implementation of gender related plans and policies include the Women's and Children Affairs, Labour and Social Affairs, Justice and the Police. Finally, there are also women's associations and women development armies who are trying to bring change in terms of women's active engagement and participation in political, economic and administrative issues in their locality, with which SWEEP will collaborate as well.

VII. Conclusion

The results of this assessment clearly show that women and girls in both East and West Belesa face multifaceted challenges. Primarily the socially ascribed gender roles make women responsible for repetitive, tiresome, time-consuming and economically unrewarding activities. Though they contribute significantly to productive works, their contribution is unrecognized as women are only considered *supporters* of outdoor activities (mostly productive). Most of the kebeles in both woredas are supported by the PSNP and are not economically stable in terms of achieving their household's food security. Within these deeply rooted poverty traps the primary victims are women, children and people with disabilities with no or little resources under their possession. This is further aggravated by the limited or inexistent control over household assets as well as livestock and their production, which is linked to the imbalance in decision-making power, which again is solely controlled by men.

Women and girls in East and West Belesa experience harmful traditional practices, such as rape, early (or arranged) marriage, and uvulectomy. Their health and body are also being controlled by their husbands/partners, who often reject the use of family planning methods. Women are also victim of the common practice of (powerful) men keeping mistresses. Finally, they are also restricted in their wish and potential to take on a leadership role.

Women rarely engage in development activities or benefit from related initiatives, such as trainings and access to financial products because of their restricted movement, limited access to information and education. This and many other challenges undoubtedly hamper women's effort to improve their lives and uplift those around them. The situation is more problematic for women (and men) with disabilities who are further discriminated because of their impairments.

VIII. Recommendations

- **Workload**
 - Work with both men and women, boys and girls to address equal share of workload at household level and promote men/boy's contribution to doing household chores. In addition to using the social analysis and action (SAA) methodology to help the beneficiaries address these issues openly, SWEEP needs to find ways of engaging men/boys and promote men/boys who are active in doing household chores such as cooking and taking care of children.
 - In addition to addressing the basic needs such as access to clean water near the people's home, the project can help women by introducing technologies that reduce women's workload such as fuel-saving stoves.
- **Mobility, access to information, participation and leadership**
 - The extent to which a woman's role is limited to fulfilling her household duty instead of participating in any development/community initiative or of accepting a leadership opportunity is directly related with the perception that the latter would disturb domestic peace and the stability of marriage. A significant number of male FGD participants responded that it will be the end of their marriage if "by some miracle" their wife is elected to serve in the kebele cabinet or in other development committees. Awareness raising sessions and SAA discussions need to justify and promote women's mobility, participation, access to information and leadership.
 - Also, it will be essential to provide leadership training to women to build their self-confidence and their ability to speak in public.
 - Building on the recommendation from Male FGD groups, it is worth investing in the future generation by working with schools and the education bureau so that gender empowerment will be part of the schools' teaching or can be an activity of the school clubs.

- **Power (im)balance and gender based violence**
 - Address the power imbalance at the household level through SAA methodologies as well as engage women in VSLA so that they will earn and control their own income. Learning from CARE's experience and considering the low economic status of the community, it would be worth trying to link SAA groups with VSLAs or income generation activities.
 - Include local leaders in the SAA discussion to challenge the widely spread practice of keeping mistresses. This was also highly suggested by the women FGD group.
 - Building on CARE's previous experience, it is also worth engaging amateur artists and religious leaders in our gender empowerment promotion work.
 - Also, SWEEP's gender empowerment and transformation method should be supported by using social structures such as '*Senbetae*'. There is a particular need to first change the behavior of religious leaders (in terms of division of labor, early marriage and household decision making) and make them allies of our project. Also, in East and West Belesa no marriage is conducted without their blessing. They can help promote the project's efforts to end child marriage by not giving their blessing to such marriages.
 - Another important arena will be exploring the potential use of informal structures such as coffee ceremonies for SAA discussions and exchange of ideas among women.
 - It would be worth trying to include women development army members in our SAA groups so that women who have no outside-of-home exposure can learn from their experiences.
- **Sector capacity building**
 - Support government partners such as the women and children affairs (for women and youth) and labor and social affair (for persons with disabilities) who are also tasked to address gender inequality and the rights of persons with disabilities respectively. The support will include training on SAA tools and VSLA approaches; and solicit support from BTG II so that they will be trained on how to plan and implement disability inclusive programs and projects.
 - Also, the sector offices can benefit from awareness creation about women's rights before trying to change the community. We also believe that these groups and the community will benefit from knowing and understanding critical laws such as the family law, and different legislation in relation to gender equality and the rights of persons with disability.
- **Economic empowerment**
 - In addition to women in male-headed households, widowed and divorced women, and women who are kept as mistresses or who are practicing prostitution need to be targeted to be part of the SAA and VSLA groups.
 - The women FGD groups recommended to empower prostitutes and mistresses to address marriage stability in the community. Also, it will be key to expose these groups to alternative income generation activities as well as to work with and support cooperatives in reaching more women to get access to saving and loan.
 - Furthermore, SWEEP should work with the woreda leadership and the rural job creation office on job creation and innovation for the youth.

- It is worth considering targeting Agriculture development agents so that they can consider female farmers as “model farmers” in their agricultural promotion work. Currently, their choice of role model farmers are men only.
 - CARE should also work closely with the woreda and regional government (e.g. woreda steering committee) and influence fulfilment of basic infrastructure, sufficient extension services including sufficient access to loan for the very remote kebeles like Arba Tseguar and Dengora.
- **Social Inclusion**
 - Because in the course of this assessment it was not possible to find enough persons with disabilities to understand their needs and priorities in East and West Belesa, SWEEP should collaborate with the government partners to identify persons (men, women, boys and girls) with disabilities in the target kebeles and assess their needs and priorities so that accurate programming recommendations can be made.
 - It would be useful for SWEEP in collaboration with BtG II to influence the woreda government and its financers so that special needs program can be facilitated at the kebele level and integrated within existing schools. This could be done by availing platforms for BtG II representatives to address local government officials in the SWEEP organized review meetings or learning forums.
 - Further, SWEEP should explore possibilities to work with associations of persons with disabilities in central Gondar zone – who are in need of opening a shower house and see the possibility of SWEEP financing them. Working with BtG II will have a positive influence as government actors can be capacitated to see their interventions and projects from a “disability lens”.

Photos



Discussion with male FGD members in Diquana kebele



FGD participants of religious leaders in Bursa kebele



Discussion with female
FGD members in Diquana
kebele

Annex I: List of FGD participants and Key informants

Adult Male

S/N	Name of FGD participants	Village	Age	M/F	Head of household
Diquana Kebele					
1	Berae Ferede	Tulsi	37	M	Male
2	Woretaw Asfaw	Tach Abzehara	45	M	Male
3	Agegne Kassaye	Kora	42	M	Male
4	Sak Alem	Lay Abzehara	32	M	Male
5	Amare Tsegaye	Lay Abzehara	30	M	Male
6	Kes Zemed Alemu	Tach Abzehara	35	M	Male
7	Molla Tareke	Merhangeb	45	M	Male (HTP/p)
8	Gebrea Gesete	Embalae	55	M	Male (HTP/p)
9	Abate Melkae	Merhangeb	64	M	Male
10	Asefa Feleke	Embalae	50	M	Male
11	Kes Worku Tefera	Selamarefa	37	M	Male (Priest)
12	Gardew Destaye	Alem Mender	52	M	Male
13	Kassew Yerome	Adekela	40	M	Male
14	Shegaw Shiferaw		35	M	Male (PWD)
15	Yalew Destaw		26	M	Single (PWD), unemployed
Wareb kebele					
16	Fikrae Geremew		45	M	Male/PWD
17	Gurba Yalew		55	M	Male/PWD
18	Nigistat Biset		38	M	Male
19	Asmamaw Shumeye		36	M	Male
20	Kes Desae Miheret		45	M	Male/Religious L
21	Fantahum Molla		58	M	Male (HTP/P)
22	Mussie Teka		60	M	Male
23	Adera Takele		48	M	Male
24	Merigeta Molla Emeru		65	M	Male/R. Leader
25	Nigus Sendeku		44	M	Single/PWD
26	Erekae Yimer		65	M	Male
27	Tiezazu Belay		65	M	Male
28	Gashew Motbaynor		38	M	Male
29	Nigistat Eneyew		39	M	PWD/Single
30	Getahun Mihretae		50	M	Male
Jandab Kebele					
31	Getnet Fentae	Hanisen	45	M	Male
32	Shegaw Tilahun	Hamisen	42	M	Male
33	Tebabal Abate	Gone	60	M	Male
34	Kollage Tekeba	Seche	45	M	Male
35	Wobagegn Demeke	Tokam	56	M	Male

36	Kes Yenehum Azeze	Jandeb	32	M	Religious leader
37	Dires Tesema	Zelamin	50	M	Male
38	Birku Getaneh	Jandab	52	M	Male
39	Abey Sisay	Zelamin	42	M	Male
40	Worotaw Yekoye	Zelamin	60	M	Male
41	Setegn Shibabaw	Gone	50	M	Male
42	Indris Hashim	Jandab	32	M	Muslim leader
Bursa Kebele					
43	Addis Biset	Shewa Meda	40	M	Male/Party member
44	Abeje Mekonnen	Gend Wuha	54	M	Male/Vice house of speaker
45	Kes Temesgen Ashagrae	Dingay Mider	38	M	Male/Church Secretary
46	Abebaw Demisse	Sililk See	60	M	Male/Party Member
47	Kes Alemu Yetemegn	Sililk See	62	M	Male/Church administrator
48	Mekonnen Mitiku	Gend Wuha	61	M	Male/Member and auditor to the party
49	Addisu Baye	Shiro Beten	48	M	Male/Party member
50	Abay Dejen	Emetae Enkoye	40	M	Male/Secretary to the Kebele justices
Dangora Kebele					
51	Chekol Molla	Bikil Shewa	34	M	Visually impaired
52	Abebe Lakyalet	Zelay Zeho	30	M	Male
53	Asnakew Yilak	Adureye	33	M	Male
54	Tigabu Bitew	Ashewa Meda	40	M	Male
55	Azanaw Abae	Eyesus	36	M	Male
56	Tebarko Gebru	Ered Azba	35	M	Male
57	Tigabu Fekadae	Atil Ayna	30	M	Student
58	Merigeta Aymirae Fetene	Kokeb Shewa	58	M	Religious leader
59	Mamo Hailu	Atil Aene	50	M	Cooperative member
60	Kes Abeje Fetene	Eyesus	55	M	Religious leader
61	Bayou Adugna	Mender Chinha	65	M	Male
62	Kasew Bantiyhun	Medeb	40	M	Male (HTP/P)
63	Fentaw Dereb	Chiban	35	M	Male

Adult Female

S/N	Name of FGD Participants	Village	AGE	M/F	Head of HH
Bursa Kebele					
1	Endayehu Dessalegn		45	F	MHH-
2	Enatagegn Yirgu		50	F	MHH-
3	Denberie Mesfin		42	F	MHH
4	Wubit Alem		55	F	FHH
5	Woreket Dessalegn		32	F	MHH
6	Yeshwork wondimagnegn		32	F	FHH
7	Alemayehu Azeze		56	F	MHH
8	Wogayehu Wubet		40	F	MHH
9	Dinkie Addis		42	F	MHH
10	Misa Akele		48	F	FHH
11	Eneyish Belay		38	F	MHH
Diquana Kebele					
12	Hulie Tsegaw	Gragn Mender	50	F	FHH-
13	Genet Mulie	Abawubie	33	F	MHH-
14	Yidagnu Brihan	Silamarda	40	F	MHH
15	Wudie Anega	Gebeta Mender	50	F	FHH
16	Asirebeb Mebrat	'>>	55	F	FHH
17	Zerfie Tikuye	Layabzehara	40	F	MHH
18	Kassa Chaklie	Merharegeb	50	F	MHH
19	Enanye Adissue	>>	30	F	FHH
20	Eniyish Demissie	Quara	50	F	MHH
21	Degie Ayalew	Addisgie	30	F	MHH
22	Wudie Nigussie	>>	40	F	MHH
23	Kassay Yigzaw	Diquana	45	F	MHH
Wareb Kebele					
24	Techalu Yismaw		50	F	FHH-

25	Yeshalem Kassahun		50	F	FHH-
26	Fenta Alemu		55	F	FHH
27	Belaynesh Abate		50	F	FHH
28	Yeshalem Gessie		40	F	MHH
29	Genet Asenakew		55	F	MHH
30	Engocha Tadesse		50	F	FHH
31	Bossie muche		45	F	FHH
32	Sifrash Sirahbizu		40	F	MHH
33	Genet yigzaw		30	F	MHH
34	Aleminesh Erkie		35	F	MHH
35	Choma Teshome		40	F	FHH
Jandab Kebele					
36	Enyat Abera		37		MHH
37	Almaz Ayalew		35		MHH
38	Minalu Mebrat		62		MHH
39	Mulunesh Mersha		60		MHH
40	Enguday Getaneh		47		FHH
41	Gedam Tesma		28		MHH
42	Gebeya Kassie		38		FHH
43	Atala melese		40		FHH
44	Destayehu Engida		35		MHH
45	Muchit Zeru		60		MHH

Boys

S.n	Name	sex	Age	Educational status	Marital status
Arba –Tsegore kebele					
1	Melkam asfew	m	22	10+3	MHH
2	Shumet Dejen	m	29	10	MHH
3	MolaYelake	m	19	10	single
4	Mesret yelake	m	26	10	single
5	Tesfaw dessie	m	24	10+3	single
6	GebennaweTelahun	m	20	10	single

7	Muluken Fenate	m	24	10	MHH
8	Zewudu Tadeq	m	25	10	single
9	Abebawu Kefayalew	m	24	10	single
10	Neberet Kassaw Mare	m	19	10	single
11	Getnet Mesafint	m	19	7	single
12	Moges sesaye	m	20	10	single
13	wudaje kassahun	m	23	9	single

s.n	Name	sex	age	marital status	educational status	village
Jandab						
14	Fente Tilhun	M	28	MHH	0	Amesge
15	Babyea Tesahle	M	27	Single	6	Tache janbe
16	Yalew Tegne	M	27	MHH	10	Gone
17	Jenber Alebachew	M	28	single	10	Eruye
18	Alew Ayalew	M	28	MHH	10	Gone
19	Eregoye Genzeb	M	28	MHH	4	Gone
20	Belyenhe Chaglea	M	25	Single	10	Ervy
21	Yenenwu Tarkgne	M	28	Single	10	Ervy
22	Almnewu Bezyayhu	M	26	MHH	10	Ashewameda
23	Alemnewu Ademase	M	26	single	10	Aroye

s.n	Name	sex	age	marital status	educational status	village
Wareb						
24	Enkoya Tazezew	m	29	MHH	10	Wonbgezie
25	Habetamu messel	m	22	MHH	5	Woreb
26	Mulegta Tesfaw	m	25	MHH	9	Woreb
27	Dereja Agmase	m	19	Single	10	Kesesar
28	Ayalew Tegabu	m	28	single	7	Aydeba
29	BelayeNew Ereku	m	24	MHH	4	Woreb
30	Wondem Setta	m	18	MHH	3	Woreb
31	Azemeraw Maru	m	24	MHH	6	Kitara
32	Sesaye Merku	m	20	MHH	5	Betara
33	Tesema Yenese	m	28	single	7	Gebetera
34	Medahinit Fentea	m	21	single	5	Amsekela
35	Teshager Tekeba	m	28	MHH	5	Woreb
36	Mekonnet Almerewu	m	16	MHH	4	Amora
37	Agmase Tehabu	m	28	single	2	Sekela

s.n	Name	sex	age	Marital status	Educational status	village
Dengora (heterogeneous group)						
38	Melkea Atalo	m	20	single	10	Ashewameda
39	Desia Gedemu	m	21	single	10	Ashewameda
40	Azemerw Baye	m	25	single	12	Bekele shewa
41	Asefaw Bisetgne	m	22	single	10	Ashewa Meda
42	Bantie Thede	m	20	single	10+3	Atemakoyena
43	Abeyu Ejegu	m	20	single	5	Atemkoyena
44	Anbache Tefere	m	21	single	5	Menderchencha
45	Adise Melkea	m	20	single	9	cheba
Counted under girls group	Agritu Gashaw	f	18	single	8	Mender chinch
	Mastewal Berhanu	f	18	single	10	Mender chinch
	Zemne Mandfero	f	18	single	9	Eyesus
	Azemerw Lakew	f	21	single	Degree	Eyesus
	Asenke Sesaye	f	22	single	Diploma	Etellayen
	Eregoye Genzeb	f	19	single	10	zerysena
	Tewures lakew	f	19	MHH	4	cheba
	mesert Meteku	f	19	MHH	10	Erdazebo

Girls

s.n	Name	sex	age	Marital status	Educational status	village
Dengora (heterogeneous group)						
1	Agritu Gashaw	f	18	single	8	Mender chinch
2	Mastewal Berhanu	f	18	single	10	Mender chinch
3	Zemne Mandfero	f	18	single	9	Eyesus
4	Azemerw Lakew	f	21	single	Degree	Eyesus
5	Asenke Sesaye	f	22	single	Diploma	Etellayen
6	Eregoye Genzeb	f	19	single	10	zerysena
7	Tewures lakew	f	19	MHH	4	cheba
8	mesert Meteku	f	19	MHH	10	Erdazebo

SN	Name Of Participants	age	M/F	Education	Village
Arba Tsegore					
9	Tareku Wagnewu	19	F	10	Tsebarie
10	Teje chekole	19	F	10	>>
11	Yeshework Yelak	17	F	10	>>
12	Atala Aleminewu	18	F	10	>>
13	Aselef woldu	20	F	10	>>
14	Yeshework Dejen	21	F	10	>>
15	Sebile Kefyalewu	19	F	10	>>
16	Aregitu Girazimach	18	F	10	>>
17	Asirebeb Enyewu	18	F	10	>>
18	Tamiraleche Ayeligne	19	F	10	>>
19	Alemitu Maru	19	F	10	>>
20	Tsegenet Tarekegne	18	F	10	>>
21	Mekides Tilahun	22	F	10+3	>>

SN	Name Of Participants	age	M/F	Marital states	Village
Jandab					
22	Yerbebe Admasu	19	F	Wedded	Tach Zalamnia
23	Setogne Mekonene	20	F	married	Gon
24	Tigist Marye	20	F	>>	Tach Zalamnia
25	Yezina Wagnawu	22	F	>>	>>
26	Almaz Worku	23	F	>>	Ruy
27	Reged Tarekegne	20	F	>>	Jandab

28	Tadila Wagnawu	18	F	Un married	T/Zelamnia
29	Enanye Gebria	17	F	married	>>
30	Ertibia Muhabawu	17	F	>>	Ruy
31	Zewuditu Maru	21	F	>>	Ruy
32	Fatima Siraj	23	F	>>	>>
33	Eyerus Tsegacewu	22	F	wedded	>>

SN	Name Of Participants	age	M/F	Marital states	Village
Wareb					
34	Mihiretia Menigistat	18	F	Un married	Gabtera
35	Genet Dires	20	F	>>	wareb
36	Haregitu Mekurya	28	F	married	gabtera
37	Gataneshe Gatinet	20	F	>>	>>
38	Mulu Kassa	25	F	Un married	>>
39	Emebat Asnakewu	21	F	married	Diqona
40	Wodaje Tigabu	21	F	>>	>>
41	Meseret Biset	20	F	Un married	gabtera
42	Workia Ayana	27	F	Married	Diqona
43	Lemilem Dessia	22	F	Un married	Wareb
44	Gunye molla	29	F	Married	>>

Key informants (individual interview)

S/n	Name		Position	Central Gondar Zone	East Belesa	West Belesa
1	Abebe Mekonnen	Women affairs bureau	Women Movement Unit Expert	X		
2	Tesfanesh Girum (female)	Women affairs Office	Women Affairs Halafi			X
3	Agmas Getnet		Yesetoch tetekaminet ketitil gemgema balemuya			X
4	Habtamu Takele		Yesetoch tetekaminet ketitil gemgema balemuya		X	
5	Worku Shumeye	Women affairs Office	Yesetoch Nekenake Tesatfo Masfafiya Balemuya		X	
6	Jebril Siraj	Labour and social affairs	PSNP Expert			X
7	Kinde Abebe,	Experts from Agriculture and natural resource	Etension			X
8	Argaw Abera		N.Resource			X
9	Ayalew Belay		Crop			X
10	Abebe Teka		Vegitable & Fruit			X
11	Mengaye Aragaw		5. Agricultural Inputs			X
12	Worke Mehiret	Education	Yetemihert Amerar Lemat Balemuya			X
13	Getnet Mekuriyaw	Water resource and energy development	Yeweha Habet ena Tekuamat Buden Meri			X
14	Mersha Mered	Cooperatives	Maderajet Buden Meri			X
15	Derso Melke		Aderaj Balemuya			X

16	Habte Eshete	Woreda Administration	Socio-economic expert		X	
17	Adamu Wube	Justice	Yefetabeher Sira Hidet Astedadari		X	
18	Sajen Ebabu Sisay	Police	Women's and Children's Tikat tekelay astebabari		X	
19	Mesfin Muche	Rural Job creation	Yesira Hidet Halafi			X
20	Huluhager Temesgen		Enterprise Job Creation Buden Meri			X
21	Amarew Alemu	ANDM	Youth League Halafi		X	
22	Ethiopia Mule (female)		Women's league Halafi		X	
23	Biruk Dejen	TVET	Job Creation Team Leader		X	