

FEMINIST POLICY ANALYSIS

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE
AGRICULTURAL SECTOR
IN ETHIOPIA
2018



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To quote: Druza, K and Rodriguez, C.M 2018. *Feminist policy analysis: implications for the agricultural sector in Ethiopia*. CIMMYT, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

Abstract:

This report provides a feminist analysis of seven policies, relating to gender equality in the agriculture sector of Ethiopia. Ethiopia has progressively expanded women's rights and the enabling policy environment since 1994. Despite the strong commitment of Ethiopia towards gender equality and gender mainstreaming, many of the policies analyzed do not integrate gender equality as a priority for the growth and development of the country and do not adequately mainstream gender. At best, there is an emphasis on increasing women's participation and integration, but little solid 'gender' targets are set. The analysis shows gender-specific policies have regressed since the 2006 National Action Plan on Gender Equality (NAP-GE) that proposed important gender-sensitive measures. The 2017 Women's Development Package reduces gender objectives to the expansion of women's access to certain services and benefits. Meanwhile, agriculture-related policies have significantly improved in gender-sensitivity over the same time, culminating with the approval of the Gender Equality Strategy for Ethiopia's Agricultural Sector (GESAS) in 2017. However, alignment across policies and implementation remains ad hoc.



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report was commissioned by the International Maize and Wheat Improvement Center (CIMMYT) and funded by BMZ under the project, *Understanding gender in wheat-based livelihoods for enhanced WHEAT R4D impact in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Ethiopia* and thus has an agriculture and wheat focus. This report begins by:

- Defining and describing the international, regional and national policy framework for gender equality;
- Mapping out the most relevant national gender equality and agricultural policies;
- Presenting results from a critical feminist analysis of seven policies using an approach adapted from Krizsan and Lombardo (2013) to assess the quality of gender integration in seven policies (Table 1).

Table 1 Feminist Policy Analysis Matrix¹

	Gendering of the policy	Structural understanding of GE	Intersectionality	Empowerment of women	Incremental transformation	Gender-responsive agricultural policies	Regional / international context
National Policy on Ethiopian Women	X	XX	X	XX	X	N/A	XX
National Action plan for Gender Equality (2006-2010)	XXX	X	X	XXX	XX	XX	XXX
Agricultural Sector Policy and Investment Framework (PIF) 2010-2020	X	X	.5	X	X	X.5	XX
Wheat Sector Development Strategy (2013-2017)	XX	X	XX	X.5	XX	X	X
Growth and Transformation Plan II (2015-2020)	X	X	X	XX	X.5	XX	XX
Women Development and Change Package (2017)	X	X	XXX	XX.5	X	X	X
Gender Equality Strategy for Ethiopia's Agriculture Sector (2017)	XXX	XXX	XX	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX

With regard to the contextualization of international treaties, the National Policy on Women and the Gender Equality Strategy for the Agricultural Sector refer to the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against women (CEDAW) and other important gender-related international conventions. None of them, except

¹ Table Keys: XXX=The policy meets the criteria; XX=The policy meets the criteria to a certain extend; X=The policy poorly meets the criteria; .5 = not quite making it to the next level.

again for the Gender Equality Strategy, relate to any African treaty or convention. Most of the agriculture-related policies and also the Growth and Transformation Plan II (GTPII) mention the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), previously the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and claim that their targets are integrated within the national policies, although effective integration has not yet been achieved. Moreover, GTPII does not align with national gender-specific policies, nor does it follow the Gender Mainstreaming Guidelines formulated in 2010 by Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs (MoWCA).

In general, despite the strong commitment of Ethiopia towards gender equality and gender mainstreaming, many of the policies analyzed do not integrate gender equality as a priority for the growth and development of the country and do not adequately mainstream gender. At best, there is an emphasis on increasing women's participation and integration, as a means to empower women but little solid 'gender' targets are set.

The GoE can make a considerable impact on national growth and development by tackling gender inequality in one of Ethiopia's most important economic sectors. Women's drudgery has not been reduced despite being mentioned in several agriculture policies. Women's empowerment is aligned with policies produced over the last thirty years and yet targets are poorly set, and infrequently met. The gender sensitivity of agriculture policies have improved over time and this should be translating into changes for women on the ground, but the impact is unclear in the absence of policy evaluations. Ethiopia lags behind other African countries at a similar level of growth on gender equality.

In the light of these findings, several conclusions and recommendations are made including:

- Ethiopian policies tend to adopt a women-in-development (WID) approach from the 1970s, when a gender and development (GAD) approach is needed;
- The agriculture sector has taken a more progressive approach to gender by viewing women as productive workers and discussing different types of women (pastoralists, women living in male headed households), rather than positioning all women mainly as mothers and carers, like the national policies;
- Considerable capacity building is needed to help GoE set appropriate sex disaggregated targets and gender sensitive targets, as these are repeatedly done poorly across policies and development plans;
- More evaluations of policies from a feminist or gender angle are required, along with evaluations that assess the impact of a policy on different kinds of women;
- More documentation around best practices and lessons learnt is required to advance gender equality;
- Gender norms are increasingly considered a barrier to women's empowerment in agriculture policies, but very few projects are designed to overcome gender norms that limit women's opportunities. Gender norm changes must be integrated into all policies;

- More participatory policy making that include an equal representation of women is needed to enable women to have more of a voice in the policymaking process;
- By not completely aligning with international and regional gender policies, the GoE suggests that it wants an Ethiopia-specific approach to gender equality. For this to be achieved, GoE should consider developing a national understanding of what gender equality means for the country;
- Enabling women's organizations to mobilize and discuss women's rights must be done by removing the charities and societies proclamation currently in place;
- All policies need to more effectively tackle women's drudgery and unpaid care burden.

The GoE has never claimed to be feminist. So, in some ways this analysis is deeper than warranted by the GoE's approach. Nevertheless, this feminist analysis has identified gaps to address, in order to help the GoE set its own direction for gender equality.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AAGR	Average Annual Growth Rate
ACHPR	African Charter on Human and People's Rights
ACG	African Center for Gender
AFDB	African Development Bank
ADLI	Agricultural Development-Led Industrialization
AGDI	African Gender Development Index
AGE	African Gender Equality (Index)
AGP	Agriculture Growth Program
ANR GTP	Agriculture and Natural Resource Sector Growth and Transformation Plan
ATA	Agricultural Transformation Agency
ATVET	Agricultural Technical and Vocational Education and Training
AU	African Union
AUC	African Union Commission
AWPS	African Women's Progress Scoreboard
BMI	Body Mass Index
BOA	Bureau of Agriculture
BOWCA	Bureau of Women and Children's Affairs
BPA	Beijing Platform for Action
CAADP	Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Program
CBO	Community-Based Organization
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CGE	Center of Gender Studies
CPRW	Convention on the Political Rights of Women
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CRPD	Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities
CSA	Central Statistics Agency
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DA	Development Agent
DEVAW	Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women
E.C	Ethiopian Calendar
ECA	The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA or ECA)
EDHS	Ethiopia Demographic and Health Survey
EIAR	Ethiopia Institute of Agricultural Research
EMIS	Education Management Information System
EPRDF	Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front
ERHS	Ethiopian Rural Household Survey
ETUS	Ethiopia Time Use survey
EU	European Union
EWLA	Ethiopia Women Lawyers' Association
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FGC	Female Genital Cutting

FHHS	Female-Headed Households
FMOH	Federal Ministry of Health
GAD	Gender And Development
GDI	Gender Development Index
GDP	Growth Domestic Products
GER	Gross Enrolment Ratio
GESAS	National Gender Equality Strategy for Ethiopia’s Agriculture Sector
GII	Gender Inequality Index
GIMAC	Gender is my Agenda
GO	Government Organization
GOE	Government of Ethiopia
GPI	Gender Parity Index
GRB	Gender Responsive budgeting
GSI	Gender Status Index
GTP	Growth and Transformation Plan
HDI	Human Development Index
HEP	Health Extension Program
HH	Household
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HSDP	Health Sector Development Program
HTP	Harmful Traditional Practices
ICDP	International Conference on Population Development
ICPD	Cairo International Conference on Population and Development
IDR	Institute of Development Research
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
ILO	International Labor Organization
ITC	Information Communication Technology
LSMS-ISA	Living Standards Measurement Study - Integrated Surveys on Agriculture
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MHHS	Male-Headed Households
MIS	Management Information System
MMR	Maternal Mortality Ratio
MOA	Ministry of Agriculture
MOANR	Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources
MOFED	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development
MOLSA	Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs
MOWA	Ministry of Women
MOWCA	Ministry of Women and Children’s Affairs
MOWCYA	Ministry of Women, Children and Youth Affairs
NAP-GE	National Action Plan on Gender Equality
NEWA	Network of Ethiopian Women’s Associations
NNP	National Nutrition Plan of Ethiopia
NGO	Non-Government Organization
NPC	National Planning Commission

NPEW	National Policy on Ethiopian Women
PACHPR	Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights
PASDEP	Plan for Accelerated and Sustainable Development Program
PIF	(Ethiopia's Agricultural Sector) Policy and Investment Framework
PSNP	Productive Safety Net Program
RDPS	Rural Development Policy and Strategies
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SDGEA	Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa
SDI	Solemn Declaration Index
SDPRP	Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program
SLMP	Sustainable Land Management Program
SNNPR	Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State
TGOE	Transitional Government of Ethiopia
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
TOT	Training of Trainers
UN	United Nations
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNFPA	United Nations Fund for Population
UNWOMEN	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
URRAP	Universal Rural Road Access Program
WAB	Women's Affairs Bureau
WAD	Women's Affairs Department
WAO	Women's Affairs Office
WB	World Bank
WDA	Women's Development Army
WID	Women In Development
WMHH	Women in Male-Headed Household (wife)
WMY	Women, Men and Youth

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Gender Equality	<p>Equality does not mean that women and men will become the same but that women’s and men’s rights, responsibilities and opportunities will not depend on whether they are born male or female. Equality between women and men is seen both as a human rights issue and as a precondition for, and indicator of, sustainable people-centered development.</p> <p>Gender equality implies that the interests, needs and priorities of both women and men are taken into consideration – recognizing the diversity of different groups of women and men. Gender equality is not a ‘women’s issue’ but should concern and fully engage men as well as women. <i>Source: UN Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (2001)</i></p>
GAD/WID	<p>The WID (or Women in Development) approach calls for greater attention to women in development policy and practice and emphasizes the need to integrate them into the development process.</p> <p>The GAD (or Gender and Development) approach focuses on the socially constructed basis of differences between men and women and emphasizes the need to challenge existing gender roles and relations. <i>Source: Reeves and Baden (2000)</i></p>
Gender	<p>Gender is not determined biologically but is constructed socially. While gender relates to sexual characteristics of either women or men (cisgender), intersex people are born with sex characteristics that do not fit neatly into biological categories that relate to male or female and transgender people enjoy acting like a gender that does not match their biology. Hence gender is an intersectional category that exists along a spectrum along with class, race, poverty level, ethnic group and age to determine opportunity structures, beliefs and informal rules about how people should act.</p>
Gender Analysis	<p>The systematic gathering and examination of information on gender differences and social relations in order to identify, understand and redress inequities based on gender.</p> <p><i>Source: Reeves and Baden (2000)</i></p>
Gender Gap	<p>The term gender gap refers to any disparity between women’s and men’s condition or position in society. It is often used to refer to a difference in average earnings between women and men, e.g. “gender pay gap.” However, gender gaps can be found in many areas, such as the four pillars that the World Economic Forum uses to calculate its Gender Gap Index, namely: economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival and political empowerment. <i>Source: Hausmann et al., (2012).</i></p>

Gender (sensitive) Indicators	Gender-sensitive indicators allow measuring changes in the relations between women and men in regards to a certain policy area, a specific program or activity, or changes in the status or situation of women and men, over time. Gender indicators can refer to quantitative indicators (based on statistics broken down by sex) or to qualitative indicators (based on women's and men's experiences, attitudes, opinions and feelings). <i>Source: EIGE (n.d)</i>
Gender Mainstreaming	Gender mainstreaming is not an end in itself but a strategy, an approach, a means to achieve the goal of gender equality. Mainstreaming involves ensuring that gender perspectives and attention to the goal of gender equality are central to all activities. <i>Source: UN Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (2001)</i>
Gender Norms	Gender norms are the standards and expectations to which women and men generally conform, within a range that defines a particular society, culture and community at that point in time. Gender norms are ideas and beliefs about how certain genders should be and act. Internalized early in life, gender norms can establish a life-long cycle of gender socialization and stereotyping. <i>Source: EIGE (n.d).</i>
Gender-neutral, Gender-sensitive, Gender-transformative	The degree of integration of a gender perspective in any given project/policy can be seen as a continuum: <u>Gender-neutral</u> : Gender is not considered relevant to development outcomes. Gender norms, roles and relations are not affected (worsened or improved); <u>Gender-sensitive</u> : Gender is a means to reach set development goals. Addressing gender norms, roles and access to resources in so far as needed to reach project goals; <u>Gender-positive</u> : Gender is central to achieving positive development outcomes. Changing gender norms, roles and access to resources is a key component of project outcomes; <u>Gender-transformative</u> : Gender is central to promoting gender equality and achieving positive development outcomes. Transforming unequal gender relations to promote shared power, control of resources, decision-making, and support for women's empowerment. <i>Source: UNWOMEN Training Centre.</i>
Policy Analysis	Policy analysis involves identifying, examining, explaining, and understanding the content, causes and consequences of public policies. <i>Source: Dye (1998)</i>
Sex-disaggregated data	Sex-disaggregated data is data that is cross-classified by sex, presenting information separately for men and women, boys and girls. Sex-disaggregated data is necessary for effective gender analysis. <i>Source: UNWOMEN Training Centre</i>
Women's Empowerment	Empowerment of women is the process by which women gain power and control over their own lives and acquire the ability to make strategic choices. Women's empowerment has five components: women's sense of self-worth; their right to have and

to determine choices; their right to have access to opportunities and resources; their right to have power to control their own lives, both within and outside the home; and their ability to influence the direction of social change to create a more just social and economic order, nationally and internationally. *Source: EIGE (n.d).*

1. INTRODUCTION

Gender equality is a key government goal in Ethiopia, “... attaining development among all the pillars of sustainable development is unthinkable without empowering women and obtaining gender equality, thereby using the entire potential of the country” (Bayeh 2016:40). The Women’s Affairs Office (WAO) within the Ethiopian Prime Minister’s Office was created in 1992 and set the structure of women’s institutional machinery at all levels of government. Women’s Affairs Departments (WADs) were established in all ministries at the national level. Regional Women’s Affairs Bureaus (RWABs) at the district level are responsible for providing gender mainstreaming guidance for all regional, zonal and *woreda*, or district, programs and plans (UN Women 2014). This structure was replicated at the sub-regional, *woreda* and *kebele* levels.² Moreover, the GoE has directed all ministries by proclamation no. 916 to address women’s and youth affairs in policies, laws and development programs and projects (FDRE 2015).

This report tries to understand the policy response to gender inequality in the agriculture sector and adopts a historical perspective. The analysis asks two questions:

- What is the quality of Ethiopia’s agriculture and gender policies as viewed through a feminist lens?
- How can the heterogenous needs of women working across the country in the agricultural sector be enshrined in policy?

While Ethiopia may lag behind other African nations at a similar level of growth in terms of gender-equality indicators, it has progressively expanded rights for women.

The report is structured as follows: section one describes the methodology; section two analyzes the international, regional and the national context; section three presents the critical feminist policy analysis results; and, section four discusses the results and sets out the conclusions and recommendations.

SECTION 1: RESEARCH DESIGN/METHODOLOGY

2. RESEARCH DESIGN

The analysis includes literature reviews and secondary quantitative and qualitative data analysis. The review drew from many published resources using a keyword search³ in Research Gate, Google Scholar, UNECA library and Women Watch. Grey literature was also searched by visiting the websites of bilateral and multilateral donors working in Ethiopia, such as, the United Nations (UN), the World Bank and other international agencies, and local non-government organizations (NGOs), and research institutes.

The review served the following purposes: (i) contextualizing the policy analysis by

² Ethiopia is a federal republic with five administrative tiers: federal, regions, zones, *woredas* (districts), and *kebeles* (peasant associations) (World Bank and IFPRI 2010).

³ Keywords used: Ethiopia gender policy, Ethiopia gender mainstreaming agricultural, gender and agriculture Ethiopia, productivity and gender, poverty and gender, Ethiopia, gender and extension services, gender Ethiopia, agricultural policy review Ethiopia,

understanding the current situation of women, and specifically women working in the agricultural sector; collecting national and international secondary data on current gender inequalities and their determinants; (ii) defining and describing the international, regional and national policy framework for gender equality; (iii) mapping out the most relevant national gender equality and agricultural policies; (iv) helping to choose a sample of policies to be subjected to the critical feminist analysis.

The sample of seven policies was selected in accordance with three selection criteria:

- a) National policies specific to gender equality
- b) National policies from the agricultural sector that relate to wheat and/or gender
- c) Current national development plans that govern the agricultural sector.

The sample is composed of the following policies:

Table 2: Sample of policies

NAME	DATE	TYPE OF POLICY
National Policy on Ethiopian Women	1993	Gender Equality Policy
National Action plan for Gender Equality (2006-2010)	2006	Gender Equality Policy
Ethiopia’s Agricultural Sector Policy and Investment Framework (PIF) 2010-2020	2010	Agricultural Policy
Wheat Sector Development Strategy (2013-2017)	2013	Agricultural Policy
Growth and Transformation Plan II (2011-2020)	2015	National Development Plan
Women’s Development and Change Package (Phase II)	2017	Gender Equality Policy
Gender Equality Strategy for Ethiopia’s Agricultural Sector	2017	Agricultural Policy related to gender equality

2.1 FEMINIST CRITICAL POLICY ANALYSIS CRITERIA

The criteria for analysis are framed by the Feminist Critical Policy Analysis Principles proposed by Bensimon and Marshall (2003) and McPhail (2003). The principles have two main purposes: 1) To deconstruct conventional theories and explanations and reveal gender biases, and 2) To conduct analysis with a critical awareness of androcentric tendencies at the foundation of policies and social constructs (Bensimon and Marshall 2003). In applying these principles, McPhail (2003) stresses that the focus should be on rectifying any bias and exposing its existence in present and future policies. This is done by making women visible, by presenting evidence on how men and women are treated differently, by recognizing underlying assumptions and stereotypes of women embedded in the policies, and by understanding how women’s lives and roles are regulated and constrained by policies (McPhail 2003).

However, this analysis includes other policies that are not gender-focused and hence adaption to the criterion is required. This is supported by the authors of the original framework, Krizsan and Lombardo (2013), who affirm that the quality criteria are not fixed across contexts and time, but rather context-dependent and in a constant process of construction.

The first five quality criteria selected follow the Krizsan and Lombardo (2013) frame of analysis and focus on both policy content, (the first three criteria) and policy process, (the fourth and fifth criteria). The policy content criteria look at the way policies secure the gender content, and the policy process criteria ensure women’s participation and inclusion in the policy-making process. Two other criteria are added for the present research. They focus on the intersection of gender-equality policies and agricultural ones, and on how the national policies relate to the regional and international legal framework. In total, there are seven analytical criteria applied to the policies. Table 3 lists the questions asked for the seven criteria.

Table 3: Analysis Criteria and Questions

Analysis Criteria	Research Questions
1. Gendering of the policy	1.1. Does the policy aim for gender equality? 1.2. Does the policy include sex-disaggregated data consistently? 1.3. Does the policy treat men and women differently in order to achieve gender equality? Does the policy consider gender differences in order to create more equality? 1.4. Does any special treatment of women cause unintended or restrictive consequences? Is there an implicit or explicit double standard? 1.5. Is the policy defined as “gender neutral”? Does the presumed gender neutrality hide the reality of the gendered nature of the problem or solution? 1.6. Are gender stereotypes challenged or reinforced? 1.7. Is gender mainstreamed throughout the document or relegated to a separate section?
2. Structural understanding of gender equality	2.1. Are women clearly visible in the policy? Does the policy consider the historical, legal, social, cultural, economic and political contexts of women’s lives? 2.2. Is the male experience used as a standard? Are results extrapolated from male experience and then applied to women? 2.3. Is the social construction of the problem recognized? What are alternate representations of the problem? 2.4. Does the policy sustain the pattern of men being viewed as public actors and women as private actors, or does the policy challenge this dichotomization? 2.5. Are women penalized either for their roles as wives, mothers or caregivers, or their refusal to adopt these roles?
3. Intersectionality	3.1. How does this policy incorporate multi-dimensional forms of exclusion and inequality (e.g. ethnicity, sexual identity, class, religion, marital status, disability or other identity criteria)? 3.2. Does the policy target one “standardized” type of women? Are women treated as a homogenous group? 3.3. Does the policy address the ethnic and regional differences

	existing in the country?
4. Empowerment of women	<p>4.1. Were women involved in the making, shaping, and implementation of the policy? In what ways were they involved? How were they included or excluded?</p> <p>4.2. Were civil society groups and especially, women’s groups, involved in the implementation of the policy?</p> <p>4.3. Does the policy work to empower women?</p>
5. Incremental transformation	<p>5.1. Does the policy build on previous gender-equality achievements/policies? Does the policy build on previous evaluations and evidence? Or is it less progressive?</p> <p>5.2. Does the policy use a rhetorical discourse or aim at genuinely materializing the reforms proposed?</p> <p>5.3. How does the policy affect the balance of power between men and women? Is this done at a suitable pace given the context and current situation (e.g. does the policy adopt a “do no harm” approach to transformation to safeguard women’s rights)?</p>
6. Gender-responsive agricultural policies	<p>6.1. Does the agricultural policy align with, and refer to, any other gender law/regulation/commitment/policy? How effectively has the agricultural sector policy aligned with the totality of government gender policies?</p> <p>6.2. Does the agricultural policy address the specific needs and interests of women farmers/ women working in the agricultural sector?</p> <p>6.3. Does the agricultural policy defer to gender norms and social traditions that impair women’s involvement in the agricultural sector? Or does it take a more progressive approach to gender equality than other GoE gender policies?</p>
7. Regional and international contextualization	<p>7.1. How does the policy comply with international and regional conventions, policies, laws and commitments that safeguard women’s rights?</p> <p>7.2. Does the policy borrow any measure/model from regional and international regulations? How?</p>

Source: Author’s compilation based on Krizsan and Lombardo (2013)

2.2 LIMITATIONS

The research presents several limitations and challenges in its design and methodological approach. The language of the research is the first limitation encountered; policies were originally written in Amharic and then translated into English. The present research relies on English translations and thus, meanings and interpretations are subject to the accuracy of the English translation. Specifically, the Women’s Development Package (both the first version from 2006 and the second one from 2017) has not been officially translated into English and is not available on the internet. A nationally-based translation company was commissioned to translate the 2017 document into English. Thus, the present analysis relies on a non-official English

translation of the 2017 Package, which may affect the assessment of the discourses and narratives in law. A copy of the 2006 package was not found.

The literature on Ethiopia’s gender policies is scarce. There is little investigation into the impact of gender-related policies on the country’s development. As an example, a national assessment on gender mainstreaming in Ethiopian policies has not been done. The only Action Plan on gender equality ever formulated (2006-2010) was never evaluated, nor was the Women’s Development Package (2006). Similarly, the gender impact of national development plans such as the GTP I and GTP II and agricultural policies is only anecdotally and lightly recorded. Consequently, this policy analysis had little to use for triangulation.

Compared with the important number of policies and development plans and strategies produced by the MoANR and other government bodies, the selected sample is small. However, the selection criteria of the sample ensure that the policies included in the analysis are sufficiently representative to give an understanding of gender in the agricultural sector, and specifically in wheat-related policies. Moreover, the policy and legal overview captures the national framework by summarizing 19 major laws and policies.

SECTION 2: OVERVIEW

This section sets the Ethiopia context by providing an overview of the regional and international legal framework and the national policy and legal framework.

3. REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LEGAL FRAMEWORK

Ethiopia is part of the African Union and signatory to many international and regional agreements for gender equality (Table 4). The pan-African agenda for gender equality is strongly encouraged in regional agreements. There are several regional plans and institutions that oversee and support state members like Ethiopia in mainstreaming gender and achieving gender equality goals.

Table 4: International and Regional Gender Equality/Women’s Right’s Agreements

Key International Agreements	Ratification	Year
Convention on the Political Rights of Women (CPRW)	Yes	1969
Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)	Yes	1981
Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (OP-CEDAW)	No	--
Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW)	Yes	1993
Beijing Platform for Action (BPA)	Yes	1995
Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)	Yes	1991
Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD)	Yes	2010
Cairo International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD)	Yes	1994
Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)	Yes	2000

Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)	Yes	2015
Regional Treaties		
African Charter on Human and People's Rights (ACHPR)	Yes	1998
Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (Maputo Protocol)	No	--
Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (SDGEA)	Yes	2004
Banjul Declaration	Yes	2009
Agenda 2063	Yes	2015

Source: *Compilation based on United Nations Human Rights. Ratification Status for Ethiopia (See also: Women Watch 2017; Brems 2007).*

Other international legal conventions ratified by Ethiopia that specify women's rights include several International Labor Conventions.

3.1 CEDAW (1979)

Ethiopia signed the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1980 and ratified it in 1981. Since its ratification, the government has developed four national reports (1996; 2005; 2009; 2016) but not signed the Optional Protocol (OP-CEDAW)⁴ which includes an inquiry procedure and a complaints procedure. The eighth periodic CEDAW report (Article 14) addresses rural women's issues and outlines how the government has considered the problems of rural women.

A number of organizations including the African Rights Monitor (ARM) and Amnesty International have criticized GoE's efforts to promote women's rights in their CEDAW 'shadow reports'. The CEDAW (2011) observation report notes that the GoE's CEDAW Reports lack reference to the committee's previous observations and lack specific disaggregated data.

3.2 BPA (1995)

Ethiopia endorsed the Beijing Platform for Action (BPA) without any reservation during the 4th World Conference in 1995 and played a very important role in the preparatory process of the document at sub-regional and regional levels (Women Watch n.d). The BPA names twelve areas of concern to guide the mainstreaming of gender into policies and actions of the 189 signatory countries (UNwomen n.d). BPA member countries meet every five years to discuss progress.

GoE's 2014 BPA report identified several challenges:

- a. Data-related challenges: there is a lack of data providing concrete evidence on gender relations, roles and issues, and a need for systems to collect sex-disaggregated data at all administrative levels, and civil servants have limited capacity to utilize raw data for formulating policies.

⁴ This is not unique to the CEDAW, or women's rights. Ethiopia has not signed relevant optional protocols of other ratified treaties (See Brems 2007). The GoE has a mixed record when it comes to human rights promotion.

- b. Deep-rooted social norms: the historical legacy of inequality and discrimination is considered an important challenge for the implementation of gender equality in the country.
- c. Capacity-related challenges: there is limited capacity at various levels in the national gender machinery for the mainstreaming of gender equality in policy-making and policy implementation. Gender mainstreaming is not fully adopted across sectors at all levels in the country.

The Report also identifies several emerging priorities, including: empowering rural women through improved access to and control over productive resources and extension services.

3.3 MDGs (2000)

In 2000, the United Nations adopted the Millennium Declaration and a comprehensive framework: The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). It has been reported that the level of adoption and contextualization of the MDGs in the country has contributed to Ethiopia's positive results and achievements in six out of eight MDGs. However, the two gender-related goals (Goal 3: "Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls" and Goal 5: "Improve maternal health") were not met (NPC and UN 2015).

3.4 MAPUTO PROTOCOL (2003)

The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (hereinafter the Protocol) was adopted by the African Union (AU) in July 2003 in Maputo, Mozambique, to supplement the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (Kombo, Sow, Mohamed 2013). Ethiopia signed the Protocol in 2004 although it has not yet been ratified. The Protocol is regarded as one of the most progressive legal instruments providing a comprehensive legal framework for the human rights of women in Africa (WGDD 2016).

Bond (2014) argues that the Maputo Protocol comes closer to reflecting the realities of African woman and better addresses the intersections of cultural identities with gender identities than other international conventions like CEDAW (Bond 2014). Hence, it is surprising that sixteen African countries, including Ethiopia, have not ratified the Protocol.

3.5 SDGEA (2004)

At the African Union's summit meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 6-8 July 2004, the AU adopted the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (SDGEA). The SDGEA reaffirms its commitment to the principle of gender equality as enshrined in regional and international commitments, declarations and instruments such as the CEDAW, MDGs and Maputo Protocol among others (Bond 2014).

Ethiopia produced a report on the SDGEA in 2006, highlighting the following "important steps":

- Land registration in the names of both spouses;
- The National Food Security Program targeting women (providing productive safety nets, public works and direct income support);

- Affirmative action to increase women’s access to extension services and the number of female agricultural agents.

In 2006, the African Women’s Movement decided to create the campaign “Gender is my agenda” (GIMAC) to improve the slow progress towards the SDGEA.

3.6 THE BANJUL DECLARATION (2009)

The Banjul Declaration on the Strategies for Accelerating the Implementation of the Dakar and Beijing Platforms for Action was developed at the Eighth Africa Regional Conference on Women (Beijing + 15) held at Banjul, Gambia, 2009 and focuses on the following strategic areas (UNECA 2009):

1. Economic empowerment of women through reduction of poverty, creation of employment, social protection and use of information communication technologies;
2. Peace, security and development;
3. The prohibition of violence against women;
4. The representation and participation of women in all areas of decision-making;
5. Sexual and reproductive health and HIV/AIDS;
6. Climate change and food security;
7. Financing for gender equality.

3.7 AGENDA 2063

In January 2015, nine months before the SDGs were launched, the Heads of State and Government of the African Union adopted Africa’s Agenda 2063, a long-term development strategy for inclusive growth and sustainable development (ECA 2016). Structural transformation, supported by industrialization, is at the core of the economic objectives of the Agenda and this is reflected in GTP I and II. The gender equality components relating to economic empowerment, participation of women and reduced violence against women are not well integrated into GTP II.

There are important synergies between the African Agenda 2063 and the SDGs (also known as the Global Agenda 2030). Both agendas share common aspirations of structural transformation and sustainable development (ECA 2016). However, the agendas are not identical and thus, African countries – including Ethiopia – will face several challenges related to coordination, data-gathering and follow-up of the two initiatives (ECA 2016).

3.8 SDGs / GLOBAL AGENDA 2030

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) or the 2030 agenda replaced the MDGs in 2015 and focuses on achieving seventeen development goals:

- No poverty; 2. Zero hunger; 3. Good health and well-being for people; 4. Quality education; 5. Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls; 6. Clean water and sanitation; 7. Affordable and clean energy; 8. decent work and economic growth; 9. Industry, innovation, and infrastructure; 10. Reducing inequalities; 11. Sustainable cities and communities; 12. Responsible consumption and production; 13. Climate action; 14. Life below water; 15. Life

on land; 16. Peace, justice and strong institutions; 17. Partnerships for the goals.

Many SDG 5 targets are relevant for the agriculture sector (box 5)

Box 1. SDG Goal 5 Targets

- 5.1 End all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere;
- 5.2 Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation;
- 5.3 Eliminate all harmful practices, such as child, early and forced marriage and female genital mutilation;
- 5.4 Recognize and value unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate;
- 5.5 Ensure women’s full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision making in political, economic and public life;
- 5.6 Ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights as agreed in accordance with the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development and the Beijing Platform for Action and the outcome documents of their review conferences;
- 5.7 Undertake reforms to give women equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to ownership and control over land and other forms of property, financial services, inheritance and natural resources, in accordance with national laws;
- 5.8 Enhance the use of enabling technology, in particular information and communications technology, to promote the empowerment of women;
- 5.9 Adopt and strengthen sound policies and enforceable legislation for the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls at all levels.

3.9 CONCLUSION

There are various international and regional conventions and commitments in place to govern gender equality. Effort has been made to find an African approach to international gender commitments. However, GoE has a mixed record when it comes to adopting and implementing regional and international gender commitments. Not ratifying the Maputo Protocol and not reaching the gender related MDGs are examples of slow progress. The lack of consideration of CEDAW committee recommendations suggest that perhaps in the past when the government signed such conventions it was more committed to gender equality than today, or possibly that Ethiopia wants to set its own development direction for gender equality.

The next section will discuss the domestication of the international and regional agreements. This shows how Ethiopia has integrated some of the international commitments into its national policies but has not consistently and fully adopted the 2030 and 2063 targets into its National Plans. Particularly those associated with gender. This is worrying given the two gender related MDGs were not met. Moreover, the next

section reveals the way women’s rights are grouped under broader human rights and restricted when state power is threatened.

4. NATIONAL POLICY AND LEGAL OVERVIEW

This section offers a brief overview of domestic policies and national development strategies (Table 5), that are grouped under the headings: legal; women/gender; national plans; and agriculture.

Table 5: List of National Laws, Policies and Strategies examined

No	Name	Year	Type of Policy
1	National Policy on Ethiopian Women*	1993	Gender-Equality Law
2	Agricultural Development-Led Industrialization Strategy (ADLI)	1993	Agricultural Strategy
3	FDRE Constitution	1994	Constitutional Law
4	Revised Family Law	2000	Family Law
5	Rural Development Policy and Strategies	2003	Development Plan
6	Labor Law reforms	2003 - 12	Industrial Law
7	Federal Rural Land Administration Proclamation	2005	Property law
8	Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty (PASDEP) (2005/06-2009/10)	2005	Development Plan
9	Criminal Law	2005	Criminal Law
10	Ethiopian Women’s Development and Change Package	2006	Gender-Equality Package
11	National Action Plan for Gender Equality (2006-2010)*	2006	Gender-Equality Strategy
12	Charities and Societies Proclamation No. 621/2009	2009	Social Law
13	Policy and Investment Framework (PIF) 2010-2020*	2010	Agriculture policy
14	National Gender-Mainstreaming Guidelines	2010	Gender-Equality Strategy
15	Growth and Transformation Plan GTP I 2010/11-2014/15	2010	National Development Plan
16	National Gender-Responsive Budgeting Guidelines	2012	Gender-Equality Strategy
17	Wheat Sector Development Strategy 2013-2017*	2013	Agricultural Strategy
18	National Social Protection Policy of Ethiopia	2014	Social Law
19	Growth and Transformation Plan II (2015/16-2019/2020)*	2015	Development Plan
20	Agricultural and Natural Resource Sector Growth and Transformation Plan II (2015-2020)	2016	Agricultural Strategy

21	Gender Equality Strategy for Ethiopia's 2017 Agricultural Sector*	Gender-Equality Strategy
22	Ethiopian Women's Development and Change 2017 Package*	Gender-Equality Package

* These policies are the sample selected for the feminist-policy analysis.

4.1 LEGAL

The oppressive Derg regime (1974 to 1987) restricted all forms of human rights. In an attempt to maintain some power, the Derg regime gave way to The People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PDRE) (1987-1991) which retained many Derg leaders. It was not until The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), gained power from the PDRE in May 1991, that human rights improved. Known as the transition government, (1991–1995) it legislated human rights and incorporated them into policy.

The 1994 Constitution of Ethiopia represents a huge leap forward for women's rights. It confirms the equality of all persons before the law and guarantees equal and effective protection without discrimination based on sex (FDRE 1994). The Constitution incorporates international agreements previously ratified by Ethiopia, Article 9 (4) stipulates that "all international agreements ratified by Ethiopia are an integral part of the law of the land" and article 13 of the Constitution requires all government organs to comply with the international human rights conventions to which Ethiopia is a party (MoWA, FDRE, WB 1998). The Constitution also dedicates a separate article (Article 35) to the rights of women and specifies affirmative action.

The Revised Family Law (2000) gives equal rights to women in marriage and includes several highly important dispositions in protecting women's rights and promoting equality between the sexes (Endalcachew 2015). The revised law raised women's minimum age of marriage to 18 years and Article 6 states mutual consent of the spouses as one of the essential conditions for marriage. The law also confers to women the right to share property after divorce – even if they engaged in an irregular union (Article 102). Article 50 provides for joint management of family assets.

Ethiopia possesses a number of legislations that protect the labor rights of women:

- The Labor Proclamation No. 377 of 2003 ensures women's rights as well as young people's rights upon the formation of an employment contract, prohibits sex-based discrimination in compensation and employment, and grants women paid maternity leave.
- The Federal Civil Servants Proclamation No. 515/2007, Article 13 prohibits discrimination against job seekers, civil servants or employees based on sex, ethnic origin, religion, political outlook, disability, HIV/AIDS, or any other discriminatory grounds (Gebretzion, 2015).
- The Public Servant Proclamation No. 714 of 2011 and the Private Organization Employees Proclamation No. 715 of 2012 protect the pension rights of women (Beyene 2015).

GoE has signed the following international labor conventions that protect women's rights as workers:

- C100 Equal Remuneration, which guarantees equal remuneration and calls for ending workplace discrimination;
- C111 Discrimination (Employment and Occupation), which promotes the rights of working women; and
- C156 Workers with Family Responsibilities, which promotes equal opportunities and equal treatment for men and women workers (ILO n.d).

However, serious limitations and absences persist, particularly in sexual harassment, where there are no laws that even define what it is (Beyene 2015). Moreover, prohibiting women's right to work evenings when pregnant (although good intentioned) represents the government's paternal attitude towards women.

The Federal Rural Land Administration Proclamation No 456/2005 provides the core guiding principles on the acquisition and use of rural land. The proclamation states that: "... women who want to engage in agriculture shall have the right to get and use rural land". There is a requirement that land-administration committees at the kebele level, the smallest administrative unit, have at least one female member (Macneil 2013). Ethiopia has gone through a two-phase land registration process: First Level Land Certification (from 1990 to mid-2000), took place in four of the nine Regions, and Second Level Land Certification (from 2005 after the revision of the 1997 Land Law) extended to the rest of the country.

Kumar & Quisumbing (2015:420) confirm that "Ethiopia's land-registration process increases security of tenure among women and, if properly implemented, has the potential for far-reaching impacts." Moreover, they found that awareness about the land-registration process is positively correlated with the shift in perceptions toward equal division of land and livestock upon divorce.

The criminal code/penal code that came into force in May 2005 criminalizes most forms of violence against women and girls including rape, trafficking/abduction, prostitution, Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), sexual exploitation, early marriage, physical violence within marriage or in an irregular union, bigamy, and harassment (Endalcachew 2015).

Despite a progressive expansion of women's rights in Ethiopia's legislation, many of these successes are limited by the Charities and Societies Proclamation (Box 2) that prohibits rights promotion and advocacy.

Box 2: Charities and Societies Proclamation No. 621/2009

Article 14 (5) says that Foreign and Ethiopian Resident Charities are not allowed to work on human and democratic rights, religious, ethnic or gender equality, child rights and the right of disabled persons, conflict resolution and reconciliation, and supporting justice and law enforcement sectors. In effect this means that only local NGOs that do not receive more than 10% of their funds from foreign sources can discuss gender equality or women's rights. Amnesty International (2012) says, "the 2009 Charities and Societies Proclamation is a serious obstacle to the promotion and protection of human rights in Ethiopia."

4.2 WOMEN/GENDER

The first National Policy on Ethiopian Women (NPEW) was developed in 1993 by the transitional government at the time. Although strategies and implementing actions are not sufficiently defined, the policy provides the foundations and an overall vision towards the realization of gender equality. The policy envisions three main objectives (OPM 1993):

1. Facilitating the conditions for women's equal participation in political, social and economic life;
2. Facilitating the conditions for rural women to access basic social services;
3. Eliminating harmful and customary practices that are based on gender prejudices and male supremacy, so that women can hold public office and better participate in the decision-making process at all levels.

Importantly, the policy establishes the women's institutional machinery and sets the duties and responsibilities of the Women's Affairs Office (WAO) within the Prime Minister's Office, as well as those of its subsidiary structures: the Women's Affairs Sector in all the regional administrative offices, and the Women's Affairs Departments (WAD) in all ministries and government organizations (OPM 1993). However, Ogato (2013) claims that there is inadequate assessment of women's roles and responsibilities, particularly in rural areas. MoWA (2006), also affirms that the policy's coverage of women's issues is limited and that a revision of the policy is necessary⁵.

In 2006, The National Action Plan for Gender Equality (NAP-GE) 2006-2010 was developed by the Ministry of Women's Affairs (MoWA) and was developed in the light of the 2000 Beijing+5 Political Declaration and the MDGs. This is the first and only example of a gender related international treaty being aligned with an Ethiopian policy. The main goal of contributing towards the attainment of equality between men and women in social, political and economic development (MoWA 2006). In contrast with its predecessor, the NPEW, the NAP-GE is not based on the rationale of human rights, but on a pragmatic view of gender equality to achieve sustainable development and economic growth.

The NAP-GE's situation analysis identifies several gender gaps and proposes that the contemporary PASDEP should link to the NAP-GE. The plan contains four general objectives, followed by seven strategic objectives or priorities for action linked to the PASDEP pillars (Box 3).

Box 3. Objectives of NAP-GE linked to PASDEP Pillars and BPA

- I. Enhanced rapid economic growth:
 1. Enhance women's and girls' economic empowerment;
 2. Enhance the role and benefits of women in environmental protection;
- II. Improved human development:
 3. Promote equal access and success in education and training for women/girls

⁵ Surprisingly, MoWA's NAP-GE document uses Ogato's (2013) text.

- 4. Improve women and girls' reproductive rights, health and HIV/AIDS status;
 - III. Democratization and governance:
 - 5. Reduce violence against women and girls and respect their human rights;
 - 6. Increase women's access to all levels of decision-making, and particularly in political and public spheres;
 - IV. Improved public institutional performance
 - 7. Implement a gender-based analysis and approach in all government departments and support institutional mechanisms for gender mainstreaming.
- Source: MoWA (2006)*

The specific budget allocation for the implementation of the NAP-GE is not provided within the formulation document. As for the evaluation of the plan, an M&E framework is proposed but not included. Given the fact that the NAP-GE is the country's first attempt to explicitly integrate gender issues into a national development plan, an evaluation of its gender impact would have been prudent.

In 2006 the Government of Ethiopia released the First Development and Change Package of the Ethiopian Women to address women's economic, social and political challenges and aligns with the NPEW. However, a version of this package could not be sourced. In March 2017, the MoWCA released a second package that aligns with the Constitution and the NAP-GE (MoWCA 2017).

The 2017 package contains a situation analysis that includes the results achieved and the challenges encountered by the previous one. The analysis presents general information with little data and few evidence-based conclusions. The package contemplates three specific objectives:

1. To enable women to benefit from employment opportunities in all sectors of the economy;
2. To enable women to become active participants and beneficiaries in social development sectors;
3. To support women's organizations, increase women's powers of decision-making and enhance women's political participation.

The objectives are to be achieved through the implementation of several strategies that target urban and rural women differently. Box 4 below presents the main strategies proposed to address the gender issues of rural women.

Box 4. Strategies to address the gender issues of rural women

1. Strategies in the economic sector:
 - 1.1. Ensuring land tenure and use;
 - 1.2. Supporting rural women in engaging in non-agricultural activities;
 - 1.3. Ensuring that rural women are beneficiaries of the food security and safety net programs;
 - 1.4. Ensuring that rural women benefit from extension services;
 - 1.5. Ensuring that women benefit from husbandry and fishery development packages;
 - 1.6. Enabling women to be organized in cooperative unions;
 - 1.7. Ensuring that women benefit from saving and credit services;
 - 1.8. Enabling market access for women's products;
 - 1.9. Enabling women to benefit from environmental protection and development.

2. Strategies in the social sector:
 - 2.1. Enhancing the participation of rural women in education;
 - 2.2. Ensuring that rural women are beneficiaries of better/improved health services;
 - 2.3. Expanding programs that minimize the work load of rural women;
 - 2.4. Preventing and avoiding harmful traditional practices;
 - 2.5. Preventing and avoiding abuses being committed against women.
3. Strategies in the political and good-governance sector:
 - 3.1. Facilitating suitable conditions for the formation of women’s organizations and development teams, and strengthening the ones already formed;
 - 3.2. Ensuring the participation and benefits of women by strengthening the organizational structure of the government;
 - 3.3. Ensuring the participation and benefits of women by issuing, revising and introducing legal frameworks and monitoring their implementation;
 - 3.4. Enhancing the decision-making capacity and leadership participation of women;
 - 3.5. Enhancing good-governance on gender issues;
 - 3.6. Ensuring gender-responsive communication in mass media.

Source: MoWCA (2017)

The package document contains a chapter on monitoring and evaluation; however, there is no M&E plan proposed and thus, no indicators, timelines or targets to be achieved. It states that a survey will be conducted every two and a half and five years, to evaluate the progress of the package and set out required directions for the next period. This evaluation plan is welcome as previous plans of the MoWCA like the Package (2006) or the NAP-GE (2006-2010) have not been evaluated.

A series of guidelines have been developed to help the government better mainstream gender. The Gender Mainstreaming Guidelines were developed in 2010 by the MoWA and aim to serve as reference material and as a national framework for all government and non-government partners. The National Gender-Responsive Budgeting Guidelines were developed by the MoFED in 2012, with the purpose of providing an operational framework for mainstreaming gender in the Ethiopian budgeting process. Despite these efforts, there has not been any assessment of gender mainstreaming in Ethiopian policies and thus, the usefulness and effectiveness of these guidelines has not been evaluated.

4.3 NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLANS

The Ministry of Finance and Development (MoFED) developed the national Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty (PASDEP) (2005/06-2009/10). Gender equality is integrated both as an objective and as a mainstreaming strategy. The PASDEP integrated NAP-GE in its formulation, which forms the core of its gender strategy (Box 5) (MoFED 2005: 171). Given the NAP-GE aligned with the BPA, it is a more progressive policy in terms of gender than GTP I or II.

Box 5. Specific gender-equality (GE) priorities for actions and interventions to achieve the outcomes during the PASDEP period

a) To enhance women's and girls' economic empowerment:

- Promote women’s participation in the formulation of economic policies and in the follow-up of their implementation;
- Enhance rural women’s equal access to and control over productive resources and services (land, oxen, extension, credit) to render them food-secure and enable them to escape from the poverty trap;
- Enhance urban women's access to and control over economic resources and services (land, credit, employment, training);
- Reduce women’s workload;
- Provide special social and economic safety and security to poor urban and rural women.

b) To enhance the role and benefits of women in environmental management and protection:

c) To promote equal access and success in education and training for women and girls:

d) To improve women’ and girls' reproductive rights, health and HIV/AIDS status:

e) To reduce violence against women and girls and improve their human rights:

f) To increase women's access to all levels of decision-making, in political and public spheres:

g) To implement a gender-based analysis and approach in all government departments and to support institutional mechanisms for gender mainstreaming:

- Create/raise public and institutional gender awareness to facilitate wider involvement in gender work and mainstreaming;
- Revise women's policies;
- Strengthen the national Women's Affairs machinery;
- Generate and disseminate gender-disaggregated data for planning and monitoring;
- Integrate gender perspectives in all legislation, policies, strategies, programs and projects;
- Create/strengthen partnerships, collaboration and networking among institutions working on gender;
- Assign accountability for gender issues in all government institutions.

Source: MoFED (2005).

Although the plan included several rather ambitious gender-equality objectives, it did not manage to translate such high-level commitments into concrete activities and indicators. The plan does not contain specific gender-equality actions, and the priorities do not include gender-specific indicators. Despite that, it was the first ever attempt to fully integrate gender equality into a national development plan and thus, it should be considered a significant milestone for gender mainstreaming in Ethiopia’s policy making history.

Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP I) 2010/11-2014/15 (and II – 2015/16 -2019/20) align with the Women’s Development Package (2006)⁶, unlike their predecessor the PASDEP that followed the objectives set in the NAP-GE (2006-2010). Consequently, GTP I (and II) focus on developing women’s empowerment as an objective and as a strategy but, GTP I translates gender equality into women’s issues and treats the women’s, children’s and youth sectors as interlinked. GTP I claims to align with the MDGs.

The Growth and Transformation Plan II (GTP II) is the Government of Ethiopia’s main development plan for the period 2015/16-2019/20 (MoFED 2016a). The GTP II builds on the achievements of the GTP I in several sectors including the economic, industrial,

⁶ A copy of this package could not be sourced and hence the reference to the alignment comes from GTP.

social and governance sectors (MoFED 2016a). The government observes a number of challenges for women in accessing agricultural extension services, agricultural technologies, and land and credit services, and considers that more efforts should be made during GTP II (MoFED 2016a).

The principal objective of the GTP II is to serve as the vehicle to achieve the national vision of becoming a middle-income country by 2025, through sustaining rapid, broad-based and inclusive economic growth (MoFED 2016a). GTP II focus on key sectors that have significant bearings on growth and structural transformation, including modernization in the development of the agricultural sector, and expansion of the industrial sector with the primary focus on light manufacturing and export development (MoFED 2016a). Regarding agricultural development, GTP II states that agriculture will continue to be the main source of economic growth.

GTPII consultations brought the voices of rural women to national policy makers for the first time. This is considered by the Planning Department as a key reason for the women's focused outcomes – central policymakers heard the voices of rural women and tried to integrate gender into the policy. Under the specific pillar for the promotion of women and youth, several strategic directions, objectives, targets and implementation strategies are set out, and are summarized as follows:

- a. Strategic directions: i) Strengthening women's and youth organizations; ii) Ensuring active participation of these women's and youth organizations in the development and governance programs of the country; iii) Establishing coordination of these organizations with other concerned bodies and strengthen the accountability mechanisms and implementation processes of women and youth agendas, strengthen women's and youth associations through the empowerment of women and youth, and eliminate violence and harmful traditional practices.
- b. Objectives: ensure equal participation and benefits for women and youth in political, economic and social development, through empowering women and youth and enhancing their participation in ensuring child rights and well-being.
- c. Targets: i) empowering women and ii) empowering youth.
- d. Implementation strategies: mobilization of women and youth through "development armies"; climate change and gender-related programs will be developed; generating and using data, and expanding the accessibility of reliable data and establishing modern data-management systems; a strong monitoring and evaluation system will be built.

While the policy discusses 'enhancing agricultural productivity' to spur on industrialization and export growth, it does not link gender inequality as a barrier, nor equality as a potential solution. Gender is not sufficiently mainstreamed: Women's issues are considered solvable through women-only activities. This highlights the weakness of the national women's ministry – the government listened to their requests, but these requests were not sufficient for gender equality and women's strategic empowerment.

4.4 AGRICULTURE

In terms of agriculture, in 1993 The Agricultural Development-Led Industrialization (ADLI) strategy, became the Government's overarching policy response to Ethiopia's food security and agricultural productivity challenge (Teshome 2006). The objective of the ADLI is to strengthen the interdependence between agriculture and industry by increasing the productivity of peasant farmers, expanding large-scale private commercial farms, and reconstructing the manufacturing sector in such a way that it can utilize a country's natural and human resources (Kassahun 2004).

ADLI contemplates several strategies and measures that are highly relevant to female farmers. However, there is little attention given to the mainstreaming of women farmers' concerns, or to the impact of gender relations in the subsistence farming sector (AfDB 2004). ADLI does not use any sex-disaggregated data and thus, women's problems, concerns and interests are invisible (Ogato 2013). Moreover, there are no specific objectives or gender priorities. Women are mentioned in some parts of the document, but their needs are not consistently addressed. Reviews of ADLI are gender-neutral and thus, information of the possible gender impact of the policy is unavailable (Mitik 2010) and yet, ADLI was considered Ethiopia's 'flagship' policy at the time of its release (Teshome 2006).

The Rural Development Policy and Strategies (RDPS) 2003 sees rural- and agriculture-centered development as a key means of (i) ensuring rapid economic growth; (ii) enhancing benefits to the people; (iii) eliminating dependency on food aid; and (iv) promoting the development of a market-oriented economy (Teshome 2006). The policy states that it is necessary to make special development efforts targeting women so that they may gain the benefits of rural development as well as men (box 6). Furthermore, women are necessary to the achievement of the rural development goals since they make up 50 percent of the potential productive capacity of the country (MoFED 2003). However, gender equality is not regarded as a priority or an objective within the RDPS, although the participation of women and improvement of their conditions are considered as ways to better manage rural development.

Box 6. RDPS women's participation goals

To ensure women's participation in rural development, the RDPS aims to increase women's:

- productive capacity through education, and especially the provision of primary education;
- increasing employment in agricultural activities helps to protect women's rights;
- eliminate harmful traditional and outdated cultural practices;
- reduce women's work load;
- ensure women's right to acquire and own property and their user rights on plots of land; and
- increase women's participation at the kebeles.

Source: MoFED (2003).

The Policy and Investment Framework (PIF) (2010-20) was designed to operationalize the Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Program (CAADP) (MoANR 2010). It is aligned with several national policies and strategies such as GTP I, ADLI, RDPS and PASDEP and with other international commitments such as the MDGs and CAADP. It

also acknowledges the National Action Plan on Gender Equality (NAP-GE) but does not mainstream gender in practice, nor does it include any women's empowerment objectives within its priorities (MoANR 2010). The PIF was developed as a strategic framework for the prioritization and planning of investments that would drive Ethiopia's agricultural growth and development. It was designed to operationalize the Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Program (CAADP) and constitutes a 10-year road map for development that identifies priority areas for investment, and estimates the financing needs to be provided by the Government and its development partners (MoANR 2010).

The development of the PIF included a comprehensive review of policies, strategies and institutions, and an identification of gaps and weaknesses to be addressed (MoANR 2010). However, the analyses did not provide any information about gender-related gaps. Even though the PIF recognizes the importance of gender as a crosscutting issue in the agricultural sector, the policy does not mainstream gender in practice, nor does it include any women's empowerment objectives within its priorities (MoANR 2010).

Furthermore, the Mid-term Review of the PIF found that recommendations to address gender issues – such as women's lack of equality in control over resources and inheritance of land, limited access to traction animals, disproportionate suffering because of environmental degradation, and an excessive workload due to firewood and water collection – were not addressed as expected. The review recommended the integration of the National Action Plan on Gender within its framework (Chipeta et al. 2015). This mid-term review highlights that the rhetoric around gender and women is not followed by implementable actions.

It is important to note that The Ethiopian Agricultural Transformation Agency (ATA) was established in 2011 by GoE to address “systemic bottlenecks” in the agriculture sector, including gender. It is largely funded by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and its secretary is chaired by the Prime Minister. It has a gender unit run by a high paid Ethiopian gender adviser with political connections, who was educated overseas. Agriculture policies post 2011 have better mainstreamed gender than those before 2011.

Several other agriculture specific strategies, such as the Wheat Sector Development Strategy (2013-2017) have been developed to incorporate women (MoA and ATA 2014:8). The overall goals and vision of the strategy are to enhance wheat production, productivity and incomes of smallholder wheat farmers, and to attain national wheat self-sufficiency and become a regional wheat exporter. To realize this vision, the strategy identifies strategic goals in wheat value chains, such as research and technology development, access to inputs, on-farm production, post-harvest processing and storage, and trade, and links to the areas of trade, marketing and demand. Within these strategic goals, 29 challenges and 31 comprehensive interventions are identified (MoA and ATA 2014).

Regarding the integration of gender equality, the strategy recognizes that integrating effective gender-mainstreaming during implementation is one of the potential

challenges to achieving its set goals. Thus, sustained efforts to institutionalize gender-mainstreaming in all plans and interventions is believed to be the way forward (MoA and ATA 2014). Two out of the six outcome indicators include sex-disaggregated targets, suggesting a lack of gender mainstreaming. Output indicators on the other hand are not sex-disaggregated (MoA and ATA 2014).

The strategy puts the focus on FHHs and on the promotion of women’s participation in the GoE’s extension and training programs. The strategy also stresses the need to include women in programs for the promotion of new technologies, as well as in educational training programs. Although the strategy does not fully mainstream gender, it attempts to make women’s specific needs visible, and includes several proposals for empowering women farmers.

The National Social Protection Policy of Ethiopia (2014) focuses on protecting vulnerable groups, including women and girls, and views social protection as a right (UNICEF 2016:2). Unlike many other countries, MoANR manages Ethiopia’s main social protection program (Box 7). The National Social Protection Policy is significant in that it labels the GoE’s food security program as a social protection program, rather than a food security program. The policy states that “there can be no poverty eradication without sincere commitment to gender equality in general and addressing the problem of women in particular” and that poverty eradication should be viewed from the “angle and the position that women occupy in the society” (MoLSA 2012:18). The objectives of the policy are to empower women economically; achieve gender parity in access to education, health and other basic services; strengthen the capacity of the public sector for gender mainstreaming; strengthen efforts to replace discriminatory norms, attitudes and practices; and monitor trends and disparities in gender parity (MoLSA 2012). Despite these statements, the policy asserts that social protection actions shall be “gender neutral”.

Box 7. The Productive Safety Net Program (PSNP)

The PSNP began in 2005 (without a policy) as the Ethiopian government’s flagship food security program for the rural poor. The PSNP is managed by the MoANR and is heavily donor funded. The PSNP has two streams: a public works stream that targets the ‘productive poor’ and has over six million beneficiaries; and a direct support scheme for those who cannot work because they are disabled, elderly, pregnant, ill, or other similar reasons. The PSNP is one of the best examples in Ethiopia of a gender-sensitive, government-led agriculture/food security project because it includes childcare and promotes productive workfare, not a stay-at-home mother model. Yet implementation of these initiatives remains weak.

To operationalize the GTP II in the agricultural sector and help the country reach middle income status, the Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources developed the Agriculture and Natural Resource Sector Growth and Transformation Plan II (2015-2020) (ANR GTP II) in 2016 (MoANR 2016a). ANR GTP II includes sex-disaggregated indicators (by FHHs and MHHs, and some indicators also look at married women) and includes several specific indicators for women farmers (see Box 8).

The ANR GTP II does consider gender as a challenge and as an objective to be achieved. It includes some relevant gender-sensitive measures, especially in the extension services, and better mainstreams gender through the inclusion of gender-sensitive indicators and targets. It also mentions the need to improve (particularly women) farmers' access to financial services, and to increase female membership and decision-making roles within cooperatives (MoANR 2016a). Thus, ANR GTP II goes further than GTP II in terms of recognizing the importance of different types of women's roles in agriculture.

Box 8. Gender-sensitive Indicators of ANR GTP-II

- Increased extension service coverage (of farmers, pastoralists, semi-pastoralists, youth and married women, by MHHs and FHHs);
- Increased utilization of agricultural inputs:
 - Improved seed utilized, by MHHs and FHHs
 - Artificial fertilizer utilized, by MHHs and FHHs;
- Organized and strengthened cooperative sector:
 - Number of primary cooperatives, by MHHs and FHHs
 - Increased number of members from FHHs;
- Established sustainable land-administration system:
 - Number of household heads issued second-level land certificates, by MHHs and FHHs;
- Enhanced capacity of rural land administration and utilization:
 - Number of professionals trained in land administration/use
 - Number of males/females
 - Number of farmers and semi-pastoralists trained in land administration use (male/female);
- Strengthened natural resource conservation and utilization:
 - Number of youth and women who have benefited from the development of rehabilitated land;
- Strengthened conservation and use of water resources:
 - Farmers/ agro-pastoralists with at least one water resource (by MHHs and FHHs)
 - Percentage of irrigation users who applied the full package (by MHHs and FHHs);
- Food gaps filled:
 - Number of chronically food-insecure families who participated in the Productive Safety Net Program (by MHHs and FHHs);
- Increased number of safety-net graduates
 - Number of households who graduated from the Safety-Net Program (by MHHs and FHHs);
- Increased household credit package users:
 - Number of chronically food-insecure households who received family credit package (by MHHs and FHHs)
- Citizens for whom jobs were created (by women and youth)

Source: MoANR (2016a)

In 2016 a country-wide consultation process occurred to develop the Gender Equality Strategy for Ethiopia's Agriculture sector (GESEA). The Women's Affairs Directorate (WAD) of MoANR, together with the ATA and a Gender Taskforce composed of representatives from national and international development partners had the strategy approved by GoE in 2017.

It is built on an analysis of gender gaps that points out an important number of prevalent gender disparities between men and women, as well as among different

categories of women (women household heads, women in monogamous and polygamous marriage relationships and young women) in farming, agro-pastoral and pastoral livelihoods.

This strategy represents the most comprehensive gender assessment of the agricultural sector to date and highlights the immense number of challenges and improvements required to achieve gender equality in the agricultural sector. It includes a theory of change, five strategic objectives (Box 9), along with seventeen desired outcomes and several indicators.

Box 9. Strategic Objectives of the Gender Equality Strategy for Ethiopia’s Agricultural Sector

Strategic Objective 1: To reinforce the accountability system for gender equality in the policies and institutional structures of the agriculture sector.

Strategic Objective 2: To increase capacity within the sector to plan and implement gender-responsive programs and services.

Strategic Objective 3: To strengthen coordination between different actors to bring collective efforts in addressing the systemic barriers.

Strategic Objective 4: To increase gains and profitability to women and agro-pastoralists from increased agriculture production and productivity.

Source: (MoANR 2017).

The strategy specifies that the WAD at MoANR will be the leading agency at the level of implementation. WAD will initiate a process of internal transformation to ensure that gender issues are mainstreamed at the policy and operational levels. A training of trainers (ToT) model will be adopted, to equip regional staff with the needed knowledge and skills to cascade capacity building to zonal and woreda levels. Annual work plans will be developed by WAD together with the gender focal points at the regional levels. WAD will also develop guidelines and toolkits and will also lead regular gender audits to assess the degree of implementation of commitments achieved by MoANR (MoANR 2016b). Although it is not specified in the strategy, the Action Plan indicates a five-year timeframe.

4.5 NATIONAL POLICY AND LEGAL CONCLUSION

Ethiopia has formulated an important number of gender-related policies since the DERG regime ended. The Ethiopian Women’s Policy (1993) marked the beginning of the gender-equality agenda of the country and set up a strong basis for women’s empowerment and advancement.

The way the NAP-GE aligns with the BPA and PASDEP are efforts to emulate, along with The way the PASDEP tried to mainstream gender (rather than integrate women). In summary, a slow but progressive expansion of women’s rights through policies, proclamations and laws are evident. However, this commitment has diminished since 2009 CSP and shows how women’s rights are connected to the politics of the country.

Of the four national gender policies, only one NAP-GE includes a full situation analysis that identifies several gender gaps, including in the agricultural sector. None of them, however, build on a comprehensive and evidence-based gender analysis able to identify men and women farmers' roles, needs, constraints, interests, and interactions. Thus, implementation strategies are formulated based on general information and assumptions (sometimes even prejudices and misconceptions about women and gender) not on accurate data and evidence.

Aside from the terrific gains made through agriculture policies, particularly the GESEA, at the national level women have moved from having rights to serving a utilitarian function that will help the country develop. This represents a loss of progress which would have been picked up if any policy evaluations had been completed. Since gender-equality plans did not draw upon previous evaluations of lessons learnt and best practices, there has not been an incremental progression of the gender-equality agenda; instead, plans have been formulated in a non-complementary nor harmonized way. Consequently, different national plans and agricultural-sector policies and strategies have chosen to align with or to refer to different gender policies, and to focus on different priorities in a non-coordinated manner. For example, the PASDEP builds upon the NAP-GE whereas the GTP II is aligned with the first Women's Development Package.

Most policies include some indicators and targets, although not all of these are inserted within a logical framework or are part of a monitoring plan. Those policies that contain a monitoring plan do not consistently disaggregate targets by sex, and gender-sensitive indicators are not found. Overall, gender is not consistently mainstreamed through the monitoring instruments of the policies. This makes monitoring (and evaluating) the policies difficult.

SECTION 3 - RESULTS

5. FEMINIST POLICY ANALYSIS RESULTS

This section provides an in-depth analysis of seven policies, to review the quality of gender integration into policy content and policy formulation. As per the methodology section, set criteria were used to review each policy. Findings on each of the policies against the criteria are presented and discussed.

5.1 NATIONAL POLICY ON ETHIOPIAN WOMEN (1993)

GENDERING OF THE POLICY

Being the first-ever policy to address gender equality in the country, it acknowledges the past and present discriminatory political, economic and social rules prevailing in the country. It presents a general situation analysis of the needs and constraints of women, but with little data or evidence. Several traditional gender stereotypes are found throughout the document. For example, "as child bearers, women have direct contact

with the younger generation ... the key role they (women) play as mothers makes their advice more heeded than that of men.”

The policy advocates for the elimination of all types of discrimination against women. However, there is an implicit – most probably unintended – narrative about women (depicted as victims of past and present oppressions) being responsible for their own “liberation”. A passage in the introductory chapter reads: “... so that women can solve their own problems ... since women make a major contribution to the welfare of society, they are in a better position to promote and/or eliminate the harmful traditional customs and practices of their localities.” The portrayal of women both as victims and saviors of their own condition exempts men and the government from any responsibility other than supporting women to find their own solutions (to their own problems).

STRUCTURAL UNDERSTANDING OF GENDER EQUALITY

The policy acknowledges women’s contribution during the Ethiopian Civil War (1974 – 1991) to the democratization of the country. The document specifically blames the previous political regime (the Derg) for women’s lack of political voice and their reduced presence in public arenas.

The social roots of discrimination against women are acknowledged: “The prejudicial attitude prevalent in the country’s political, social and economic life made it difficult to ensure the full development and advancement of women in all fields on an equal basis with their male counterparts. Based on this attitude, the laws, too, reflect the idea of the inferiority of women” (TGoE 1993: Chapter 2). However, the document does not recognize the contemporary structural problems that impaired women’s access to the same treatment and opportunities as men. The narrative on the causes of women’s discrimination puts the emphasis on historical circumstances and cultural legacies and does not examine current socio-structural constraints and power inequities.

INTERSECTIONALITY

The policy only makes the distinction between rural and urban women. Other categories such as race/ethnicity, age, religion or class are not considered. However, the policy does say “Discrimination against women is perpetuated in various ways – depending on their ethnic background, culture and religion. Nonetheless an in-depth study has not yet been undertaken to determine the exact conditions of women in the various regions and among the different ethnic groups” (TGoE, 1993, Chapter 2). In general, the policy targets and depicts a standardized and stereotype of a woman, since little data and evidence are provided.

EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN

Although the document contains numerous statements vindicating the rights of women in all realms and makes special reference to the political realm, it is difficult to evaluate the extent to which women were involved in the policy’s development. Moreover, it states that women should “...participate in the formulation of government policies, laws, regulation programs, plans and projects that directly or indirectly benefit and concern women as well as in the implementation...” (TGoE, 1993, Chapter 2). To

achieve equality in the field of politics, the policy proposes to enable women to hold public office and to participate in the decision-making process.

Empowerment of women is not specifically mentioned in the document, since at the time the policy was formulated the term “women’s empowerment” was not as commonly used by governments and development agencies as it is today. However, the policy considers several measures that aim at promoting women’s organizations, strengthening women’s associations, enhancing their decision-making power and improving their access to education so that they can increase their presence in public arenas.

INCREMENTAL TRANSFORMATION

Since the policy was created in the aftermath of a long period of war in the country and by a transitional government, the text is full of optimism and enthusiasm about the realization of women’s aspirations in liberating them from old forms of oppression. Consequently, the policy draws on the human rights perspective. The principles of the policy are based on the vision of an Ethiopian woman able to exercise her rights of participating in all levels of society, being educated, working and benefiting equally with men, and accessing basic health and social services. The rights to freedom of expression and freedom of association are also emphasized and that the government would provide appropriate support to all women’s associations.

Despite having an explicit pro-equality intent, the policy contains an implicit narrative that aims to equalize opportunity and fairness for women by extending to them the rights previously enjoyed by men, but they don’t attempt to create any change in the roles men and women have played.

GENDER-RESPONSIVE AGRICULTURAL POLICIES

As mentioned above, the policy addresses the specific needs of rural women and proposes some specific strategies to address them but does not mention any alignment or intersection with any agricultural policy or plan, nor does it discuss or define ‘gender’.

REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL CONTEXTUALIZATION

The principles of the policy are inspired by the CEDAW and it is based on respect for human and democratic rights.

5.2 NATIONAL ACTION PLAN FOR GENDER EQUALITY (2006-2010)

GENDERING OF THE POLICY

The explicit goal of the plan is to achieve equality between men and women in social, political and economic development. The plan recognizes the need for treating women differently because of their disadvantaged status and is built on a gender analysis that includes sex-disaggregated data and proposes several actions, followed by gender-sensitive indicators. The NAP-GE aims to integrate with the PASDEP and help to alleviate poverty and contribute towards achieving the MDGs. The policy says, “investing in girls’ education therefore has high social and economic returns and is

instrumental in achieving sustainable development and economic growth.” (MoWA 2006:1). The policy commits to supporting women by improving their current situation, but without challenging the power structures that are at the core of women’s inequalities.

STRUCTURAL UNDERSTANDING OF GENDER EQUALITY

Despite an explicit commitment to addressing gender relations, the social construction of the problem is not recognized. For instance, the situation analysis of the plan acknowledges several gender gaps in different areas, such as agriculture, employment, education and training, health and others. However, the analysis provides little discussion on the historical, cultural and political context of women. Gender stereotypes, gender norms and social traditions are not identified as underlying factors. Although the plan states that males should be involved in all gender work (MoWA 2006:3). Furthermore, the strategies and activities proposed address only women, their access to services and resources, and their capacities to be enhanced. Overall, the plan does not aim to dismantle traditional social structures nor does the plan address power relations between men and women.

INTERSECTIONALITY

The plan hardly considers the interaction of gender with other discriminatory categories such as ethnicity, national origin, class or religion, and nor does it recognize regional differences. There are some specific activities that address women working in agriculture and pastoralist women, but in general, the plan considers women as one homogeneous group.

EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN

One of the strategic objectives of the plan is to enhance women’s and girls’ economic empowerment, and the remaining strategies aim at increasing women’s capacities and enhancing their leadership and decision-making roles. Thus, the plan works towards the empowerment of women.

In terms of empowerment of women through the policy process, the plan does not describe how it was created, or whether women and women’s organizations were involved in the policy-making process. However, it asserts that: “The government's role is to elaborate the NAP-GE and ensure its implementation in collaboration with various stakeholders, including Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), and Community-Based Organizations (CBOs). NGOs and women’s groups are major partners at the grassroots level” (MoWA 2006:2). The planning matrix considers women’s associations as “potential partners”.

INCREMENTAL TRANSFORMATION

The plan acknowledges the contributions made by the NPEW (1993) and the FDRE Constitution (1995) to the protection and promotion of women’s rights. It also recognizes that women’s rights are ensured on paper but have not been applied, especially in the country’s previous poverty reduction programs. Therefore, the plan builds on previous progress made at policy level to ensure women’s rights and goes further by proposing pragmatic actions to ensure its implementation.

GENDER-RESPONSIVE AGRICULTURAL POLICIES

The plan does not mention its alignment with any specific policy from the agricultural sector but is intended to be integrated within the PASDEP, which addresses several issues relevant to the agricultural sector. MoWA (2006:3) explain that this “represents an opportune moment for ensuring gender consideration in the country's poverty reduction endeavors”. As such, the plan integrates several strategies and actions targeting women working in agriculture and pastoral areas.

REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL CONTEXTUALIZATION

The plan acknowledges the importance of international commitments such as the CEDAW and the Beijing Declaration as declarations grounded on the human rights-based approach. Furthermore, it declares that it works towards the attainment of the MDGs and the objectives of gender equality expressed in the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action and the 2000 Beijing+5 Political Declaration (MoWA 2006:1). However, the MDGs and BPA objectives are not integrated or contextualized.

5.3 ETHIOPIA’S AGRICULTURAL SECTOR POLICY AND INVESTMENT FRAMEWORK 2010-2020

GENDERING OF THE POLICY

Gender equality is not an objective but a means to improve the agricultural sector. It acknowledges that “gender disparities significantly impede women’s empowerment” and mentions the higher incidence of poverty in FHH and asserts that “there are significant gender equity issues that the PIF needs to address” (MoANR 2010:4). It explains that “gender mainstreaming needs to be strengthened and expedited in order to increase the benefit obtained from rural labor (men and women) and enhance value addition in the agricultural sector” (MoANR, 2010:15). Thus, the document implies that gender-sensitive measures in the agricultural sector are to be put in place to better develop the sector.

Despite the commitments expressed above, the PIF does not include any specific gender-sensitive objectives or measures aimed at reducing inequality, nor does it mainstream gender. Within the PIF results framework, it is stated that all indicators are to be gender-disaggregated (MoANR 2010:33); however, there are no specific targets for women or female-headed households in the matrix. Furthermore, it is uncertain if indicators are sex-disaggregated since the mid-term review report of the PIF claims that gender issues are not addressed (Chipeta et al. 2015).

STRUCTURAL UNDERSTANDING OF GENDER EQUALITY

Women are not visible in the policy; they are only mentioned in specific sections of the document when referring to crosscutting issues. The PIF references to women are based on the description of their vulnerabilities and the inequalities they suffer. The male experience is used as a standard throughout the document, thus contributing to women’s invisibility. For instance, “farmers” and “smallholder farmers” are the main beneficiaries of the plan, and their productivity issues, access to services and credit, new technologies, etc. are all described. The PIF does not recognize the social construction of gender inequality nor the underlying causes of these inequalities.

INTERSECTIONALITY

The PIF does not consider any intersection with any identified criteria. As mentioned above, the plan presents a standardized male-dominant type of beneficiary, “the farmer” and no other gender, ethnic, or geographical distinction is made, aside from a brief cursory to FHH.

EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN

The PIF does not work to empower women, despite a few references to the need to improve women’s conditions. There is no specific objective or strategy is proposed to empower women. It is unknown if women were involved in the preparation of the PIF or if opportunities for dialogue and the participation of women’s organizations were offered during the formulation of the PIF.

INCREMENTAL TRANSFORMATION

The plan’s reference to gender equality is built on general statements about the need to address gender inequalities, but it does not include any plan to put into effect those general commitments. This rhetorical discourse on gender is present throughout the document, but the document does not contain any tangible proposal for change.

GENDER-RESPONSIVE AGRICULTURAL POLICIES

The PIF is aligned with several national policies and strategies, such as GTP I, ADLI, RDPS and PASDEP and consequently, the results framework contains a specific column referring to the linkage of each specific objective with different national and international policies (MoANR 2010). The document also acknowledges the National Action Plan on Gender (NAP-GE) but does not specify the alignment within the objectives, unlike the other national policies. The PIF mentions “removing gender disparity and ensuring gender equality and women’s empowerment is key to accelerated economic growth and social development” but little effort is made to address this statement.

Since the plan only weakly addresses the needs of women and does not consider their empowerment or the attainment of gender equality, it can be concluded that there is poor intersection between PIF and other gender-related plans or policies. The mid-term review explains that PIF did not do as much as was expected for gender equality. It calls for PIF to “draw attention through its technical committees and taskforces to attending to the root causes of gender gaps (socio-cultural settings) and to promoting partnerships beyond government to address those gaps (both public and private partnerships).” This reference to social norms and addressing the root causes of gender inequality is a refreshing addition to the agriculture policy landscape.

REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL CONTEXTUALIZATION

The PIF document affirms that it is designed to operationalize the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Program (CAADP) and that it aligns with the MDGs. The specific objectives of the plan are linked to both international commitments, as are some other national policies. However, it is not specified how these international commitments are integrated within the plan.

5.4 WHEAT SECTOR DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY (2013-2017)

GENDERING OF THE POLICY

This strategy contains an overview of the different roles of women in wheat production, and references three separate studies on wheat that sex disaggregate their data (Klawitter et al 2009; Aregu 2010; Tiruneh et al 2001). It also presents differences in wheat productivity between MHHs and FHHs and differences in input use between the households. This rather small gender analysis serves in turn as the basis for proposed interventions: “Considering the significant role of female farmers in post-harvest activities, purposively targeting them during technical trainings can help improve community practices. These can be done through targeting women’s development groups and networks” (MoA, 2014: 44). Therefore, the analysis of women’s specific needs is further translated into specific actions that effectively target women farmers involved in wheat production.

Overall, the strategy does acknowledge gender differences and the need to address women’s needs differently. This renders the gendering of the policy better than previous agricultural policies analyzed.

STRUCTURAL UNDERSTANDING OF GENDER EQUALITY

Not all the women’s needs identified in the situation analysis are addressed. The strategy recognizes the differences in inputs and that FHHs produce less than MHHs, but the related indicator does not specifically target FHHs. Moreover, the strategy uses an acronym ‘WMY’ for ‘Women, Men and Youths’, which unhelpfully serves to render women invisible: “at least 60% of WMY smallholder wheat farmers in target woredas will have access to at least 75% of their demand for input finance by 2017” (MoA 2014: 55). This is not a sex disaggregated target.

The strategy does not attempt to find the causes or factors that contribute to the differences between the sexes in roles and productivity, nor are other gender-related challenges identified. Consequently, gender does not appear as an intervention. Rather, gender inequalities will be addressed through the purposive targeting of women’s development groups and networks in various activities, such as demonstrations of new technologies, consultations and technical trainings, and to emphasize the importance of gender in creative technologies and by targeting some FHH, the strategy acknowledges that: “Effective gender mainstreaming may remain a serious challenge” (MoA 2014:56).

While the policy does acknowledge the ‘deep roots’ of gender inequality, the activities proposed to address inequalities focus on improving women’s access to agriculture inputs and resources, rather than on targeting the unequal power relations that underpin them. In general, the structural understanding of gender equality is not sufficiently considered.

INTERSECTIONALITY

No intersectional criteria are considered in the policy. However, there is reference to

‘gender roles varying by location and household’ and some indicators specify FHHs, which is an improvement on past policies. Three outcome indicators do mention female headed households (Box 10), but leave women living in MHHs unaddressed.

Box 10. Gender-Sensitive indicators. Wheat Strategy

- At least 90% of SHF (including at least 50% of female-headed households) wheat farmers using best agronomic practices (including crop rotation) by 2017
- At least a 50% increase in smallholder wheat farmers (including a 30% increase in female-headed households) to have adopted improved post-harvest handling techniques and practices by 2017
- At least 90% of wheat farmers in target woredas (including 90% of FHHs) to receive training, experience sharing of learning and demonstration of the benefits of using best agronomic practices in all major activities from land preparation to harvesting and storage by 2017.

Source: (MoA 2014: 54-55)

EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN

The empowerment of women is not proposed as a clear objective of the strategy. However, the actions proposed fall into the type of interventions that aim at empowering women. For instance, the strategy states that female farmers should be addressed in integrated crop management. It also states that both men and women should receive training through extension programs, and that women should be given special attention by increasing their access to post-harvest technologies and favorable output-marketing opportunities.

The strategy formulation process is not described and thus, it is not possible to evaluate the level of women’s involvement. However, the document recognizes the role of the MoWCA in the development of the wheat sector strategy and promotes the enhancement of women’s groups as an intervention strategy (MoA 2014:60).

INCREMENTAL TRANSFORMATION

When comparing the strategy with previous agriculture policies like the PIF, an important advancement is observed in terms of drawing upon evidence to discuss women’s needs and including a context analysis of women’s role in wheat. However, the strategy does not build on previous gender-equality policies and does not use sex-disaggregated national statistics to build actions upon. Moreover, the measures proposed are not progressive, and are still in line with previous policies that propose better access for women to services and resources.

GENDER-RESPONSIVE AGRICULTURAL POLICIES

The strategy acknowledges that gender norms and other social traditions impair women’s involvement in the agricultural sector. However, it reinforces the gender division of labor when enhancing the role of women in the post-harvest and marketing of products, rather than trying to overcome this division. The strategy does not refer to any gender equality policy or regulation.

REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL CONTEXTUALIZATION

The strategy does not refer to any regional or international policy.

5.5 GROWTH AND TRANSFORMATION PLAN II (2015-2020)

GENDERING OF THE POLICY

The improvement of women's conditions is seen as an objective and a means of achieving the development goals of the country. The plan does not consider sex-disaggregated targets among the macroeconomic, economic, and social development indicators (MoFED 2015:93-97) and thus, relevant indicators such as poverty, unemployment rates, and productivity in the agricultural sector are not gender-sensitive. The same happens with most of the agriculture-related indicators, apart from some specific agriculture extension indicators for women.⁷ Even within the "Human Resource Development" group of indicators, only one education-related indicator targets the gender-diversity ratio (MoFED 2016a). Overall, the poor integration of gender-sensitive indicators and sex-disaggregated targets within the plan indicates deficient mainstreaming of gender issues, despite the existence of several specific targets for the empowerment of women and youth (Box 11). GTP II seemingly adopts the 1970s Women in Development (WID) approach by focusing on women-only interventions.

STRUCTURAL UNDERSTANDING OF GENDER EQUALITY

Women are visible in the GTP II only in the crosscutting issues section. The rest of the document vaguely mentions women (and youth) but with no clear definition of their specific needs or constraints and no sex-disaggregated data is presented. Thus, we can assume that the male experience is used as the standard throughout the document, and that the economic, social and political experiences of men are considered universal. The invisibility of women in the plan (except for the section dedicated to women and youth) signals the insufficient attention given to gender equality and gender issues.

It is assumed in GTP II that if women's participation in extension services, credit-related groups, organized women's associations, capacity-building sessions, agricultural activities and other forms of employment are increased, then women will develop on par with men. However, without also changing gender relations, women will see their workload substantively enlarged under GTP II. Moreover, the gender norms and social practices that hinder women's control over assets and limit their powers of decision-making will remain.

INTERSECTIONALITY

The plan does not address any ethnic or regional differences and treats women as a homogeneous group aside from a brief mention of pastoral and FHH farming households.

⁷ The GTP II includes 3 (out of 27 most relevant indicators) indicators as follows: "Female-headed farming households received extension service", "Female-headed pastoral households received extension service" and "Proportion of rural women farmers who benefited from extension service" (MoFED 2016a:95)

EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN

The plan aims to “promote women’s and youth empowerment, ensure their participation in the development process and equity in the development outcomes” (MoFED 2010: 91). Economic empowerment, political empowerment and social empowerment are to be promoted through several measures.

Box 11. GTP II Targets for Women and Youth empowerment

- 4.13 million women running small enterprises; 1.79 million women in self-help groups;
- 5 million women in social cooperatives;
- 8.1-billion-birr savings mobilized by enhancing the saving culture among 6.2 million women;
- 2.24 million women getting 8.04 billion birr in credit services;
- An increase in women’s participation in micro- and small-scale enterprises from 41.47 percent in 2014/15 to 50 percent by 2019/20;
- An increase in women’s participation from 27 percent to 50 percent, by engaging 10.1 million women in agricultural- and 1.5 million women in non-agricultural activities;
- About 5.8 million women able to access and use relevant technology;
- Training for 36,000 vulnerable women from 30 woredas;
- Training in capacity-building and material and financial support given to 55,000 female students from higher education institutions;
- The creation of 50 girls’ associations/clubs to reduce the dropout rate of girls in universities due to financial constraints;
- An Increase in the proportion of women in legislative bodies, executive bodies and judiciary from 38 percent, 9.2 percent and 35 percent in 2014/15, to 50 percent, 30 percent and 35 percent by 2019/20, respectively.

Source: MoFED 2016a:209

The formulation of the document entailed a broad-based consultation process “...with relevant stakeholders at both regional and federal levels to enrich its content and forge national ownership of the Plan” (MoFED 2010: ix). However, a detailed description of the participants in this consultation process (disaggregated by sex) is not provided, and thus it is not possible to evaluate the level of participation of women, or women’s organizations, in the formulation process. Yet, stakeholder interviews confirmed that a large participation and consultation process occurred across the country and it was the first-time women’s voices in the form of qualitative data was presented to policymakers.

INCREMENTAL TRANSFORMATION

The GTP II does not refer to any gender policy. The gender-sensitive objectives in GTP II are based on the evaluation of the GTP I achievements, which poorly analyzes the gender gaps and specific needs of women. Moreover, the women’s empowerment

measures proposed are less numerous and less ambitious than the ones contemplated in previous policies such as the PASDEP. Overall, the GTP II is built on a rather rhetorical discourse that contains an unclear vision for materializing any substantive reform regarding women's advancement.

GENDER-RESPONSIVE AGRICULTURAL POLICIES

The GTP II is built on the achievements and lessons drawn from the implementation of the GTP I and addresses specific goals in the agricultural sector. However, it does not refer to any gender or agricultural policy explicitly. The plan only refers to the Women's Development Package briefly stating that: "Due attention will be given to implementing the Women's Development and Growth Package [sic] aligned with the current plan." (MoFED 2010:209).⁸

It does contain a specific objective for "Agricultural Development and Rural Transformation". However, only 9 out of 209 indicators within this objective are gender-sensitive and of them, only two target women as individuals, the rest target female-headed households (MoFED 2016a) (Box 12).

Box 12. Gender-Sensitive Indicators. Objective 2: Agricultural Development and Rural Transformation. GTP II.

- Members of primary cooperatives (female members)
- Women members' participation in cooperatives (%)
- Average crop productivity of female-headed households (quintal/ha)
- Total number of female-headed rural households ('000) (benefited from extension services)
- Number of female-headed pastoralist households ('000) (benefited from extension services)
- Number of female-headed agro-pastoralist households ('000) (benefited from extension services)
- Female-headed households (in millions) (number of farm households who have a secondary land certificate)
- Number of female-headed households (in millions) (benefited from productive safety net program)
- Number of female-headed households graduated from safety net program (in thousands).

Source: MoFED 2016b

Thus, the plan aligns with the Women's Development and Change Package to a certain extent although it does not completely address the specific needs and interests of women working in the agricultural sector. Nevertheless, it goes further than the PIF on this criterion.

REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL CONTEXTUALIZATION

The plan asserts that its formulation draws upon the commitments towards the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and other regional and international economic collaboration activities but does not specify which ones. In its policy matrix, GTP II includes a column highlighting the SDGs correspondence with each GTP II objective

⁸ This should read: Women's Development and Change Package, and not 'Women's Development and Growth Package.'

(MoFED 2016a). SDGs related to security of land tenure and gender are not integrated into the GTP II, and indicators of success are not evaluated or reported (UNwomen 2017; MoFED 2015b).

Ethiopia's 2017 Voluntary National Review on SDGs shows that SDG 5, on achieving gender equality and empowering women, is only integrated into two of the ten GTP II priority areas and is not integrated into national development priority area no. 1: agricultural sector development. Overall, the gender implementation mechanisms highlighted in the 2017 Review are not sufficiently detailed and refer to old gender policies. Nevertheless, the review document demonstrates that the SDG on gender equality has not been adequately mainstreamed across GTP II.

5.6 ETHIOPIAN WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE PACKAGE (2017)

GENDERING OF THE POLICY

The package aims at increasing the participation of women in all aspects of the society, as a way of contributing to the development of the country and achieving the country's goal of becoming a middle-income country. Like the Ethiopian Women's Policy in 1993, the package recognizes the important role of women in the struggle for peace and democratization of the country.

Like the 1994 gender policy, this package also places much of the blame on women, and specifically on women's organizations, because of their failure to focus and work on identified and prioritized strategies (MoWCA 2017, part 1). As observed on the 1993 policy, women are playing the double role of victims and perpetrators and are responsible for their own progress and this has not changed in over two decades. The package does not address the structural aspects of inequalities, going beyond the problems (and capacities) of women and aiming for long-term impact.⁹

STRUCTURAL UNDERSTANDING OF GENDER EQUALITY

The package's main objective is to enlarge women's access and capacities, ignoring the structural construction of gender inequalities. The package overlooks women's entitlement to equal rights and portrays women's issues as mere obstacles to development. It does stress the importance of women's right of association but in an organized and integrated manner and promoted through a top-down approach.

The fact that the most recent policy for gender equality is named and formulated as an exclusive woman's development strategy shows the lack of progress. Gender is still seen as adding women into the development process. Although social and gender norms are acknowledged, they are not addressed. Gender stereotypes and social structures such as the organization of labor, intra-family inequalities and subordinated citizenship are not challenged. Given this package is developed by MoWCA, the lack of

⁹ One of the two sub-evaluation criteria presented by Krizsan and Lombardo (2013) for the gendering evaluation of the policy.

a gendered lens suggests a weak ministry that lacks the ability to strategically identify and deliver sustainable change for women.

INTERSECTIONALITY

The package is progressive in terms of this criterion. It acknowledges that women are diverse and tries to address their specific needs, it provides support to women with disabilities and special needs, recognizes that pastoralist women face specific challenges that require specific solutions. Furthermore, the package offers separate interventions to rural women and urban women.

EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN

A key element of the package is the empowerment of women: strengthening the decision-making role of women by increasing their participation in the education, health and economic sectors. Women's participation in the package's development is not mentioned.

INCREMENTAL TRANSFORMATION

The 2017 Package is the fourth federal gender/women focused policy/strategy formulated under the FDRE Constitution.¹⁰ Since previous gender policies have not been evaluated, the current package proposes measures that are not based on best practices or lessons learnt. Moreover, because the situation analysis of the package does not provide evidence-based information or accurate data on the current situation of women, problems are defined in general terms, and thus, only vaguely addressed. Unfortunately, the 2017 package is built upon a conservative understanding of women's needs and does not advance previous gender-policy gains.

GENDER-RESPONSIVE AGRICULTURAL POLICIES

The situation analysis included in the package considers the general limitations and problems faced by women working in agriculture. It also contains a sub-chapter describing the general conditions of women living in pastoralist- and semi-pastoralist regions, although no specific agricultural policy is acknowledged.

REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL CONTEXTUALIZATION

The document generally refers to the regional and international conventions ratified by Ethiopia but does not mention any specific alignment.

5.7 GENDER-EQUALITY STRATEGY FOR ETHIOPIA'S AGRICULTURAL SECTOR (2017)

GENDERING OF THE POLICY

This strategy represents the greatest progress of women and gender equality in a policy document produced by GoE. Gender equality is viewed as a core development objective and a way to achieve the objectives of GTP II. Gender equality is described as "smart economics" – the way to enhance the economic efficiency of the country.

¹⁰ 1. The Ethiopian Women's Policy (1993); 2. NAP-GE (2006); 3. The first Ethiopian Women's Development and Change Package (2006).

The strategy includes a women's rights dimension which was never considered before in any other agriculture-related policy. It asserts that women's rights enshrined in the legal framework of the country should be respected. Even for the gender-related policies, the women's rights perspective was only enshrined in the Ethiopian Women's Policy in 1993. The strategy points out that: "It is important to perceive women and youth as legitimate actors enabling growth, not only beneficiaries of the growth outcomes" (MoANR 2016b:6). With this assertion, the strategy is recognizing women not only as subjects to be empowered, but also as active participants of the transformational agendas in the agricultural sector.

It states that involvement of women in agrarian activities may boost agricultural productivity but "unless gender equality is fully incorporated into the Ethiopian agricultural strategy, growth is unlikely to benefit males and females equally; rather, it will further marginalize women and affect the development of the entire community (women, men, boys and girls)" (MoANR 2016b:8). This means that gender is not considered merely as a means of achieving development but is a development aim. It also states that gender equality is a right that benefits families and women.

Moreover, the situation analysis of the strategy fully integrates the gender-equality perspective and identifies gender gaps at all levels. It includes a comprehensive review of agricultural sector policies and their integration of the gender perspective, and an institutional analysis of the accountability and capacities of the government structure. The analysis includes the assessment of gender gaps in both agricultural value chains and livestock value chains, as well as in natural resource management, agricultural research and extension services, among others. Thus, gender is mainstreamed throughout the strategy and sex-disaggregated data is integrated consistently within the document.

The official strategy released in August 2017 is a much shorter version of the draft strategy circulated in 2016 for comment and that offered a considerable gender analysis.

STRUCTURAL UNDERSTANDING OF GENDER EQUALITY

The draft 2016 strategy shows a deep understanding of the historical and socio-cultural contexts of women's lives and recognizes the social construction of problems. "Gender inequalities are socially determined, that is, they are the result of deeply-rooted attitudes and cultural traditions that vary from area to area (agricultural, pastoral and agro-pastoral) and that disempower women, men, girls and boys. They are responsible for the discrimination faced by women" (MoANR 2016b:69). Furthermore, gender stereotypes are challenged through the theory of change. A gender-transformative approach is chosen to promote changes at the level of gender relationships and systems. The action plan aims to improve accountability for gender mainstreaming and gender results, strengthen coordination and build capacity in the institutions that matter for female farmers (e.g MoANR, WAD, ATVET). It also discusses increasing women's access to finance and revising land policies and laws to favor women.

INTERSECTIONALITY

The strategy examines the circumstances of different types of women, including pastoralist women, women heads of households, women living within a male-headed household, etc. Their specific needs and constraints are pointed out in the document's situation analysis. However, these differences and heterogeneities are not sufficiently addressed by the shortened 2017 strategy 'pathway for change' since it does not contain specific actions for different types of groups of women (the notable exception being pastoralists and agro-pastoralist women).

EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN

The strategy is one of the few policies examined that includes a reference to the policy-making process. It reads: "The gender strategy development process was led by the Women's Affairs Directorate (WAD) of MoANR and overseen by a gender taskforce which included representatives from national and international development partners and institutions dealing with gender and agricultural issues in Ethiopia. The regional consultation workshops were undertaken in Semera (Afar), Hawassa (SNNPR), Bahir Dar (Amhara), and Assosa (Benishangul Gumuz), and 120 gender practitioners (male and female) were drawn from offices of agriculture and natural resources and other institutions attended at regional, zonal and woreda levels" (MoANR 2016b:6). It also includes the names and organizations of the task force members, which include: donors, major agriculture projects, ATA and UN women. However, the involvement of civil society groups is not documented.

INCREMENTAL TRANSFORMATION

The strategy is progressive and innovative in several aspects. To start with, it recognizes the women's rights dimension and explicitly commits to the transformation of the power structures that maintain gender inequalities. It also draws upon the integration of gender perspectives in other policies. It aims at materializing the reforms proposed, presenting a pathway for change that guides the process for the transformation of gender relations. However, the pathway for change is vague, e.g. it says design specific programs to address underlying causes of gender inequities in the sector.

GENDER-RESPONSIVE AGRICULTURE POLICIES

The strategy acknowledges main gender policies like the Ethiopian Women's Policy and the Women's Development Package. The strategy also contains an analysis of the level of gender mainstreaming within previous agricultural policies and builds upon the bottlenecks found. Notably, the strategy is the first agriculture-related policy that clearly addresses the specific needs and interests of women working in the agricultural sector. It is the first policy that explicitly defines the gender norms and social traditions that impair women's involvement in the agricultural sector.

Furthermore, the strategy proposes important changes at the institutional level to integrate gender equality as a sector priority and set up the basis for these transformations. It also offers a more gender sensitive set of GTP II targets (Box 13) and shows that GTP II did not adequately consider women's needs.

Box 13. Women in Agriculture – gender sensitive GTP II targets

- Promote women-friendly technologies that reduce workload.
- Targets for coverage by extension are disaggregated by sex into MHHs and FHHs, married women, youth farmers, pastoralists, and agro-pastoralists.
- Fifty percent of the total beneficiaries for extension services are to be married women (women in MHHs).
- Extension services will be provided to 100% of FHHs, and 10% of extension beneficiaries will be rural youth.
- Disaggregation of targets into MHHs and FHHs for (i) issuing second-level land certificates (ii) PSNP graduates, (iii) food and cash transfer beneficiaries, (iv) households utilizing agricultural inputs and artificial insemination services, and (v) participation in cooperatives.
- Women and youth membership of cooperatives is to reach 50% and 30% respectively.
- Agricultural extension will be implemented to address the needs of women farmers, agro-pastoralists, and pastoralists through gender-sensitive approaches.
- Training will be delivered at FTCs to enable DAs to provide gender-sensitive support to women and rural youth involved in agricultural activities. The management of FTCs will include representatives of women and youth.
- Raise women beneficiaries of agricultural mechanization tools to 30%.
- Thirty percent of extension services and trainings to rural women.
- Ten percent of extension services to youths, including female youths.
- Fifty percent of coop membership to women and 30% to youths.
- More focus to make women benefit from market participation and value addition.
- Twenty-three percent of the poultry package technologies to FHHs.
- Twenty-three percent of cattle breed improvement package to urban and peri-urban FHHs.
- Focus on forage development package to pastoral and agro-pastoral women.
- Twenty percent of land use right certificates to FHHs.
- Thirty percent of the land administration and utilization positions to women experts in all the structures from federal to kebele levels.
- Thirty percent of participation in watershed management to be women.
- Thirty percent of water management and irrigation beneficiaries to be women.
- One hundred percent of trainings on climate-resilient and green economy for FHHs and 50% for women in MHHs.
- Fifty percent of support to women on early warning and climate change coping mechanisms.

Source: Annex 2 of MoANR 2017

REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL CONTEXTUALIZATION

The strategy acknowledges several international commitments, such as the CEDAW, BPA, MDGs, SDGs and the 2030 Agenda. Regionally, the strategy mentions the Maputo Protocol and the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa. However, the document does not describe how the strategy aligns with them.

5.8 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The policy sample analyzed through a feminist critical policy lens presents a range of approaches to gender equality from WID to GAD. Despite textual analysis about the importance of gender equality and/or women's rights, this is rarely followed through with substantial action or indicators that align with the analysis. Even in the policies and plans that present a gender analysis (e.g. wheat strategy), the indicators or solutions proposed either target FHH only or group women into a homogeneous category, or group women generically with men and youth. In short, gender evaporates.

There is also a tendency to talk about gender mainstreaming but focus on women only. Many policies have a separate gender section, and this is not well integrated into the rest of the plan/strategy. This highlights the way gender is siloed during policy making. To achieve effective mainstreaming, the policymaking process should include women and have them mentioned throughout the policy – not just isolated to a separate section. The policy making process is opaque in many of the documents reviewed and hence, the extent of women’s involvement cannot be determined.

The 1993 National Policy on Ethiopian Women and the 1994 Constitution and other significant legislative changes highlight the great strides Ethiopia was making towards gender equality. The 2006 NAP-GE also promoted important gender-sensitive measures. However, since then, gender-specific policies have regressed. The 2017 Women’s Development Package reduces gender gains by only focusing on the expansion of women’s access to certain services and benefits. This regression aligns with the political economy of the time that suppressed all human rights. Yet, the 2017 GESEA produced the most comprehensive gender sensitive policy to date, despite being created during the same suppression of rights.

The same trend is observed in the National Plans. The GTP II is less progressive than GTP I and even less advanced than PASDEP in terms of integration of gender equality. Although women’s (and youth’s) empowerment is one of the strategic pillars of GTP II, the plan does not mainstream gender in the rest of the plan’s objectives, and poorly integrates gender-sensitive indicators. Comparatively, the old PASDEP incorporated the Gender and Development (GAD) approach and mainstreamed gender equality much better than any other national plan. In summary, the current national vision for Ethiopian women entails the simple enlargement of their access to certain services and resources and ignores any attempt to change power relations or address the structural causes of inequalities.

Concerning the interaction between gender policies and agricultural policies, a strong linkage has not been found. Strong linkages between gender policies and national development plans are also absent with the exception of the NAP-GE, which tried to fully intersect with the PASDEP (2006-2010). GTP II (2015/16 - 2019-20) does not integrate any gender-specific policy, nor does it follow the MoWCA’s Gender Mainstreaming Guidelines. It only mentions the Women’s development and change package 2006. In hindsight, including the GTP II, ANR GTP II, PASDEP and the social protection policy may have revealed more lessons about gender mainstreaming across Ethiopia’s agriculture policy landscape.

Regarding the contextualization of international treaties, the NAP-GE and GESEA refer to CEDAW and other important gender-related international conventions. Only the GESEA refers to an African treaty or convention. Most of the agriculture-related policies and the GTP II mention the SDGs (previously MDGs) and claim that their targets are integrated within the national policies, although effective integration has not yet been achieved. Table 6 below summarizes the level of attainment of each of the policies towards the seven criteria used in the analysis.

Table 6: Summary of findings¹¹

	Gendering of the policy	Structural understanding of GE	Intersectionality	Empowerment of women	Incremental transformation	Gender-responsive agricultural policies	Regional / international context	Total
National Policy on Ethiopian Women	X	XX	X	XX	X	X	XX	10
National Action plan for Gender Equality (2006-2010)	XXX	X	X	XXX	XX	XX	XXX	15
Agricultural Sector Policy and Investment Framework (PIF) 2010-2020	X	X	.5	X	X	X.5	XX	8
Wheat Sector Development Strategy (2013-2017)	XX	X	XX	X.5	XX	X	X	10.5
Growth and Transformation Plan II (2015-2020)	X	X	X	XX	X.5	XX	XX	10.5
Women Development and Change Package (2017)	X	X	XXX	XX.5	X	X	X	10.5
Gender Equality Strategy for Ethiopia's Agriculture Sector (2017)	XXX	XXX	XX	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX	20

Table 6 shows that the GESEA and the NAP-GE are the policies that best meet the seven criteria of the analysis, with the GESEA scoping the highest across all categories. The one category that GESEA scored two on – intersectionality – is the one category that the Women's Development and Change Package scored three. Conversely, the PIF, scored the worst. The Wheat sector Development strategy scored the same as the GTP II and the Women's Development and Change Package but with a different score for each category. ATA's influence on agriculture sector policies is evident. Nevertheless, ownership and policy implementation gaps remain.

In some ways, using a feminist framework to analyze these policies is unfair. GoE has not claimed to produce a feminist development agenda. Nevertheless, using such a framework has illuminated important gender gaps in the nature of the policies and the policy making process. The following section discusses the results in more detail by aligning them to the key research questions.

SECTION 4: DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS

¹¹ Table Keys: XXX=The policy meets the criteria; XX=The policy meets the criteria to a certain extend; X=The policy poorly meets the criteria; .5 = not quite making it to the next level.

5.9 DISCUSSION

This section helps to provide answers to the core research questions:

- What is the quality of Ethiopia's agriculture and gender policies as viewed through a feminist lens?
- How can the heterogeneous needs of women working across the country in the agricultural sector be enshrined in policy?

International and regional conventions have inspired the national legal framework, and some provisions of these conventions are even an integral part of Ethiopian laws (see FDRE Article 13). However, a closer look at national plans and development programs reveal that international treaties are mentioned, but not fully integrated. Except for the NAP-GE that follows the BPA's priorities, other gender-related policies acknowledge international/regional treaties but do not fully contextualize them. For instance, the MDG targets were not adopted in any of the contemporary national development plans such as the PASDEP or GTP I. Some of the indicators coincide, but the national plans did not fully incorporate these indicators and did not set up country-specific targets especially around the gender equality MDGs. Unfortunately, the gender equality SDG is also inadequately integrated into GTP II.

The appearance in 2006 of two important gender-related strategies: the NAP-GE and the first Women's Development and Change Package, did not contribute to the creation of a conducive environment for the incorporation of gender-equality objectives to be put at the top of the agricultural agenda. The NAP-GE is advanced in terms of its approach to gender equality and its influence on PASDEP. It is the one and only experience in the country of real gender influence over a national development plan. The NAP-GE is mentioned in the PIF and the Women's Development and Change Package (2017) but these policies are not complementary to the NAP-GE and do not even share objectives or strategies. However, this can only be confirmed once a 2006 English version of the package is made available – until then the analysis relies upon secondary data.

Given the strong pan-African women's movement, it is surprising that very few of the policies mention regional conventions. The purpose of adopting these conventions is to learn from and progress in line with other African nations. In the current context, where social norms and traditions are considered important barriers and obstacles to the enactment of the policies, the adoption of the Maputo protocol could guide the GoE in better integrating socio-cultural aspects into national policies and laws. If GoE is interested in developing an Ethiopia specific approach to gender equality, then further analysis and consultation processes should be commissioned, with lessons learnt from other African nations documented.

The low participation of women in the formulation of the policies assessed is a potential cause of policy misalignment. Only the GESEA describes the participation of women in the policy-making process. More effort should be made to involve women and women's groups in the formulation of policies in general and specifically involve rural women in agricultural ones. Overall, the limited participation of women at all levels of the decision-making chains not only impairs their political empowerment but also

reduces their visibility in the agricultural laws, projects and activities and reduces the possibility of women's needs being addressed.

The participatory processes and the roles of women's associations in the governance of the country have been substantively weakened since the approval of the CSO Proclamation in 2009. Both the GTP II and the 2017 Women's Development Package stress the important role of women's organizations at grassroots level but only program to work with/reach the government-led Women's Development Army. Studies affirm that the establishment of government agencies for women's affairs and the election of women to office at all levels (from woreda to ministry) has not challenged systemic gender bias (World Bank and IFPRI 2010). Consequently, gender-related policies have not had a significant influence over the agricultural sector.

The heterogeneity of both men and women is rarely considered in agricultural and national policies and rarely explored in analysis. Marriage status, age, ethnicity and religion are only some of the numerous characteristics that define women's inequalities and opportunities. The GESEA and the 2017 Women's Development Package examine the needs and constraints of different types of women, for instance, pastoralist women versus women farmers, or women heading households versus women living in male-headed households, but ethnicity, geographical location, ability, religion, and women living in polygamous households are categories to focus on in the future. These characteristics are not captured by agricultural policies since disaggregated data and intra-household data is not systemically collected in the main national surveys that feed agricultural policies. Thus, the most vulnerable groups of women are insufficiently considered. Nevertheless, a notable improvement in agriculture policies mainstreaming gender is found post 2011 when ATA was established.

There is little mention of gender in most of the agricultural policy documents analyzed, except for the GESEA (2017), which specifically addresses gender equality within the sector. While many policies have a focus on empowering women this is narrowly interpreted to mean increase women's income and participation in training and events. None of the policies reviewed address the disparity in the unpaid workload between men and women. Although a number of policies, especially in the agriculture sector, mention the need to reduce women's workloads, targets are not set and programs are not developed. Consequently, agriculture policies have likely increased women's workloads.

Women do not just need to be integrated into agriculture policies, but agriculture policies should put women at the center. Gender norms and socio-cultural aspects (like the double work burden for women or the gender-labor divide) need to be considered and overcome in all agricultural interventions. Otherwise, policies run the risk of not only perpetuating gender inequalities but also reinforcing the subordinate position of women within families and communities. Addressing the root causes of women's subaltern status is overdue, and this includes the different needs of different kinds of spouses and FHH involved in agriculture. Improving the gender orientation of

agriculture policies requires revamping MoWCA and all women's affairs departments into gender departments.

5.10 CONCLUSION

Gender mainstreaming is nascent in the policies reviewed. Gender tends to be used as a pseudonym for women's participation. The current approach takes a passive view to include women which in some countries delivers incremental and small wins but in Ethiopia, this approach has not progressed to dismantle gender hierarchies.

The problems of gender evaporation in policies and development plans have been identified repeatedly in subsequent policies, but not solved. Consequently, the implementation of the laws and policies confronts local customary practices but does not address the norms and practices that need to be changed. In reviewing the policies, there has been good progress made in the language used in policies intermixed with regression. This paradox is tied to national politics such as the Derg regime and the 2009 CSP that have effectively banned human rights activities.

The policies analyzed showed very little understanding of the structural issues resulting from gender-based cultural and social norms and practices. Many policies – especially the gender-related ones – acknowledge the existence of gender norms and socio-cultural barriers to the promotion of gender equality, but these norms are not tackled. There are some examples of how statutory laws confront customary ones at the community level, affecting the effective implementation of the policies and impairing women's enjoyment of their rights. Yet, generally none of the policies analyzed try to integrate these issues within their objectives or action plans despite considering these as risk factors.

There is a lack of political will to remove patriarchy from Ethiopia's present-day reality. Yet, why was PASDEP and the GESEA and even the social protection policy more progressive than other policies developed during similar political regimes? Moreover, how can more gender-focused evaluations and gender-focused targets be set within policies to ensure learning occurs and how can capacity for reaching women, and changing unequal gender norms increase? Ethiopia has signed many regional and international commitments for gender equality, so it is incorrect to say the government of Ethiopia is against gender equality. Moreover, in April 2018, a reform minded prime minister, Dr. Abiy Ahmed, was appointed and has shown strong leadership support for a more inclusive and gender responsive government. This new operating space could, potentially, overcome the evaporation of women's rights in policy and may help to achieve results for more rural women.

Taking a systems approach to patriarchy and how it is reproduced by government organizations and through the agriculture extension system is strongly endorsed. Changing 'the rules of the game' and informal practices that lie behind formal institutions can determine who is included and consulted and who is excluded. Gendered institutional reforms are needed to overcome the reproduction of inequality and to prevent further regression with the next head of state coming to power. Women

should be recognized and supported for the incredible role they play feeding the nation. While it may be premature to adopt a feminist approach, the current approach is ad hoc and insufficient to deliver the necessary changes to achieve the GTP II goals of reaching middle income country status by 2025.

5.11 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the analyses, several recommendations can be proposed that could both improve the gender quality of agricultural policies and plans and strengthen the mainstreaming of gender through institutions and implementation mechanisms:

- The approach to gender equality in policies should move to address the structural causes of inequalities, including at the institution, intra-household and community levels.
- All policies should include a comprehensive gender analysis within the formulation process, to ensure that strategies and measures proposed are consistent with the realities of the men and women they target.
- Women should be consistently understood as a heterogeneous category: mothers, workers, spouses, FHH, old, young, etc. An intersectional and GAD approach should be adopted and institutionalized.
- More sex disaggregated and gender sensitive targets need to be set in policy and used consistently.
- Implement policy monitoring mechanisms and commission impact evaluations to assess gender gaps in the results.
- National debate about what gender mainstreaming means and what gender equality should look like in Ethiopia needs to occur.
- The Charities and Societies Proclamation should be revised to allow for women's rights promotion. There needs to be a stronger domestic constituency and grass roots activism on women's rights to ensure Ethiopia has its own gender equality agenda that makes sense to the nation, rather than being victim to donor and international agendas. Active women's movements help shape policies and keep MoWCA accountable for gender equality. Consequently, the lack of a domestic women's movement means the MoWCA is outwardly focused reporting to the UN and regional bodies with little capacity, incentives and time for domestic alignment and oversight.
- Policy formulation processes should include a more participatory approach and involve more actors from government agencies, international organizations and civil society organizations, especially women's associations.
- The role of the Women's Development Army (WDA) and other grass-roots-level women's organizations should be better defined and their power in local decision-making structures (especially agriculture related) enhanced.
- The links between researchers and policy-makers should be strengthened.
- The existence of significant gender legislation at the national and international/regional levels offers a robust framework. Better coordination mechanisms between ministries (especially MoWCA and MoANR) should be promoted to improve alignment with national policies.

- Incorporate gender norm changes and set clear targets to measure progress in all policies, especially around women's drudgery and unpaid workloads.
- Increase the number of politically well-connected gender experts within ATA.
- Work towards more robust national gender policies that influence national development plans.

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