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PROTECTING LAND TENURE SECURITY OF WOMEN IN ETHIOPIA: EVIDENCE FROM THE LAND INVESTMENT FOR TRANSFORMATION PROGRAM

Workwoha Mekonen, Ziade Hailu, John Leckie, and Gladys Savolainen
Land Investment for Transformation Programme (LIFT) (DAI Global)

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This paper assesses the effectiveness of a specific land tenure intervention to improve the lives of women, by asking new questions of available project data sets.

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 Land Investment for Transformation (LIFT) program in Ethiopia. More specifically, the study aims to provide evidence on the extent that LIFT 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 program had incorporated gender interests into the Second Level Land Certification (SLLC) process. Three recognized indicators in literature that use land as a unit of analysis were employed as quantitative indicators: 1) distribution of parcel holding by form of landholding, 2) the mean size of parcel by gender, and 3) distribution of land area by form of landholding. Qualitative data was drawn from LIFT program field studies and case stories.

Despite numerous threats to the land rights of women, evidence from the program suggests that LIFT has contributed to the tenure security of rural women in Ethiopia. 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% of 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 program 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.

This study addresses a gap in the field by providing a large-scale study on the effectiveness of a specific intervention to improve women's land tenure security by using a comprehensive definition of women's land tenure security. The implication of these findings is that land certification programs can promote gender equality through land certification and governance by developing institutional measures and standard procedures that are gender responsive and based on local context, and by investing resources and attention on gender, from the onset.

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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 Households
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
PAC	Public Awareness and Communication
PD	Public Display
RLAS	Rural Land Administration Systems
RLAUD	Rural Land Administration and Use Directorate
SC	Steering Committee
SDO	Social Development Officer
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SLLC	Second Level Land Certification
SNNPR	Southern Nations Nationality and Peoples Region
VG	Vulnerable Groups
WCAO	Women and Children Affairs Office

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

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The purpose of this research is to understand the effectiveness of LIFT in improving the land tenure security 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, particularly with the two Sustainable Development Goals (SDG)¹ measured through changes in women's land rights. Recent land certification or land titling programs have incorporated gender considerations in their programming, for example, titling programs in Peru, Rwanda, Vietnam, and Ethiopia.² In Ethiopia, the LIFT program has placed great emphasis on protecting the land rights of women during the land registration process of SLLC.

LIFT is a six and half year (March 2014 to August 2020) program funded by the United Kingdom Department for International Development (DFID). It takes a unique approach to improving the incomes of the rural poor and enhancing economic growth in Ethiopia. The program is implemented by the Government of Ethiopia's Ministry of Agriculture, Rural Land Administration and Use Directorate, and the Development Alternatives Inc, Europe-led consortium comprising of Nathan Associates London, NIRAS, and GIRDC. LIFT has three interrelated components: implementing the SLLC process, creating improved Rural Land Administration Systems (RLAS), and increasing the efficiency of land productivity through a market development approach (Making Markets Work for the Poor, or M4P). This study is concerned with the SLLC component implemented in the four highland regional states of Ethiopia: Amhara, Oromia, Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR) and Tigray. The program's aim is to demarcate 14 million parcels in over 140 woredas (districts) for more than 6.1 million households, with a goal of 70% of parcels being jointly or individually certified in the name of women.³

While there is growing research on land titling and certification program in Africa, there remain significant gaps in the evidence. A global literature review conducted in 2016⁴ 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. In addition, several studies have assessed land certification or titling programs in Ethiopia but focus on a

¹ Sustainable Development Goals, 5.A.1 and 1.4.2.

² Stein Terje Holden & Sosina Bezu, *Joint Land Certification, Gendered Preferences, and Land-Related Decisions: Are Wives Getting More Involved?* (Norwegian Univ. of Life Sci., CLTS Working Paper No. 6, 2014).

³ The LIFT component of SLLC is part of the Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP) of the Ethiopian government to issue landholding certificates to rural landholders.

⁴ Renee Giovarelli & Amanda Richardson, *Land Tenure Security for Women Threats and Effectiveness of Interventions*, RESEARCH CONSORTIUM ON WOMEN'S LAND RIGHTS (2016).

narrow set of outcomes. Among them, one assessed the impact of a land certification program on female-headed households (FHH) and found land certification enhanced women's participation in the land rental market.⁵ Another study found a significant positive effect of certification on the food security and nutrition of FHH.⁶

This research report seeks to address these gaps by analyzing a large data set from a land certification program. It also assesses not only outcomes but also the effectiveness of the certification process. By February 2019, LIFT had collected 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 program also makes the intervention ideal to uncover rationale for certain results in the data. Furthermore, LIFT's dataset allows for differentiation among different groups of women. The authors of this report acknowledge that they are representatives of the LIFT program and have been involved in its design and implementation. This could have the effect of skewing interpretation of findings; this concern is in part addressed by an independent review process and workshop managed by the Women's Land Rights Research Consortium.

The research report is organized as follows: section one presents the study's objectives, conceptual framework (CF) that guided the study,⁷ and methodology. Section two describes how gender inequality affects women's land tenure security in Ethiopia and explores the relevant legal framework for women's land rights. Section three provides an overview of the SLLC process. Section four deals with several threats to women's land tenure security that arise in the context of SLLC. Section five describes LIFT's programmatic response to strengthen women's tenure security. Section six and seven deal 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 program on both practical aspects of further improvement as well as assessing the effectiveness of the CF.

1.2 OBJECTIVE OF THE RESEARCH

The purpose of this research is to investigate the threats to women's land tenure security and explore the effectiveness of land certification process using evidence from the United Kingdom aid-funded LIFT program in Ethiopia. The study also aims to provide evidence on the extent to

⁵ Stein Holden, Klaus Deininger, & Hosaena Ghebru, *Tenure Insecurity, Gender, Low-Cost Land Certification and Land Rental Market Participation*, 47 J. DEV. STUD. 31-47 (2011).

⁶ Hosaena Ghebru & Stein Holden, *Links Between Tenure Security and Food Security: Evidence from Ethiopia* (Norwegian Univ. of Life Sci., CLTS Working Paper No. 2, 2013).

⁷ The conceptual framework was not developed by this study but was introduced as part of the research program. One objective of this research was to assess the usability of the conceptual framework for research of this nature. It is available <https://consortium.resourceequity.org/conceptual-framework/>.

which LIFT contributed to strengthening women's land tenure security through the SLLC process, and the strategies that led to those results.

1.3 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK (CF)

This study employed the women's land tenure security conceptual framework (CF) developed by Doss and Meinzen-Dick⁸ to address both extant problems of the definition as well as data problems that women's tenure security studies face (See Figure 1). The 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: the 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 relevant to the study are selected and discussed. For example, the CF defines the factors that influence of land tenure security for women as completeness of rights in the bundle, duration of rights, robustness of rights, and independence (or the extent to which rights are shared or held by an 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 rights to land and thus contribute to her tenure security. The land certificate is a good proxy for completeness because in the Ethiopian legal context, land certificates are the strongest protection for long-term use rights to land, which are the land rights legally recognized for Ethiopians. The land certificate is a good proxy for robustness because the land certificate is the strongest form of evidence for land rights, the certificates are recorded in a land registry guaranteed by the state, and the land certification process involves adjudication before it can be issued, making it is less likely to be challenged for inaccuracy at a later date. These elements will be explored in more detail in the report.

The CF's question of whether shared or individualized rights contribute to a woman's tenure security is raised by the results of this report because both scenarios are available in the Ethiopian legal context and are shown in the results.

Less attention is paid to the CF's dimension of duration because the duration of rights recorded in a land certificate is established by law and because the data of this report looks only at the initial certification of rights instead of what happens to those rights over time. An analysis of women's land rights over time would require the additional study of transaction data at a future date.

The CF provides a comprehensive investigation into the factors that can affect women's land tenure security. These are: 1) context, 2) threats and opportunities, 3) action arena, and 4) an

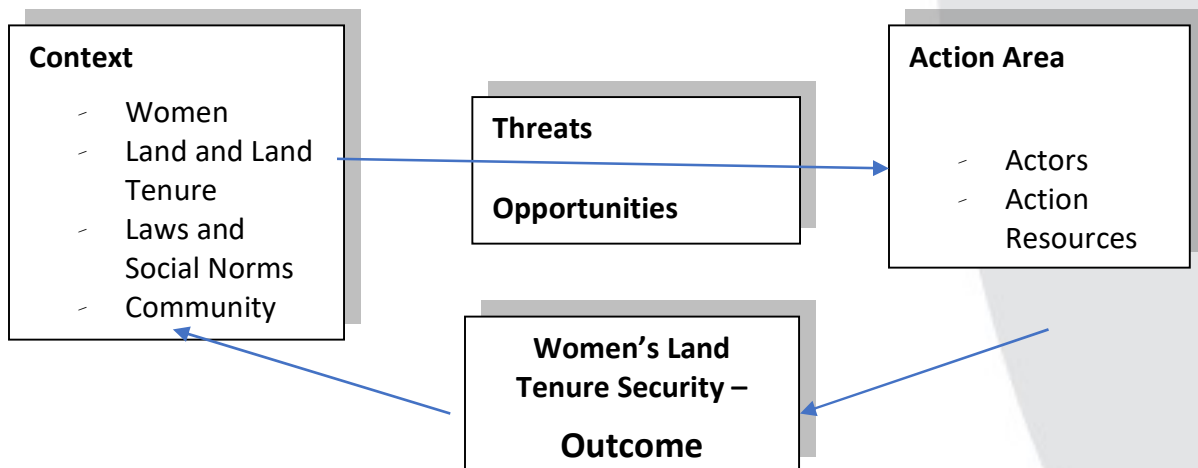
⁸ Cheryl Doss & Ruth Meinzen-Dick, *Women's Land Tenure Security: A Conceptual Framework*, RESOURCE CONSORTIUM (2018), <https://consortium.resourceequity.org/conceptual-framework>.

outcome of interest. Within the CF's "context" factor there are four key variables: women, land and land tenure, laws and social norms, and the community. An exploration of these contextual variables is provided in this report and helps to provide a basis for understanding the results. In particular, this study makes an effort to differentiate women's experience of land certification processes based on household position. Many of these simultaneously touch on social norms for those categories of women related to land. For example, the study addresses specific threats to and experience of land tenure for women in male-headed households (WMHH), women in polygamous relationships, female-headed households (FHH), female siblings, daughters and daughters- /sisters-in-law.

The second context variable relates to land and land tenure security. This study does not consider attributes of the land per se because the certification program is systematic and the government of Ethiopia determined the geographical area before the program was designed. The study does provide insight into the land tenure context as this helps explain why certain design decisions were made for the SLLC process.

The third contextual variable is the laws and norms governing women's land rights. Ethiopia's Constitution, rural land proclamation, and its inheritance and family laws are analyzed to shed light on the enabling conditions for the results of the SLLC. Recognizing the sensitive interplay between law and norms, this study explores the social and cultural norms around women's land rights and assesses, in part, how norms might influence results. For instance, in Ethiopia, despite a positive legal framework, social and gender norms not only influence the extent that women are considered legitimate rights holders but also how they experience the SLLC process. Some strategies employed by LIFT also supported women in helping to change negative community attitudes towards them.

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 referred to as "threats and opportunities" to women's land rights 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 Code (2000), Women's Policy (1993), and the Rural Land Administration and Proclamation (2005) as presenting opportunities for improving women's land tenure security in the context of the SLLC. We also consider the LIFT's economic investment focus as an opportunity to improve outcomes for landholders who have had their rights certified. The other key opportunities presented by LIFT covered in this report is the development of procedures for certification that adequately incorporates the legal protections for women's land rights, and the social and cultural context to implement those procedures so that the resultant program reflects an accurate picture of the rights that women and men have.

The CF suggests that identifying potential threats leads to mitigation and identifying potential opportunities leads to better land program interventions. Potential threats to tenure security include land-related initiatives in Ethiopia that do not consider gender, such as large-scale investments, land administration, and governance projects that fail to prioritize gender. However, these are beyond the scope of this report. Other threats to women's land tenure security that are touched on in this report and may be served by further research include intra-household dynamics (especially but not limited to rights that are held jointly between spouses), and the strong influence of custom and tradition in the implementation of the law that continues to pose a threat to women of different groups.

The third factor of the CF is the "action arena," which includes both the actors and action resources affecting women's tenure security. In the context of the land certification, the key action arena is the SLLC process, which is described in detail below in this report. Also explored in this paper are those actors whose actions have an impact on women's land tenure security beyond the SLLC process, including local mediators, tenants and family members (husbands, fathers, brothers, fathers-in-law, and brothers-in-law). 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 CF describes action resources as the resources that different actors use to achieve an outcome. Action resources considered in this study include those that LIFT invests in to support the land registration process and also the resources and energy the government places in protecting land rights.

For the final CF factor "outcomes," the study assumes that the results of the complex interplay between the different factors shape the outcome of changes to women's land tenure security in Ethiopia.

1.4 METHODOLOGY

This study synthesized qualitative and quantitative data from the LIFT program to assess effects of the SLLC process on women's land tenure security. Qualitative methods included review of field studies and case stories that were produced by the LIFT program separate from this study. LIFT qualitative studies used for this synthesis include the following:

- LIFT baseline study (2016)
- LIFT SLLC Procedure Manual
- 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 response
- Strategy to register orphan children
- Other studies generated by LIFT's Monitoring Evaluation unit
- Case stories provided on a regular basis by the program's woreda-level Social Development Officers (SDOs)⁹

Qualitative data was analyzed thematically to understand the threats to women's land tenure security, the different categories of women, and the social and community context. Additionally, it also provided context for the action areas as defined in the CF.

Quantitative analysis used parcel level information generated by the program. Out of the 11.4 million parcels LIFT had demarcated across four regions as of February 2019, 7.1 million certified parcels from 102 woreda were reviewed. The data was analyzed to identify parcel distribution by type of landholding, mean parcel size by gender, and distribution of land area by type of landholding. 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 to analyze quantitative data on women's land rights.¹⁰ These are a) the distribution of parcels across the various forms of landholding (see below for

⁹ All of these studies and case stories are on file with author(s).

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

a) 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) 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.¹¹ 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 are:

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

1.5 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS

This study examines women's land tenure security in Ethiopia using data generated by LIFT. However, LIFT is only operational in the four major highland regions of Ethiopia. Data from other low land pastoral and semi-pastoral regions are not included in the analysis. Also, the available data will only provide insight into the population that has been treated by the project and not to the broader population of women and men more generally. All results contained in this report should be read with these qualifications in mind.

In addition, until February 2019, more than 11 million parcels had been demarcated in 143 woredas of the four regions, but this study only analyzed the 7.1 million parcels from 102 woredas which were processed and available for analysis in LIFT's Management Information System.

¹⁰ Cheryl Doss, Chiara Kovarik, Amber Peterman, Agnes Quisumbing & Mara van den Bold, *Gender Inequalities in Ownership and Control of Land in Africa: Myth and Reality*, 46 *AGRIC. ECON.* 403-434 (2015) (developed five indicators. Data available in LIFT can only be used to analyse three indicators).

¹¹ Cheryl Doss, Sung Mi Kim, Jemimah Njuki, Emily Hillenbrand, & Maureen Miruka, *Women's Individual and Joint Property Ownership: Effects on Household Decision Making*, 1347 *INT'L FOOD POL'Y RES. INST.* (2014).

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

The right to own land is exclusively vested in the state and the peoples of Ethiopia. Land law in Ethiopia is state law, meaning regional state land laws can vary from the national law on land but cannot contradict it. Rural peasants and pastoralists are guaranteed lifetime “holding” (or use) rights as long as they comply with certain restrictions, such as continued exploitation of the land and, in some regional states, residency requirements. This holding right includes the right to mortgage the holding rights.¹²

Women have the right to own land in the Ethiopian legal framework. The Constitution of Ethiopia recognizes gender equality (Constitution, Articles 25, 34, 35 and 40). Article 9(4) of the constitution provides that all international agreements ratified by Ethiopia become an integral part of the law of the land. 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 (Article 35(7)). 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 Revised Family Code. This is illustrated in Article 5(1(c)) of the Rural Land Proclamation where it is stipulated that women who wish to engage in agriculture shall have the right to receive and use rural land.¹³

Formal laws governing marital property are important in understanding women's rights in Ethiopia because they signal a shift in customary rules around land and property that previously favored men. Marital property in Ethiopia is governed by two legal regimes: the statutory law (family law, property law, and land administration proclamations) and contracts agreed to by spouses at the time of marriage.

In the statutory law, the most significant regime is the Revised Family Code.¹⁴ Under Article 57 of the Revised Family Code,¹⁵ the property that each spouse possesses on the day of their marriage, or that an individual spouse acquires after their marriage by succession or donation, shall remain their personal property unless they decide otherwise. Article 58 provides that property acquired by one spouse after marriage shall also be personal property. Read together, both Articles 57 and 58 imply that all property (subject to the exceptions noted) acquired by the

¹² Amhara Regional State has liberalized its land law to collateral landholding rights.

¹³ Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Rural Land Administration and Land Use Proclamation (2005), Article 6 (4) No. 456/2005, Addis Ababa.

¹⁴ With regard to property rights between spouses, there is no major difference between the federal and regional states' family laws.

¹⁵ Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, The Revised Family Code Proclamation No. 213/2000. July 2000, Addis Ababa.

spouses during marriage shall be common property. In addition, unless otherwise stipulated in the instrument effectuating the act of donation or will, property donated or bequeathed jointly to spouses shall be common property.¹⁶

However, the exceptions to common marital property are significant. Most property in Ethiopia is acquired by inheritance under customary rules that prefer male heirs. Since property inherited by one spouse is excluded from marital common property and inheritance is more common for men, strict application of the law combined with customary practices suggest that sole ownership of property for husbands is the norm and women are excluded from either common or separate ownership of most property.

The Revised Family Code does recognize the non-property contribution of both spouses to household income and wealth. Article 62 of the Revised Family Code¹⁷ states that all income derived by personal efforts of the spouses and from their common or personal property shall be common property. Thus, even though land may be the private holding of one spouse, the income or the production collected from the land is common property.

The Revised Family Code also provides a protection against false claims of right by one spouse in certification and registration processes. Article 63 states that registration of rights is not the final word on ownership of marital property. Instead the legal presumption is that all property shall be deemed common property even if registered in the name of one of the spouses unless such spouse proves that he is the sole owner thereof. This puts the burden of proving sole ownership on the person claiming it and is an important insurance against poorly implemented or fraudulent claims of right by one spouse against another.

Establishing ownership is an important first step, as ownership determines whose rights must be recorded on the land certificate. As to certification, the Rural Land Administration and Use Proclamations provide two important provisions that protect women's rights. When the land belongs to an FHH, it must be certified in the name of the FHH (and in Amhara and Oromia regions this must also include a photo of the landholder). When the land is owned commonly between two spouses, it is obligatory to issue a certificate in the name of both husband and wife¹⁸ (in Amhara and Oromia this must be accompanied by a photo of each of them).¹⁹

State Rural Land Administration Laws are mostly positive for women with regard to certifying and administering land rights. For example, the Oromia State Rural Land Administration and Use

¹⁶ Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, The Revised Family Code Proclamation No. 213/2000., Article 62 (3), July 2000, Addis Ababa.

¹⁷ Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, The Revised Family Code Proclamation No. 213/2000. July 2000, Article 62 (1) Addis Ababa.

¹⁸ Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Rural Land Administration and Land Use Proclamation (2005), No. 456/2005, Addis Ababa.

¹⁹ The Amhara National Regional State (2017), The Revised Rural Land Administration and Use Determination Proclamation. No. 252/2017, Article 35 (1), Bahir Dar, Ethiopia.

Proclamation in Article 5(2) states that women have equal rights as men to possess, use and administer rural lands. In situations of divorce, the husband and wife have the right to share their joint landholdings equally (Article 6(13)). The law also has some protections for transfers of rights: Article 7(4) states that private or common holdings intended for renting out must show the consent of a husband and wife or any other person who has tenure rights of that holding. Also, Article 15(8) of the Oromia Proclamation²⁰ states that a husband and wife sharing a common landholding shall be given a joint certificate specifying both their names. This applies only for joint holdings; if the holding belongs to only one of the spouses, the certification must be conducted in the name of only that person unless there is agreement otherwise.

Legal rights to marital property can be complicated by the practice of polygamy. 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. In principle, polygamous marriages are outlawed by the Revised Family Code and subsequently by most of the regions' Family Laws.²¹ However, while polygamy is a criminal offence under the Ethiopian Criminal Code,²² if practiced as part of a cultural tradition, then polygamy is not considered an offence.²³ This treatment of polygamy in the legal framework creates some ambiguity on how to certify the marital property of people who are in polygamous marriages.

Finally, it should be noted that the Criminal Code also has other property rights-related offences that could protect women's property rights.²⁴

3. OVERVIEW LAND CERTIFICATION INITIATIVES

3.1 OVERVIEW OF FIRST LEVEL LAND CERTIFICATION (FLLC)

Between 1998 and 2004, Ethiopia carried out a large-scale land certification program to register landholdings of rural small holder farming households and improve tenure security. Eventually known as First Level Land Certification (FLLC), it covered approximately 20 million parcels

²⁰ The Oromia National Regional State (2007), Proclamation to amend the Proclamation No. 56/2002, 70/2003, 103/2005 of Oromia Rural Land Use and Administration Proclamation No. 130 /2007". Article 15(8), Finfinee, Ethiopia.

²¹ Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, The Revised Family Code Proclamation No. 213/2000, Article 11. July 2000, Addis Ababa.

²² The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Criminal Code (2004).

²³ The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Criminal Code (2004), Art. 651.

²⁴ 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 (Article 685), possessing the land of another without just cause (Article 686), changing or destructing boundary demarcations of the landholding are other crimes which are directly related with land and which are most of the time committed against the land use right of women.

belonging to over six million households in Amhara, Oromia, SNNPR 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 deficiencies.²⁵ Among the deficiencies pertinent to this study, the FLLC issued household level certificates rather than parcel level certificates. This meant that the land rights of each adult in the household to different parcels were not recorded. This was problematic because adults in the same household could have rights to different parcels of land; for example, rights that one person inherited from a parent might not be rights shared with other adults in the household. In addition, FLLC procedures varied across regions. In Tigray regional state, only the male head of household's name was recorded on the certificate. However, in Oromia, the names of both spouses in a household were recorded on a certificate but only the husband's photo was used. In SNNPR, names of both spouses were recorded on the certificate, and in Amhara both names and photos of both spouses were mandatory on the certificate. To address these limitations, the government of Ethiopia with support from international donors launched the Second Level Land Certification (SLLC). SLLC aimed to improve tenure security, maintain and update records, and enhance land management.

The issues in the FLLC regarding women's rights are evident in the data on certification. The FLLC data was not collected by parcel but by household, and it covers the whole nation. Household data was collected by headship status (see Table 1) where share of FHH was 21% of total households covered. These data concur with the LIFT program's baseline study (2016) finding that the FLLC, despite regional differences, was overall a process that favored men's rights and interests over women's.

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	
Amhara	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%

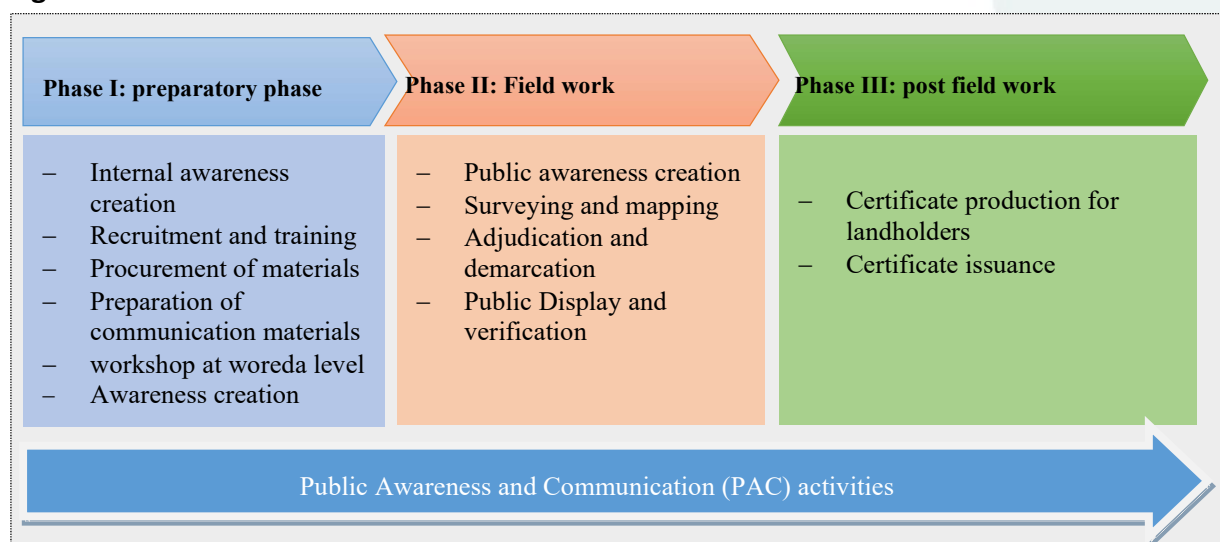
Source: MOA, Rural Land Administration and Use Directorate, 2019; MHH= male-headed household; FHH= female-headed household

²⁵ Klaus Deininger, Daniel Ayalew Ali, Stein Holden & Jaap Zevenbergen, *Rural Land Certification in Ethiopia: Process, Initial Impact, and Implications for Other African Countries*, 36 WORLD DEV. 1786-1812 (2008).

3.2 OVERVIEW OF SECOND LEVEL LAND CERTIFICATION (SLLC)

LIFT's SLLC manual describes five major steps in the land certification process: 1) public awareness and communication (PAC) on SLLC procedures; 2) field demarcation and adjudication tasks related to surveying and mapping of parcel boundaries and the assessment of landholders' legal rights; 3) data entry and digitization performed by LIFT's back office team; 4) Public Display (PD) 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 5) certificate issuance whereby certificates showing the parcel boundaries, occupancy and land rights are printed and made available to landholders. Figure 2 provides the schematic view of the SLLC process.²⁶

Figure 2: The SLLC Process



Source: Adapted from SLLC Manual

LIFT's SLLC procedures that differentiate it from the FLLC processes are:

- Landholders identify their parcel boundaries on maps that come from geographically referenced aerial photography. The identification of parcels by landholders is done in the presence of people from neighboring parcels, the Kebele Land Administration

²⁶ 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 Agency (EPLAUA) in Tigray and the Agriculture and Natural Resources Bureau, Rural Land Administration and Use Agency in SNNPR. In all regions, Woreda Land Administration and Use Offices are responsible to implement the SLLC. The Kebele Land Administration Committees (KLACs) are mobilized to facilitate the work of the field teams (FT). In Amhara and Oromia, the structure has Kebele Rural Land Administration Experts who support the process.

Committee (KLAC), all of whom help to validate it. Though not required by law, local women also validate the identification of the parcel by the landholders.

- Each landholder, as an individual or jointly if there is a basis for the joint rights, receives certificates for each individual parcel rather than a household-level certificate (as was the case under the FLLC).
- Village elders and women representatives work with field teams (FT) and serve as informants in resolving land related disputes. Village elders assist when incidents of boundary encroachments on lands of FHH are reported and when husbands threaten the land rights of WMHH. Female 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 or leaving out co-wives. Women representatives are particularly important during PD events.²⁷
- Other government agencies collaborate to address women's land rights in the process. These include the Woreda Administration, Women and Children Affairs Office (WCAO), Labour and Social Affairs, Justice Office, Courts, Grievance Hearing Office, Women's Associations, and the Good Governance Task Force (GGTF).
- Social Development Officers (SDOs) were created as part of the field teams to support women's rights in the SLLC process. These SDOs specifically identify and support women who appear to be vulnerable to dispossession while SLLC is underway.

These programmatic features are described in more detail in section four below.

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

Studies commissioned by LIFT provide evidence of the threats to tenure security for women.²⁸ These studies reveal that while all women face challenges regarding tenure security, the experience varies among different categories of women. These categories include WMHH, women in polygamous relationships, female-heads of households, female siblings, daughters, and daughters- /sisters-in-law. This section identifies the risks that different women face to tenure security in relation to the SLLC process, and then outlines how the LIFT program addressed those threats.

4.1 CHALLENGES WOMEN EXPERIENCE DURING THE SLLC PROCESS

4.1.1 WOMEN IN MALE-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS (WMHH)

For women in male-headed households (WMHH) in project areas in Ethiopia, women can lose their land use rights in marriage, divorce and widowhood. Even if married couples are joint

²⁷ LIFT, Strategy for Preventing and Mitigating Land Certification Related Violence Against Women and Other Vulnerable Groups (2017).

²⁸ LIFT, Challenges Women and Vulnerable Groups Face to Secure their Land Use Rights (2018).

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.

In the SLLC process, anecdotal evidence collected in LIFT studies indicates some of the deceptive practices used by husbands to exclude spouses from joint certification. These include:²⁹

- Providing false information to their wives about the program.
- Taking advantage of wives' temporary absence from home during demarcation and adjudication to provide false information to field teams.
- 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 or senior daughter'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.
- Initiating an artificial disagreement to expel wives prior to or during land registration.³⁰
- In Muslim households, cases were reported of husbands informing their wives not to produce photos citing religious reasons.

In addition, FT learned of other attempts to deny women's rights from being registered:

- Where households had certificates issued under the FLLC, husbands claimed that since the FLLC documents only showed his name, only he had rights to the land.
- Where FLLC documentation registered both husband and wife, cases were reported of men tampering with the FLLC data by removing their wife's picture from the landholding book, colluding with 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, or providing false information to the FT.

²⁹ Anecdotal evidence was taken from various workshops (2011-2013) and interviews with LIFT stakeholders (May-June 2014).

³⁰ This information was given by the LIFT Woreda Coordinator in the first round of SLLC woredas in Amhara woredas. He is now Regional Coordinator for the RLAS. The other problems are mostly reported in relation to FLLC. Yet, since FLLC is the basis for SLLC, those wives who were denied joint registration during the FLLC process should go another step to prove their joint right. In woredas where SDO service was available, women were supported better to regain their lost right. But in the non-SDO woredas, the FTs base their evidence on FLLC. In non-SDO woredas there was low reach of public awareness and women may not have received the information or be able to claim their right back.

- Confusion created by inconsistent practices around surnames in marriage. When wives adopt their spouse's surname, it can leave room for a husband to lay claim to his wife's land.³¹
- Local authorities have reported being offered bribes from husbands to act in their favor over their wives' rights to land.
- In-laws hide FLLC holding books and tax receipts of divorced or widowed women so that they do not have evidence to support a claim of rights.

Another threat to WMMH relates to access to information. Very often they lack access to information that would allow them to assert their rights. In the early days of the LIFT program, there was low participation from WMHH at public information sessions. Factors influencing their attendance included workload and time constraints, fear of misjudgment by others for attending an information meeting and being seen as not trusting their husband, a tendency to consider land as men's business, a lack of targeted information for WMHH in most training events, and adult males attending community meetings to represent their household but not sharing information with others in the household. Without information about the program or a place they can go when they have questions, WMMH were at a disadvantage compared with men in their households in asserting claims to land rights.

4.1.2 WOMEN IN POLYGAMOUS MARRIAGE

There are various arrangements of polygamous relationships in Ethiopia. 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.

Legally, polygamy is neither wholly outlawed nor wholly approved. As a result, there are no legal rules for how to register rights for polygamous couples, leaving husbands with the discretion on how to register land rights among the wives. This in turn leads to inconsistent approaches during SLLC. The result may deny or compromise the rights of wives (usually the senior wife) because of husbands' preference for younger wives. 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 creates questions on the credibility of land certification. One of the key roles of certifying rural land is to provide a

³¹ Under Article 40 of the Civil Code, a married woman has a choice of keeping her father's name as her surname, or adopting her husband's name. In some localities of SNNPR and Oromia, married women are culturally given their husbands' name instead of retaining their maiden name. However, in the absence of vital statistics and official documentation, registering wives in their husband's name has implications on their land rights. First, they could be viewed as a sibling of their children. Second, it impacts their right to inherit land from their natal family and can require lengthy court procedures to do so. Third, inconsistent names in various documents that women possess can cause many other complications in inheritance and divorce that having a single identity document does not.

reliable and admissible certificate that shows the landholders without doubt. Thus, the multiplicities of land registration modalities in polygamous households defeats its main purpose. The inconsistent approach to land certification of parcels held by households in polygamous relationships has follow-on effects that further discredit the land registration system. An example of such effect is in the case of disputes where courts discount or refuse to rely on the land registration certificate of a person in a polygamous marriage and instead demand further investigation to the nature of the marital relationship.

A LIFT study identified a number of other challenges in registering land for women in polygamous households. These include:

- Different regions of the country handling the registration of polygamous families in different ways. Some include all the wives on one certificate whereas others register wives separately with the husband registering each wife.
- Instances where husbands favor one wife over another, thus creating situations where the favored wife benefits from land certification at the expense of other wives.
- 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 threat because the land certificate does not reflect the user of the land. In the case of disputes, elders may rule for the one who is using the land, while a court would decide for the one who holds the certificate.
- Divorce or death of one of the wives or the husband can trigger disputes related to division of property and inheritance because the certificates are not necessarily a true, nor fair, depiction of ground realities.

4.1.3 FEMALE-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS (FHH)

LIFT has conducted a study on preventing land certification-related violence against women and vulnerable groups (VG). That study reported several difficulties that FHH encountered.

Boundary encroachment is the most common form of land rights violations for FHH.

Encroachers plant trees or perennial crops on the land of FHH to suggest that the planted areas of land belong to them. The absence of male protection as well as women's limited knowledge of their parcel boundaries are among the major factors that expose FHH to border encroachment. Boundary encroachments happen to FHH who have SLLC certificate as well as those who do not, indicating that the SLLC alone does not protect against the practice of encroachment. However, the SLLC provides the strongest evidence of boundaries should the encroachment be challenged in court. In addition, the study also found that FHH's land rights can be threatened by long-term tenants who obtain falsified certificates and claim the rented land as their own.

While courts will address encroachment in favor of the information on a land certificate, many people cannot rely on the court system to address these issues, and women in FHH are likely to be worse off than men in similar situations. For example, taking judicial action requires a knowledge of the law, resources for legal assistance, and possibly also some protection as plaintiffs can face threats from powerful counter claimants. Also, women tend to more likely be illiterate, thus producing written evidence or explaining a case in court would be beyond their capacity. These issues are not confined to only FHH but may be felt more strongly by them since they are already a vulnerable sector of the population.

4.1.4 FEMALE SIBLINGS, WIDOWS, AND ORPHANS

The study that documents violence related to land certification reveals how other categories of women may lose land rights due to the mismatch between legal provisions and customary practices related to inheritance. Despite legal provisions granting women the right to inherit, the customary practice of parents favoring sons or male members of the family to inherit land continues to be influential. Even when a deceased landholder has no sons, it is unlikely that his daughters will inherit his land. Instead, the deceased's brothers, uncles or other close male relatives are more likely to inherit. Even where land is by law jointly owned between spouses, a widow's share is often not recognized as her own, but is instead transferred to her male children. She herself will be treated the same as any other family member instead of as a rightful holder.

Even where land is jointly owned by law, families still consider themselves as having superior rights over widows. Under certain religious and customary practices, a widow is offered an option to keep the land of her deceased husband if she marries a brother-in-law or close male family member. 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 Oromia and SNNPR there are reported cases where conflict erupted because widows who were able to protect their land rights through a court process remarried. This is because the family of the deceased felt threatened that a man outside of the family or the clan accessed "their land."

Another threat to women's land rights is unrecorded transfer of land through gift. Often, parents give land to their sons as a wedding gift 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 the regional state laws allow for gifts of land rights. Because gifts to one spouse are considered that spouse's separate property, those gifts are not jointly owned and very often the wife of the recipient does not know this. The threat emerges when the recipient dies and his family returns to claim the land and thus dispossesses the widow.

Similarly, violations of orphan children's land rights were identified by LIFT's study (2018) on the barriers they 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 instead the children's share is registered under the name of the children's guardian who in most cases is the surviving parent. 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 experience more violations of their land rights, with female orphans found to be the most vulnerable of all (see Case Story 1).

Case Story 1: Getenesh is a 17-year-old orphan residing in Mojana Wedera 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, led by the SDO, 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 in defending their rights, irrespective of their group. A LIFT study³² on legal service identified several barriers women face to accessing legal services. These include women having low awareness of their land rights and the land conflict resolution procedures. Women also have limited access to free legal aid services because these are either unavailable or inaccessible to those who are tied up with domestic responsibilities. In addition, women not only face challenges in producing evidence to support their claim but also cultural factors that hinder them from challenging social norms and authorities to pursue justice.

Even if women are able to take legal action, lack of legal knowledge is exacerbated by inconsistent procedural rules that create an obstacle to legal redress. For example, the Period of Limitation (time after an event within which legal action must be initiated) for land-related legal claims is not specified in the law and is applied inconsistently across regions.³³

³² LIFT, Strategy to Provide Effective Legal Services for Women and Vulnerable Groups (2019).

³³ The Federal Rural Land Administration and Use Proclamation no. 456/2005 is silent about a claimant should bring a case of illegal land occupation before a court of law. Similarly, the rural land administration and use 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 Article 1845 of the Civil Code is widely accepted as a General Period

Furthermore, women do not participate in the SLLC process to the same degree as men for a variety of reasons. For instance, PAC messages on SLLC did not reach women in time; the publicity message failed to communicate the sense of urgency to women; women did not understand their obligations to participate in the process; women's perception is that land is men's business; women believed they did not know land boundaries and information as well as their husbands; women did not understand the implications of failing to pursue their holding rights under the SLLC; some women perceived following land cases as a waste of time; and instances of some women receiving threats from their husbands if they participated in the SLLC process and falling prey to false information and deception.

4.2 LIFT'S RESPONSE TO SECURE WOMEN'S LAND RIGHTS

The program developed a number of responses to addressing these threats. A Gender Equality and Social Inclusion (GESI) strategy was developed with an indicative work plan. The key areas of LIFT's GESI strategy were ensuring the program's SLLC manual considered the different threats experienced by different categories of women, integrating specific messages in SLLC PAC materials that were addressed to women, and introducing other major initiatives to ensure inclusion of women.

4.2.1 CREATION OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OFFICERS (SDO) ROLE

The Social Development Officer (SDO) role was introduced in response to women's lack of access to SLLC information and subsequent low participation in the SLLC process. SDOs were eventually available in every SLLC woreda. The SDOs are responsible for conducting public awareness activities that target women and ensure protection of women's interests during the SLLC process. They help identify needs of women in a given area and then address those needs through the various stages of the SLLC.

With the introduction of the SDO role, the public awareness approach was modified. Public meetings were decentralized to sub-kebele level and separate, women-only meetings were held. In addition, specific messages targeted different actors that have a role to play in protecting women's land rights. They include the land administration committee, local mediators, husbands, brothers, fathers, fathers- and brothers-in-law. Parallel to the public awareness activity, the SDOs identify women with actual and perceived land rights violations in the kebeles prior to the start of adjudication and demarcation (AD). This data in turn is shared with FT for subsequent support during AD and PD stages. FT are also provided with an

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 law. And there are varying court interpretations of the period across regions. See *Andualem Eshetu, Revisiting the Application of the Ten-Year General Period of Limitation: Judicial Discretion to Disregard Article 1845 of the Civil Code* (2015).

orientation from the SDOs on the challenges facing women in a particular kebele and how they can be supported.

By reaching out to the women, the SDOs are informed of issues facing women and provide them with support during the SLLC. If issues are not resolved during the SDO's time in that woreda, the issues are reported to the Woreda Land Administration Office (WLAO) and the Woreda GGTF for follow up (see Case Story 2).

Case Story 2: Azeneg is a 45-year-old landholder from Amhara 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 and threatened 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 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 CAPACITY OF THE FIELD TEAMS ON WOMEN'S LAND RIGHTS THROUGH ONGOING SUPPORT FROM SDOs

Another change made by the project to address the threats identified to women's land rights is the ability to identify and respond to gender-related land rights issues. FT carry out AD processes and comprise around 60 staff for each woreda. After some trial and error in methodologies, the SDOs assumed responsibility for addressing capacity needs related to women's land rights with FT. They do so through training that is supplemented with technical support during field activities. Upon arriving in their respective sub-kebele, the FT verify the data provided by the SDO on those women with land rights problems and engage with the community to identify if there are other women who might be vulnerable but are not included in the list. This puts the FT on alert and helps them ensure that the parcels at issue are not compromised during demarcation. The FT interview the women separately and then work with the SDO to help identify pathways for resolution of the issues. Through this, the capacity of the FT is built from field work instead of through formalized training.

4.2.3 ENGAGING AND COORDINATING OTHER INSTITUTIONAL ACTORS AT DIFFERENT ADMINISTRATIVE LEVELS

To help engage other important institutional actors in supporting protection for women's land rights in the SLLC process, each woreda establishes a Steering Committee (SC). The committee includes leaders from different sector offices and is chaired by the Woreda Administration.

These sector offices include the WLAO, Justice/Prosecutors, Court, WCAO, Labour and Social Affairs Office, and the Grievance Hearing Office. Within the SC, the GGTF is particularly important because the SDO intensively engages with them to clarify land rights and resolve disputes.

Coordination is encouraged not only among woreda-level stakeholders but also with those working closest to the community. These include the KLACs, Kebele Administration, Community Care Coalition, traditional leaders or elders, and women representatives. These local actors in collaboration with woreda-level stakeholders play a key role in protecting women land rights. Each of these entities has different capacity and resources in each region. The project works with each so that they can coordinate activities within their mandate with the project activities, establish links among them, and also provide training and information on the SLLC process.

Prior to commencing SLLC, LIFT conducts a woreda-level sensitization workshop with the agencies. This includes a presentation of the challenges women face with regard to land and how those challenges can be addressed, methods to facilitate information sharing, and data collection on women in the area.

Among the institutional actors, the SC and GGTF are the most important for helping to protect women's land rights. The SC and GGTF are both established initiatives of the government. However, the SLLC process has made their roles more functional, with the SC becoming more mobilized 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 a dispute first-hand to clarify rights and resolve disputes involving women (see Case Story 3).

Case Story 3: Lakech is a 60-year-old woman who resides in Basona Worana Woreda, Amhara. After her spouse developed a 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 while a second 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 six 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 that LIFT's FT collect as part of the SLLC process. A member of the community divulged this when experts from the 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 both the land was to be returned to Lakech and monetary compensation had to be made. She returned to her place of residence and was also granted legal protection against any retaliation.

4.2.4 INTRODUCED PROCEDURAL IMPROVEMENTS DURING THE SLLC

Several amendments were made to the field guides, including procedures that address the low participation of women relative to men in the SLLC process and the identification of threats to women's land rights. These included:

- Mandatory attendance of wives during PD events. If the wife was not present, the husband must produce evidence for her absence. For example, if men give maternity or late-term pregnancy as the reason for their wives' non-attendance, they must provide evidence from Health Extension Workers (HEW).
- If a husband fails to attend with his wife/wives, the FT refuses to approve the PD form until he provides consent from his wife/wives. Documents are only released when wife/wives are brought to the PD event and given information about their parcels.
- When spouses appear together during AD or PD events, FT ask women to provide their information before their husbands, and husbands are asked to supplement with anything missing. This helps avoid situations where wives feel compelled to only provide information that agrees with what their husband provides.
- The SDO engages the GGFT when issues facing women arise that are beyond the scope of the kebele and WLAO to resolve. If the GGTF cannot resolve it, it is referred to the Justice Department or Prosecutors' Office and a case will be brought to court.

4.2.5 PROTECTING THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN IN POLYGAMOUS MARRIAGE

After a field-based study to identify feasible responses to polygamy,³⁴ LIFT proposed two procedural options for parcel registration for such households. The first option is that the husband chooses one wife who would be registered as a joint holder, while the other co-wives register independently. For example, if a man has three wives, the land is divided by four and the husband can choose one wife with whom to combine two quarters and register them in joint ownership. Each of the other wives has sole rights to one quarter of the land. This option is thought to secure each co-wives' rights.

The second option is to register all wives and the husband separately. The husband and each wife 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 option is rarely used but is available to help 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.

³⁴ LIFT, Strategy to Register Households Practicing Polygamy (2017).

5. EFFECTIVENESS OF SLLC

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

5.1 PARCEL DISTRIBUTION ACROSS THE VARIOUS FORMS OF LANDHOLDING

This section presents data on results for women and men in the SLLC by state.

Tigray Regional State: Table 2 and Figure 3 show the parcel statistics. Of the total 1,743,540 certified parcels distributed in 18 woredas of Tigray regional state, individual female holdings are slightly higher (29%) than individual male holdings (25%). Thirty-nine percent of the parcels are registered as jointly held and 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 Landholding 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%)
SNNPR %	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.

***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 holdings, 17% as female individual holdings, and 63% as joint male and female holdings. About 80% of parcels have been registered in women's names.

Amhara Regional State: Of the 3,500,253 parcels certified in 37 woredas, Table 1 shows that there are slightly more individual female holdings (23%) than individual male holdings (18%).

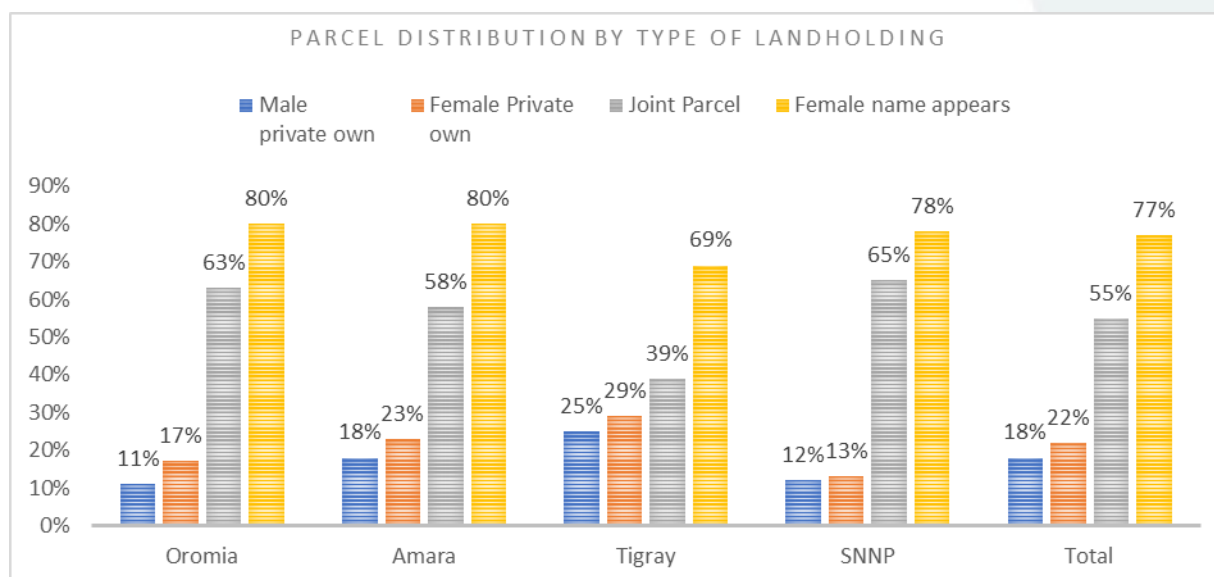
Joint male and female holdings account for 58% while parcels registered having female names account for 80% of the total number of parcels registered.

SNNPR 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. Seventy-eight percent of the parcels have been registered in women's names.

Across Regions: Out of the total 7,169,563 parcels certified in 102 woredas of Tigray, SNNPR, Amhara, and Oromia together, 18% of parcels are registered as male individual holdings, 22% are female individual holdings, and 55% of the total parcels are registered as joint holdings. In addition, 77% of the parcels are registered in women's names.

While there is variation between regions, overall gender-disaggregated parcel data reveals that the SLLC process has resulted in the majority of parcels being registered in women's names, whether as an individual or jointly.

Figure 3: Parcel Distribution by Type of Landholding



These results are interesting because they surpass the African Land Policy Centre³⁵ target of 30% of all registered land in Africa in the name of women by 2025.³⁶ Also, these findings

³⁵ African Land Policy Centre, (2016).

³⁶ LIFT is not the only program engaged in SLLC. Other partners such as REILA and IFAD are also active participants. Data from 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 program is evident, considering that so far as the program alone has issued more than 10 million certificates.

provide a contrast to a meta-analytic study³⁷ from 10 countries in Africa that concluded women are disadvantaged relative to men in nearly all measures of landownership.

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 does not indicate the parcel size women hold. It is possible that a greater number of parcels were registered under women's names, but the average size of parcels held by women could be smaller than that of men.

To address this limitation, for all regions under study and at national level, data were subjected to an independent t-test to examine if there was a statistically significant difference between the mean holding size of parcels registered to men and those registered to 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 statistically significant difference in the mean parcel size scores between males and females reflected in the parcel registration data produced in the SLLC process.

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

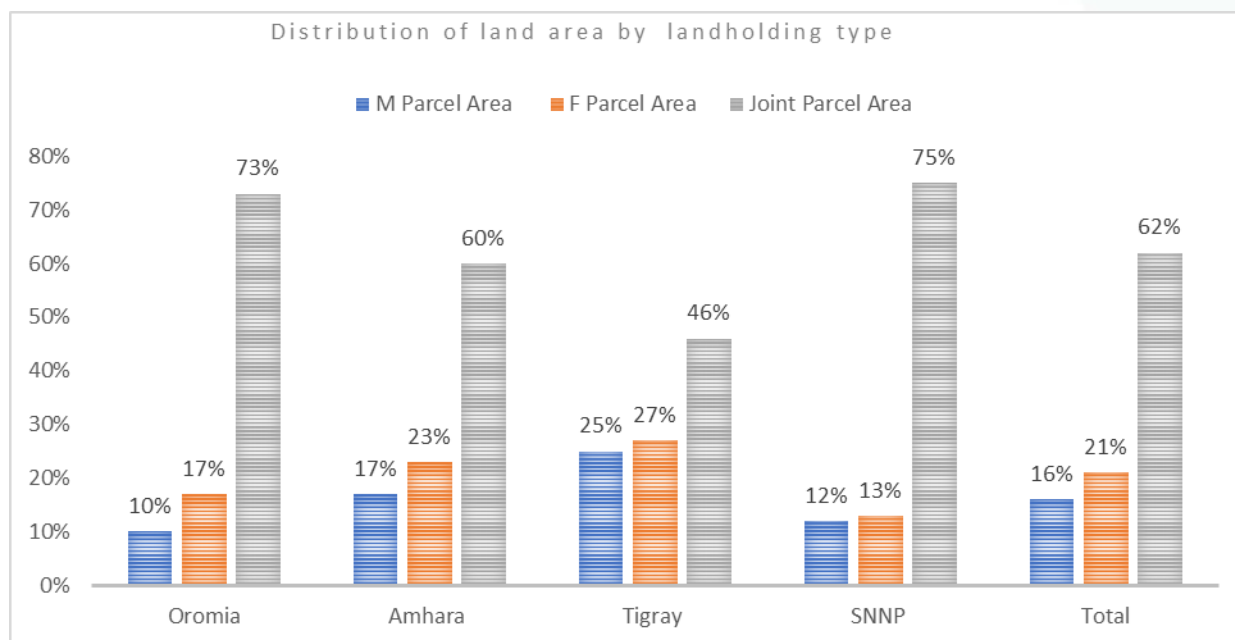
*Indicates significance at 95 percent confidence level.

5.3 DISTRIBUTION OF LAND AREA BY FORM OF LANDHOLDING

Using land as the unit of analysis, indicator three measures the percentage of land that is registered individually by women, men, or by men and women jointly and compares the land area. Out of the total 680,356 hectares in Oromia region, 10% of total registered land belongs to individual women, and 17% of the total registered land belongs to individual men; 73% of the total registered land is registered to women and men jointly.

³⁷ Doss et al., *supra* note 10.

Figure 4: Distribution of Land Area by Landholding Type in Hectares



Whereas for the Amhara region, out of 1,545,892 hectares of land, 17% of the total registered land is registered to individual men, 23% to individual women, and 60% of the total registered land is registered jointly to women and men. For SNNPR, out of the total 556,055 hectares, 12% and 13% of the total registered land belongs to individual male holding and individual female holding respectively, and 75% of the registered land area is registered as a joint holding. Finally, in Tigray, more land is registered under individual female holding (27%) than individual male holding (25%) and 46% of registered land area is registered jointly. Across the regions, out of 3,397,143 hectares of land 62% is under joint holding, while 16% is registered to male individual holdings and 21% is registered to female individual holdings. Overall, in all regions more registered land area is registered to individual female holdings than to male individual holdings.

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 (12%)	71,357 (13%)	2,976	1,683	414,888 (75%)
Total	3,397,143	546,257 (16%)	704,494 (21%)	14,423	11,729	2,122,145 (62%)

5.4 REGISTRATION OF PARCELS OF POLYGAMOUS WIVES

Polygamy is more prevalent in SNNPR and Oromia of the target region states. Not focusing on parcel data but on relationship status, data shows that in 26 woredas of SNNPR 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. This data represents only co-wives who registered land jointly with their husbands. It may be the case that women who are in polygamous relationships register land independently and present as female only in the data.

Qualitative Evidence

Quantitative data does not provide the full picture of the registration and certification dynamics, and as shown in the CF, distribution of landholding 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.

While full-fledged impact studies may be required to establish the magnitude of change, the qualitative data available through this research suggests positive outcomes of the project in strengthening women's tenure security. These include positive changes in participation of women in the SLLC process, increased dispute reporting capacity in target areas, improved dispute resolution processes related to women's land rights, and reduced land rights violations for women and violence against women (verbal, psychological, physical) in the target woredas.

Changes to the public awareness campaign and the introduction of the SDOs have reportedly improved participation of women, particularly WMHH during AD and PD events. While the exact participation level of women in the AD process is difficult to track, SDOs' records show on average 47% of participants that took part in the public awareness meetings for AD were female. From among the female participants, 69% WMHH (6% of whom were women in polygamous marriages), 29% were FHH, and 2% from other female VG. Currently, the attendance sheet for the PD is not disaggregated by sex, which a future SLLC manual revision might consider.

According to SDO reports, women are now more likely to report disputes and seek assistance on land rights matters. SDOs facilitate dispute resolution during their service time while they

report pending disputes to WLAO when they leave the site. This approach has alerted WLAO to continue follow-up of pending disputes and support women in their effort to resolve disputes after the SDO.

Furthermore, the program has contributed to the improvement of dispute resolution. As of September 2019, the SDOs helped to restore a total of 2,348 parcels for 1,265 VGs. From this, 67% of the parcel belongs to female VGs who constituted 64% of all the vulnerable landholders supported by the SDO.³⁸ According to this data, without the additional support of the SDO, women would have lost these parcels and subsequently land rights in the SLLC process. Similarly, though much remains to be achieved in terms of costs, distance and user friendliness, the program activated the GGTF arrangement that impacted formal dispute resolving institutions.

Finally, according to the qualitative data, SLLC has contributed to a reduction in land rights violations and land-related violence incidences against women. There is a common perception that the possession of a land certificate safeguards the rights of women and the public nature of the SLLC process enables women to speak freely as the perpetrator of violence are less likely to threaten them once women have raised an issue publicly. Evidence was also gathered that violence was reported to decrease during PD events and after the distribution of certificates.

6. CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this research was to investigate whether LIFT's SLLC intervention was effective in improving the land rights of women in Ethiopia. From the results presented and discussions that followed, it can be concluded that the combination of different strategies, coupled with enabling conditions (such as a positive legislative framework, strong institutional support, sufficient financial resources, and time), helped to achieve improved land tenure security for women in the program woredas. However, attaining land tenure security for women is broader concept that cannot be achieved by a single intervention.

Using the fact of being named on a land certificate as a proxy, data suggests that women's land tenure security was protected with regard to the completeness element in the CF. Data from millions of parcels found that parcels were registered to women as joint or individual holders. Also, on average, more parcels are registered in women's names than men's, more land area is registered as an individual holding by women, and there is no significant difference in mean parcel size held by women or by men.

Also, even though it is not possible to make a direct comparison with land tenure security before LIFT's SLLC, a logical case can be made that the completeness element of women's tenure security improved. Relevant baseline data is not available, and FLLC procedures were

³⁸ This was since the pilot was launched in June 2017 and after it scaled up in September 2018.

different, yet it is known that customary practices around land rights in Ethiopia prior to SLLC favored men's rights over women's rights and the converse is true in the data presented in this report with women. This suggests that more women have more complete rights to land after SLLC than before SLLC.

While it cannot be said that being named on a land certificate alone creates land tenure security, information on procedures that were employed, and qualitative data provided suggest that SLLC may have also improved other elements of tenure security for women. For example, it could be argued that improvements in women's participation in and awareness of the process as well as improved dispute resolution contribute to improvements in the robustness element of women's land tenure security (since robustness incorporates how well women can assert, protect and exercise their land rights and these are supported by information, awareness and positive experiences with land dispute resolution mechanisms).

The design of the LIFT program is such that it could conceivably also address contextual elements that have a bearing on women's tenure security in Ethiopia writ large. For example, it stratified women's experience with threats to land tenure security with their household status, and then used this information to develop procedures that positively impact other similarly situated women. It also used that information and results from field-based testing of approaches to influence the legal and policy framework in the country so processes that support improving tenure security for women become the standard for the country.

This report also helped to assess the usability and helpfulness of the Conceptual Framework. While the CF is a valuable tool to explain and assess an intervention with regard to women's tenure security in a comprehensive way, it does not explicitly consider mechanisms for ensuring sustainability of improved tenure security nor does it help assess the potential link between tenure security and other related outcomes for women, such as access to finance and other inputs for economic empowerment of women. For instance, other studies conducted by LIFT show that one of the opportunities for women's economic empowerment is the use of "land use rights as collateral" to access loans. In addition, the CF does not provide guidance for determining which interventions, approaches, or enabling conditions might be better for improving women's tenure security. For example, it does not provide guidance on how to determine whether individual holdings or joint holdings are better improving women's tenure security in a given context.

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ANNEXES

Tigray Regional State

Table 5: Parcel Distribution Across Landholding 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	36297
Hawzen	102,754	22909	31417	796	1183	42835
Alamata	71,637	19150	25900	464	499	22177
Seharti Samre	154,935	55419	45693	1550	1256	45072
Hintalo	81,028	26703	26885	612	757	21880
Laylay Maychew	92,999	18634	26043	560	681	43052
Taytay Maychew	101,547	21123	27430	1255	1142	43213
Taytay Koraro	42,235	7900	11408	243	380	20763
Klite Awlalo	96,498	21620	27885	594	1142	41495
Nader Adet	130,005	29127	33740	1574	1222	56109
Wereleki	232,986	55798	67148	2909	3376	87360
Adwa	87,685	18421	22039	1053	854	40640
Asgede Tsimbila	112,291	34128	31763	1878	1185	36799
Medebay Zana	97,527	20695	26801	922	821	42817
Ganta Afeshum	118,620	23080	36048	795	1301	52829
Laylay Adeyabo	13,676	3869	3980	155	129	4746
DogaTemben	61,574	15502	15932	572	608	26024
Saesie Tseada Emba	36,803	6452	12865	300	552	14734
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 6. Distribution of Land Area by Landholding 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	MF Parcel Area H
Ambalaje	108,740	10,254. 81	0.33	11,237. 39	0.32	484.29	372.03	11,310. 09
Hawzen	102,754	6,565.3 7	0.29	9,546.2 7	0.30	289.96	449.22	17,277. 77
Alamata	71,637	6,671.8 7	0.35	8,201.8 7	0.32	194.15	182.83	9,861.4 5
Seharti		20,242.		15,495.				19,407.
Samre	154,935	10	0.37	54	0.34	809.89	675.16	33
Hintalo	81,028	6,767.6 3	0.25	6,816.4 6	0.25	174.01	239.20	7,230.3 1
Laylay		4,739.6		6,451.6				15,103.
Maychew	92,999	9	0.25	9	0.25	211.35	238.42	25
Taytay		4,558.1		6,320.8				13,707.
Maychew	101,547	7	0.22	0	0.23	455.21	395.45	88
Taytay		2,103.7		2,841.7				7,344.8
Koraro	42,235	9	0.27	2	0.25	144.81	191.51	8
Klite Awlalo	96,498	5,954.3 4	0.28	6,924.6 1	0.25	200.83	374.51	14,464. 02
Nader Adet	130,005	8,119.1 6	0.28	8,401.0 4	0.25	1059.86	537.99	24,691. 98
Wereleki	232,986	16,848. 68	0.30	19,425. 02	0.29	1297.96	1362.74	38,389. 51
Adwa	87,685	3,371.8 9	0.18	4,499.7 9	0.20	331.93	242.49	12,635. 22
Asgede Tsimbila	112,291	33,605. 13	0.98	30,389. 89	0.96	2495.50	1367.69	39,316. 48
Medebay Zana	97,527. 00	7,541.9 4	0.36	8,721.4 1	0.33	883.61	467.57	19,462. 79
Ganta Afeshum	118,620 .00	3,455.1 6	0.15	5,755.3 1	0.16	170.69	323.82	12,992. 87
Laylay Adeyabo	13,676. 00	2,887.6 0	0.75	3,057.4 0	0.77	173.13	132.15	4,518.4 0

DogaTemben	61,574.00	5,601.46	0.36	4,865.35	0.31	253.02	234.10	9,070.27
Saesie Tseada Emba	36,803.00	1,875.23	0.29	3,768.85	0.29	120.53	199.86	6,433.85
Total	1,743,540.00	151,164.08	0.35	162,720.41	0.34	9,750.73	7,986.84	283,218.34

Table 7: Parcel Distribution Across Landholding Type—SNNPR

	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 8: Distribution of Land Area by Landholding Type and Mean Parcels Size—SNNPR

	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	65,149.62	18.16	71,357.46	19.61	2,976.35	1,683.70	414,888.25
Percentage	11.7%	0.7%	12.8%	0.8%	0.5%	0.3%	74.6%

Total Parcel Area= 556,055 Hectare

Table 9: Parcel Distribution Across Landholding Type—Oromia

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 10: Distribution of Land Area by Landholding Type and Mean Parcels Size—Oromia

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 H	712,72.55	15.33	113,345.55	15.54	809.64	1039.24	493,889.37
Percentage	10.48%	0.73	16.66 %	0.74	0.12%	0.15%	72.59%

Total Parcel area=680,356 Hectare

Table 11: Parcel Distribution Across Landholding 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 wedera	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	77,835	16,171	20,298	40,156
Siyadebrana wayo	119,725	29,717	29,671	60,031
Qewot	68,492	15,219	14,156	38,154
Ensaro	75,494	12,500	15,880	46,477
Mida Woremo	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 12: Distribution of Land Area by Landholding Type and Mean Parcels Size—Amhara

AMHARA	M Parcel Area	M Avg Hol. Size	F Parcel Area	F Avg Hol. Size	Joint Parcel Area
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	7,966	0.49	20,434	1.01	24,670
siyadebrana wayo	11,974	0.40	28,737	0.97	20,368
Qewot	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