
PROTECTING LAND TENURE SECURITY OF WOMEN IN ETHIOPIA

EVIDENCE FROM THE LAND INVESTMENT FOR TRANSFORMATION PROGRAMME



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Acronyms

AD	Adjudication and Demarcation
CF	Conceptual Framework
DAI	Development Alternatives Inc.
DFID	Department for International Development
ECA	Environment and Conservation Agriculture
FCC	Federal Supreme Court of Cassation
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FHH	Female-Headed Household
FLLC	First Level Land Certification
FT	Field Teams
GESI	Gender Equality and Social Inclusion
GGTF	Good Governance Taskforce
HEW	Health Extension Workers
KLAC	Kebele Land Administration Committee
LIFT	Land Investment for Transformation
LRSP	Land Rental Service Providers
M4P	Making Markets Work for the Poor
OC	Orphan Children
PD	Public Display
RLAS	Rural Land Administration Systems
RLAUD	Rural Land Administration and Use Directorate
SDO	Social Development Officer
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SLLC	Second Level Land Certification
SNNPR	Southern Nations Nationality and Peoples Region
VGs	Vulnerable Groups
WCAO	Women and Children Affairs Office

WLAO	Woreda Land Administration Office
WMHH	Women in Male-Headed Households

Abstract

The purpose of this research is to investigate threats to women's land rights and explore the effectiveness of land certification interventions using evidence from the LIFT programme in Ethiopia. More specifically, the study aims to provide evidence on the extent the LIFT Programme contributed to women's tenure security. The research used a mixed method approach that integrated quantitative and qualitative data. Quantitative information was analyzed from the profiles of more than seven million parcels to understand how the programme had incorporated gender interests into the second level land certification programme (SLLC) process. Three recognized indicators in literature that use land as a unit of analysis: 1) distribution of parcel holding by form of land holding, 2) the mean size of parcel by gender, and 3) distribution of land area by form of landholding were used as quantitative indicators. Qualitative data was drawn from thematically analyzing LIFT studies and case stories.

Despite numerous threats to land rights of women, evidence from the programme suggests that LIFT has contributed to the tenure security of rural women in Ethiopia. Accordingly, out of the 7.1 million certified parcels considered for this study, 77% of the parcels list women either as joint (55%) or as individual (22%) holders. Additionally, when comparing the land area held as a percentage of the total owned land area of 3.4 million hectares, 62 % is under joint holding, while 16 % and 21 % registered land belongs to individual holding for male and female, respectively. Furthermore, the data shows there was no statistically significant difference in mean parcel size allocated for men and women for all programme regions. This shows that, at certification level, not only is there equal share of parcel distribution across genders, there is also no observed inequality based on land area allocation. Qualitative data also shows that LIFT has positively affected women's land rights. While full-fledged impact studies may be required to measure the magnitude of change, qualitative data shows improved participation of women in the SLLC process, and indicates potential to avoid dispute and reduce the incidence of violence. The results are interesting considering the African Union's declaration of having 30% of all registered land in the name of women by 2025.

The implication of these findings is that land certification programmes that wish to promote gender equality through land governance need to have strong institutional measures and standard procedures in place to ensure this. While there are several studies that have investigated the effect of land certification programmes on women's tenure security, there is still a lack of research on both the threats to women's land rights and tenure security and on the effectiveness of interventions in responding to those threats. In addition, these studies lack evidence based on large-scale studies, and studies of a long duration. This study is one

of those undertakings that used large-scale quantitative and qualitative data to shed light on the effectiveness of land certification programmes to protect women land rights.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

The purpose of this research is to synthesize LIFT's knowledge and experiences of land certification and approaches to promote gender equality and social inclusion in land registration process. Specifically, the research was aimed at answering how LIFT's practices affected the land use rights of women in Ethiopia.

Despite the challenges that women face to achieve equal land rights as men, women's land tenure security is increasingly gaining prominence on the international agenda and particularly since the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) indicators¹ with two focusing on women's land rights. Many recent land certification or land titling programmes incorporate gender interests in their programming. For instance, reforms that emphasize joint land ownership have been implemented in Peru, Rwanda, Vietnam and Ethiopia². In Ethiopia, the LIFT programme has placed great emphasis on protecting the land rights of women during the land demarcation process referred to as Second Level Land Certification (SLLC).

LIFT is a six and half year (March 2014 to August 2020) programme funded by the UK Department for International Development (DFID) that takes a unique approach to improving the incomes of the rural poor and enhancing economic growth in Ethiopia. The programme is implemented by the Government of Ethiopia's Ministry of Agriculture, Rural Land Administration and Use Directorate (LAUD) and the **DAI** Europe lead consortium comprising of Nathan Associates London, NIRAS and GIRDC. LIFT has three interrelated components which focus on: a) Second-level Land Certification (SLLC), b) creating an improved Rural Land Administration System (RLAS) and c) increasing the efficiency of land productivity through a market development approach (M4P). This study is concerned with the SLLC component which is being implemented in the four highland regional states of Ethiopia: Amhara, Oromia, Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples (SNNP) and Tigray. The programme's aim is to demarcate 14 million parcels in over 140 woredas (districts) for more than 6.1 million households, with around 70% of parcels being jointly or individually held by women³.

¹SDG, 5.A.1 and 1.4.2

² Holden, S. T., & Bezu, S. (2014). Joint land certification, gendered preferences, and land-related decisions: are wives getting more involved?

³ The LIFT component of SLLC is part and parcel of Growth and Transformation plan (GTP) of the government to issue landholding certificates to rural land holders.

Motivated by either efficiency or equity objectives, several land certification programmes are taking place in Africa and the data generated from these programmes has attracted a wide range of researchers⁴. As a result, features of land certification programmes have been previously assessed in relation to several economic variables of interest⁵. Among studies that focus on the impact on female-headed households Holden, Deininger, and Ghebru (2011) indicate that land certification programmes in Ethiopia enhanced women's participation in the land rental market. In addition, Ghebru and Holden (2013) find a significant positive effect of certification on the food security and nutrition of female-headed households. These studies have assessed the outcome of land rights certification on women and positively influenced land policies. The current research report, on the other hand deals with not only on the outcome but also effectiveness of the certification process.

In addition, the recent comprehensive literature review conducted by Giovarelli and Richardson (2016) reveals that there is a lack of large-scale as well as long-duration studies on both the threats to women's land tenure security and on the effectiveness of interventions in responding to these. Although the lack of large-scale studies means findings may not be definitive, the existing literature may be helpful in designing interventions.

LIFT is in a unique position to address research gaps on the effectiveness of interventions which aim to improve women's tenure security. The programme has data on more than 11 million parcels, providing an opportunity for further research without the issue of sampling errors. The systematic nature of the certification programme also makes the intervention ideal to make knowledge claims. Furthermore, LIFT's experience provides evidence on how different groups of women have differentiated challenges to access and secure their land use rights.

The research report is organized as follows. Section one presents the study's objectives, conceptual framework that guided the study, and methodology. Section two describes how gender inequality affects access to and control over land in Ethiopia and the existing laws. Section three provides an overview of the SLLC process. Section four deals with several threats that women face to achieve their land tenure security during SLLC followed by section five which describes LIFT's response to strengthen women's tenure security. Section six and seven deals with the effectiveness and outcome of SLLC and outstanding challenges towards achieving women's tenure security respectively. The final section draws general conclusions from the LIFT programme on both practical aspects of further improvement as well as enriching the Conceptual Framework developed by Doss & Meinzen-Dick (2018).

⁴ Ali, D.A., Deininger, K., and Goldstein, M. (2014); Deere, C.D. and Leon, M. (2001); Deininger, K., Ali, D.A., Holden, S., and Zevenbergen J. (2008); Giovarelli, R. (2009).

⁵ Bezabih, M., Holden, S., & Mannberg, A. (2016).

1.2 Objective of the Research

The purpose of this research is to investigate the threats to women's land rights and explore the effectiveness of land certification interventions using evidence from the UK Aid-funded LIFT programme in Ethiopia. More specifically, the study aims to provide evidence on the extent to which the LIFT Programme contributed to strengthening women's land tenure security through the SLLC process.

1.3 Conceptual Framework

This study employed the conceptual framework developed by Doss & Meinzen-Dick (2018) with the aim to address extant problems of definition, and data problems that women's tenure security studies face. The Conceptual Framework (CF) is intended to help provide a framework for analyzing an intervention on securing women's land rights. This study draws three important concepts from the CF which is used in this study. These are definition of land tenure security, conceptualization of tenure security and description of factors that affect Women's Land Tenure Security.

In this section some aspects of the CF that are relevant to the study are selected and discussed. For example, the CF defines Land Tenure Security for woman as completeness, duration, robustness and shared or individual. For this research report, a woman's name on a land certificate is used as a proxy to show completeness and robustness of women's land tenure security. A woman's name shown on a land certificate with someone else is an important step to demand her shared or individual rights. In the context of Ethiopia, being named on a land certificate is a good proxy for the protection of land rights. On the other hand, less attention is paid to duration because the law establishes that. This is because the state support for formalized rights and violation of rights are referred to the courts of law.

The CF provides a comprehensive investigation into the potential factors that may affect women's land tenure security and uses institutional theory and development framework. The framework incorporates four broad areas. These are 1) the context, 2) threats and opportunities, 3) action area and 4) an outcome of interest. The first factor is 'Context' which comprises of four key categories that are particularly important for tenure security. This includes; woman, land and land tenure, laws and social norms and the community. The context is one element of the CF that affects tenure security. Accordingly, for this study, efforts are made to differentiate women. Whereas women in general suffer from threats to tenure security, some categories of women are more susceptible to insecurity than others. LIFT recognizes that women's experiences in land certification are different depending on a woman's household position. The challenges of women in male-headed households, women in polygamous relationships, female-headed households, female siblings, daughters and

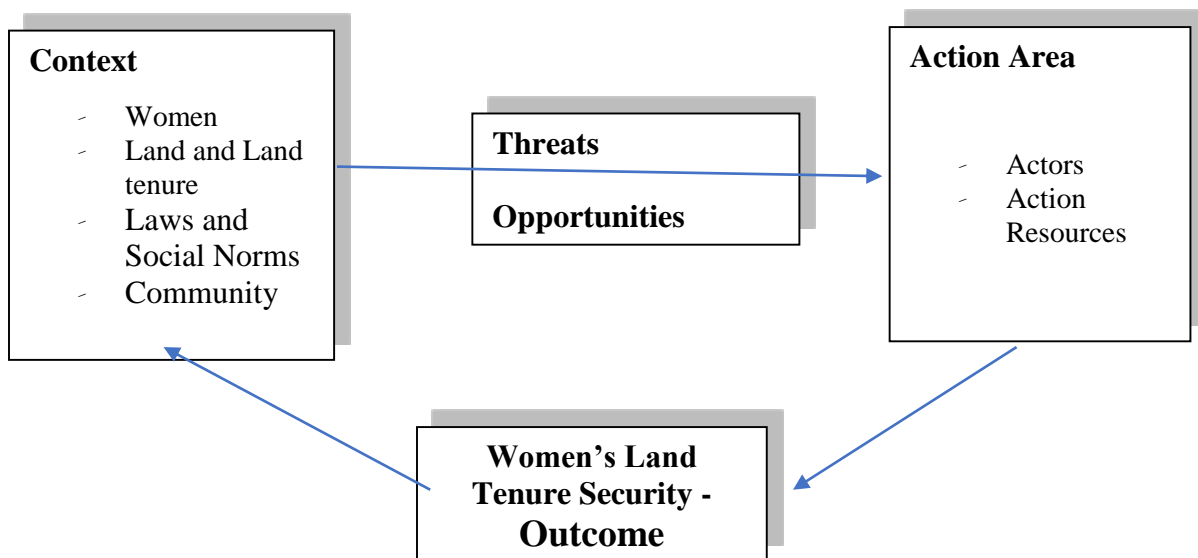
daughter/sister in laws are different which led to consider a different approach to the different group of women.

As one of the context variables of the CF, the aspect of land and land tenure security is an important dimension. However, this study does not consider the physical conditions of the land (e.g. soil fertility), location of the land, but more on the type of land rights women have and whether those rights are legally documented.

Furthermore, Ethiopia's Constitutional provision, rural land proclamation, inheritance and family laws are some of the legal instruments that govern land tenure dynamics. The CF is cognizant of the sensitive interplay between law and norms. Unless laws receive legitimacy from the community then the effectiveness of statutory laws weakens. Social and gender norms influence the extent to which women are considered as legitimate property owners and whether it is culturally appropriate for them to claim any legal property rights. Despite challenges from gender norms, the LIFT programme is ensuring women become equal beneficiaries of the certification process either as joint or individual holders.

Moreover, a woman's standing in the community is one of the contextual factors described by the CF affecting tenure security. The LIFT Program, as part of a donor intervention, is involved in the community to help change negative attitudes towards women. The programme organizes audience-segmented messages and creates discussion opportunities that lead to solving land disputes by the help of the community.

Figure 1: Factors that affect Women's Land Tenure Security: Conceptual Framework



Reference: Doss, C., & R. Meinzen-Dick. (2018).

The second factor the CF develops is what it calls ‘threats and opportunities’ to women’s land rights brought about by agents of change who can strengthen or weaken women’s tenure security. For this research report, we consider the Ethiopian constitution (1995), the revised Family law (2000), women’s policy (1993) and the Rural Land Administration and Proclamation (2005) as the basis for women’s equal land rights in Ethiopia. What is unique for LIFT is its economic intervention to encourage investment by landholders that can be taken as an opportunity. The conceptual framework suggests that identifying potential threats leads to mitigation and identifying potential opportunities leading to better land programme interventions. This can be illustrated in that there is a need to reform laws that discriminate against women as well as address threats that emerge from initiatives that do not mainstream gender concerns such as large-scale investment, land administration and governance projects that fail to prioritize gender.

Thirdly, the conceptual framework presents ‘Action Arena’, which includes both the actors and action resources affecting women’s tenure security. For the purpose of this report the actors that affect women’s land rights in Ethiopia are land registration and administration staff, judges and prosecutors, Land administration committees, local mediators, tenants (rentees) and family members (husbands, father, brothers, father in-law and brothers in-law). As LIFT is part of the International Development Assistance programme, the coordination and effectiveness of similar programmes is crucial in promoting women’s tenure security.

The framework describes action resources as those resources that different actors use to achieve an outcome. Action resources considered for this study report includes the huge resources that the LIFT programme invests to support the land registration process and the resources and energy the government places in protecting land rights. The judicial system or enforcement of the law and community mediation authorities are the people who adjudicate disputes and protect rights that are under threat.

The study assumes that the results of the complex relationships between the different factors shapes the outcome of women’s land right security in Ethiopia. If all the complex relationships create a positive outcome, then tenure security for women is improved or vice versa. In the context of LIFT, if the programme can achieve tenure security for women, that in turn affects women’s position in the community (both socially and economically). This framework is used to guide the study and provide definitions of terms.

1.4 Methodology

To synthesize LIFT’s knowledge and experience in protecting women’s land right during the land certification process a comprehensive review of the studies previously commissioned by LIFT as well as analysis of qualitative and quantitative data generated from

the field was conducted. Qualitative methods of document review, and case stores were used for the study. LIFT qualitative studies used for this synthesis include the following:

- Strategy to effectively engage women and vulnerable groups during SLLC;
- Strategy to register households practicing polygamy;
- Strategy to prevent and mitigate SLLC-related violence against women and vulnerable groups;
- Strategy to provide effective legal services to women and vulnerable groups;
- Strategy to ensure women and vulnerable groups' access to the SLLC-linked loan product;
- Challenges women and vulnerable groups faced to secure their land use right: LIFT Programme response;
- Strategy to register orphan children;
- Other studies generated by LIFT's Monitoring Evaluation unit;
- Case stories provided on a regular basis by the programme's woreda-level Social Development Officers.

Qualitative data was analyzed thematically to understand the extent that LIFT affected the land tenure security of women in Ethiopia. Qualitative data was linked to the CF as the data provided context and action areas. For quantitative analysis, parcel level information generated by the programme was utilized. Out of the 11,405,951 parcels LIFT has demarcated across four regions (as of February 2019) 7.1 million certified parcels from 102 woreda was reviewed. The data was analyzed to identify parcel distribution by type of land holding, mean parcel size by gender and distribution of land area by type of land holding. Descriptive data was generated using percentages and the data was also subjected to an independent t-test to explore if there was a significant difference between the parcel sizes of women and men.

Measuring gendered land outcome and data analysis

This study uses the three key indicators developed by Doss et al. (2015) to analyze quantitative data on women's land rights.⁶ These are a) the distribution of parcels across the various forms of landholding (see below for the different forms), b) the mean size of parcels and c) the distribution of land area by form of landholding. Using this kind of indicators is useful for comparison because studies on women's land rights often uses different measures as aptly observed by the authors. Regarding the distribution of parcel holding, the different forms include (1) owned individually by a woman, (2) owned

⁶Doss et al. (2015) used five indicators. Data available in LIFT can be used to analyse only three indicators.

individually by a man, (3) jointly owned by a couple, or jointly owned by people who are not a couple.

This indicator uses the number of parcels of land as the denominator, with the number of plots owned by women (men) as the numerator:

$$\frac{\text{Number of parcels owned by women}}{\text{Total number of parcels}}, \frac{\text{Number of parcels owned by men}}{\text{Total number of parcels}}, \frac{\text{Number of parcels owned jointly}}{\text{Total number of parcels}} \dots (1)$$

b) Doss et al. (2014) indicate that this measure does not account for the difference in size and quality among parcels but gives a simple measure of how the plots are owned. Indicator 2 compares the mean size of parcels:

$$\frac{\text{Land area owned by women}}{\# \text{ of parcels owned by women}}, \frac{\text{Land area owned by men}}{\# \text{ of parcels owned by men}}, \frac{\text{Land area owned jointly by men and women}}{\# \text{ of parcels owned jointly by men and women}} \dots (2)$$

c) The most useful measure using land as a unit of analysis compares the land area owned by women, men, and jointly by men and women as a percentage of the total owned land area.

$$\frac{\text{Land area owned by women}}{\text{Total land area}}, \frac{\text{Land area owned by men}}{\text{Total land area}}, \frac{\text{Land area owned jointly by men and women}}{\text{Total land area}} \dots (3)$$

1.5 Scope and Limitations

This study examines women’s land tenure security in Ethiopia using data generated by the LIFT programme. However, LIFT is only operational in the four major highland regions of Ethiopia. Data from other low land pastoral and semi-pastoral regions is not included in the analysis. In addition, until February 2019, more than 11 million parcels had been demarcated in 143 woredas of the four regions but this study analyzed 7.1 million parcels from 102 woredas which was available for analysis in LIFT’s Management Information System.

2. LEGAL FRAMEWORK ON WOMEN’S LAND RIGHTS IN ETHIOPIA

There are many international and national frameworks to protect women’s land rights. According to Article 9(4) of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) constitution all international agreements ratified by Ethiopia are an integral part of the law of the land. The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW); Sustainable Development Goals for 2030; African (Banjul) Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights; The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights on the Rights of Women (Maputo Protocol); Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA); Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa; Agenda 2063 and the like are some of the international and regional declarations, agreements and conventions which enshrine the mandatory joint

registration, or economic incentives for joint registration; spousal consent prior to land transactions; equal rights for sons and daughters to inherit and for surviving spouses to receive an inheritance share; budgetary commitments of the government to strengthen equal rights for women control of land; mandatory provisions for women's participation in the land management and administration institutions; and others.

Nationally, the Constitution of the FDRE recognizes gender equality (FDRE Constitution, Articles. 25, 34, 35 and 40). The Constitution accords women equal rights with men regarding the use, transfer, administration, and control over land (article 35 (7)). Women enjoy equal legal treatment in the inheritance of property and the disposition of marital property (Ibid). Moreover, the Constitution explicitly prohibits laws and customary practices that discriminate against women (article 35(4)). The gender responsive provisions of the Constitution are reinforced through other national legislations such as the Rural Land Proclamation and the Family Code.

Marital property rights are governed by two legal regimes: the statute law (which is the law propagated by the government such as family law, property law and land administration proclamations) and contracts agreed by spouses at the time of conclusion of marriage. As to certification, the rural land administration and use proclamations instill two important provisions. When the land belongs to a female-headed household it must be certified in the name of the woman (and have a picture in Oromia region) and when the land belongs to two spouses it is obligatory to issue a certificate in the name of (and have a picture in Oromia) of both spouses (husband and wife).

Under article 5(1(c)) of the rural land administration and use proclamation 456/2005 it is stipulated that women who want to engage in agriculture shall have the right to access and use rural land. All provisions of the proclamation are equally applicable for women too. Similarly, article 6(4) enshrined that where land is jointly held by a husband and wife or by other persons, the holding certificate shall be prepared in the name of all joint holders.

The Oromia national regional state rural land administration and use proclamation number 130/2007 under article 5(2) states that, women have equal rights as men to possess, use and administer rural lands. Considering the number of children, they raise, the husband and wife upon divorce shall have the right to share their joint land holdings equally (Article 6(13) of the proclamation). This provision has an advantage for women and according to article 7(4) of the regulation, private or common holding intended for renting out shall bear the consent of a husband and wife or any other who has tenure rights of that holding.

Article 15 (8) of the proclamation and 15(11) of the regulation state that, a husband and wife holding a common land holding, shall be given a joint certificate of holding specifying both their names. This applies only for joint holdings. If the holding is the property of one of the

spouses only, the registration must be conducted in the name of such person only unless there is agreement otherwise. This means that they can independently have a holding certificate for their private holdings. The provisions found in Oromia national regional state land laws are similar with what is enshrined in other regions. Almost all regional states land laws are verbatim copies to each other as far as the land use right of women is concerned.

There is no major difference between the federal and regional family laws. Almost all the regional family laws are replicates of the federal family law. The pecuniary effects of marriage are enshrined under article 57 of the revised federal family code. According to these provisions, the property which the spouses possess on the day of their marriage, or which they acquire after their marriage by succession or donation, shall remain their personal property unless they decide otherwise and register the property accordingly. Therefore, according to these provisions, land under the holding of one spouse at the time of or before the conclusion of marriage is considered as his/her personal holding. Besides, any land which one of the spouses acquired after the conclusion of marriage via succession or donation is also his/her personal holding.

Property acquired, by onerous title, by one of the spouses after marriage shall also be personal property of such spouse where such acquisition has been made by exchange for property owned personally, or with monies owned personally or derived from the sale of property owned personally (Article 58 of the family code). This implies that all property acquired by the spouses during marriage by an onerous title shall be common property unless declared personal. Article 62 of the family code of the Federal Proclamation, states that all income derived by personal efforts of the spouses and from their common or personal property shall be common property. This shows that even though the land is the private holding of one of the spouse, if both apply effort on the land, the produce collected from the land will become their joint property. Unless otherwise stipulated in the act of donation or will, property donated or bequeathed conjointly to the spouses shall be common property. The legal presumption is that all property shall be deemed to be common property even if registered in the name of one of the spouses unless such spouse proves that he is the sole owner thereof (Article 63 of the family code).

Regarding polygamy, in principle, polygamous marriage is outlawed by the Family Law and subsequently by most of the regions' Family Laws. According to the FDRE Criminal Code, polygamy is generally cast as an offence punishable by the law. The exception clause of polygamous marriage is stated in the subsequent article that reads "... shall not apply where bigamy is committed in conformity with religious and traditional practices recognized by law"⁷.

⁷The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Criminal Code (2004), Art. 651.

The criminal law also has pertinent articles related with the land use rights of women. There are provisions of the criminal code, which have relevance for land use right infringements. Chapter two of the criminal code starting from article 407 enshrines crimes, which are committed by public servants, may be related with land right infringements of women. False testimony, opinion or translation is another criminal act found in the criminal code which occurs in land administration cases and jeopardizes the interest and land use right of women. Crimes against property are declared starting from article 662 of the criminal code of Ethiopia. Causing damage on the property of another including land with animals (Art 685), possessing the land of another without just cause (art. 686), changing or destructing boundary demarcations of the land holding are other crimes which are directly related with land and which are most of the time committed against the land use right of women.

3. OVERVIEW LAND CERTIFICATION INITIATIVES

3.1 Overview of First Level Land Certification

Between 1998 and 2004, Ethiopia carried out a large-scale land certification programme, which became known as First-level Land Certification (FLLC), to register land holdings of rural smallholder farming households and improve tenure security. FLLC covered approximately 20 million parcels belonging to over six million households in Amhara, Oromia, SNNP and Tigray. Although FLLC gained the reputation of being one of the most successful and low-cost land registration schemes in the world, it also suffered from deficiencies⁸. FLLC was found to poorly describe the spatial data of land parcels. It provided a rough estimate of the area of the plots, but landholders do not receive a map nor spatial reference of their parcel. Also, there was variation of procedural operation across regions. In Tigray regional state, for instance, only the man's name was registered and in the rest of the regions, both men and women's name were registered. In Oromia, only the man's photo was included, and in SNNPR, only names of men and women were included.

Furthermore, the programme also suffered from limitations in adequately protecting women's land rights. For instance, in some regions there were only men who were registered in FLLC documentation and in others, only men's photographs were attached. To address these limitations, the Government of Ethiopia with support from international donors launched second level land certification to improve tenure security and enhance the maintenance and updating of records and land management.

The sex disaggregated SLLC results presented in section four may be contrasted with the data from FLLC. While this study (LIFT SLLC) used Parcel Distribution across the various forms of land holding, FLLC data is available by headship status (Table 1) which shows

⁸ Deininger, K., Ali D.A., Holden, S., and Zevenbergen, J. (2008). "Rural Land Certification in Ethiopia: Process, Initial Impact, and Implications for Other African Countries." *World Development* 36 (10): 1786–1812.

female headed households' share was 21%. LIFT's baseline study (2016) also offers some points of comparison. The study recognizes that beyond household-heads and spouses, other names did not normally appear on the FLLC book of holding. Additionally, the baseline concurs that FLLC was a more male-focused process. The LIFT programme has been successful in introducing a gender focus to SLLC.

Table 1: FLLC issued by headship status and FHH share

Region	No. of Household heads (MHH + FHH)	FLLC certificates issued			FHH share (%)
		MHH	FHH	Total	
Amara	3500000	2191047	1133953	3325000	34%
Oromia	4014500	2598027	493138	3091165	16%
SNNPR	2778223	2100400	286419	2386819	12%
Tigray	695000	598604	89446	688050	13%
Total	10,987,723	7,488,078	2,002,956	9,491,034	21%

Source: MOA, Rural land Administration and use Directorate, 2019; MHH= male headed household; FHH= female headed household

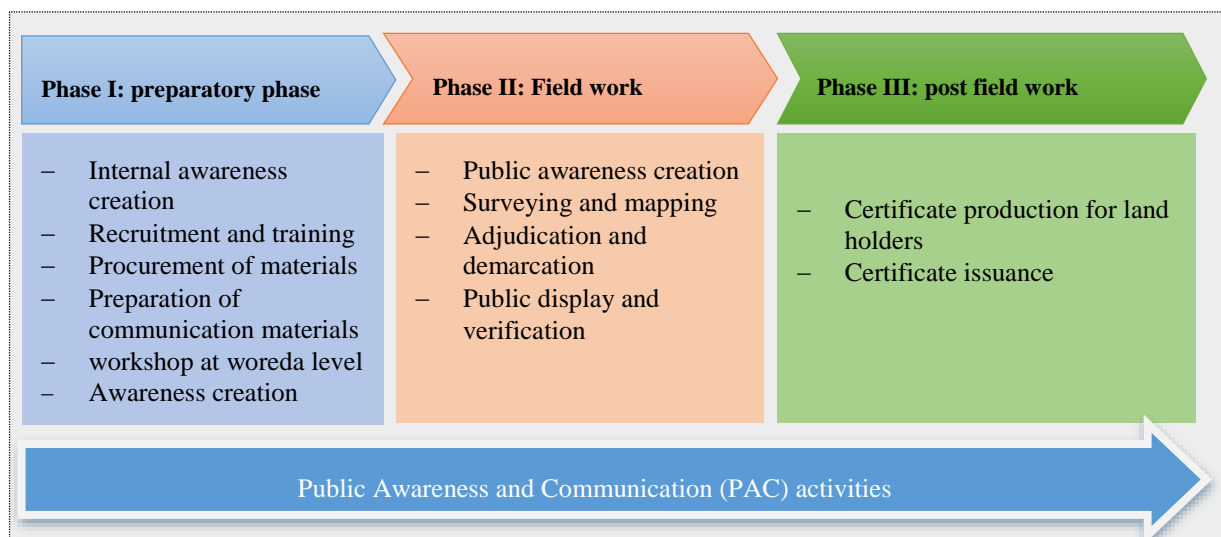
3.2 Overview of Second Level Land Certification

SLLC operated by the LIFT programme involves registering the geographical locations and sizes of individual parcels using orthophotos (geographically referenced aerial photography). Each landholder, as individual or joint, receives certificates for each individual parcel rather than a household-level certificate. SLLC uses orthophoto imagery to produce high-resolution maps on which landholders, assisted by trained field teams, identify their parcel boundaries in the field in the presence of their neighbours, Kebele Land Administration Committee members and village elders. Among these entities, the Land Administration Committee is enacted by law, while village elders and women representatives are introduced by the programme as a support system for women. The law also requires that some of the members of the committee be women landholders (though this is often not the case in reality). Open source software applications are used to prepare field maps, process textual and spatial data, and produce the certificates.

LIFT's SLLC Manual (2016) describes five major steps in the land certification process: (a) Public awareness and communication (PAC) on SLLC procedures; (b) Field demarcation and adjudication tasks related to surveying and mapping of parcel boundaries and the assessment of landholders' legal rights; (c) Data entry and digitization which is performed by LIFT's back office team; (d) Public display, for verification, identification of objections and

possible corrections, where the data is further processed and approved for inclusion on a register of land rights and (e) Certificate issuance whereby certificates showing the parcel boundaries, occupancy and land rights are printed and made available to land holders. Figure 2 provides the schematic view of the SLLC process.

Figure 2: The SLLC Process



Source: Adapted from SLLC Manual

The Federal Rural Land Administration and Use Directorate (RLAUD) under the Ministry of Agriculture oversees the overall implementation of SLLC. Other agencies such as the Information Network Security Agency (INSA) and the Ethiopian Geospatial Information Agency provide high quality digital maps or orthophotos.

At the regional level, the structures supporting the SLLC process include the following: The Bureau of Rural Land Administration and Use in Amhara and in Oromia, the Environmental Protection, Land Administration and Use Authority (EPLAUA) in Tigray and the Agriculture and Natural Resources Department, Rural Land Administration and Use Process in SNNPR. In all regions, structures are strengthened at the zonal and woreda levels. The Kebele Land Administration Committees (KLACs) are mobilized to facilitate the work of the field teams (FTs). In Amhara and Oromia, the Kebele Rural Land Administration Experts also support the process. Village elders and women representatives work with the Field Teams and serve as informant farmers in resolving land related disputes. Village elders assist when incidents of women boundary encroachments are reported. Women representatives alert authorities when men are believed to have abused the rights of their wives such as ignoring their senior

wife and registering the younger wife, leaving out co-wives. Women representatives are particularly important during Public Display events⁹.

At the regional and woreda levels, LIFT coordinators and technical team leaders, situated within the land administration and use structures manage day-to-day land certification activities. The demarcation team comprise of 12 Field Teams which each team comprise of two Para-Surveyors, two Data Recorders and one Team Leader (5 total). These teams undertake the actual on-site registration of parcels at the sub-kebele level. At the woreda office 20 back office staff are employed to enter each parcel's textual data and digitize parcel boundaries. The field teams implement SLLC in three kebeles concurrently and each is expected to produce a minimum of 130 parcels per day, which makes 1,560 parcels per day and 7,800 parcels per week for all the 12 teams

In addition to the Woreda Land Administration Office, LIFT works with other stakeholders to support women's access to land use rights. These include: the Woreda Administration, Women and Children Affairs, Labour and Social Affairs, Justice Office, Court, Grievance Hearing Office, Women's Associations and the Good Governance Task Force. Stakeholder engagement is reflected at different levels: through participation in the kick off workshops and becoming members of the project steering committee for the SLLC implementation. The Good Governance Task Force also supports the Social Development Officers (SDOs) to restore the VG land right as members of Good Governance Task force. The SDO is an arrangement by the LIFT programme to specifically identify and support women and VGs during SLLC.

4. THREATS TO WOMEN'S LAND RIGHTS AND LIFT RESPONSE

Studies commissioned by LIFT provide evidence about the existence of various challenges women face in securing their land rights¹⁰. These studies also reveal that while women in general face challenges in securing their land rights, the level of threats are not the same. Therefore, it is important to recognize experiences can be differentiated among different categories of women. These categories may include women in male-headed households, women in polygamous relationships, female-headed households, female siblings, daughters and daughter/sister in laws.

4.1 Challenges women experience during the SLLC process

This section discusses the barriers that different categories of women face during the land certification process. This section is included to explain the unique challenges women

⁹LIFT (2017), *Strategy for preventing and mitigating land certification related violence against women and other vulnerable groups*.

¹⁰LIFT (2018), *Challenges Women and Vulnerable Groups Face to Secure their Land Use Rights*.

experience to secure their land rights depending on the position they hold in the household, followed by a section describing the programme's response.

4.1.1 Women in Male-headed Households (WMHH)

For women in male-headed households in project areas in Ethiopia, LIFT studies have documented how women can lose their land use rights in marriage, divorce and widowhood. Even if couples are joint landholders, men decide on matters related to land and its use. When marriage is concluded by divorce, women often receive less fertile, smaller parcels of land, and sometimes adjacent to and encroached by communal land. In some instances, women are paid a small sum of money to give up their land rights during divorce.

Anecdotal evidence indicates deceptive practices used by some husbands to exclude their wife's joint registration. These include¹¹:

- Providing false information to their wives
- Taking advantage of wives' temporary absence from home during demarcation and adjudication;
- Intentionally excluding wives even when they were physically at home during registration,
- Reporting the wife as deceased or lying about marital status to deliberately avoid joint registration,
- Producing a sister's photo in place of the wife,
- Hiring a woman to impersonate their wife and using the photo for registration purposes,
- Registering the name of their mistress in the place of the wife, and
- Initiating an artificial disagreement to expel wives prior to or during land registration.¹²

In Muslim households, cases were reported of husbands informing their wives not to produce photos citing religious reasons. Furthermore, in instances where households had FLLC certificates, wives were denied registering their name during SLLC. This is because of false claims that during FLLC only their husband's name and photo appeared in the corresponding book of holding. These issues were well addressed by the LIFT programme during SLLC, demanding joint registration. In cases in which the wife was registered as a joint holder, cases were reported that some men were tampering with data on the FLLC book of holding by removing their wife's picture from the FLLC book of holding; colluding with

¹¹Anecdotal evidence from various workshops (2011-2013) and interviews with LIFT stakeholder May-June 2014.

¹²This information was given by LIFT Woreda Coordinator in the first round of SLLC process in Amhara woredas. He was Deputy Regional Coordinator for the SLLC.

land administration staff to erase their wife's data from land administration records; transferring rights through illegal sale of land without their wife's knowledge, gifting a parcel to children of a co-wife, and providing false information. Case story 1 shows how women could lose their rights.

1 Getie (F) is from Tarmaber woreda (local district), north Shoa zone of the Amhara Region. She fled to Addis Ababa city in fear for her life, following the murder of her sister by her own husband. After five years of hiding, she returned to her village and found that her husband had changed his name. He attempted to register their joint land holding in his name during SLLC, claiming he had lost his FLLC in which Wro. Gete's name was registered. Getie appealed her case to members of LIFT's demarcation team. After informing the Social Development Officer (SDO), the SDO intervened and mobilized the Kebele Administration (KA), Kebele Land Administration Committee (KLAC) and local elders to establish facts about her case. Accordingly, 50% of the land was registered in her name while the other 50% registered in her husband's name, who is now serving his sentence in the prison for the crime he committed against her sister.

In some localities of SNNPR and Oromia, married women have taken their husbands' name instead of retaining their maiden name. This goes against Ethiopian civil law which stipulates the continued use of a woman's maiden name upon marriage. Registering wives in their husband's name has implications on their land rights. First, they could be viewed as a sibling of their children. Secondly, it impacts their right to inherit land from their original family and can require lengthy court procedures to do so. Thirdly, inconsistent names in various documents that women possess can cause many other complications in inheritance and divorce with not having a single identity document.

Some local authorities were also found complicit in marginalizing women's land rights. There were several cases of men bribing the kebele administration and the land administration committee to act in their favour. Furthermore, LIFT's study on SLLC related violence (2017) revealed that women face problems in court decisions in their favour being enforced (See Case story number 2).

2 In Welliso woreda, Oromia regional state, a widow and her three children were denied inheriting land from her deceased spouse by his family. The case was taken to the court and the court ruled in favor of the orphaned children. However, her deceased spouse's family demolished her house at night and threatened to kill her. Local law enforcement was reluctant to intervene and the woman, and her children were forced to abandon their property and flee.

Successful litigants are also constrained from renting out their land because of threats tenants receive from ex-husbands. In addition, women encounter difficulty in explaining their case in court as well as producing evidence. Women, who moved to their husband's village upon marriage, often do not have social support especially in the case of divorce or their husband's death as the potential evidence such as the FLLC book of holding and land tax receipts are hidden from them by the family of the husband. Existing local mediation systems are often biased against women in divorce situations as these are occupied by men who follow cultural norms which negatively impact women. In some cases, particularly WMHH, do not know their land or boundary details and when divorce occurs, men can easily mislead them or show a smaller size of land.

Women are more likely to miss out on most development initiatives due to barriers that deter them from accessing public information. Factors such as workload and time constraints, fear of misjudgement for being seen to not trust their husband, a tendency to consider land as men's business, and a lack of targeted information dissemination for women in male headed households results in low participation in public meetings. In most training events and community meetings households are represented by adult male members of the family. The assumption is that information will be communicated to the other household members, particularly to wives. This in general puts women in male headed households in a difficult position to protect their land use rights as their husbands have full control over information and household resources.

4.1.2 Women in Polygamous Marriage

According to the Ethiopian Demographic and Health Survey 2016, 14% of married women in Ethiopia are in polygamous marriages, though this varies widely across regions, and level of education. There are various arrangements of polygamous relationships in the country. In some cases, a husband lives with multiple wives at the same compound, in other cases wives may all have different homes and land, and the husband moves between them. But it can also be the case that the man lives with one wife but also cares for the others at their respective sites. As shown in the previous legal framework section, the Constitution neither outlaws nor approves polygamous marriage.

As a result, in practice, the registration of polygamous wives is not backed by legal principles and procedures. This provides husbands with the discretion on how to register their wives, leading to diverse modalities of registering polygamous wives during SLLC. The result may deny or compromise the rights of wives (usually the senior wife) because of husbands' preference for younger wives (see Case story number 3). However, it may also cause widowed younger wives and their children to be evicted by the children of the senior wife.

Inconsistencies in registering land held by polygamous households do create questions on the credibility of land certification. One of the key roles of certifying rural land is to provide a reliable and admissible certificate that shows the landholders without doubt. Thus, the multiplicities of land registration modalities in polygamous households defeats its main purpose. For these reasons, in the case of disputes, courts discount or refuse to rely on the land registration certificate of a polygamous marriage, instead demanding further investigation to the nature of the marital relationship. Though as shown in the legal framework section, the law tends not to recognize polygamy unless on the grounds of customs and religion, in effect, it recognizes polygamy as the majority of polygamous relationships are based on both.

3

Bertete (65 years old) is a first co-wife living in Gamu Gofa zone in SNNPR. When her husband took a second wife, he moved to another woreda to live with his new spouse. Without her knowledge, he transferred the land that Bertete cultivated to his friend. As she did not attend the adjudication and demarcation process, the recipient illegally registered the land in his name. During the public display process, Bertete became aware of this and with the assistance of the SDO appealed to the LIFT Public Display Field Team. Based on the FLLC and further approval of the Kebele Administration and KLAC, the land was registered in her name.

More often, second wives have no rights under formal law if polygamy is not recognised. In most instances the husband is not formally married to either wife, placing the first wife in serious economic jeopardy when her husband takes a second wife. In most rural parts of Ethiopia, marriages are not registered formally but are recognized by the community. A woman who is in a polygamous marriage without children will risk being evicted as the children of the other wives will lay claim to jointly held land.

A LIFT study identified other challenges in registering land for women in polygamous households. These include (i) different regions of the country handling the registration of polygamous families in different ways: some include all the wives on one certificate; others register wives separately. (ii) In instances in which husbands do favour one wife over another, it can encourage husbands and non-eligible wives to register land in their name. The first wife who are registered under FLLC with their husbands are eligible but at times the husband may wish to register the new wife. In regions where photos of co-wives are required, co-wives think that this ensures joint ownership of the land and hence they do not need to be involved in the subsequent stages of land certification such as adjudication and demarcation and Public display (iii) Under FLLC, a parcel of land is registered in the name of the first wife, but in practice the co-wife cultivates and benefits from the produce. This

poses a problem upon division of property, as the land certificate does not reflect the user. This is the case because what is in the certificate and who is using may be different. The formal and the customary law recognizes different claimants. In the cases of disputes, elders may rule for the one who is using it, while the Court will decide for the one who holds the certificate. (iv) Divorce or death of one of the wives or the husband can trigger disputes related to division of property and inheritance.

4.1.3 Female-Headed Households (FHH)

LIFT'S study on preventing land certification related violence against women and vulnerable groups (2017) reported several obstacles female heads of households encounter to protect their land rights. Boundary encroachment is the most common form of land rights violations including those who hold a SLLC certificate. This indicates that SLLC will not entirely avoid threats of encroachment, though it is valid evidence when presented to court to reinstate the boundary. The study found the means encroachers use to achieve their aim such as planting trees, or seasonal crops to prove that the contested pieces of land are their parcels. The absence of male protection as well as women's limited knowledge of their parcel boundaries is among the major factors that expose FHHs to border encroachment. In addition, the study also revealed that FHH land rights are endangered by long-term tenants who claim the rented land as their own and obtain falsified certificates (see case story number 4).

4 Adanu is a 40-year old visually impaired household head living in West Harargie zone, Oromia region. She rented out her land under a crop sharing arrangement, but the tenant refused to give her share. She was in hospital when her land was adjudicated and demarcated during SLLC. Taking advantage of her absence, her tenant registered her parcel in his name. After she was discharged from the hospital, she reported the case to the kebele administration and the woreda land administration expert assigned to support the field teams. The SDO investigated the case with the woreda land administration office and the field teams and the parcel was registered in her name.

Taking judicial procedures to claim land use rights requires knowledge and resources. An inability to produce written evidence or to explain their case in court could result in these categories of women to lose their case. Not knowing land laws and the legal court procedures, a lack of resources, and fear of further retaliation are some of the problems hindering women from pushing their cases and defending themselves from land rights violations and violence. Gaps in legal knowledge and public speaking may not be confined to FHHs only as WMHH and other groups of women could also be affected.

4.1.4 Female Siblings, and Widows

The land certification related violence study (2017) further documented how females of all

groups may lose their land rights due to the mismatch between legal provisions and customary practices. The customary practice in which parents favour sons or male members of the family to inherit land continues to be influential. Even when the deceased holder has no sons, it is unlikely that the daughters will inherit the land. Instead, the brother of the deceased, uncles or other close male relatives, who may even have other income sources, are likely to inherit the land. This means, even if the land law grants women and girls the right to inherit land from their parents, but not from spouses, the customary practice still denies their legal inheritance right.

In general, the civil law system prohibits spouses to inherit the property of their spouses to protect potential criminal acts that might be committed for the purpose of getting property through inheritance. In the case of a husband's death, widows and female siblings could be registered under a male member of the family who was registered under FLLC. These women could be treated like family members and not as legitimate independent joint holders. Some widows do not receive equal shares during inheritance but remain as family members of the eldest or the youngest son. And yet, according to the law, they are supposed to receive a 50% share whereas the other half was supposed to be distributed between the heirs, particularly children.

Furthermore, religious and customary practices have an impact on widow's land rights where a brother-in-law (or close male family member) marries the widow and thus the wife is offered an option to keep the land. However, if the widow refuses to marry the brother-in-law, she is obliged to leave the land. The deceased husband's family may allow her to leave her children behind or to take them with her without any support. In some cases, this household conflict can escalate and take shape into a clan conflict (Oromia and SNNPR).

Another threat to women's land rights is unrecorded transfer of land through gift (see case story number 5). Parents give land to their sons as a wedding gift and to support their new family. This is done based on the goodwill of the parents and no law compels them to register in the son's name. Women can use this as long as they are in good terms with the family. The federal proclamation as well as regional laws enshrines provisions for "*inter vivos gifts*" where by the gift is effective at the time of the conclusion of the gift agreement and before the death of the landholder. The law also allows "Mortis causa" gifts; this is commonly called inheritance by will.

This insecure tenure emerges in the event of the death of the son as the deceased husband's family dispossesses the surviving widow. The reason being the land is not registered in the couple's name and strictly speaking the surviving spouse has no legal right to the property gifted to her husband.

5 Mehret is 16 years old girl and an orphan who lives in SasiHtsada emba woreda,

Tigray. Miheret's father was given land as a gift by his grandfather which the household's livelihood depended on. Unfortunately, upon her father's death her grandfather and the surviving siblings of her father took the land back because the land was not formally transferred from her grandfather to her father.

Similarly, violations of orphan children's land rights were identified by LIFT's study (2018) on the barriers orphan children face to ascertain their land rights. According to the inheritance laws, when one of the surviving parents remarries the share of the land children inherit from the deceased parent should first be defined and registered under their names. In most cases, however, the study revealed that surviving parents failed to carry this out and the children's share could be registered as a joint holding with the new spouse. In other cases, children could be pressured to leave the family at an early age. Whereas all categories of orphans are susceptible to violations of land rights, findings revealed that maternal orphans and children whose mothers have passed away experience more violations of their land rights with female orphans found to be the most vulnerable of all. Unless female orphans are assisted, they can easily be denied their land rights (see case story number 6).

6 Getenesh is a 17-year-old orphan residing in Mojana Wedera woreda in Amhara. Following the death of her parents, she became a sole heir and secured her land use right through inheritance from the woreda's court office. However, Getenesh was not aware that she had to update the FLLC book of holdings to her name. She moved to the nearby town of Debre-birhan where she worked as a domestic worker. Having no time to do this she asked an old friend of the family who she entrusted as her representative and crop sharer to undertake the transaction. He however updated the FLLC in his name without her knowledge and denied her portion of the crop share under the pretext that he was paying for her parents' annual memorial service. When he attempted to re-register the land under his name during the SLLC process, the KLAC and community PAC team testified that the land belonged to Getenesh, and the land was registered and certified under Getenesh's name as the legitimate landholder.

4.1.5 Issues that All Women Face

Legal illiteracy is a barrier that women face irrespective of their group in defending their rights. A LIFT study¹³ (2019) on legal service identified several barriers women face to accessing legal services. These include women having a low awareness of their land rights and land conflict resolution procedures. Women also have limited access to free legal aid services because these are either unavailable or inaccessible to women who are tied up with domestic responsibilities. In addition, women face not only challenges in producing evidence to support their claim as shown in section 4.1 but also cultural factors which hinder them

¹³LIFT (2019), Strategy to Provide Effective Legal Services for Women and Vulnerable Groups

from challenging social norms and authorities to pursue justice.

In addition, women struggle to attest their land rights because of conflicting interpretation of the Period of Limitation clause in the law. The FDRE Rural Land Use and Administration Proclamation no. 456/2005 is silent about the time by which a claimant should bring a case of illegal land occupation before a court of law. Similarly, the rural land use and administration proclamations of the regions do not state the period of limitation in cases of land encroachment and illegal land grabbing. The period of ten years stipulated in Art 1845 of the Civil Code is widely accepted as a General Period of Limitation and is often applied to all civil claims irrespective of the origin and nature of obligations unless a special period of limitation has been fixed by law¹⁴. And yet varying court interpretations in the LIFT intervention regions is widespread.

Furthermore, relatively weak participation by women during SLLC was reported. A LIFT study on SLLC related Violence (2017) suggested several obstacles women may face from effective participation. Among them included: (1) public awareness and communication messages on SLLC did not reach women in time (2) the publicity message failed to communicate the sense of urgency and obligation (3) the perception that land is predominantly men's business (4) the fact that women feel they did not know the boundaries as much as their husbands (6) women's lack of knowledge on the implications of failing to pursue their holding rights (7) some women perceiving the act of following land cases as unnecessary engagement and a waste of time and (8) instances of some women receiving threats from their husbands and falling prey to false information and deception.

In addition, women also face barriers in making the link between their land holding rights and economic empowerment. LIFT's study (2018) on the programme's SLLC-linked individual loan product found low awareness about the SLLC-linked loan among women. Even those who were aware of the SLLC-linked loan were unwilling to take up the services due to a lack of experience in accessing loans, fear of being in debt and the consequences of failure to repay. Spatial factors also affected women's access to loans because branches of different MFIs operate only in some rural kebeles, leaving remote locations unserved. While no study was conducted by the programme to see the differential impact on women and men, experience tells these problems affect women more than men.

4.2 LIFT's Response to Secure & Strengthen Women's Land Rights

The findings from several LIFT studies (2014-2019) revealed the various typologies and nature of problems faced by different categories of women during second level land certification. The potential threats identified by the conceptual framework, such as individual characteristics of the women, land tenure issues, and challenges emerging from

¹⁴Andualem Eshetu (2015), Revisiting the application of the ten-year general period of Limitation: Judicial Discretion to disregard Art1845 of the Civil Code.

laws and norms were all prevalent during the SLLC process. While fully addressing threats to women's land rights demands the collaborative efforts of diverse stakeholders, LIFT has introduced concrete actions to ensure that the SLLC process protects the land rights of women as well as build the capacity of government institutions to uphold these rights. The following are actions that LIFT has undertaken.

LIFT is committed to ensuring that gender equality is imbedded in the SLLC process to protect women's land rights. One of the initial steps that LIFT undertook was conducting an assessment to understand the different categories of landholders and their needs to identify the kind of support they required. Based on this, a Gender Equality and Social Inclusion strategy (GESI) was developed along with an indicative work plan. The key areas of LIFT's GESI strategy were firstly making the programme's SLLC manual consider different groups of women identified and secondly integrating specific messages in LIFT's public awareness & communication materials. Other major initiatives introduced to ensure the inclusion of women and other vulnerable groups are discussed in this section.

4.2.1 Creation of Social Development Officers (SDO) Role

Due to the relatively low participation of women in the SLLC process LIFT reviewed the programme's approach in engaging with women to develop a strategy to improve its efforts. A main recommendation was to introduce the position of the SDOs as well as developing messages that impact women's perceptions on land rights and their participation in the SLLC process. As a result, LIFT introduced (initially as a pilot, which was subsequently scaled-up) Social Development officers (SDOs) in every woreda. SDOs have the specific responsibility of ensuring the safeguarding and proper representation of women during the SLLC process and conducting public awareness activities (PAC) that specifically target women and vulnerable groups.

LIFT underlines that strong public awareness and communication (PAC) is essential to ensure the smooth implementation of SLLC and protect women's land rights. During the initial stage of LIFT, this PAC process was marginalised owing to staff shortages and time pressures. This staffing gap and possible negative impact on women and VGs was recognized and the first SDOs were piloted in June 2017 and scaled-up the following year.

Major changes to LIFT's public awareness approach were also introduced with the deployment of SDOs. This included the decentralization of public meetings to sub-kebele level and holding separate women's only public meetings. Another improvement was the delivery of segmented messages to different actors (including women themselves) to sensitise them on the importance of women's lands right. Parallel to the public awareness activity, the SDOs undertake target group (women) mapping in the kebeles prior to SLLC to identify women so that they get timely information on SLLC and that the data is shared with field teams for subsequent support during adjudication/demarcation and public display

stages. FTs are also provided with the required orientation on problems facing women and how they should support them.

Through these public awareness efforts, women have been encouraged to report their land disputes during the SLLC process and receive support from the SDO which in some cases includes assisting in regaining compromised land (see case story number 7). If these disputes are not resolved during the SDO's tenure in the woreda, reported to the Woreda Land Administration office (WLAO) and the Woreda Good Governance Taskforce (GGTF) for follow up.

7 Azeneg is a 45-year-old landholder from Oromia regional state. She has nine children and has become the sole household earner since her husband's mental health declined. She rented out one of her plots to a neighbor under a sharecropping arrangement. However, upon completing the agreement, the tenant annexed her land and then gifted it to his children. He was able to produce the first level book of holding for this illegally held parcel. When she claimed that her land was unlawfully taken from her, the tenant refused her claim and intimidated her to the extent of threatening her life. Despite filing a lawsuit against the tenant, he continued to farm the land unlawfully. In early September 2018, LIFT commenced SLLC in her woreda. Azeneg took this opportunity to lodge her complaint to the field demarcation team and explained the situation to them. The field team members immediately informed LIFT's Woreda SDO. Upon receiving the information, the SDO collaborated with the Woreda Land Administration Office (WLAO) and Elders Committee to investigate and substantiate Azeneg's claim. The land which she had been denied for the past eight years was demarcated in her name and she received her SLLC certificate.

4.2.2 Strengthen the Capacity of Field Staff on GESI

The field monitoring support and review meetings undertaken by LIFT's Gender Equality and Social inclusion (GESI) team has helped improve the understanding of the challenges the field teams' (FT) experienced in GESI issues. The Field Teams carry out the Adjudication & Demarcation process and comprises of a total of 60 staff for one woreda which is composed of 24 Para Surveyors (PS), 24 Data Recorders (DR) and 12 Field Team Leaders (FTL). The FTs are accountable to the woreda coordinator (technically) and to the Woreda Land Office (administratively). A training of trainers (ToT) was given to regional trainers on women and VG's land right issues to sensitise the field teams on the challenges women and VGs face and how they should handle cases.

In addition to this, a system was established between the woreda SDO and field teams to harmonize their working relation to protect women's land rights. Prior to SLLC commencing in a kebele the SDO undertakes public awareness and VG mapping which is then provided to the FTs. Upon arriving in their respective sub kebele, the FT's first task is to verify the VG

map provided and engage with the community to identify other VGs and their parcels that are not included in the list. This alerts the FTs to ensure that the relevant parcels and boundaries are not compromised during demarcation. Furthermore, where women are involved in a land dispute, the field teams are expected to create a secure space to enable them to freely explain the situation without feeling threatened or fearing retaliation. The FTs report back to the SDO on the status of disputes and the extent of follow-up required.

4.2.3 Engaging Local Stakeholders

Local stakeholders include village elders and women representatives at the village level and government offices at the woreda level. The village elders are elected based on perceived impartiality by the community. The elders are a good support system for VGs such as the elderly, orphans, person with disability, and others who have weak social standing in comparison to other members of their community. However, in some cases, they may have culturally biased attitudes towards women and therefore LIFT included Women representatives as well as government officers.

In parallel to undertaking land certification and registration, land administration offices are also responsible in providing technical support to the field teams and most importantly facilitating local institutional engagement. Functional coordination among key stakeholders is especially vital for the efficient implementation of SLLC. Stakeholder engagement strengthens protecting the land rights of women and VGs through information sharing and accountability. Among the institutional actors, the woreda Steering Committee (SC) and the Good Governance Task Force (GGTF) are the most important entities in SLLC implementation both for men and women. The SC and GGTF are both established initiatives of the government. However, the SLLC process activated their roles to be more functional with the SC becoming more mobilised through engagement by LIFT's woreda coordinators and the GGTF by the SDO. These entities have regular meetings to plan and review performance. The GGTF, when necessary, goes to the scene of the dispute to have first-hand account to clarify rights and resolve disputes involving VGs.

To facilitate stakeholder coordination, each woreda establishes a Steering Committee which includes leaders from different sector offices and is chaired by the Woreda Administration. These sector offices include: Woreda Land Administration and Use office, Justice/Prosecutors office, Court, Women and Children's Affairs office, Labour and Social Affairs office, Grievance Hearing office. Within the Steering Committee, the GGTF is particularly important because the SDO intensively engages with them to clarify land rights and resolve disputes.

Through the field experience of SDOs it has been identified that despite being a government-initiated and well-established institution, the strength of the GGTF varies from region to region. In some regions strong leadership is in place and there is a shared vision by the

members while in other regions this is not the case. Though not all of them are equally active, the GGTF is a huge asset for protecting tenure security of women. The GGTF brings all the relevant offices concerning women and VG land right protection and they are also closest to the community regarding woreda governance hierarchy and are therefore able to undertake field visits to dispute cases and delegates the Justice office if there is a need for a Review of Judgment. (see case story number 8)

8 Lakech is a 60-year-old woman who resides in Basona Worana woreda, Amhara. After her spouse developed health problem, she rented out some land parcels under a sharecropping arrangement . Three years after her spouse passed away, one of the tenants claimed he was the heir of the land he had been renting and another tenant claimed rights to the land he had been renting. The first claimant refused to share the produce from the land under the pretext that he incurred unsettled costs for covering the funeral of Lakech’s late husband. After being intimidated and physically abused, Lakech fled from her 6 parcels with her 13-year-old niece. Struggling to survive, she resorted to begging and renting a shelter at the kebele center.

One of the tenants conspired with members of the KLAC to remove the FLLC book of holding which LIFT’s field teams collect as part of the SLLC process. A member of the community divulged this when experts from the Federal Rural Land Administration and Use Directorate (RLAUD) and LIFT visited the kebele to undertake regular monitoring activities. LIFT’s SDO liaised with the woreda offices to investigate the case and a photocopy of the registration under Lakech’s name was produced. With legal evidence in hand, a taskforce comprising of representatives from the Women’s Affairs and Justice Office held a complaints-hearing; the woreda administration office filed charges against the offenders and brought the culprits to the Court of Justice. The court ruled that the land be returned to Lakech, monetary compensation to be made. She could return to her place of residence and was also granted legal protection should the culprits retaliate.

Coordination is encouraged not only among woreda level stakeholders but also with those working closest to the community. These include the Kebele Land Administration Committees (KLAC), Kebele Administration, Community Care Coalition, and traditional leaders or elders. These local actors in collaboration with woreda level stakeholders play a key role in protecting women and VGs’ land rights.

To actively engage these stakeholders, LIFT field teams prior to commencing SLLC conduct a woreda stakeholder sensitisation workshop. This includes identifying actions to mobilize actors, facilitate information sharing, and systematically obtain data on women and VGs. Active engagement of local stakeholders is examined by LIFT’s Social Development Officers.

The Women and Children Affairs Offices (WCAOs) in Oromia and SNNPR, for example, have legal officers who support women when they are faced with problems. However, they have no legal representation role and the additional constraints of the distance of woreda centres where the WCAOs are located and lack of women's knowledge limits the effectiveness of the support the WCAOs can provide. On the other hand, a LIFT study on Orphan children (2018) confirmed that the Women and Children Affairs Offices (WCAOs) in Amhara region and Labour and Social Affairs Offices in Tigray maintain some records of different VGs and their location. Perhaps, because of strong collaboration, some government institutions are highly supportive in enabling women to bring their claims of land rights violations to relevant offices. Grievance hearing office, police, the justice office and the court demonstrated impressive levels of awareness on land related violence and commitment to address women's and VGs' land rights issues. As LIFT is a government project working with the Woreda Land Administration and Use Office, it has direct access to relevant sector offices and these offices' respective responsibilities.

4.2.4 Introduced Procedural Improvements during the SLLC

Relatively low participation of women in the SLLC process led LIFT to design new procedures to improve their participation. Some of the changes introduced included requesting mandatory attendance of wives during public display events and men having to produce evidence on why the wife was absent from public display. Under normal circumstance, the man is the defacto head of the household who provides all the information. However, LIFT implemented procedures whereby the FT first asks the women to provide all the required information about the land with the man only having a supporting role and providing any information that is missed. This approach has helped women to provide their maiden name especially in areas where women have taken their husband's name upon marriage.

If a husband fails to attend with his wife/wives, the FT refuses to approve the public display form until they receive the consent of the wife/wives. Documents are only released when wives are brought to the public display event and are properly oriented on the information about their parcels. These procedures have been integrated in the *SDO Guide and Procedure to Build Capacity of Field Teams on Social Issues* which are working documents for the SDO and FTs with their implementation reviewed by LIFT and government partners. When men give maternity or late term pregnancy as the reason for their wives' non- attendance to the adjudication and demarcation or public display event, they must provide evidence from the Health Extension Workers (HEWs).

Similarly, as part of LIFT's procedural changes, initiatives have been taken to engage the woreda's Good Governance Taskforces (GGTF) which plays an important role in clarifying rights and mediating disputes. On issues the GGTF cannot resolve, it will establish a case through the Justice/Prosecutors' Office and appeal to the court.

4.2.5 Protecting the Rights of Women in Polygamous Marriage

Continuing polygamous marriage despite the outlawing of the practice under Ethiopian law has created a significant challenge during rural land certification. The federal and regional land proclamations are silent on the registration of polygamous families despite its existence. Land administration experts therefore lack clear direction on how to register landholdings of polygamous households. Registration of land holdings is typically led by the husband and commences by taking the names of the wives he registers.

As a result of gaps in the law, the LIFT programme proposed a parcel registration strategy for polygamous households. Two possibilities for registration were proposed. The first option is to register land after dividing the share of co-wives having joint holding rights whereby the non-joint holder (wife) will share with the husband. In this case, first, the land is divided into equal parts, according to the number of wives (and includes the husband). The husband then chooses one wife to register with. The rest of the shares are owned only by the wives. For example, if a husband has three wives, the land is divided by four. The husband and one wife combine their shares to create a joint share. Each of the other wives has sole rights to a $\frac{1}{4}$ of the land. This option is thought to discourage polygamy, particularly because if the husband decides to take yet another wife, the new wife would become the preferred wife and the husband's land share would shrink further.

The second option is to register all wives and the husband separately. Every wife and the husband get an individual, equal share in their own names. Under this option, everyone is separate, and each person has rights to his or her own equal share of the land size. This modality of registration is currently rarely implemented but prevents future conflicts and ensures the purpose of land tenure/certification. This option works when the husband has difficulty in choosing one of the wives as his joint landholder or when rivalry exists among the wives wishing to register with the husband as the joint holder. These options are integrated into the draft federal land proclamation that is under review¹⁵. With the intention to create awareness and mobilize support, a two-pager policy brief was developed and disseminated to different audiences including donors and standing committee of the Parliament as part of advocacy work that LIFT programme is engaged¹⁶.

¹⁵There are legal gaps in registration of land for people in polygamous relationships. As part of an advocacy initiatives, LIFT has proposed registration modalities to be include in the draft rural land law. However, this is a proposal by LIFT programme and its approval depends on the legislators.

¹⁶ Because of LIFT's unique, field-based experience on SLLC, the programme offers policy level recommendations that can feed into broader advocacy strategies. For instance, policy Brief on the registration of polygamous wives has been developed and dispatched to different audience including standing committee of the Parliament.

5. EFFECTIVENESS OF SLLC

This section reports on the findings from quantitative and qualitative information to examine the effectiveness of LIFT. Quantitative findings are presented first, followed by the qualitative findings to explore how the actions undertaken by the programme have affected women land rights.

5.1 Parcel Distribution across the various forms of land holding

Tigray Regional State: Table 2 and figure three show the parcel summary statistics. Of the total 1,743,540 certified parcels distributed in 18 woredas of Tigray regional state, individual female holding is slightly higher (29%) than individual male holding (25%). Thirty-nine percent of the parcels are registered as jointly held and some 69 % of the total registered parcels bear a female name (female private holder, parcels jointly held by females, and joint male and female holding).

Table 2: Distribution of parcels across land holding type

Region	Certified # of Parcels	Male private	Female Private	Joint MM*	Joint FF*	Joint MF*	Female name appears *
Oromia %	1,087,769 (100%)	114,391 (11%)	181,640 (17%)	1421	1523	689,142 (63%)	870,782 (80%)
Amhara %	3,500,253 (100%)	614,105 (18%)	794,213 (23%)			2,036,831 (58%)	2,831,044 (80%)
Tigray %	1,743,540 (100%)	431,532 (25%)	508,000 (29%)	17,320 (1%)	18,483 (1%)	678,842 (39%)	1,205,325 (69%)
SNNP %	838,001 (100%)	102,058 (12%)	109,386 (13%)	4333 (0.52%)	2603 (0.31%)	542,273 (65%)	651,659 (78%)
Total %	7,169,563 (100%)	1,262,086 (18%)	1,593,239 (22%)			3,947,088 (55%)	5,540,327 (77%)

N.B. data may not add up to 100% as parcels registered by three or more holders and in some cases FF and MM is not included here.

***Joint MM** - means joint holders who are male siblings. **Joint FF** – means joint female holders who are female siblings. **Joint M&F** - joint male and female holders as married couple or siblings. **Female Name Appears** includes parcels registered as Female Private, Joint FF, and Joint MF.

Oromia Regional state: Out of the 1,087,769 parcels certified in 21 woredas, 11% are registered as individual male holding, 17% as female individual holding, and 63% as joint male and female holding. About 80% of parcels have female names. The data indicates that there are more joint male and female registered holdings than individual male and female private holdings.

Amhara Regional state: Of the 3,500,253 parcels certified in 37 woredas, the data in Table one shows that there are slightly more registered individual female holdings (23%) than registered individual male holdings (18%). Joint male and female holdings account for 58% while parcels registered having female names account for 80% of the total number of parcels registered.

SNNP Regional state: Of the 838,001 parcels certified in 26 woredas, about 65% of holdings are jointly held by male and female with only 12% registered as individual male holding and 13% as individual female holding. 78% of the parcels bear a women's name as joint and individual holding for female only. This shows among the woredas selected for this study that in SNNP there is strong gender-equitable levels of landholding, with similar holding by both men and women.

Across Regions: Out of the total 7,169,563 parcels certified in 102 woredas of Tigray, SNNP, Amhara and Oromia regions, whose data were used for this study, 18% of parcels are registered as an individual holding for only male, 22% as an individual holding for only female, and 55% of the total parcels are registered as a joint holding. In addition, 77% of the parcels hold women's name as joint and individual holding for female only.

However, as shown in figure 3, there are variation between regions. In the northern regions (Tigray and Amhara) more parcels are registered as an individual holding either by a male or female holder. Whereas in Oromia (63%) and SNNP (65%) more parcels are registered under joint holding. The possible explanation for this phenomenon is linked to the Rural Land Proclamations of the respective regions. Whatever the legal provision, gender-disaggregated data reveals progress in certificate distribution between men and women. In this case, female second level certificates whose parcels hold a woman's name account for 80% in Amhara, 80% in Oromia, 78% in SNNPR, and 69% in Tigray.

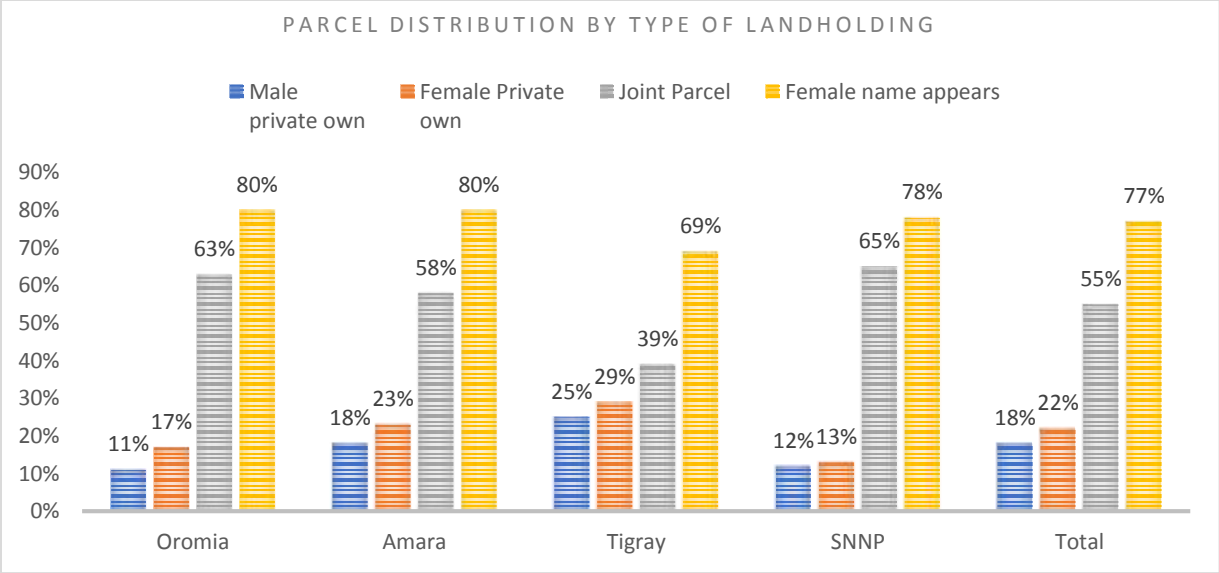


Figure 3: Parcel distribution by type of landholding

These findings contrast with a major Meta analytic study¹⁷ from 10 countries in Africa by the International Policy Research Institute that concluded women are disadvantaged relative to men in nearly all measures of landownership and bundles of rights. Thus, SLLC has shown progress in ensuring rural women’s land rights. The results are even more interesting considering the vision by the African Land Policy Centre (ALPC)¹⁸ to reach the target of having 30 percent of all registered land in the name of women by 2025. Analysis of information on more than four million parcels from four major regions, indicate Ethiopia has surpassed the target years ahead of the plan.

In addition, LIFT is not the only programme engaged in SLLC. Other partners such as REILA and IFAD are also active participants. Data from Rural Land Administration and use Directorate (RLAUD) of the Ministry of Agriculture reveals that as of March 2019, 15.3 million certificates were issued to 4.9 million households. Of which 3.7 million certificates were registered to male-headed households, while the remaining 1.2 million certificates (25%) were registered to female-headed households. The significant share of the LIFT programme is evident, considering that so far the programme alone has issued more than 10 million certificates.

5.2 Distribution of mean parcel size by gender

One of the limitations of gender and parcel analysis, as explained in the methodology section is that each plot is treated equally, regardless of size or value. While an increase in the share of the documented land rights of women is a good measure of tenure security for women, it

¹⁷Doss et al (2015)
¹⁸ African Land Policy Centre (ALPC), 2016

does not indicate the parcel size women hold. It is possible that a greater number of parcels were registered under female names, but the average size of parcels held by women could be smaller than that of men – attesting the stereotype that women do not farm and therefore they do not need as much land as men.

For all regions independently and at national level, data were subjected to an independent t-test to examine if there were statistically significant difference between the mean holding size of men and women. At 95% CI of difference, the P values were all above the required cut-off of .05 (see Table 3). This means that there was no a statistically significant difference in the mean parcel size scores between males and females. This shows that not only there is equitable share of parcel distribution across gender but there is also no major inequality based on land size.

Table 3: Distribution of mean size of parcel by gender

	Total Parcel Area H	M Avg Holding Size H	Standard Deviation	F Avg Holding Size H	Standard Deviation	P. Value 95% CI of difference
Oromia	680,356	0.73	0.35	0.74	0.37	0.452
Tigray	614,840	0.35	0.20	0.34	0.20	0.582
Amhara	1,545,892	0.54	0.54	0.55	0.43	0.534
SNNP	556,055	0.69	0.47	0.75	0.48	0.521
Total	3,397,143	0.57	0.39	0.60	0.37	0.522

* indicates significance at 95 percent confidence level

5.3 Distribution of land area by form of land holding

Using land as the unit of analysis, indicator three, measures the percentage of land that is registered individually by women, men, or men and women jointly and compares the land area. Accordingly, out of the total 680,356 hectares in Oromia region, 10% and 17% of the total registered land belongs to individual holding for male and female respectively and 73% of the land area is registered under male and female joint holding.

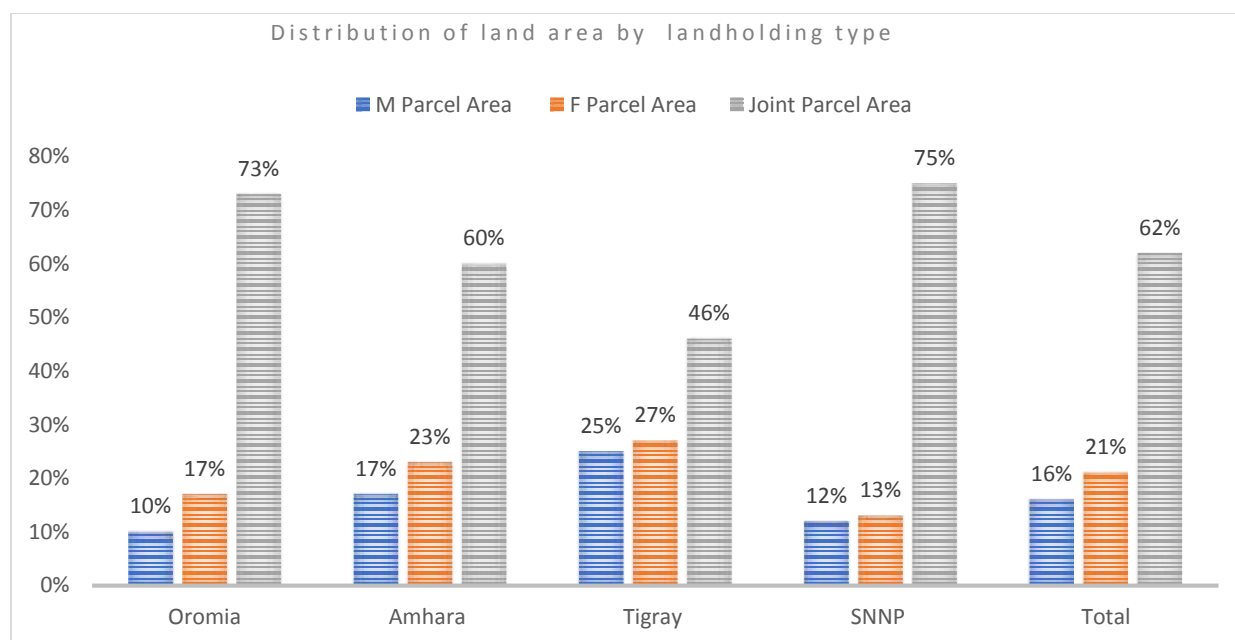


Figure 4: Distribution of land area by land holding type in hectares

Whereas for the Amhara region out of 1,545,892 hectares of land, 17% of the total land belongs to individual holding for male and 23% to females. Joint holding accounts for 60% of the total. In addition, out of the total 556,055 hectares in SNNP region, 12% and 13% of the total registered land belongs to individual holding for male and female respectively and 75% of the land area is registered under male and female joint holding.

Furthermore, in Tigray regional state, more land is registered under female holding (27%) than male holding (25%). 46% of land area is under joint holding. Across the regions, out of 3,397,143 hectares of land 62% is under joint holding, while 16% and 21% is registered land belongs to individual holding for male and female respectively. In all regions more, land area is registered under female only parcels in comparison to men.

Table 4: Regional summary of Parcel area by Gender

	Total Parcel Area H	M Parcel Area H	F Parcel Area H	MM Parcel Area H	FF Parcel Area H	MF Parcel Area H
Oromia	680,356	71,273 (10%)	113,346 (17%)	810	1039	493,889 (73%)
Amhara	1,545,892	258,671 (17%)	357,071 (23%)	-	-	930,150 (60%)
Tigray	614,840	151,164 (25%)	162,720 (27%)	9,750.73	7,987	283,218 (46%)
SNNP	556,055	65,149	71,357 (13%)	2,976	1,683	414,888 (75%)

		(12%)				
Total	3,397,143	546,257 (16%)	704,494 (21%)	14,423	11,729	2,122,145 (62%)

Considering the proportion of the total area of all land, more land is under the holding of women. The result suggests, contrary to conventional thinking, that there is no apparent discrimination towards women in terms of the area of land they hold.

5.4 Registration of Parcels of Polygamous Wives

Among LIFT intervention regions, polygamy is more prevalent in SNNP and Oromia. As part of LIFT’s initiative to protect women’s land rights in polygamous relationships, data shows, in 26 woredas of SNNP there were 25,014 women in a polygamous marriage whose parcels were registered jointly with their husband. This is in contrast with 8,405 men in a polygamous marriage. Similarly, in 21 woredas of Oromia, 36,457 women were issued joint holding certificate with 15,452 respective husbands. Protecting the land rights of women in polygamous marriage helps ensure polygamous women a sense of security over their holding. This data represents, however, only co-wives registered with the husband. In some cases, women in polygamous relationships might register as a FHH. Therefore, this data does not necessarily indicate all women in a polygamous marriage, but those who are certified with their husbands.

Qualitative Evidence

Quantitative data does not provide the full picture of the registration and certification dynamics, and as shown in the CF, distribution of land-holding certificates alone is not a sufficient condition to achieve tenure security for women. The qualitative information in this section is used to capture some aspects of the CF other than the certification. The data provides the effect of the project on those other elements of the CF.

While full-fledged impact studies may be required to establish the magnitude of change, the qualitative data available through LIFT’s research, suggests positive outcomes of the project in strengthening women’s tenure security thereby creating opportunities. These include, effects on participation, dispute reporting capacity, improved dispute resolution and reduced land rights violation and violence in the project areas as discussed below.

The LIFT intervention, especially the SDO support, enabled public meetings to be organized at sub kebele level. More importantly, the SDOs organize women only meetings in addition to the general public meetings. Unlike kebele level general meeting, the sub kebele meeting created better access to information and better understanding on the intent and process of SLLC. Similarly, women only meetings created better information access and opportunity for women to discuss their land issues as they have direct contact with the SDOs. This has

improved participation of women, particularly women in male-headed households, during adjudication and demarcation, and public display.

While the exact participation level of women in the actual adjudication and demarcation is quite difficult to track, SDOs' record shows that on average 47% of participants that took part in the public awareness meetings for the adjudication and demarcation were female. From among the female participants, 69% were women in male-headed households (6% were women in polygamous marriage), 29% female household heads (FHHs), and 2% from other female vulnerable groups. Currently, the attendance sheet for the Public Display is not disaggregated by sex, which a future manual revision might consider.

In addition, the LIFT intervention contributed to women's capacity to report disputes. The awareness raising interventions and dispute resolution support given by the programme through the SDOs encouraged women to come forward and report their disputes and seek assistance. Having the courage to claim their rights against their adversaries is a step forward in women's empowerment process. SDOs facilitate dispute resolution during their service time while they report pending disputes to WLAO (Woreda Land Administration Office) when they leave the site. This approach has alerted WLAOs to continue follow-up of pending disputes and support women in their effort to resolve disputes.

Furthermore, the programme has contributed to the improvement of dispute resolution. The assignment of SDOs in LIFT programme woredas not only helped the coordination and promotion of the SLLC process but also facilitated dispute resolution and the reinstatement of unlawfully occupied parcels (case story 9). Since the pilot launch in June 2017 and until June 2019, the SDOs helped 1065 (64% female) women and other vulnerable groups to restore 1944 parcels (68% of the parcels belong to female VGs). Women could have lost their land right for good had it not been for the SDO intervention. The activities of regaining lost, or compromised parcels were carried out in collaboration with the woreda Land Administration Offices and the woreda Good Governance Taskforces (GGTF). Similarly, though much remains to be achieved in terms of costs, distance and user friendliness, the programme activated the GGTF arrangement that impacted formal dispute resolving institutions.

9

Bertinesh is 35 years old and resides in Wolayta Zone, SNNPR. She lives with her two children after her husband abandoned her. During adjudication and demarcation, he came back to his locality and wanted to register the land only in his name, claiming that one of their sons had stopped living with the mother. The SDO, field team, Kebele Land Administration Committee (KLAC) and the elders, however, found out he lived in Wolayita town with another family. Given Bertinesh held joint holding rights with her former husband and that he had not been supporting his former family, the KLAC, SDO, local elders and the Kebele Administration agreed to register Bertinesh with her husband, despite his

continued rejection of her joint holding right.

Finally, SLLC has contributed to a reduction in land right violation and land related violence incidences. Land right violation against women is common in the form of taking over land, border encroachment, manipulating rental agreements, and so on. LIFT is engaged in educating women about their land rights and supporting local land administration and use offices to take their responsibilities to ensure an inclusive land registration. There is a common perception that the possession of a land certificate safeguards the rights of women. And yet, some land right violations take place due to the lack of awareness on one's rights and obligations. The public awareness meetings provide a platform for community members including women claimants to express their land concerns and regain their land rights.

On the other hand, the SLLC process includes a set of procedures that encourages participation. Landholders' participation during the SLLC process, discouraged perpetrators from inflicting physical or verbal abuse towards women. The public nature of the SLLC process, particularly, enabled women to speak freely about their land cases. Evidence was also gathered that violence was reported to decrease during public display and after the distribution of certificates, as issuing land certificate on a piece of land has the tendency to reduce violence.

Though much remains to be achieved, there are indications of improvements in creating a supportive environment for women in programme areas. LIFT's efforts to collaborate with most government institutions improved pursuing cases involving women's land-related claims. By and large, the qualitative data indicates that LIFT's actions have positively affected women's land tenure security.

6. LESSONS LEARNED AND WAY FORWARD

6.1 Lessons Learned

LIFT's emphasis on gender equality in land certification and registration has enabled women to have land-holding certificates in their name. However, during the course of its activities, the LIFT programme has learned lessons that can be used for other similar undertakings. Some of the lessons learned are presented in this section.

Despite successful registration and certification intervention, achieving tenure security may still remain a challenge. This is a limitation not of LIFT per se, but of the programme design solely focusing on land titling to help achieve land tenure security for women and men. What certification programs can provide is documentation of rights, and they can register those rights. They can also sometimes address historical or other issues in that process. But they

cannot, on their own, affect the larger question of secure land tenure, because, the elements of secure tenure are broader than just documented rights as the CF clearly indicated.

Unless proactive measures are in place, women are likely to lose their rights during the registration and certification process. Land is an important resource and sometimes the only means of livelihood available to the rural poor. Recognizing its economic value and social significance, powerful members in society attempt to take advantage of the weak. This often happens because of women's weak social position in society. Land registration programmes that wish to promote gender equality through land governance need to consider putting strong institutional measures and standard procedures to defend the rights of women during the process. The LIFT's decision to assign SDOs at woreda level was instrumental for the programme gender effectiveness and the model should be adopted by the Ethiopian government structure.

Making laws is not the same as enforcing laws¹⁹. The threats to tenure security have demonstrated that enforcement does not come automatically with the allocation of land-holding certificates. This leads one to conclude that, improving the legal rights of the poor is necessary but not a sufficient condition, as secured land tenure requires enforceability. The success of land registration programmes requires an efficient and effective court system and competent prosecutors. As shown by the CF, land tenure security exists within a larger context of the effectiveness of laws, legal and justice systems which all need to be operating efficiently if land tenure security is to be achieved. This means that it cannot assume that issuing a certificate is going to be enough, in the face of gaps in the justice systems around adjudication and enforcement of decisions.

Not all women face the same barriers to secure their land use rights: Any land reform programme that assumes women as a homogenous group commits an error for failing to realize that women have differentiated problems, needs, and statuses in their pursuit for land access and tenure security²⁰. This study revealed that not all categories of women faced the same challenges to advance their tenure security during SLLC. The differences as experienced by women in male headed households, women in polygamous relationships, women household heads, female siblings, daughters and daughter/sister in laws are different so is the support that must be offered. There is a need to treat the challenges women face depending on the position they hold within the household and community structure²¹.

¹⁹Hailu et.al, (2017)

²⁰Chigbu, U. E., Paradza, G., & Dachaga, W. (2019)

²¹The specific activities the project engaged include, audience segmented message was developed for husbands and other actors. Strategy on to register polygamous wives was proposed in the draft proclamation and LIFT FTs are advised to register as per the proposal.

6.2 Way Forward

Despite success stories, the SLLC initiative still faces gaps in fully realizing women to secure their land tenure security in a sustainable manner. Some proposals are meant to guide similar programme's implementation. Other issues (e.g. the legal measures) are proposed activities outside the scope of the programme that should be implemented by the state. The LIFT programme has learned, and CF confirms, that achieving tenure security for women cannot be achieved by the activities of a single organization, as there are multiple dimensions to tenure security. In order to sustain the gains made so far, and make progress in addressing remaining threats, the following administrative and legal constraints need to be addressed. Because LIFT programme is in its phase-out stage, by and large, the remaining tasks are to be conducted by the government or other organizations with similar objectives.

6.2.1 Actors and Action resources (Administrative Interventions)

Women may lose their landholding rights even if the land certificate is registered under their name. The reason being they are still prone to any form of land right violation and violence because of their weak position and land documentation may not led to structural changes that protects them. Field reports reveal that perpetrators continue to threaten women in order to deny their rights irrespective of women's land rights documentation. There is also a need to follow up on disputes that were not resolved by the SDO services because women could relapse to their initial position. The system that made them a victim in the first place continues after the SDO support ceases. Therefore, the sustainability of women's tenure security requires several administrative interventions some of which are presented in this section.

Stepping up coordination among government Departments and Offices: strengthening women tenure security requires clearly defined roles and responsibilities and coordination among government entities. Other factors that influence women's land tenure security such as awareness creation, dispute resolution, and grievance mechanisms are also influenced by institutions other than land agencies. Therefore, there is a need for institutional coordination.

Assign Gender Equality and Social Inclusion Staff in the land administration system: low participation of women during SLLC contributes to potential disputes because boundary or parcel claims may come from non-legitimate land holders. In addition, even when landholders fully participate in the SLLC process, not all disputes can be resolved at the time of Adjudication and Demarcation (AD) or Public Display (PD). There are still claims that will be registered as disputes. Also, not all disputes will surface during SLLC, which is particularly true for disputes involving women, who lack the awareness and confidence to report their dispute. More importantly, documentation cannot guarantee sustainable land rights security of women that demands follow up and support.

LIFT has assigned an SDO in each SLLC woreda. Qualitative evidence on the role of SDOs and impacts made on women and VGs land right security is highly positive. However, land administration departments and offices lack such staff and LIFT is only a temporary arrangement. This necessitates training of staff on gender issues and the creation of a gender and social inclusion expert position at the woreda level. This expert will be responsible for dealing with the social aspects of land that includes but is not limited to coordinate with actors including activating of the woreda Good Governance Taskforce and develop strategies to make grassroots structures (development groups, networks and community care coalition) effective.

Advocate for Official Representation for those Physically Challenged Women: registration for the elderly, people with disability and other landholders who cannot attend their land registration process is often conducted by informal representation. If the services are accessible and awareness is provided to these groups of landholders ahead of land registration, it would have been possible to get formal and trusted representation that can protect the best interest of such land holders.

Improve collaboration among donor-funded land projects: LIFT is not the only actor engaged in land registration in Ethiopia. Projects can learn from each other and contribute to institutional development in the land sector. There are several pathways for collaboration which can have positive impacts on efforts to protect the land rights of women during and after registration. A forum could be established where organizations engaged in land registration systems can learn from each other. Establishment of a collaboration forum can create synergy, as learning and sharing will be possible between forum members.

6.2.2 Laws and Social Norms (Legal Interventions)

LIFT has uncovered widespread forms of land rights violations that women across the regions had been experiencing. Studies commissioned by LIFT identified factors why women lose their parcels or why their parcels still under dispute (Abate et al. 2017)²². These include (1) Period of Limitation), (2), perjury and forgery of evidence, (3) forceful annexation after renting or being a neighboring holder (4) failure to repay loan taken (5) absence of official representation for the elderly and person with disability (6) absence of official guardian appointment for orphan children. Actions could be taken to address these factors and ensure that the land rights of women and VGs are upheld.

Enforce the Criminal Code on Land Right Violation: the Ethiopian criminal code provides provisions (article 407-408, 453, 685- 689, 712) for the legal punishment of land-related

²²Hana Abate *et al* (2017)., Strategy for Preventing and Mitigating SLLC Related Violence against Women and Vulnerable Groups.

offences. However, LIFT studies have established that the criminal aspect of border encroachment, illegal land occupation, use of false witnesses and forged evidence have not been enforced. When the offence is on communal land, it is punishable, and when it is on an individual's right, it is often referred to as a civil matter even though these involve a criminal offence as articulated by law. Enforcing the law and criminalizing such offences will deter perpetrators and protect landholders from illegal land occupation. Weak enforcement of the criminality of the offence emboldens perpetrators. And yet, land right violations and violence are the source for many crime offences including homicide.

Lobby for the endorsement of the articles on polygamous wives' registration: a study conducted by LIFT identified seven existing modalities for registering the land use rights of women in a polygamous marriage. It recommends two of the modalities as options and the two alternatives are integrated into the draft Federal Land Proclamation which are under review. The adoption and implementation of either option would be decided by the respective regions. According to the LIFT policy brief, the two options were selected based on their relative advantage in providing better levels of security for all members in a polygamous household while minimising the risk of future conflict between children and co-wives. There is a need to lobby for the endorsement and popularize the challenges of polygamous wives' registration.

Period of Limitation (Seizure): LIFT's study (2018) that examined the challenges faced by women during SLLC noted varying court interpretations on the period of limitation in the study regions. Court practices have shown that this is one of the legal excuses used by their opponents to deny women their land rights. There is a need to establish greater clarity regarding the dimension and scope of the period limitation stipulated in Art 1845 of the Civil Code.

Enforcement of court Decisions: without effective enforcement of land rights, allocating land holding certificates doesn't achieve its intended purpose. Even when court decisions are made in their favour, women suffer from delayed execution by the kebele administration. When land related cases are reported to the justice office, the case is copied to the KLAC because land dispute resolution should start at the kebele level. The KLAC then sends its decision to the woreda court. However, women in particular face delayed responses because their disputants intervene and influence local officials and generally social norms affect the way that men and women are treated in public space.

Build Capacity of Judges on the Land Proclamations: a LIFT study noted that most judges are unfamiliar with existing land proclamations. Women who are often self-represented face the challenge of their case being fairly treated. Moreover, judges use different laws to make decisions. It is known that the issue of land cuts across family, inheritance and criminal laws in addition to land proclamations. Cases were observed in which the judges' decisions were

based on different laws for the same issue and the same parties involved in one case. This raises the question of fairness of the justice system.

7. CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this research was to investigate how LIFT's practices affected the land rights of women in Ethiopia. From the results presented and discussions that followed, it can be concluded that the intervention was an effective way to improve land tenure security for women in Ethiopia. However, attaining land tenure security for women is broader concept that cannot be achieved by a single intervention.

Despite numerous threats to women's land tenure security, LIFT, as an important actor itself, was able to mobilize internal and external actors and its action resources to affect women's tenure security. Data from millions of parcels cast strong evidence that more and more women were registered either as a joint or individual holder. Using the three types of indicators, on average, more parcels are registered under women's name, more land area is registered as an individual holding for only female, and there is no significant difference between gender on mean size of parcel holding. This means, in nearly all measures of landholding, LIFT has contributed positively to protect women's land rights.

Moreover, the qualitative evidence shows improvements in women's participation in the SLLC process, increased dispute-reporting capacity of women, improved dispute resolution mechanisms and reduced land rights violations in the programme areas. These results were achieved partly because LIFT has integrated initiatives that support gender equity in its interventions. The programme recognizes that a household is not a monolithic entity whose members have the same needs and interest to protect their land right. Findings confirm women certification either as private (22%) or joint holder (55%) with their male counterparts, are well above the ALPC target of 30% and also well above other reported land titling programmes. In the selected woredas, female (individual and joint) second level certificate holders' account for the majority (77%). As a result, land registration and certification in Ethiopia is considered as one of the notable practices²³ in Africa that has taken women's land rights a step forward. Therefore, the intervention can be said to be an effective way to improve land rights of women in Ethiopia.

This conclusion has an implication for the conceptual framework. The CF postulates that an outcome of women's tenure security is the function of contexts, treats/opportunities, action arena that includes actors and action resources. Some elements of the CF were tested using data from LIFT and were largely found to support the description. For instance, LIFT understands differences within women categories, and different solutions were sought. The

²³Economic Commission for Africa. (2017). Improving access to land and strengthening women's land rights in Africa'. Addis Ababa.

challenge of a woman in a polygamous relationship is not the same as a monogamous male-headed household. In addition, the programme has engaged in policy and advocacy work, sought to strengthen actor collaboration through workshops and conferences. As a result, the outcome from the programme so far reveals that the CF is correctly diagnosed women's tenure security threats.

However, while the CF is a highly valuable tool to explain women's tenure security in a comprehensive way, the CF doesn't explicitly consider mechanisms for sustainability²⁴ of tenure security such as access to finance and other inputs for economic empowerment of women. And yet, LIFT's studies have shown that one of the opportunities for women's economic empowerment is the use of "land use rights as collateral" to access loan. In the past, lack of financial alternatives for poor women led to take loan from usurers using their land as guarantee (though it is illegal). Failure to repay the loan gives moneylenders to use the land for an extended period, which finally claim right through seizure (period of limitation) unlawfully. In addition, women's land tenure literature still suffers from the lack of normative framework. For example, while it may not be the CF's objective, but the framework does not guide whether individual holding or joint holding should be preferred for the attainment of tenure security objectives.

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²⁴Assigning gender experts within local government systems assists sustainability of women's land rights.

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Annexes

Tigray Regional State

Table 4: Parcel Distribution across land holding type-Tigray

Woreda	certified # of Parcels	Male private own	Female Private own	Joint MM	Joint FF	Joint MF
Ambalaje	108,740	31002	35023	1088	1395	3629 7
Hawzen	102,754	22909	31417	796	1183	4283 5
Alamata	71,637	19150	25900	464	499	2217 7
Seharti Samre	154,935	55419	45693	1550	1256	4507 2
Hintalo	81,028	26703	26885	612	757	2188 0
Laylay Maychew	92,999	18634	26043	560	681	4305 2
Taytay Maychew	101,547	21123	27430	1255	1142	4321 3
Taytay Koraro	42,235	7900	11408	243	380	2076 3
Klite Awlalo	96,498	21620	27885	594	1142	4149 5
Nader Adet	130,005	29127	33740	1574	1222	5610 9
Wereleki	232,986	55798	67148	2909	3376	8736 0
Adwa	87,685	18421	22039	1053	854	4064 0
Asgede Tsimbila	112,291	34128	31763	1878	1185	3679 9
Medebay Zana	97,527	20695	26801	922	821	4281 7
Ganta Afeshum	118,620	23080	36048	795	1301	5282 9
Laylay Adeyabo	13,676	3869	3980	155	129	4746

DogaTemben	61,574	15502	15932	572	608	2602 4
Saesie Tseada Emba	36,803	6452	12865	300	552	1473 4
Total	1,743,540 (100%)	431,532 (28%)	508,000 (29%)	17,320 (1%)	18,483 (1%)	678,842 (30%)

MM=male/male; FF=female/female

Table 5. Distribution of land area by land holding type and mean parcels Size – Tigray

	Approved/Certified # of parcels	M Parcel Area H	M Avg Holding Size H	F Parcel Area H	F Avg Holding Size H	MM Parcel Area H	FF Parcel Area H
Ambalaje	108,740	10,254.81	0.33	11,237.39	0.32	484.29	372.0
Hawzen	102,754	6,565.37	0.29	9,546.27	0.30	289.96	449.2
Alamata	71,637	6,671.87	0.35	8,201.87	0.32	194.15	182.8
Seharti							
Samre	154,935	20,242.10	0.37	15,495.54	0.34	809.89	675.1
Hintalo	81,028	6,767.63	0.25	6,816.46	0.25	174.01	239.2
Laylay							
Maychew	92,999	4,739.69	0.25	6,451.69	0.25	211.35	238.4
Taytay							
Maychew	101,547	4,558.17	0.22	6,320.80	0.23	455.21	395.4
Taytay							
Koraro	42,235	2,103.79	0.27	2,841.72	0.25	144.81	191.5
Klite Awlalo	96,498	5,954.34	0.28	6,924.61	0.25	200.83	374.5
Nader Adet	130,005	8,119.16	0.28	8,401.04	0.25	1059.86	537.9
Wereleki	232,986	16,848.68	0.30	19,425.02	0.29	1297.96	1362.7
Adwa	87,685	3,371.89	0.18	4,499.79	0.20	331.93	242.4
Asgede Tsimbila	112,291	33,605.13	0.98	30,389.89	0.96	2495.50	1367.6
Medebay Zana	97,527.00	7,541.94	0.36	8,721.41	0.33	883.61	467.5
Ganta Afeshum	118,620.00	3,455.16	0.15	5,755.31	0.16	170.69	323.8

Laylay Adeyabo	13,676.00	2,887.60	0.75	3,057.40	0.77	173.13	132.1
DogaTemben	61,574.00	5,601.46	0.36	4,865.35	0.31	253.02	234.1
Saesie Tseada	36,803.00	1,875.23	0.29	3,768.85	0.29	120.53	199.8
Emba							
Total	1,743,540.00	151,164.08	0.35	162,720.41	0.34	9,750.73	7,986.1

Table 6: Parcel Distribution across land holding type- SNNP

	certified # of Parcels	Male private own	Female Private own	Joint MM	Joint FF	Joint MF
Damboya	23,050	2,893	3,735	82	65	14,145
Duna	39,583	1,838	6,548	154	83	26,318
Hadaro	20,435	812	3,602	95	16	13,754
Kacha Bira	34,894	1,968	5,543	79	18	25,187
Kedida	17,237	2,113	3,211	26	41	10,434
Meskan	76,804	18,369	14,650	380	272	38,256
Mirab Azernet	27,344	2,551	6,018	176	136	16,757
Mirab Badawoch	13,644	1,096	1,345	36	47	10,056
Misrak Badawoch	27,546	2,745	3,039	212	102	18,491
Sankura	34,285	6,107	4,027	102	110	20,414
Silti	2,412	241	443	9	5	1,477
Sodo	67,488	7,555	12,106	240	127	41,899
Damot Sore	13,743	1,108	1,752	99	80	7,656
Damot Woyde	16,862	1,770	2,476	373	200	10,409
Kindo Kosh	23,574	2,344	2,014	195	48	16,342
Loma	34,191	2,486	3,079	211	55	23,955
Mermeka	21,852	3,628	2,421	59	29	14,123
Offa	3,010	253	392	33	4	2,053
Shashago	48,060	4,662	7,434	270	184	31,807
Deramalo	40,121	10,236	1,451	210	174	26,218
Kucha	71,392	5,759	3,953	315	224	53,375
Damot Gale	37,988	5,860	5,145	281	212	23,056
Duguna Fango	32,629	3,853	3,535	161	97	18,905
Enemore	51,338	5,260	4,202	360	188	37,660

Humbo	43,833	4,758	5,109	118	66	30,015
Analemo	14,686	1,793	2,156	57	20	9,511
Total	838,001	102,058	109,386	4,333	2,603	542,273
Percentage	100%	12%	13%	1%	0	65%

Table 7: Distribution of land area by land holdingtype and mean parcels size – SNNP

	M Parcel Area	M Avg Hol.Size	F Parcel Area	F Avg Hol.Size	MM Parcel Area	FF Parcel Area	MF Parcel Area
Damboya	1,311.25	0.45	1,538.90	0.41	24.87	28.35	6,060.08
Duna	803.20	0.44	3,250.78	0.50	56.24	51.25	12,498.35
Hadaro	391.20	0.48	2,411.59	0.67	44.52	8.76	8,334.22
Kacha Bira	788.45	0.40	2,529.34	0.46	34.15	12.83	10,879.68
Kedida	908.63	0.43	1,321.00	0.41	12.26	17.49	4,481.08
Meskan	5,669.27	0.31	4,356.96	0.30	111.72	84.57	12,206.27
Mirab Azernet	1,101.14	0.43	3,036.04	0.50	81.81	82.92	8,365.56
Mirab Badawoch	656.59	0.60	1,084.91	0.81	28.31	34.96	7,531.92
Misrak Badawoch	1,570.50	0.57	2,349.08	0.77	146.66	76.96	13,757.87
Sankura	3,121.50	0.51	2,134.92	0.53	52.20	54.16	11,010.30
Silti	98.93	0.41	189.31	0.43	6.33	2.77	632.51
Sodo	3,915.12	0.52	6,506.50	0.54	135.39	80.23	24,491.36
Damot Sore	531.76	0.48	850.73	0.49	52.45	38.81	3,733.37
Damot Woyde	794.33	0.45	1,088.05	0.44	182.40	100.66	4,895.50
Kindo Kosh	2,107.82	0.90	2,010.89	1.00	171.65	46.04	15,344.95
Loma	3,313.35	1.33	4,453.15	1.45	353.47	74.42	45,765.07
Mermeka	9,275.41	2.56	6,466.87	2.67	183.60	64.42	35,654.29
Offa	284.59	1.12	443.97	1.13	19.70	2.92	2,282.26
Shashago	1,978.44	0.42	4,384.72	0.59	131.63	93.78	16,605.41
Deramalo	4,596.39	0.45	691.54	0.48	86.55	86.60	13,883.46
Kucha	5,196.21	0.90	3,964.07	1.00	303.04	216.78	50,631.62
Damot Gale	2,533.56	0.43	2,403.80	0.47	120.88	95.31	10,796.42
Duguna Fango	2,417.72	0.63	2,447.13	0.69	207.37	65.52	10,089.05
Enemore	4,916.55	0.93	4,123.46	0.98	302.21	187.99	40,769.01
Humbo	5,275.96	1.11	5,578.11	1.09	100.96	65.98	35,037.30

Analemo	1,591.74	0.89	1,741.63	0.81	25.99	9.23	9,151.33
Total	65,149.6 2	18.16	71,357.4 6	19.61	2,976.3 5	1,683.7 0	414,888.2 5
Percentage	11.7%	0.7%	12.8%	0.8%	0.5%	0.3%	74.6%

Total Parcel Area= 556,055 Hectare

Table 8: Parcel Distribution across land holding type- Oromia

	certified # of Parcels	Male private own	Female Private own	Joint MM	Joint FF	Joint MF
Diksis	60,845	5,826	14,008	132	248	34,883
Dodota	11,151	2,774	3,079	10	24	4,510
Guna	40,004	2,541	7,250	31	36	25,229
Kersa Malima	51,875	9,839	9,828	110	109	29,644
Bora	35,749	2,545	8,057	50	130	21,019
Hitosa	86,757	11,354	22,690	220	233	44,938
Sodo Dachi	32,757	2,716	5,658	18	45	21,614
Lode Hitosa	68,357	5,767	13,233	93	118	43,450
Sire	70,152	10,841	14,655	80	91	39,157
Tole	74,546	15,316	14,200	69	46	42,040
Sude	114,418	5,289	14,071	14	57	76,449
Bako Tibe	35,777	3,159	5,607	22	18	23,415
Sibu Sire	56,508	3,147	5,173	23	44	42,841
Ameya	47,522	4,485	7,211	28	39	30,609
Chelia	68,428	8,081	12,562	80	55	43,888
Ejersa Lafo	42,698	7,485	10,499	14	15	24,112
Goro	37,976	3,642	4,320	21	16	26,279

Nunu Kumba	36,374	2,200	4,040	39	38	23,579
Sasiga	35,342	1,124	914	12	13	28,725
Wamahagelo	20,272	1,462	1,405	9	28	14,417
Boricha	60,261	4,798	3,180	346	120	48,344
Total	1,087,769	114,391	181,640	1,421	1,523	689,142
Percentage	100%	11%	17%	0	0	63%

Table 9: Distribution of land area by land holding type and mean parcels Size – Oromia

	M Parcel Area	M Avg Holding Size	F Parcel Area	F Avg Holding Size	MM Parcel Area	FF Parcel Area	MF Parcel Area
Diksis	2,978.30	0.51	8,020.74	0.57	63.34	157.14	19,388.30
Dodota	2,271.52	0.82	2,404.23	0.78	9.69	22.86	3,812.69
Guna	1,852.07	0.73	5,178.69	0.71	16.15	23.29	17,583.19
Kersa Malima	7,171.48	0.73	7,274.28	0.74	68.79	72.59	23,850.91
Bora	2,488.20	0.98	7,855.38	0.97	50.90	127.44	21,650.25
Hitosa	10,361.40	0.91	13,101.79	0.58	138.21	132.95	26,668.42
Sodo Dachi	2,175.27	0.80	5,501.54	0.97	13.01	29.85	21,724.58
Lode Hitosa	2,332.36	0.40	5,600.12	0.42	32.10	50.36	20,780.52
Sire	4,722.83	0.44	7,039.80	0.48	42.04	49.99	19,754.03
Tole	7,055.90	0.46	6,761.42	0.48	42.54	22.38	22,759.95
Sude	2,422.97	0.46	7,681.16	0.55	5.56	43.37	38,865.16
Bako Tibe	1,820.67	0.58	3,431.20	0.61	17.90	11.11	14,406.85
Sibu Sire	3,198.20	1.02	5,428.67	1.05	23.56	39.96	49,161.21

Ameya	3,395.72	0.76	5,438.41	0.75	27.79	50.92	28,692.57
Chelia	2,720.35	0.34	5,308.04	0.42	31.89	15.92	19,054.61
Ejersa Lafo	3,515.38	0.47	5,239.02	0.50	4.34	8.46	13,025.77
Goro	2,414.13	0.66	3,087.36	0.71	11.07	16.74	18,732.34
Nunu Kumba	2,427.45	1.10	3,863.74	0.96	33.39	30.53	28,111.93
Sasiga	761.47	0.68	609.55	0.67	6.40	7.83	25,142.98
Wamahagelo	2,970.65	2.03	2,989.29	2.13	23.80	75.78	35,491.87
Boricha	2,216.22	0.46	1,531.11	0.48	147.16	49.78	25,231.25
total area	712,725.5	15.33	113,345.5	15.54	809.64	1039.2	493,889.3
H	5		5			4	7
Percentage	10.48%	0.73	16.66 %	0.74	0.12%	0.15%	72.59%

Total Parcel area=680,356 Hectare

Table 10: Parcel Distribution across land holding type- Amhara

AMHARA	Certified # of Parcels	Male private own	Female Private own	Joint MM	Joint FF	Joint MF
Enebsie Sar midr	127,954	22,439	28,983			75,329
Hulet Eju Enesie	116,874	20,155	16,926			78,083
Gozamin	140,392	14,551	22,973			101,116
Debre Elias	81,951	10,805	17,683			50,763
Enarj Enawga	155,067	22,168	31,571			98,096
Awabel	108,770	19,003	24,771			63,282
Machakel	113,900	15,647	24,035			70,996
Dejen	85,533	11,435	22,136			49,566

Enemay	133,310	21,503	29,346	80,501
Basoliben	130,722	20,248	28,287	78,097
Sedie	56,423	6,703	9,926	39,588
Goncha	19,144	3,376	2,950	12,407
Jabitehnan	133,675	18,010	30,194	85,028
Womberma	38,946	6,798	9,442	22,268
Yilmana Densa	232,797	33,978	56,531	134,665
Bure	95,492	14,211	21,185	59,463
Dembecha	87,221	16,603	26,867	43,564
Quarit	57,759	8,828	17,539	28,927
Dangila	102,308	11,985	21,946	66,877
Fagita Lekuma	25,541	3,527	4,663	16,898
Baona werena	245,743	54,617	55,624	132,937
Asagirt	61,652	13,413	15,458	32,050
Mojana wadera	139,774	33,603	36,901	68,291
Menze Mama	151,843	39,324	43,935	66,649
Hagere maryam	79,254	16,933	16,859	44,884
Efratana gidim	136,934	23,121	32,895	79,702
Minjar Shenkra	125,584	27,913	26,591	69,962
Antsokia Gemza	51,652	10,126	12,556	28,210
Tarma ber siyadebrana wayo	77,835	16,171	20,298	40,156
Qewot	119,725	29,717	29,671	60,031
Ensaro	68,492	15,219	14,156	38,154
Mida Woremo	75,494	12,500	15,880	46,477
Berehet	35,671	5,715	8,287	19,403
Berehet	12,108	2,583	1,864	7,378
Angolela tera	29,116	4,609	6,174	18,113
Merhabetie	10,142	2,077	2,146	5,839
kalu	35,455	4,491	6,964	23,081
Total	3,500,253	614,105	794,213	2,036,831

Table 11: Distribution of land area by land holding type and mean parcels Size – Amhara

AMHARA	M Parcel Area	M Avg Hol.Size	F Parcel Area	F Avg Hol.Size	Joint Parcel Area
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Enebsie Sar midr	6,531	0.29	11,477	0.40	22,603
Hulet Eju Enesie	745	0.04	10,040	0.59	20,727
Gozamin	6,175	0.42	8,248	0.36	35,318
Debre Elias	4,082	0.38	5,369	0.30	22,767
Enarj Enawga	6,650	0.30	9,471	0.30	29,429
Awabel	7,408	0.39	10,314	0.42	26,338
Machakel	6,051	0.39	9,625	0.40	28,757
Dejen	3,725	0.33	7,511	0.34	18,507
Enemay	7,033	0.33	9,858	0.34	27,809
Basoliben	8,254	0.41	12,125	0.43	39,293
Sedie	2,859	0.43	5,497	0.55	12,915
Goncha	1,204	0.36	1,127	0.38	3,765
Jabitehnan	2,933	0.16	5,057	0.17	19,613
Womberma	2,995	0.44	4,104	0.43	11,568
Yilmana Densa	10719	0.32	17780	0.31	43911
Bure	4,784	0.34	7,206	0.34	19,255
Dembecha	4,803	0.29	6,026	0.22	15,877
Quarit	3,461	0.39	12,165	0.69	15,118
Dangila	6,040	0.50	11500.7	0.52	39488.6
Fagita Lekuma	1,844	0.52	2,456	0.53	71,093
Baona werena	24,407	0.45	19814	0.36	48,145
Asagirt	7969	0.59	9,147	0.59	27,838
Mojana wedera	9,265	0.28	10,862	0.29	19,498
Menze Mama	11,270	0.29	12487	0.28	22,966
Hagere maryam	15,153	0.89	15,789	0.94	49,261
Efratana gidim	6,138	0.27	8,857	0.27	25,219
Minjar Shenkra	19,658	0.70	17,079	0.64	58,034
Antsokia Gemza	2,851	0.28	4,444	0.35	11,907
Tarma ber siyadebrana wayo	7,966	0.49	20,434	1.01	24,670
Qewot	11,974	0.40	28,737	0.97	20,368
	13,321	0.88	12,334	0.87	23,173

Ensaro	4,810	0.38	5,923	0.37	18,930
Mida Woremo	5,173	0.91	4,543	0.55	9,977
Berehet	8,258	3.20	4,097	2.20	20,483
Angolela tera	2,647	0.57	12,368	2.00	10,198
Merhabetie	907	0.44	915	0.43	2,894
kalu	8,608	1.92	2284	0.33	12,437
Total	258,671	19.95	357,071	20.49	930,150