



Gender role and pastoralist women involvement in income generating activities: Case study of women involved in fire wood selling in Obda and Yubdo pastoralist associations of Yabello district of Borana zone, Oromiya Regional state, Ethiopia.

A Thesis

submitted to the School of Graduate Studies, for the partial fulfillment of the requirements for MA in Rural Development to Indira Gandhi National Open University, (IGNOU).

By
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April 2013

Ethiopia

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the Dissertation entitled ***Gender role and pastoralist women involvement in income generating activities; case study of women involved in fire wood selling in Obda and Yubdo pastoralist associations of Yabello district*** submitted by me for the partial fulfillment of the requirements for MA in Rural Development to Indira Gandhi National Open University; (IGNOU) New Delhi is my original work and has not been submitted earlier either to IGNOU or to any other institution for the fulfillment of the requirement for any course of study.

Place: Addis Ababa/Ethiopia

Signature:

Date: _____

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CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that Ms. Dirijit Mamo, student of MARD from Indira Gandhi National Open University, New Delhi was working under my supervision and Guidance for her project work for the course MRDP-001. her Project Work entitled ***Gender role and pastoralist women involvement in income generating activities; case study of women involved in fire wood selling in Obda and Yubdo pastoralist associations of Yabello district of Borana zone; Oromia Regional state; Ethiopia*** which she is submitting, is her genuine and original work.

Place: Addis Ababa/Ethiopia

Signature: _____

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ACRONYMS

AFD	Action for Development
CARE	Consortium of Association for Relief Everywhere
ETB	Ethiopian Birr (Ethiopian Currency)
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IGAs	Income Generating Activities
FAO	Food Agricultural Organization
NGOs	Non Governmental Organization
PA	Pastoralist Associations
PICP	Paper for the Inclusion of a 'Chapter on Pastoralism'
SDPRP	Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program
Watson	Water and Sanitation

ABSTRACT

Evidences had shown that the residents of pastoral areas have the lowest access to education and human health services in the country, and additionally pastoral areas had the least developed infrastructure indicating their exclusion from mainstream development program.

The study was aiming at assessing the involvement of women in income generating activities; specifically the effect of fire wood selling on gender role and responsibilities.

A qualitative study was employed in order to identify the pastoralist women involvement in fire wood selling. The study was conducted at Yabello District, Borana Zone, and Oromia Region of Ethiopia.

The result had shown that firewood collection and selling a laborious task and time consuming activity. Also, the activity undermines the social capital of women as they spend a substantial amount of time on collection and selling firewood. However, despite the less involvement of men in domestic activities, their involvement had improved somewhat in their participation in the selling activity. Though the income from the fire wood selling activity was small, it enabled women to be a co-bread winner and in some instances to be a sole bread winner through their provision to household necessities.

Women's participation in income generating activities had a profound impact on household livelihood. Their involvement in these activities not only derives additional cash to the family but also attribute to women's increased self esteem as a result of

earning an independent income. Moreover, women's engagement in such activities contribute to fulfilling the household necessities; though this might be new and deviates from what the pastoral people used to practice previously.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

I.1. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Ethiopia is one of the largest countries in Africa with a population of about 90 million people , (www.indexmundi.com Ethiopia Demographics Cached – 2011). Pastoral areas cover 60% of Ethiopia and include 12-15% of the human population as well as very large numbers of livestock. Residents of pastoral areas have the lowest access to education and human health services in the country, and pastoral areas have the least developed infrastructure displaying their exclusion from mainstream development program. Besides, the livelihoods of pastoral communities are severely threatened by animal diseases, drought and unfavorable terms of trade (PICP, 2002). With full cognizant of these realities about pastoralists, the Ethiopian Government included a chapter on pastoral development in the Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program (SDPRP) Paper comprising various designed interventions meant for improving the standard of living of the pastoral communities. In line with this, the government articulated in the paper about interventions that improve pastoralists' livestock production and marketing system, water and pasture development. In addition, it is planned to develop schemes towards diversifying income sources that would help strengthen pastoralists' economic base and thereby reduce vulnerability. Although the frequency and extent of human movement varies from region to region, there are situations when the people manage to stay in one place for several months. Hence, during seasons when family members tend to stay in one

place for a considerable period of time, it is possible to create opportunities for these people to engage in specially identified development activities and projects (SDPRP, 2002).

Livestock rearing is the main livelihood strategy of the pastoralists. Nonetheless, members of many poor and very poor households in the pastoralist area are presently engaged in selling charcoal or firewood as income source. However, recently many households are getting engaged in such activities due to recurrent drought affecting the area. There is a wide spread perception that rain failures have become more regular, or even continuous during the last two decades. These droughts are blamed for increasing poverty and causing herds and flocks to shrink in size. It is to cope with this livelihood stress that many households in Yabello District of Borena Zone are engaged in collection and selling of fire wood and charcoal to supplement the household income from livestock rearing. These secondary income generating activities undermine the environment. In particular, charcoal burning is often criticized as causing environmental damage, and some attempts have been made to regulate it, but these regulations are weakly enforced (Oumer, 2007). Hence, this combination might seem the most feasible option to these pastoralists in Borena zone comparing it to other combinations made to diversify household income. For instance, as these pastoralists reside in rural parts of the region, they have restricted options to pastoral employment opportunities. Many of the most profitable sources of income are preferentially or exclusively accessible to urban residents.

Pastoralist women in the Yabello District are involved in firewood sales. This is due to the fact that such kinds of activities are mostly regarded as women's work. Livestock rearing,

charcoal burning, and migration are mainly regarded as men's duty, while activities such as firewood selling as women's role.

When it comes to describing pastoralist gender relations, many assert that women are unable to own and dispose livestock, which represents not only the principal economic asset of the pastoralists but also serves as a sign of prestige and social status. But a man often needs his wife or mother to access a particular livestock, and the ownership of and access rights to a household's herd are complex and poorly understood in many cases. However, women tend to have far greater rights to access and dispose livestock products like milk, butter and cheese, than they do over livestock itself (Minority Right Group International, 2008). They might get only negligible income from milk trading. Paradoxically, as household resources have dwindled or livestock herds have become more volatile, women have taken more role for bringing food and income into the home, a role which was previously reserved for men. In the old days, women hardly earned an income – the man was supposed to take care of everything. Recently, however women are more engaged in non-pastoral income generating activities, specifically, firewood selling to supplement the income from livestock rearing (Elizabeth Tesfaye Haile, 2008). Given this background, this study aimed at identifying how the involvement of women in income generating activities specifically fire wood selling affects Gender roles and responsibilities in Obda and Yubdo PAs of Yabello District.

I.1. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Pastoralists in Yabello District have been affected continuously by drought and bush encroachment on the grazing land for the last two decades. These pose a serious challenge on livestock rearing activities: the main livelihoods of the pastoralists and their main source of income. The droughts and bush encroachment caused the reduction of herds and flocks which in turn adversely affected the income from livestock rearing. As a result, pastoralist men failed to fulfill their traditional role as a household provider from livestock rearing, while more and more pastoralist women are engaged in firewood collection for sale to provide food and other household commodities for the family. Even though women are at the centre of this move towards the increasing involvement in firewood sale in order to earn additional income for the household, it is not clear to what extent the women involvement in such income generating activity affects the gender role and responsibilities in the pastoralist livelihood system. This aspect of the pastoralist livelihood system has been ignored by researches. Hence, this study identifies how the involvement of women in income generating activities, specifically, firewood sale affects gender roles and responsibilities in Obda and Yubdo PAs of Yabello district.

The study also intends to generate information and increase understanding to assist in future planning and execution of pastoralist women development programs. Populations of Yabello District are under the conquest of poverty like the other part of the country. Thus, to overcome this problem people of this area are using Fire Wood selling as alternative means of income to cope up with recurring drought.

1.2. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study will contribute to fill the gap in understanding how the involvement of women in income generating activities specifically fire wood selling affects Gender roles and responsibilities. It will also have contribution to academic knowledge on the subject under identification.

1.3. SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Even though the issues related to the duty of women in income generating activities affects gender role and responsibilities at different levels, my study had focused on pastoralist women participated in income generating activity; specifically firewood selling in Yubdo and Obda pastoralist associations of Yabello District.

1.4. OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The overall objective of this study was to identify the involvement of women in income generating activities, specifically the effect of fire wood selling on gender role and responsibilities.

Specific Objective:

- To assess the different interventions on income Generating Activities (IGAs) for pastoralist women;

- To assess the impact of pastoralist women's involvement in IGA with regard to gender role and responsibility.

1.5. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In order to address the above study objective, a set of research questions were formulated to guide the research process. The main research question was: "What are the impacts of women's involvement in firewood sales as an income generating activity; and the effect on gender roles and responsibilities among pastoralists in Yabello district?"

More specifically, the research tries to address the following sub-questions:

1. What effects does pastoralist women's engagement in income generating activities have on gender role?
2. What were the tasks and activities of pastoralist men and women in Yabello district? And in what ways did women's engagement in firewood collection and selling as an income generating activity affected these tasks and activities?
3. What were the gendered responsibilities of pastoralists in Yabello district? And in what ways did these responsibilities were influenced by pastoralist women involvement in firewood collection and selling?

1.6. DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS

Pastoralism: is an economic and social system well adapted to dry land conditions and characterized by a complex set of practices and knowledge that has permitted the

maintenance of a sustainable equilibrium among pastures, livestock and people (IFAD,2009).

Pastoralists: are people who derive more than 50 per cent of their incomes from livestock and livestock products, while agro pastoralists are people who derive less than 50 per cent of their incomes from livestock and livestock products, and most of the remaining income from cultivation (IFAD, 2009).

Gender: refers to a **social attribute** ascribing some characteristic and modes of behavior to the female and others to the male sex, resulted from the interplay of cultural, religious, values and similar factors. It describes all the socially given set of qualities and expected roles, activities, and responsibilities connected to being a female or a male in a given society, as opposed to the fact of human biology sex. While, gender differences arise from the socially constructed relationship between women and men, sex differences, on the other hand, are biological and instinctive. Hence, our gender identity determines how we are perceived, and how we are expected to think and act, which is often mistaken for natural differences between the sexes (or considered as God given phenomena).(Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia,2008).

Gender roles: refer to expected duties and responsibilities, rights and privileges of females and males that are shaped by society. Resulted from the differences in attitude towards sexes, different roles are assigned to female and male influenced by learning in the process of **socialization**. The roles are stereotyped and reflected in the different rights, activities, attitudes and behavior of women and men that are influenced by religion,

economy, cultural norms, and values as well as the political systems (Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia, 2008).

Gender roles are justified and normalized in different ways, internalized by children through the process of sex typing, where children learn/adapt the skills they have to develop and the way they are expected to act. Because children are born without knowing how humanity works, the world is interpreted or explained to them by the people with whom they live. This may be done deliberately, by telling them what people expect from them, or else they learn how to act simply by reacting to what is around them. Since, the way gender is interpreted and the roles people are expected to play are defined by the culture and values with which they live.

Gender Based Division of Labor: are a sex based division that involve assigning some roles to women and others to men as designed through the socialization process, and varies from one society and culture to another. The gender specific distribution of labor is not a mere assignment of task based on natural distinction, even though the “rationale” for the divisions seems to be the natural differences that exist between the two sexes. However, these differences are only flimsy excuses, which are based on an imbalance of power between the genders in any given society (Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia, 2008).

Productive activities: are the works done by both men and women to generate income or subsistence. Such activities are mainly recognized as work by individuals as well as societies and often merited for generating revenue or returns, and most commonly included in the national economic statistics like GDP/GNP (Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia, 2008).

Gender Analysis: is a tool to better understand the realities of the women and men, girls and boys whose lives are impacted by planned development. Principally it is about understanding culture, expressed in the construction of gender identities and inequalities, and what that means in practical terms is also political (DFID Sustainable Livelihoods Guidance Sheets, 4.3. www.livelihoods.org).

It aims to uncover the dynamics of gender differences across a variety of issues. These include gender issues with respect to **social relations** (how 'male' and 'female' are defined in the given context; their normative roles, duties, responsibilities); **activities** (gender division of labor in productive and reproductive work within the household and the community; reproductive, productive, community managing and community politics roles); **access and control** over resources, services, institutions of decision-making and networks of power and authority; and **needs**, the distinct needs of men and women, both practical (i.e. given current roles, without challenging society) and strategic (i.e. needs which, if met, would change their position in society)?(DFID Sustainable Livelihoods Guidance Sheets, 4.3. www.livelihoods.org).

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. PASTORALISTS AND THEIR ENVIRONMENT

Dry land ecosystems are complex and dynamic. The environment is unpredictable and though it can be linked to certain ecological and/or climatic cycles such as incidence of drought, those who live and work in dry land areas in general must cope with the unpredictability and be adaptive to changes that occur. Pastoralism as a livelihood and environmental management system is a primary and very successful way of doing this.

In dry land areas, pastoral and other communities have a close relationship with the natural environment. Often conditions are harsh and natural resources scarce. Therefore, communities must use the resources carefully and manage them wisely to ensure their continued sustainability.

Both men and women living in dry land areas have an intimate knowledge of their environments, related to their different uses and management of natural resources. Further gender has been shown to be a key determinant of rights to and benefits from natural resources whilst it has also been proven that gender relations have a direct impact on their use, management and conservation (Watson, 2005).

Indeed men and women have different roles, responsibilities, natural assets, access to resources and decision-making processes. Both men and women have vital roles in and contributions to make to the continuation and adaptation of pastoral systems. The majority of these are a result of gender differences that find their roots in culture,

traditions and perceived views about what women and men should do or not do, have or not have.

2.2. INCOME GENERATING ACTIVITIES AMONG PASTORALISTS

Today there are many pressures on pastoralists to diversify their livelihoods and get involved in various income generating activities beyond a reliance on livestock as was common in the past. Drought, land loss, population pressure, wars, and economic change resulted in the impoverishment and marginalization of pastoralists. As a result there are generally fewer livestock per capita than before. Livelihoods are changing and many can no longer realistically hope for a pastoral future. The changes are not all imposed from the outside; nor is rapid change a new phenomenon. Hence livestock herders of East Africa increasingly pursue non-pastoral income strategies to meet consumption needs to buttress against risky shocks caused by climatic fluctuation, animal disease, market failure, and insecurity. Moreover, as the above mentioned

Livelihood stresses undermined pastoralist men's sole traditional roles of bringing income to the household more and more pastoralist women have started engaging in income generating activities to provide for the family –a role which was previously kept for pastoralist men (D. Little et al, 2001) According to Devereux, 2006, income-generating activities amongst pastoralists in Ethiopia are implicitly stratified into high-status, high-return activities, which are reserved for men (these include livestock rearing and large-scale trading), and low-status, low-return activities, into which women are channeled disproportionately (e.g. petty trading, collecting firewood). As men have access to resources including substantial amount of initial capital such as live stocks, they usually

participate in large return activities which are deemed as high-status activities (Rotich, 2005). However, women tend to lack such resources and they mostly subsume low-return income generating activities. Pastoralist men move with the livestock and trade live stocks, whereas women sale milk and milk products, firewood, medicine, handicrafts as an income generating activity. Hence, income generation opportunities practiced mostly by women are typically more closely connected to the herding activities: they encompass, for instance, wild product collection (firewood, resins and gum), milk trade, alcohol brewing, petty trade, or production and trade of handicrafts (Rass in Nduma et al ,2001; Brockington, 2001; Smith, 1998).

2.3. WOMEN PASTORALISTS' PARTICIPATION IN IGA AND IMPACTS ON GENDER ROLES

The gender roles among pastoralist group vary from one culture to another, in different ethnic groups and within the society according to age, social class and religious affiliation. As the differences in gender roles entail among different societies and places, gender roles are not also static, and change overtime. Hassen (2007), in his study conducted regarding mainstreaming gender in Ethiopian pastoralist organization dictates that married pastoral women in Ethiopia and in other parts of East Africa in general are the household managers, but subordinate to men who serve as the household head and represent the household to the outside world. Pastoral men do play strategic decision making in the livestock production, while women carry on a day to day management and retain primary responsibility for dairy related activities

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1. DATA SOURCE AND APPROACH OF THE STUDY

To attain the objective of the study both Primary and secondary data were used through Qualitative study method. The method includes key informant interview, desk review, case study, focus group discussion (FGD) and resource control and decision-making matrix and access and control profile exercises was also done to triangulate the finding from FGD.

3.1.1. KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW

Primary data has been collected by interviewing woreda Agriculture officer as a key informant.

3.1.2. FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

Four focus group discussions (two women and two men) are formed and conducted in each of the PAs. Guiding questions have been employed using selected facilitators from woreda Agricultural Office. The discussions were conducted using the local languages in order for participants to express their views without problems. The discussions were focused on gender role and pastoralist women involvement in income generating activities.

3.1.3. SECONDARY DATA COLLECTION

Essential documents that are expected to have relevance for the assessment were reviewed; among these, different studies and reports of AFD, SOS Sahel, CARE and various other literatures related to the subject are the major ones. The desk study was used for soliciting theories from various literatures that are used to understand about the effects of pastoralist women's engagement in income generating activities on gender role.

3.2. SAMPLING TECHNIQUES

Purposive sampling was used for the study. After a complete identification of respondents, four focus group sessions has been employed. Two FGD with eight (8) women and the other two with eight (8) men separately to conduct gender analysis as a means to identify the impacts of fire wood collection for sale on the tasks, activities, access and control. The discussion for men and women has been carried out separately which allows women to speak freely, as they tend not to do this in front of men due to wrongly perceived cultural barrier. Then, individual case study was conducted with one woman. Key informant interview was conducted with woreda Agriculture office Representative.

3.3. CHARACTERISTICS OF INTERVIEW RESPONDENTS

This part of the research provides descriptive characteristics of the interview respondents that were used in the study. The description of respondents' characteristics includes basic background characteristics, like marital status, age, gender composition, religion, and educational back ground.

A total of 32 individuals 16 men and 16 women were used in order to collect the necessary data for the study both through interview, focus group discussion and a mixture of men and women respondents from the above same group were used to do decision-making matrix and access and control profile exercises (2 men and 2 women from each group) With regard to gender distribution of respondents, equal number of men and women were used in order to get reasonably unbiased data.

Accordingly, 59.4% of all respondents were composed in the active age group ranging from 25 to 49, as this age group was the main group of people actively engaged in all productive as well as reproductive activities to fulfill the livelihoods of the household. Nonetheless, the remaining, 40.6%, fall under the age category of 50 to 65. Regarding marital status, the entire interview respondents in the research were married. The level of respondents' literacy was another characteristic, though all respondents were illiterate. With regard to religion, all respondents were Wake feta (believers of GOD).

CHAPTER FOUR: BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY AREA

The study was conducted at Yabello district of Borana Zone which is one of the Oromia State Zones; located 567 KM south of Addis Ababa. *Yabello District has 18 Kebele Administrations (one town and 17 PAs)*. The size of the population was over 10,638. The major means of livelihood of the people were Pastoralism and crop production. Livestock husbandry contributes the lion's share to the livelihood of the people. Crop production was a recently introduced means of living in the study *Woreda* and was expanding in all pastoral communities in Oromia. The role of other means of livelihood such as trade was also growing in the pastoral areas. Two PAs were selected from 17 PAs for the study. These were Yubdo and Obda Communities as both PAs were practicing both livestock and crop production. The rich households were mainly depending on livestock production while the poor households depend mainly on fire wood collection for sale and working as a daily laborer in the nearby town (Yabello Town) (Yabello Woreda Agricultural Office, 2010).

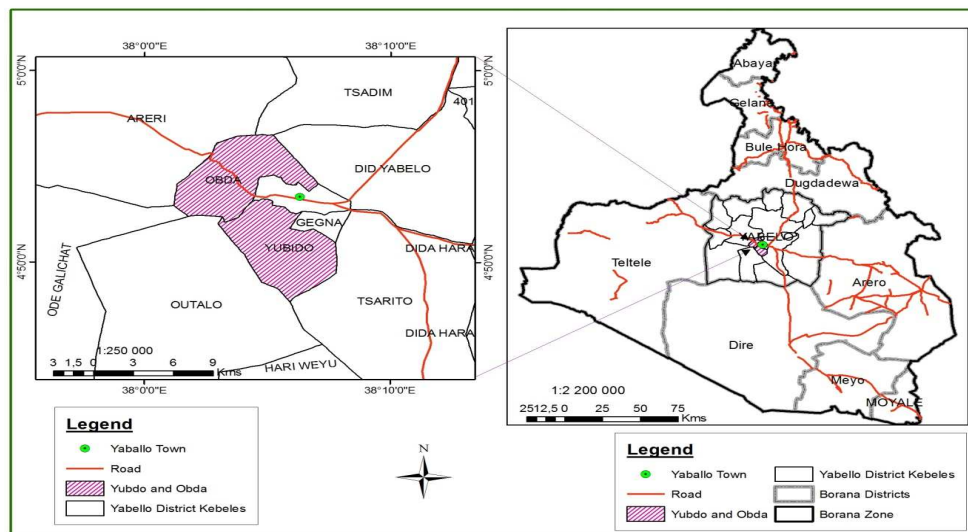


FIGURE 1: LOCATION OF THE STUDY AREA

CHAPTER FIVE: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

5.1. FIRE WOOD SELLING AS INCOME GENERATING ACTIVITY

Pastoralist women and men face a series of challenges that hinder their way of life and stifle their ability to adapt to changes in their external environment. In Yabello district, men used to be the sole bread winner of the household from the income that they get from selling off livestock. For those households who were involved in agricultural activities (Agro-pastoralists) Agricultural products produced by men were used to substantiate the income from the livestock sell. However, recently, due to repeated drought and famine in the area most pastoralists lost their livestock and agricultural activity. The frequent drought in recent years had meant that households have had no opportunity to rebuild their assets, including livestock, with many becoming locked into a spiral of chronic food insecurity and poverty. As a result, pastoralist men failed to provide food and other means to their family. This difficulty has led increasing number of women to get engaged in non-pastoral income generating activities in order to supply food to the household.

In Yabello district, non- pastoral income seems to be confined to activities like fire wood selling for women and becoming employed as a daily laborer in a nearby town for the men. Previously only few numbers of households were involved in fire wood selling. However, as drought became recurrent, many households pursued such activities as their secondary income source. Besides, lack of alternative livelihood options, loss of livestock to drought were a feature shared by the interview respondents and given as a reason for

their poverty and their growing dependence on firewood collection for sale and looking for a job in the nearby town (Yabello town)

*According to the woreda Agricultural Officer whom I had interviewed as a key informant, on how the woreda Agricultural office treating the fire wood collectors in terms of environmental degradation?. He responded by saying that, “ firewood collectors usually are not cutting trees, rather they collect woods which have already fallen on the ground. Hence, they are not as such considered degrading the environment. However some individuals are involved in cutting trees used for construction purpose **which is termed as Molloga** and our office approach these individuals differently as they are degrading the environment and causing deforestation. Recently our office took a legal measurement on those individuals involved in cutting and selling trees and three of them are in jail now. We recognize that people are involved in such activities due to lack of livelihood options. Hence the woreda Agricultural office has recently organized pastoralist women involved in fire wood collection and selling in Obda district in group and the group contributes small amount of money on weekly basis. We were having a plan to contact NGO’s working in the area to contribute some amount of money and engage them in poultry production and petty trade as fire wood collection and selling can be labor intensive. However, the chair person took the contributed money from the group and had disappeared. Currently we are following the case with the concerned legal authority” (Key informant interview, 23/8/2012).*

5.2. GENDER ROLES OF PASTORALISTS AND IMPACTS OF FIREWOOD SALES

It is widely acknowledged that the ways in which women participate in productive activities affect their status and autonomy. The African experience shows that gender and

household-level social relations determine the organization and control of productive resources (Berry cited in Schroeder, 1993: 350).

As it is identified from FGD of men and women group, there is a gender division of labor. Women are mostly limited to domestic tasks while men dominate those activities in the public domain. According to male discussants of the FGD, the tasks which are exclusively performed by women; encompass activities, such as; bearing and rearing children; processing and preparing food; building and maintaining huts, cleaning huts and its surroundings, serving food and drink; caring for sick family members, fetching water; milking goats and cows; sterilizing and storing milking facilities, churning milk to produce butter; getting forage for calves; caring for young animals, processing milk and its products, gathering firewood, going to market and engaged in grinding grain. Similarly, the women discussants had also sorted the same tasks and these domestic activities with physical workloads are regularly considered to be the 'exclusive responsibilities' of females.

As it is described in Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia (2008), although the performances of domestic activities are very necessary for livelihood, they are rarely considered to have equal value and reward in the same way as productive work. Since reproductive roles are usually unpaid and are viewed as noneconomic and usually excluded from the national accounting systems (GDP or GNP), yet such cases obscure or undervalue women's contribution to the society as well as to the state economy. The fact that women take care of such activities, on the other hand, it created the necessary condition for men to be active in community activities, in addition to providing them the opportunity to involve in creative, self enhancing, and materially rewarding needs.

As it is identified from FGD, the community activities that are performed by both men and women include, water point rehabilitation, enclosure work of pasture, and taking part in road construction. They also perform activities in social and cultural events, such as, weddings, religious feasts that are mostly performed voluntarily. Though both women and men participate in such activities, women's part is mainly related to catering services. It is only the males who take part during funerals. Moreover, according to female discussants, girls provide greater assistance to their mothers in domestic activities such as fetching water. If they are old enough, fetching water becomes girls' main responsibility. Small boys also do this task if there is female labor shortage. In general, women have little leisure time during the day.

The focus group discussion with men had revealed that women do not milk camel for the first month after the camel gave birth because of traditional belief that women are considered not to be clean because of monthly menstruation, and camel milking is done by men. Those men who are milking the camel are supposed to stay clean and are not allowed to have sexual contact with their wife until one month in order to prevent sickness and death of the new born camel. This tradition is also being practiced at Afar and Somali pastoral communities of Ethiopia as mentioned by Lemlem et al (2007) and Elizabeth (2008).

In the focus group discussion conducted with women, it is identified that women and girls are excluded from social and political activities, specifically from activities related to community administration. For instance, they pointed out that they are not allowed to take part in traditional clan meetings as these activities are only regarded as men's duties. The women argued that their engagement in social or community affairs is thus pretty

much restricted to ritual, festive and compassionate events and development works. The men discussants also emphasized that female have no role and position in the Geda System. However, as described by one of the men discussants, females have greater role and acceptance in ritual and spiritual activities, like what we call kaliti, a person who is predicting about the future and informing the traditional leaders on the situations which are about to occur in the future; Ironically, even the kaliti is not allowed to participate in traditional clan meeting and she can only transfer her message through a messenger.

5.3. ACCESS TO AND CONTROL OVER RESOURCES

According to the results from the participatory resource control matrix exercise done by focus group participants, women have less or no authority to control key household resources and/or assets, be it natural or manmade. More surprisingly, despite significant contribution of women in creating permanent and temporary family resources, they do not possess any ownership right on them. To the contrary, as observed from access and control exercises done by mixed men and women groups, they had relatively better positions in accessing and/control over milk products, grain, chicken and egg. Women have more access and control over those resources and properties that do not have higher market as well as social values. As elaborated by participants of the exercises, livestock is the major sources of livelihood/economy both at household and community level. The participants had described that control of this resource is dominated by men. Likewise, control over sheep, goat and equine is similar to the situation in cattle which is fully controlled by men. As stated by the participants involved in the exercise, among the reasons for such gender disparities, the deep rooted beliefs and norms associated with

male dominance in the society together with the social division of labor that assumed all cattle belong to the head of the house hold which happen to be the men. As identified in the FGD, from among the livestock resources that a family possesses women were given better access to cows, calves, shoats and donkeys, and also they had the sole control and decision-making right on chickens and animal products like milk, butter, egg, etc. (Table 1).

Table 1: Household Livestock Resource Control Matrix of Yubdo and Obda PAs of Yabello District - Done by mixed groups (of both male and female) from respective PAs

Name of PA	Family Resource	Cattle	Camel	Shoats	Donkey & Mule	Chicken	Animal Product
Obda	Female	8	8	10	8	40	40
	Male	32	32	30	32	0	0
	Total	40	40	40	40	40	40
	Female %	20	20	25	20	100	100
Yubdo	Female	8	8	8	8	40	40
	Male	32	32	32	32	0	0
	Total	40	40	40	40	40	40
	Female %	20	20	20	20	100	100

Source: Research Result

The above table is a result of an exercise done by male and female mixed groups of Yubdo and Obda PAs. During the exercise a group having four members each had been formed under each PA and asked to list the major resources a household need to have for its

livelihood according to their priority in their respective PAs. Ten pebble stones were given to each participant representing the values for each family resource where the total value of a single resource in a group becomes 40. Then participants were asked to put the proportion of stones that describes the controlling level of men and women over a given resource in a family by dividing the stones they have. Finally, group members were given a chance to discuss and comment on individuals decisions and get consensus to reach on a common values to take the sum as a final one. Based on the exercise women do have only a 20% share of authority to control over major livestock resources except those with smaller ones.

5.4. EFFECT OF WOMEN INVOLVEMENT IN FIREWOOD SALE ON TASKS AND ACTIVITIES

After identifying the major tasks and activities undertaken by men and women, a discussion was conducted about how such activities had been affected by women's involvement in firewood sales.

In general, from the discussion women argued that firewood collection and selling is a strenuous task for them. This adds more strains on women who have already been burdened by domestic tasks as noted above. In general women's workloads have increased due to a greater emphasis on non -livestock livelihood activities. The following is the description of one woman within a focus group in the discussion on whether their lives had improved or got worse in recent years.

In earlier times we take a good care of ourselves and we used to look beautiful but after our engagement in fire wood collection and sell, one can simply tell that we are leading a life of misery. *We don't even have time to keep ourselves clean. Most of us suffer from diseases of the kidney due to the long distances walk to collect and carry fire wood; accidents such as splinters of wood in the eyes; cut from axes and tears to the feet are common. Usually we don't have money to go to the clinic/hospital to have such wounds tended; in general fuel wood collection for us is a life of tragedy; what is better now is the access to education and the ability to send our children to school.*

Moreover the discussants of the female group had described that today the collection of fuel wood takes a much longer time and greater effort than it did 'in the past' due to diminishing forest resource. Today, a walk of 2 to 4 hours is required just to reach the forest before wood is even collected compared to 30 minutes to one hour before. Therefore, to collect fire wood for sale or for household use they must travel a long



Figure 2: A woman carrying fire wood to Yabello town

distance every day, starting at dawn and ending late in the afternoon. Money from the sale of fire wood is the sole monetary income for the poor households in the study area. The

price for a (woman's) back load now- a- days is from ETB 20 to 25 depending on size, species, season, and whether sold in bulk or in retailing.

In similar studies, SOS Sahel (1999) had indicated that the maximum earnings from fire wood sale could reach ETB 12/week. However, in 2006 a back load earned ETB 3-4 in the dry season and ETB 8-9 in the wet season – indicating an increase in price. The increased sale price of fire wood from 1999 to 2006 suggests that there has been a reduction in the supply of firewood.

Collection was not the only problem; finding a place to sell the fuel wood was seen as a major constraint by many women as there was no fixed location. As a result, they have to move from place to place in the town in search of a buyer while carrying a heavy load of fuel wood on their backs. Sometimes they do not find a buyer at all and then will give the fuel wood away as they have no place to store it until the following day. They must then return home with empty pockets. “What we gain from selling fire wood is only for our daily consumption, nothing is saved” (Focus group discussion 23/08/2012). Although the effort of fire wood collection was stressful and its sale unreliable women saw it as their easiest (if not only) means to earn an income that can be used to purchase the necessary household goods.

The other change that has been observed due to pastoralist women's involvement in firewood sales was the increased engagement of pastoralist men in domestic work. This has been underscored in discussions undertaken with men and women groups. It is notable that before the recurrent droughts and the consequent involvement of women in

firewood selling, pastoralist men were hardly involved in domestic chores. But now, due to recurring drought many pastoralist women are working outside and they lack the time for undertaking all domestic tasks as they used to do before. To cover up women's domestic responsibilities, it was usually the daughters who accomplish domestic tasks such as fetching water, cooking, while women are engaging themselves in collecting and selling firewood. It was observed that with the absence of a girl in the family, men get involved in domestic work despite the inflexible gender division of labor that exist in the pastoralist system. For instance, while women are on selling duty in town, it was common to find men fetching water, collecting firewood, or taking care of small babies. However, men hardly participate in cooking and seriously regard it as female's duty. Both men and women argued that this change in division of labor occurred after drought forced the wives to work outside looking for additional income specifically through engaging in firewood selling activities. The women had also indicated that they perceive this as a good initiative and wish if such practice continues in the future, as it might save their time so that they can spend it more strategically. Nevertheless, Flintan, F. (2001) describes the assistance of men as linked to the degree of poverty. She argued that very poor households tend to work in a reciprocal manner battling to fulfill basic needs and ensure household survival, but they tend to abandon it once a certain level of wealth is reached.

5.5. IMPACT ON DECISION MAKING

The other aspect of change is with regards to decision making responsibilities. As noted earlier, women's participation in decision making at household level is limited to the areas socially assigned to them. It is common for both men and women to make decisions together to sell livestock. However, increasingly men were making decisions alone. At community level, however, women's participation in decision making processes can be seen as non-existent. This means that decisions that affect their lives and that of their families are often taken without their participation; it is pastoral men who would make many of the household decisions and only in some cases that women were consulted; according to the FGD with women, all had agreed that the consultation has improved somewhat even if the final decisions were made by men.

In general, relying on the above discussions it can be noted that an alteration has occurred with regards to pastoralist's traditional responsibilities due to women's participation in firewood sales. From such changes, it can also be inferred that women have liked their altered responsibilities in terms of household provision, as it threatens their prior decision making power in the household. Women work for up to 14 hours per day and take responsibility for household fuel and water supply, care and watering of small livestock, milking and dairy cattle production, food preparation, childcare, and traditional house construction. Women were also responsible for marketing dairy products and they are also expected to feed the family from the sale of fire wood. As a consequence, however, women have gained relatively better control over income earned from fire wood sales and petty trade although this income was entirely allocated for household consumption.

In a similar situation, as it is indicated on report of Women's Milk and Small Ruminant Marketing in Mandera Triangles (Kenya, Ethiopia and Somalia)(2009) it tends to be the case that men and women have different degree of access to resources, including natural resources, economic resources, and political resources. Not only do men and women have different access to resources but they also have different access to the decision-making processes that concern the use of those resources and how the money is spent. As such "women's entitlement to productive resources is not just a legal or policy matter, it is essentially a question of social transformation of gender relations and social institutions" (IFAD, 2003;Musinga,Kemagne and Kivolonzi ,2008.

5.6. CASE OF INDIVIDUAL



Figure 3: Fire Wood Seller – Kabale Huka

Kabele Huka, 37, is a mother of 8 (3 daughters and 5 sons) started fire wood selling 10 years ago. She started this activity because of the reason that she lost all her livestock's due to drought and after the drought killed all the livestock the family did not have any other means of income to feed and dress themselves. Hence, instead of watching my family starved to death I had decided to collect and sell fire wood to the nearby town Yabello; however the money that I got from wood selling

was not more than our daily need for consumption of food. As a result we were unable to rebuild our asset and I kept on doing this strenuous activity for many years. I used to collect the wood near my house in previous time but these days it is difficult to get the wood from nearby areas. So, I had to walk for 6 to 8 hours in order to get and sell the wood. Moreover, what I get now from sale of firewood is better than the previous one; however these days the money does not have any value that it even can't buy enough grain for the family. I prefer the earlier way of life where my husband used to buy everything.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

6.1. CONCLUSION

This study has revealed that pastoralist women's participation in income generating activities has a profound impact on pastoralists' gender role. Their involvement in these activities not only derives additional cash to the family but also attribute to women's increased self esteem as a result of earning an income independently. Also they have different decision making status over how household assets are sold. Men undertake the majority of economic decisions. More often than not, women have a secondary role in this decision making processes as they did not have control over the household's principal assets. Women in Yabello district control the income from the sale of milk and small ruminants while men make decisions over large stocks, such as cattle and camels and decide on how to spend any revenues from the sale. In recent years, pastoralists in Yabello district had been finding it increasingly difficult to cope with the regular environmental crises, which increase the need for improved livelihood security and diversification. However, as a result of loss of his cattle to drought the men didn't get any option to diversify their income, thus it was the responsibility of the pastoralist women to get involved in fire wood collection for selling to supply their family needs .

Women's participation in income generating activities has a profound impact on pastoralists' gender role. Their involvement in these activities not only derives additional cash to the family but also attribute to women's increased self esteem as a result of earning income by themselves. Moreover, women's engagement in such activities contribute to fulfilling the household necessities; enabling them to become a bread winner or co-bread winner, though this might be new and deviates from what the pastoral people used to practice previously.

In summary, this work has underlined the importance of women's income earning to poor rural families livelihoods and well-being, particularly in the absence of livestock. From the study it was clearly understood that nowadays, the traditional role of pastoralist men to earn enough income from livestock was undermined due to the prevailing drought and related crisis. Pastoralist women are also moving out of the domain of the home to earn cash contributing to satisfying household needs.

Finally, according to the present study, women have gained respect from the family for contributing to household provision from firewood sales.

6.2. RECOMMENDATION

Women are extremely skilled at finding ways to ensure the household has access to food and other basic necessities which are important for survival. Hence, there is need to identifying and support alternatives to fire wood because it can offer a number of favorable impacts for women, the household and the environment while taking into consideration the socio-cultural aspects.

Supporting income generation activities targeting women can provide women with income, and also allow them to better access necessities and fulfill of basic needs of the household. This can reduce their vulnerability and increase their access to diversified means of income.

Non-pastoral income generating interventions should integrate efforts that would improve women's asset ownership and labor saving technologies in a holistic manner in order to achieve greater gender equality. They should also be designed in a way to address not only the practical needs of men and women but also their strategic needs.

Provision of credit facilities to the pastoralists may alleviate severe problem rooted in the pastoral society.

NGOs, government and the private sector (where appropriate) need to work together to advocate for the rights of women and in particular pastoral women who can face a double marginalization – as pastoralists and as women. Ways to sensitively do this will need to be identified. Working together will provide greater strength and legitimacy to actions taken.

Ways to positively support women in decision-making processes need to be identified. The establishment of new decision-making fora would likely provide greater opportunities for women's participation than trying to make customary ones more gender-equitable.

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8. ANNEX. I. DATA COLLECTION TOOL

Interview questions for pastoralist women

Name of PA: _____

Name of Cluster: _____

Name of Village: _____

Date: _____

Enumerator ID: _____

1. How old are you?
2. What is the level of your education
3. Do you have children and if yes, how many?
4. When did you start selling firewood? And why do you start this activity?
5. How much time does it take to collect the firewood? And from where are you collecting the firewood and how often do you collect it?
6. How much money do you earn by selling a backpack of fire wood? And how much do you get per month on average?
7. For what purpose exactly do you use the money from firewood sales?
8. Do you decide on the money? If not why? Who decides on it?
9. Who is helping you with domestic tasks while you are doing this activity?
10. Do you own livestock? How many animals do you have and what are your duties with regards to the animals?

11. Can you tell me what your social life look like?

12. In general, how do you consider your engagement in firewood selling as an income generating activity? Do you think that it is beneficial and good? If not why not?

Interview questions for pastoralist Men

Name of PA: _____

Name of Cluster: _____

Name of Village: _____

Date: _____

Enumerator ID: _____

1. How old are you?
2. Do you own live stock? If yes? How many?
3. What duties are you expected to accomplish pertaining these animals?
4. How much of your time do you spend with the animals? What will you do with the rest of your time?
5. Do you pursue some other activities rather than livestock keeping? If yes what type of activity? Why did you get involved in such activity?
6. How do you consider your wife engagement in firewood sales? Why does she get involved in such activity?
7. Who is deciding on the income from the firewood sales? What about other decisions?
8. Are there any incidences that you overtake women's assigned duties in livestock production or domestic tasks after women's engagement in the income generating?
9. In general, what changes have you experienced in your livelihood as a result of your wife' involvement in firewood sales?

Guideline for focus group session with women and Men pastoralists

The objective of the focus group session is to gain an understanding of gender relations, the division of labor between men and women(who does what work), and who has access and control over resources and how these aspects have been influenced by the women's involvement in the income generating activities. Accordingly, the focus group session will involve two parts. The first is gender analysis. In this part, the participants will list their tasks and activities in livestock production, domestic reproduction and community work. Besides, in this gender analysis part attendants will also identify to what household resources they have access to and to which of them they exercise control. Here, control indicators will include decisions over usage of resources, sale/rent of resources, exchange of resources, decisions over spending or allocation (for the case of money) etc. The second part of the Focus group session involves discussion, on how such aspects have been influenced by the women's involvement in the income generating activities. The following checklists /questions will also guide the discussion as well as some of the questions might be directly raised along with the discussion.

1. As an introduction perhaps each of you could tell me how many children you have?
Your educational back ground? Your age and your marital status?
2. What are the tasks and activities of pastoralists in livestock production, domestic reproduction and community work?
3. How many hours (approximately) do women spend for firewood collection and selling in a day?

4. How do women manage their selling task and activities in livestock production/domestic reproduction in a given day?
5. Do pastoralist men share the tasks assigned for women in livestock production/domestic reproduction while the women are on selling duty?
6. To what intra-household resources (Livestock, land, money etc) those pastoralist men and women have access?
7. In what ways, do pastoralists' women involvement in the income generating activities have improved /worsened their access to resources (finance, food, livestock, and household technology)?
8. Do pastoralist women are able to buy livestock using the income gained from charcoal and firewood selling? If not, why?
9. Do pastoralist women are able to invest their income from the income generating activities in non-livestock household resources (such as food and technology)? If not, why?
10. To what extent do the women control their income from charcoal and firewood selling?
11. Does the income helped pastoralist women improve their control over livestock?
12. In general, what changes have occurred on the earlier gendered tasks/access to and control over resources due to the women's involvement in the income generating activity?

ANNEX. II. CONSENT FORM FOR FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

I would like to thank you all for coming to this discussion. My name is _____ and my friends' name is _____ and _____. We are conducting this discussion as part of a research project on gender role and pastoralist women involvement in income generating activities in your community. The main objective of the discussion is to identify your views about what do people in your community think and do about gender role and women involvement in income generating activities. This will help the government and different actors working on gender role and women involvement in income generating activities in your area or in some other similar areas to have better strategies and improved services in future. Although there is no any intended incentive for your participation, we would like to thank you all again for coming.

I will moderate the discussion and _____ will be taking notes and reminding me if I forget to ask something. I would like to say that there is no right or wrong answer in our discussion. So please feel comfortable to say what you honestly feel. Because we don't want to miss anything it is important that only one person talks at a time. Remember we want to hear as many different points of view as possible, so feel free to disagree with everyone else and share your own opinions. If at any time during the discussion you feel uncomfortable you are free to leave.

Are there any questions before we start? Let us begin.....