

**LONG TERM PERSPECTIVES ON DEVELOPMENT IMPACTS
IN RURAL ETHIOPIA**

**CHANGING INEQUALITIES IN RURAL
ETHIOPIA: DIFFERENTIAL IMPACTS OF
INTERVENTIONS AND EXCLUSIONS**

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Table of Contents

Part I: INTRODUCTION	6
1. The purpose and approach of the paper.....	6
1.1. The focus and purpose of the paper	6
1.2. The structure of the paper	6
1.3. The methods and data.....	6
1.4. Outline of a conceptual framework.....	8
Part II. INEQUALITIES AND EXCLUSIONS.....	8
2. Inequalities at different levels	8
2.1. Inter-Community inequalities.....	8
2.1.1. Regional variations in policies and implementation	10
2.1.2. Urban linkages of various kinds.....	10
2.1.3. Development services	11
2.1.4. Core livelihood system	12
2.1.5. Diversification.....	12
2.1.6. New agricultural technologies.....	13
2.1.7. Cultural differences	13
2.1.8. Social inequality.....	14
2.1.9. Social integration.....	14
2.1.10. Government-society relations.....	15
2.2. Intra-community inequalities	16
2.2.1. Geographical location, settlement, and topography	16
2.2.2. Access to roads and communications	16
2.2.3. Access to water and irrigation.....	17
2.2.4. Access to administration and services	17
2.3. Inter-household level inequalities.....	18
2.3.1. Access to resources	18
2.3.2. Labour composition.....	27
2.3.3. The household development cycle.....	31
2.3.4. Household types.....	32
2.3.5. Shocks facing households.....	35
2.3.6. The household's status.....	46
2.4. Intra-Household inequalities	50
2.4.1. Gender-age.....	50
2.5. Dependents	60
2.5.1. Genderage differences	60
2.5.2. Wealth and status	62
3. Exclusions 64	
3.1. Dimensions of exclusion	64
3.1.1. Economic exclusion	65
3.1.2. Social exclusion.....	65
3.1.3. Cultural exclusion	66
3.1.4. Political exclusion	67
3.2. Categories of excluded households and persons	67
3.2.1. Excluded categories of households	68
3.2.2. Excluded categories of person	68
Part III: INEQUALITIES AND EXCLUSIONS IN THE SIX COMMUNITIES	69
4. Differential impacts and exclusions: the six communities	69
4.1. Korodegaga (Korodegaga kebele, Dodota Wereda, Oromia Region).....	69
4.1.1. Description	69
4.1.2. Differentials.....	69
4.1.3. Exclusions	71
4.2. Turufe (Turufe Wetera Kecheme kebele, Shashemene Wereda, Oromia Region)	72
4.2.1. Description	72
4.2.2. Differentials.....	73

4.2.3.	Exclusions	76
4.3.	Dinki (Hagere Selam kebele, Ankober Wereda, Amhara Region)	77
4.3.1.	Description	77
4.3.2.	Differentials	78
4.3.3.	Exclusions	80
4.4.	Yetmen (Felege Selam kebele, Enemay Wereda, Amhara Region)	81
4.4.1.	Description	81
4.4.2.	Differentials	81
4.5.	Girar (Girarna Yeferema Zigba kebele, Cheha Wereda, Gurage Zone, SNNP Region)	83
4.5.1.	Description	83
4.5.2.	Differentials	84
4.5.3.	Exclusions	85
4.6.	Geblen (Geblen Tabia (kebele), Saesia Tsaeda Emba Wereda, Tigray Region)	85
4.6.1.	Description	85
4.6.2.	Differentials	86
4.6.3.	Exclusions	88
Part IV: INEQUALITIES AND EXCLUSIONS IN DIFFERENT DOMAINS		90
5.	Differentials and exclusions in the domains and fields of action	90
5.1.	Differentials and exclusions in the field of human re/production	90
5.1.1.	Gender-age, life cycles and interventions	90
5.1.2.	Health Differentials, Interventions and Exclusions Risks	92
5.1.3.	Education Differentials, Interventions and Exclusion Risks	96
5.2.	Differentials and exclusions in the livelihood domain	99
5.2.1.	Agriculture	99
5.2.2.	Domestic and other household reproductive work	106
5.2.3.	Work in and for the community	107
5.2.4.	Non-farm local work	108
5.2.5.	The Productive Safety Net and Food Aid	109
5.2.6.	Access to microfinance	111
5.2.7.	Migration	113
5.3.	Differentials and exclusions in the field of social re/pro/duction	117
5.3.1.	Producing new households through marriage	117
5.3.2.	Dissolution of households through divorce and death	121
5.3.3.	Participating in local networks and organisations	123
5.4.	Differentials and exclusions in the field of cultural ideas	125
5.4.1.	Ethnicity and Religion	125
5.4.2.	Other repertoires: local customary, local modern, wider Ethiopia, international	127
5.5.	Differentials and exclusions in the field of community governance	129
5.5.1.	Voluntary community based associations	129
Part V: CONCLUSION: IMPROVED FRAMEWORK, POLICY AND PRACTICE		130
6.	Towards an improved differential impacts and exclusions framework	130
6.1.	The community level	131
6.1.1.	Inter-community differences	131
6.1.2.	5.2.1.2. Intra-community differences	132
6.2.	The inter-household level	132
6.3.	The intra- household individual level	133
6.4.	Exclusions	135
7.	Policy and practice implications	135
7.1.	A focus on community differences and types	136
7.2.	A focus on household resources, cycles and types	137
7.3.	A focus on intrahousehold genderage and dependence	138
7.4.	A focus on exclusions	139

List of maps, tables, boxes and figures

Map 1: The Six WIDE3 Stage 1 Sites in 2010	7
Table 1: Community typing – the Six Stage 1 Communities in 2010	9
Table 2: Land Distribution by Site.....	18
Table 3: Sex of Household Head By Land Access.....	20
Table 4: Land Distribution By Sex of Household Head.....	20
Table 5: Land Distribution by Age of Male Household Head	20
Table 6: Access To Irrigation by Age of Male Household Head.....	21
Table 7: Sex of Household Head By Lack of Oxen And Livestock	21
Table 8: Assets By Age Oof Male Household Head.....	22
Table 9: Asset Ownership	22
Table 10: Rural Asset Quintiles By Sex Of Household Head: 2004	23
Table 11: Reported Household Vulnerability	23
Table 12: Size of Households: 2004	28
Table 13: Major Household Types Experiencing Extreme Poverty	33
Table 14: Shocks Reported in the RANS by Site And Type	36
Table 15: Shocks Reported In The RANS By Proportion Affected by Site	39
Table 16: RANS Shocks by Year and Type	40
Table 17: RANS Shocks by Site Comparing Very Poor and Destitute with The Sample	41
Table 18: Ethnic Mix	47
Table 19: Religious Mix.....	48
Table 20: Natives and Immigrants – Self-Identification.....	50
Table 21: Demographic Structures 2004 (RANS).....	52
Table 22: Problems faced by children of different ages – reported from yetmen	55
Table 23: Proportions of Under 20-S Studying.....	57
Table 24: Proportion of Household Heads Reported as Widowed In 2004	120
Table 25: Percentage of Household Heads Divorced in 2004	121
Table 26: Average Number Of NGO Services Per HH 2003-2004	128
Box 1: Landless Households	19
Box 2: Wealthy People	23
Box 3: Poor People.....	24
Box 4: Local Elites	24
Box 5: Destitute People.....	26
Box 6: Incorporation Of Relatives	28
Box 7: Employment Contracts	29
Box 8: Exploitation Of Servants	29
Box 9: Farm Servants and Daily Labourers.....	30
Box 10: Migrant Labour	31
Box 11: Arssi Oromo Clans	49
Box 12: Infant Gender Preferences.....	53
Box 13: Infancy	54
Box 14: Religious Schooling.....	56
Box 15: Education	57
Box 16: Asset Characteristics of Different Wealth Categories in Korodegaga.....	70
Box 17: Households Dowplaying their Wealth: Korodegaga	70
Box 18: Assistance to Poorer Relatives: Korodegaga	70
Box 19: Children from Poor Households Sent to Work as Herders: Korodegaga	71
Box 20: Landlessness: Korodegaga	71
Box 21: Exclusion and inclusion of migrants: Korodegaga	71
Box 22: Exlcusion of the poor in Korodegaga	71
Box 23: Exclusion from Programmes	72
Box 24: Assets Characteristics of Different Wealth Categories in Turufe	74
Box 25: Difficulties Faced by Migrants in Turufe	76

Box 26:	Separation of <i>Iddir</i> Funeral Associations on Religious Grounds.....	77
Box 27:	Landlessness in Dinki.....	78
Box 28:	Characteristics of Wealth Categories: Dinki.....	79
Box 29:	Landlessness in Yetmen.....	81
Box 30:	Assets Characteristics of Different Wealth Categories in Yetmen.....	82
Box 31:	Charactisitcs of Elites in Yetmen.....	82
Box 32:	Problems with Health Exemptions in Turufe.....	94
Box 33:	Characteristics of Elites.....	103
Box 34:	Types of migrations identified in the WED research.....	113
Box 35:	Remittances in Turufe.....	115
Box 36:	Migration from Yetmen.....	115
Box 37:	The Underclass of Migrants in Turufe.....	116
Box 38:	Problems Faced by Migrants in Turufe.....	117
Box 39:	Main Forms Of Marriage.....	118
Box 40:	First Marriages - Exchanges Between Families And Gifts To The Couple.....	119
Box 41:	Child Marriage in Yetmen.....	119
Box 42:	Polygyny in Korodegaga.....	119
Box 43:	Inherited Wives.....	120
Box 44:	Divorce in the four WeD sites.....	121
Box 45:	Religion-Based Social Protection.....	127
Box 46:	Community Care For The Disabled And Destitute Youth.....	128
Box 47:	NGOs In Turufe.....	128
Figure 1:	Ideal-type household cycle - Amhara.....	31
Figure 2:	Ideal-type household cycle - Oromia.....	31

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Part I: INTRODUCTION

1. The purpose and approach of the paper

1. This section explains the purpose and approach of the paper, outlines the structure and describes the overall study and the data and methods used.

1.1. The focus and purpose of the paper

1. Rural communities, households and people in Ethiopia are often assumed to be relatively homogenous and undifferentiated. However, despite the pervasive and prevalent view of overall poverty, there are in fact very significant differences between and within communities and between and within households. By comparing different kinds of communities, households and persons we explain differences in terms of types of communities and households and their characteristics, and inequalities based on gender-age, wealth and status.

2. Not only are inequalities important, but they have been changing in different ways over time and place. Some of these changes are related to modernisation processes and others are affected directly or indirectly by interventions in different domains and sectors. This paper unpacks the differentials at various levels and analyses underlying factors that explain these differences. We also assess how different types of interventions have affected differentially situated people living in these communities.

3. The extremes forms of inequalities involve exclusions of different categories of persons and households. The paper describes the bases for these exclusions and their consequences for different types of people and households and analyses the different dimensions of exclusion. We also discuss ways in which interventions may intentionally or unintentionally reduce or increase exclusions

1.2. The structure of the paper

4. The paper is divided into six parts. The introduction summarises the focus, purpose, and methods and outlines the conceptual framework. Part II considers inequalities at different levels from the community to the individual in section 2 and dimensions of exclusion in section 3. The Third Part provides summary descriptions of each of the sites, with sections on differentials and exclusions. Part IV considers inequalities and exclusions in the five domains used in the WIDE research. The final part consists of two chapters, the first suggesting an improved framework for understanding differential impacts and exclusions and the second provide suggestions concerning implications for policy and practice.

1.3. The methods and data

5. This paper is part of the Ethiopia Longitudinal Community Study (ELCS) covering 20 rural and two urban communities. The paper focuses on six communities in four regions which were studied in 2010 under the first stage of the third phase of the Wellbeing and Illbeing Dynamics in Ethiopia (WIDE3) study (see Map). The paper develops and deepens the findings of the main report (Bevan, Dom and Pankhurst 2010), with a focus on inequalities and exclusions. We also make use of the data from earlier phases (WIDE1 in 1994-5 and especially WIDE 2 from 2003 to 2005) to understand changes over time. In particular the Resource and Needs Survey (RANS) carried out in 2004 provides quantitative data used to analyse change in four of these communities.

1.4. Outline of a conceptual framework

8. This section outlines a framework for understanding inequalities and exclusions in rural Ethiopia, and considers four interrelated levels of inequalities, four underlying factors and four dimensions of exclusions discussed in the rest of the paper.

9. Inequalities in rural Ethiopia may be considered at the following four levels 1) inter-community, 2) intra-community, 3) inter-household and 4) intra-household. This paper focuses largely on third and fourth levels. However the first and second levels are relevant in that it has impacts on household and person levels.

10. Inequalities can be conceived of as based on four major factors: 1) location, 2) gender-age, 3) wealth and poverty, 4) other statuses.

11. Exclusions are conceptualised and distinguished in terms of the following four dimensions: 1) economic, 2) social, 3) cultural and 4) political exclusions.

Part II. INEQUALITIES AND EXCLUSIONS

2. Inequalities at different levels

12. Inequalities in rural Ethiopia are evident at four levels: 1) inter-community, 2) intra-community, 3) inter-household and 4) intra-household at person level. Differences and inequalities between communities have an impact on the opportunities and constraints for households and individuals. Inequalities between households affect the life chances of individuals, and inequalities between households affect the opportunities and constraints for individuals living within households.

2.1. Inter-Community inequalities

13. In the WIDE3 main report we identified ten parameters of importance in determining the situations of the communities in 2010 (see table 1). This subsection briefly reviews these in terms of inequalities and exclusions.

1. Regional variations in policies and implementation
2. Urban linkages of various kinds
3. Development services
4. Core livelihood system
5. Diversification
6. New agricultural technologies
7. Cultural differences
8. Social inequality
9. Social integration
10. Government-society relations

Table 1: Community typing – the Six Stage 1 Communities in 2010

Region	Urban linkages	Development services	Core livelihood system	Diversification	New agri technologies	Cultural differences	Social inequality	Social integration	Government – society relns
Geblen (Tigray)	Urbanising centre. Scattered popn. Big town accessible from centre.	PSNP OFSP HP and HC Primary school	Livestock + vulnerable cereal	Daily labour; small business; migr'n: casual urban; seasonal agricult; Gulf (mostly illegal); education	Modern beehives - failed	Tigrayan, Irob OC, Islam, Catholics	Rich – poor Older adults – youth Men-women	No suggestion of ethnic or religious conflicts. Inter-generational tensions over land and youth exit.	Community dislikes forced package taking but <i>kebele</i> leadership unwilling to take to higher level
Yetmen (Amhara)	Small town; big town accessible; villagised	ADLI + NRM packages HP and HC Primary school	Grain export + livestock	Irrigated vegetables, more barley&chickpeas; medium and petty trade; education.	Selected seeds, fertiliser; irrigation; Two harvests BBM plough; breed cattle	None Amhara OC	Rich – poor Older adults – youth Men-women	Homogenous and tightly knit. Inter-generational tensions over land.	Post 2005 party recruitmt ex-Derg bureaucrats; refusal to be mobilised; demonstrations against decisions
Dinki (Amhara)	Urbanising centre; big town distant scattered population	Regular emergency food aid - FFW ADLI + NRM packages HP and HC Primary school	Vulnerable cereal + irrigation + livestock	Daily labour, some youth casual migration, petty trade	Experiments with spices in nursery; selected seeds + fertiliser on irrigation	Argobba 60+% Amhara Islam, OC	Rich – poor Older adults – youth Men-women Amhara bit richer; Argoba pol majority	Argobba-Amhara uneasy relation. History of conflicts with Afar. Inter-generational tensions over land	Govt mobilisation hindered by democratic right of non-participation. <i>kebele</i> leaders 'between 2 fires'
Korodegaga (Oromia)	Big town accessible from growing centre (not vehicles); scattered popn	PSNP OFSP HP and HC Primary school	Vulnerable cereal + irrigation + livestock	Daily labour. Youth loading co-op. Illegal migration to Sudan.	Irrigation, selected seeds, fertiliser; investor's tractor	Arssi Oromo – clans; Islam	Rich – poor Older adults – youth Men-women Exclusion of non-residents	Historic conflicts with nearby pastoralists. Clan political competition	Government mobilisation involving threats. Foot-dragging. All are party members.
Turufe (Oromia)	Big town peri-urban, some suburban. Villagised	ADLI and NRM packages HP and HC Primary school	Potato and grain export + livestock	Commuting and casual migration for business +daily labour; flower farms; Gulf migrn; Education	Selected seeds, fertiliser; few breed cattle; manual thresher	Oromo + 6 Islam OC Protestants Catholics	Rich – poor Older adults – youth Men-women Oromo pol majority	Proximity to multi-ethnic Shashemene may assist social integration	Community able to mobilise against unwanted things: closing of hospital, full day school
Girar (SNNP)	Small town peri-urban. Big town accessible. Scattered popn	ADLI + NRM packages HP and HC Primary school	Highly-populated <i>enset</i> + urban migration	Chat and eucalyptus exports; daily labour; education	Selected seeds, fertiliser; tractor hire	Gurage, OC, Catholics, Protestants few Muslims+	Big gap very rich – very poor. Men - women	Inter-clan and sub-clan competition within broad Gurage mutual obligation	Post-2005 election violence. Party penetration less advanced.

These 10 parameters may be conveniently regrouped into three broad areas:

- 1) Government-community relations**, including a) (1) Regional variations in policies and implementation, b) (3) Development services, c) (10) government-society relations
- 2) Livelihoods and urban linkages**, including: a) (4) Core livelihood system, b) (5) diversification, c) (6) New agricultural technologies, and d) (2) urban linkages of various kinds
- 3) Socio-cultural context**, including a) (7) cultural differences, b) (8) social inequality, c) (9) social integration.

13. Several of these parameters have important implications for differential impacts of interventions, on different types of communities, households and persons. Although this paper is more focused on the third broad areas, the second and to some extent the first are also relevant in structuring inequalities and exclusions.

2.1.1. Regional variations in policies and implementation

14. This research was carried out sites in the four main regions of Ethiopia. In the first stage Catherine Dom piloted a module that explored regional implementation of policies in Amhara Region. However, we did not have the time and resources to look into the question of regional variations in policies in depth or to tracing the development of policy from regional to local level. However at site level we found traces of important regional policy concerns, and differences in policies on land, extension services in livelihoods, education and health, and on gender issues to mention just a few can play out in different ways for communities, households and individuals, as will become evident in the course of this paper.

2.1.2. Urban linkages of various kinds

15. Urban linkages have important differential impacts for communities, households and individuals. The six sites studied in phase 1 fall into two categories: three of them (Turufe, Yetmen and Girar) are close to urban areas, have good road access and are more integrated with services. Two of these sites (Turufe and Girar) are so close to towns that they are likely to become suburbs, and may be affected by urban expansion leading to loss of land. The third, Yetmen, is on a main road and part of the site is a small but growing urban settlement. The other three sites (Geblen, Korodegaga and Dinki) are somewhat more remote and further from towns. Geblen is near the main road leading to the small town of Edaga Hamus, Korodegaga is not too distant from Adama but residents have to cross the Awash on a raft, whereas Dinki is no doubt the only site that is remote. Urban proximity and linkages have important implications for all residents, and well as differential implications for certain categories..

16. The sites closer to main roads and towns offer closer access to administrative and other services found in towns, whereas residents in more remote sites spend more time and resources on travel. Proximity to roads and urban areas also enables residents to sell produce and especially cash crops more easily and provides more opportunities for involvement in trade. It is thus also a major factor in explaining why the three sites with greater urban access are more prosperous and changing faster. However, the opportunities from cash crops and trade have had differential impacts resulting in differential growth and inequalities within communities. We therefore find that in the three integrated sites with good access to towns, there are elites who are very wealthy. Some grain traders in Yetmen even own trucks and can afford satellite dishes

17. The better off households in the integrated sites are also able to make use of opportunities for improved services in the towns, notably better health care and education including even pre-

schools, and especially tertiary education. Although the more integrated sites close to towns offer particular opportunities for the more those who are better off to prosper, they do also offer opportunities for non-agricultural income, notably in wage labour and petty trade for the poor. Even in remote sites the development of wereda towns has provided an incentive for small-scale urban development.

2.1.3. Development services

18. In categorising the sites in the WIDE3 phase 1 research we distinguished between dependent and independent economies. The three drought-prone sites are heavily dependent on assistance for two of them (Korodegaga and Geblen) through the Productive SafetyNet Programme (PSNP) and the third (Dinki) with food for work. The assistance provided through the PSNP and the Other Food Security Programme notably credit are very important for the communities, particularly for those households that are beneficiaries. The PSNP direct support was vital for certain categories of households, notably the elderly and some female-headed and vulnerable households. The food or cash obtained through public works also enabled poor households to overcome seasonal food shortage especially during the pre-harvest hunger season, and provided a buffer from shocks so that households were not forced to sell too many assets, notably livestock needed for agricultural production. Whereas the PSNP was a vital resource for poorer households it was one constituent of diversified livelihoods of the better off. Although the PSNP and food for work clearly benefited poor households, there were some cases of allegations of nepotism and inclusion of richer people. Underlying this was partly a community ethic of sharing and distribution resources widely throughout the community. There were also cases of allegations of exclusion of some poor without connections to people in power, notably some female headed households. The OFSP included packages and credit. Some of the packages such as drip-irrigation and improved livestock breeds were of more use to the richer households, and wealthier households were in a better position to benefit from using credit. However, there were problems in the implementation of packages with pressure applied on households to take packages, such as bee-hives and goats in Tigray which in a context of drought failed and lead to indebtedness of households with less resources to cope with shocks. There were also cases of poor or female headed households taking credit and facing shocks leading to indebtedness.

19. In contrast in the three sites with independent economies (Yetmen, Turufe and Girar), the role and influence of social protection programmes was much more limited (for instance in Turufe related to years in which there were epidemics, drought and crop failure).

20. The main emphasis of extensions services was related to agricultural development, though even in these cases their influence was limited. The packages were directed more at richer male households, but even in these cases, much of the improvement in livelihoods did not necessarily relate to interventions, and was more to do with cash cropping opportunities such as eucalyptus and chat in Girar, and trade in Yetmen and Turufe.⁴

21. Health and education services have been expanded considerably in all sites, benefiting the remoter sites more even than the integrated ones. Construction of health posts and centres in all sites resulted in improved access to curative health services though, equipment and services are often limited costs remain a concern for very poor households and those in remoter parts of the sites. Richer households particularly in the more integrated wealthier sites have been able to afford private health care in towns. Preventative health packages have been introduced recently with the posting of the Health Extension Workers (HEWs). These included family planning, sanitation, and malaria prevention. However there have been problems with shortages of equipment and drugs and community resistance notably regarding sanitation measures. There has also been expansion of

⁴ For a detailed consideration of the role of extension agents see the companion paper by Dom (2011).

mother and child services, including pregnancy checks, delivery and in some sites, post-natal follow up, and mother and child vaccinations. There were shortages reported and some resistance to vaccinations in certain sites.

22. There has been a massive expansion of primary schools which has resulted in more marked changes in the three remote sites where services were previously more limited. The enrolment of girls has increased more than that of boys, in most sites surpassing that of boys. However, there have been some opposition to full-day primary school due to household needs for child labour, and to the school calendar that results in absenteeism on market days and during peak agricultural work.

23. There has also been increased secondary enrolment, though cost for poorer households and access for girls remains an issue, in the remoter sites where travel to school is still a challenge. The development of Technical and Vocational Education and Training centres has been important for four of the sites and only Korodegaga and Dinki residents do not have access to TVET in relatively close proximity. There have been a few cases of role models who have attended university in all sites except Dinki; some subsequently obtained jobs and have been assisting their families. Though a few boys from poorer households have been able to benefit from free tertiary education, there are few girls. In the more integrated wealthier sites a few richer households have been able to send boys and even girls to private colleges

2.1.4. Core livelihood system

24. Regarding core livelihood systems in addition to the distinction between sites with independent and dependent economies, we distinguished five types: 1) vulnerable cereal + livestock (Geblen), 2) vulnerable cereal + livestock + irrigation (Dinki and Korodegaga); 3) Grain export (Yetmen); 4) Grain export + potato (Turufe), and 5) *enset* and urban migration (Girar). The types essentially relate to whether the production is cereal or *enset* based, and includes other key crops (potatoes in Turufe), whether these are vulnerable or export sites, and whether population density and migration and key aspects of the livelihood system.

25. The type of core livelihood does relate to inequalities in that in the export sites there is more potential for the rich to become more wealthy. This is also a factor to a lesser extent in the vulnerable sites with irrigation, since this enables the production of cash crops which can be a source of income and expanded production resulting in the formation of elites. Migration can be a source of remittances and some migrants within Ethiopia and to Gulf states have been able to assist their households improve their livelihoods but there are also many stories of migrants facing difficulties some returning without savings, and migration is only a source of improvement for a few.

2.1.5. Diversification

26. The diversification of the economy has important differential effects between sites. Irrigation has probably been the most important source of diversified livelihoods and a major factor in increasing inequalities. It is a key element of the livelihoods only in two sites: Korodegaga, and for those with access in Dinki and in these sites those with access to irrigation have much greater potential to improve their livelihoods. However irrigation has also become more important recently in Yetmen, and a few people in Turufe and Geblen benefit from limited irrigation

27. Trade has been the main basis of inequality in the richer sites, with some households specialising in grain trade in Yetmen, Chat and Eucalyptus in Girar, and potatoes in Turufe; some becoming far more wealthy than others. Increasing opportunities for petty trade have also become important strategies for poorer households, notably for women in most sites, with more opportunities in the integrated sites due to closer proximity to markets. Women are involved in producing alcohol and in the integrated sites can earn income selling liquor in towns.

28. Daily labour is becoming a more important strategy for unemployed youth, and the increase in rates in daily labour mean that it can be used beyond mere survival and may even generate some savings which can be used productively. Women becoming involved in wage labour is a new trend opening up new livelihood options for them.

29. Migration has been an important strategy in some sites, becoming a way of life in Girar and Geblen. Migration to urban sites, agricultural projects and commercial farms and abroad have been on the increase. Some young women from Turufe have been migrating to flower farms in the Rift Valley. Poorer young men in most sites migrate for seasonal work during weeding and harvesting periods and to towns for construction work and poorer young women mainly to urban areas to work in bars. A few persons from the integrated sites with skills such as masonry and carpentry migrate for work and have been earning well. Migration to Gulf State, and Sudan has also been a successful strategy but only for a few.

2.1.6. New agricultural technologies

30. There has been some adoption of new technologies by enterprising farmers in a various sites. This included selected seeds and fertiliser in most sites, improved livestock breeds in some, and some new technologies such as the broad-bed maker to enable two harvests in Yetmen, and manual threshers in Turufe, and tractors were hired in Girar and Korodegaga. However, there have been serious problems with adoption of livestock breeds, which are often not drought and disease resistant, and modern bee-hives failed in Geblen leading to indebtedness. In Dinki the nursery experimented with spices, some of which were successful.

31. In most cases adoption of new technologies is restricted to wealthier male-headed households such as the use of cross-bred cows to produce more milk in Turufe. The price of fertiliser has increased so much that many poorer households in most sites are no longer able to afford to use it or use insufficient quantities for it to be effective. Where rains have failed in the drought prone sites, the investment in fertilise was often lost which particularly affected the poor leading to indebtedness. Though composting is a potential alternative that is being used in some sites, it requires manure which only wealthier households with sufficient livestock have enough of to use effectively.

2.1.7. Cultural differences

32. Three of the sites are monoethnic: Yetmen being Amhara, Korodegaga Oromo and Girar Gurage. The other three sites have more than one ethnicity: Dinki with and Argobba majority and Amhara minority, Geblen with Tigraway and Erob, and Turufe with a number of groups, including an Oromo majority and migrants from northern Ethiopia (Amhara and Tigraway) and Southern Ethiopia (Wolayta, Kambata, Gurage). As we shall see, in the polyethnic sites ethnicity does not seem to be a basis of inequality in Geblen, but there are some inequalities that relate to ethnicity in the other two sites. In Dinki the Amhara are on average somewhat more wealthy in economic terms, though the Argobba are politically dominant at the local level, and in Korodegaga the migrant groups from the North are on average better off in terms of land and livestock holdings than the Oromo majority who control political power and the migrants from the south worse off.

33. In religious terms two of the sites are monoreligious: Yetmen where all the households are Orthodox Christians and Korodegaga where they are almost all Muslim. The other four sites are heterogeneous and there is often a loose fit between ethnicity and religion. In Dinki the Argobba are mainly Muslim and the Amhara mainly Christian. In Turufe the Oromo are largely Muslim, the migrants from the North Orthodox Christians and most of the migrants from the south Protestant,

and a few Catholics. Girar and Geblen have Orthodox Christians, Catholics, and a few Muslims, and in Girar there are also Protestants.

34. There seems little evidence of strong inequalities based on religion and cultural traditions. However, there have been some issues relating to gender and Muslim and some cultural traditions. In Dinki the Argobba women were not meant to work in the fields. There was some resistance to including the names of wives in the land certification process in Dinki on the grounds that Sharia law did not allow women equal inheritance. There has also been some resistance to outlawing widow inheritance and discouraging polygyny in Turufe as these were established cultural traditions. There has also been resistance to outlawing female circumcision in several sites.

2.1.8. Social inequality

35. In all the sites there have been growing inequalities between rich and poor, and the older and younger generations, but a decrease in gender inequality. The growing distinctions between rich and poor is more pronounced in the integrated sites (Yetmen, Girar and Turufe) where opportunities for trade and sale of cash crops and diversification of livelihoods in relation to peri-urban opportunities has created room for entrepreneurial activity and for elite formation. There have also been some opportunities created in the remoter sites through irrigation and cash crop production.

36. There has been a growing distinction between the older generation controlling land and other resources and the land-less youth leading to the formation of a class of older landed mainly male-headed households. The end of land re-distribution, certification, and the legalisation of extended periods for renting and leasing (with *kebele* or wereda agreement) may be a step towards the consolidation of a 'kulak' peasant elite. Though this process has happened in all sites, in the wealthier more integrated sites the elites have been better placed to intensify and diversify production and obtain income from a range of sources.

37. In all sites there has been a decrease in gender inequalities largely associated with interventions. These included measures relating to women's land rights, promotion of girls education, women and child centred health packages and interventions, measures to counter violence against women and harmful traditional practices, although these have provoked some resistance from men.

2.1.9. Social integration

38. The extent of social integration and conflict has some bearing on differential opportunities and constraints. Intergeneration tensions notably over land have been important in all sites, leading to some youth exit notably in sites such as Geblen and Girar with important migratory traditions.

39. In the mono-ethnic sites in the South notably in Korodegaga, Turufe and Girar interclan rivalries were traditionally important notably in cases of murder and feuds, and in Korodegaga there were previously significant tensions with neighbouring pastoralist groups. These rivalries have to some extent continued in current political contexts, notably in competition for leadership in elections. In Dinki rivalry between Argobba and Amhara has also taken on a political garb and access to position of authority is often linked to these rivalries; these tensions are also related to the position of Dinki bordering the Afar regional state and the Argobba special wereda within the Afar state. In Turufe, which is within Oromia but close the border with the Southern Region and the multiethnic town of Shashemene, only native Oromo are able to obtain positions of authority in the local administration. The migrants have often sought to develop networks with other migrants particularly in the towns of Shashemene and Kuyera and some successful migrants have pursued a strategy of sending their children to live in towns.

40. Occupational groups of craftworkers were traditionally despised and ostracised. Though these inequalities which were more pronounced in southern Ethiopia have been considerably reduced some traces remain particularly in Girar and Turufe, and intermarriage between craftworker households and farmers is still resisted.

41. A major aspect of inequalities relating to social integration concerns in-migrants in the two sites in Oromia (Turufe and Korodegaga). In Turufe most of the Kambata who were seen as associated with the Derg regime were expelled after the EPRDF victory. Most of the migrant groups who have remained in Turufe and are now established there have been able to consolidate claims to land through the registration and certification process. However, recent migrants form an underclass that are often exploited by their employers, although there are some cases of employers acting as patrons, ensuring migrants obtain identity cards, and some sponsoring migrants to come from their home areas, sometimes helping them to establish themselves in their own right. In Korodegaga migrant workers live in poor conditions tend to be excluded from services and are subject to abuse and victimisation in cases of disputes.

42. Another aspect of inequalities relating to political status concerned people associated with elites where were viewed as having been over privileged in previous regimes. In Yetmen people associated with the imperial and Derg regimes, had land confiscated in the 1997 redistributions and were not able to engage in political processes up to the 2005 elections but seem to have been able to participate since then. In Dinki people associated with the opposition in the 2005 elections faced some difficulties and there was also tensions between people associated with opposition in the 2005 elections and the *kebele* leadership in Girar.

2.1.10. Government-society relations

43. In the main WIDE 3 report we characterised the government society relationships differentially. Some of the differences relate to whether sites are independent or dependent, with state assistance and control more apparent in the latter, and others to regional policies and politics. In the Tigray site some dissent was voiced concerning enforced package taking, however *kebele* leaders were unwilling to take the matter to a higher level. In the Amhara sites there was some resistance to mobilisation for meetings and work. However, there was more ability to resist in Yetmen the more independent site, where conflicts between the urban and rural areas over the siting of school led to an incident. In the Oromia sites there seemed to adoption of policies and practices which were seen to be useful but more of a “foot-dragging” approach of going along with interventions which were not so popular. However, there was more ability to resist in Turufe the more integrated site where the community successfully resisted the imposition of full day schooling and the move of a hospital away from proximity to the site.

44. Government-society relations can have a differential impact. Although we did not find much evidence on this issue some people in authority may be in a position to benefit relatives for instance in terms of inclusion in benefits or avoiding unpopular labour demands. The promotion of gender policies to protect women from male violence and to enable them to assert land rights is an area where government-society relations have been changing, but where there has been some resistance notably over the question of harmful traditional practices. In Girar measures to counter discrimination against craftworkers and to stop the practice of sending of girls to become servants in town were said to be having some effect.

2.2. Intra-community inequalities

45. There are importance differences within sites that have implications for inequalities and exclusions. These relate to: 1) geographical location, settlement and topography 2) access to roads and communications 3) access to water and irrigation, 4) access to administration and services.

2.2.1. Geographical location, settlement, and topography

46. The particular location of households within a site can have important implications for their opportunities and partially explain inequalities and exclusions. One major difference relates to whether the household lives in a small town or villagised area where services are concentrated or in a remote hamlet. Yetmen is the most extreme example as some of the households are actually part of a small roadside town. Here there are more opportunities for trade and better access to services. In Geblen there is a small emerging settlement Mishig and households located there have closer access to services. In Korodegaga some of the households are located in Sefera, the area near the Awash river that was villagised under the Derg, and where the administrative offices are located. Likewise in Turufe part of the households are in the villagised area where the administration is located and which has water points, schools and the health post.

47. In the sites that are close to urban centres households that are located in parts of the site that are closer to urban areas are able to make better use of opportunities from the urban areas and may adopt urban values more readily. Girar is adjacent to Imdibir town and parts of Turufe are also very close to Kuyera town. Households close to urban settlement can take advantage of urban facilities, such as grinding mills and for those who can afford it better schooling and health care. These households may also benefit from the expansion of urban service and be the first to benefit from electricity and mobile networks as happened in Turufe from 2005 and Geblen since 2008. However, they are also potentially more at risk of loss of land due to urban expansion. Although this has not yet been a major issue (with some communal land from Turufe being made part of the town), this is very likely to become a concern in the future.

48. Topography can be an issue in sites that are on escarpments such as Dinki and Geblen. In Dinki some households with irrigated land lost some of it due to river erosion.

2.2.2. Access to roads and communications

49. In all the sites some households are located closer to roads. In Yetmen the main road leading to Addis Ababa bisects the site. Likewise in Girar the main road leading to the zonal capital crosses the site. Households located near the main road can obtain easy transport for emergencies and find it easier to take goods to and from market. Such households may be able to establish roadside shops and may be able to benefit from their location as business expands. However, some may face loss of land due to road expansion and a couple of households in Dinki complained about loss of land when the road was upgraded.

50. Transport to the centre of the sites has also improved. For instance in the past access to Turufe was limited to horse-drawn carts. However, recently *Bajaj* three-wheelers can be hired to come from the towns to the centre of the site, which can be very important for households that can afford the cost notably in cases of emergencies.

51. There has been considerable development of roads within the sites often build through food for work and community labour. In most cases the different parts of the *kebele (gots)* are now connected by internal roads although these are often cut off during the rains. Although internal transport is non-existent in most sites, this could change in the near future benefiting those with better access.

52. Telephone networks have been an area of major improvement. Satellite telephones were available in the administrative sites in 2005, and *kebele* administrations had them in all sites in 2010. However, the big difference came about with mobile phones, with coverage in 2010 in all sites except Dinki, and even there by the end of the fieldwork period there was reception in some higher parts. This has enabled wealthier households who have mobile phones to use them for trade for instance by merchants as in Yetmen, to contact relatives as happened in Turufe, to phone the vet as in Girar, and to contact migrants abroad as in Geblen. In Girar it was said that even poorer households have them with one respondent saying “even shoe shiners have them” and that the difference was the type of phone: “cell phones have the face of their owner’s pocket”.

2.2.3. Access to water and irrigation

53. Access to water and irrigation is an important source of inequalities. In the sites drought-prone sites where irrigation is important this is a major diacritical factor differentiating household wealth. In Korodegaga in 2005 about half the households had access to irrigated land; however only just over a third (35%) of male households in their 20s had access to irrigated land. In Dinki only a third of households had access to irrigated land but only a quarter of male household heads in their 30s had access to irrigated land. In Dinki only two of the five *gots* have access to irrigation water and the other *gots* suffer from serious water shortage in the dry season.

54. Access to drinking water is another aspect differentiating sites and households, with important gender dimensions given that women and girls fetch water. In Yetmen some households have water wells in their own compounds. In Turufe households in the villagised settlement area have much better access to communal water points and some even had tapped water in their household compounds. Water committees were instituted and households pay for water by the jerrycan though there are instances of destitute persons being exempted. Likewise in Girar some households living close to the town have tapped water but there is a serious water shortage and many women have to walk long distances and queue to get water at a protected spring or use river water with serious health risks. In Geblen water shortage is acute and households living close to the few protected springs are at an advantage. In Korodegaga most households use water from the Awash river that is said to be polluted from waste from the Wonji sugar factory. One of the springs is said to have potable water but it is very far for most households. Where payments for water have been instituted households unable to afford the cost are disadvantaged unless they are able to obtain exemptions as happened with some destitute households in Turufe.

2.2.4. Access to administration and services

55. Access to administration and services is partly a function of the location where households reside. Those living close to the administrative centres have less far to go for such services, and schools, health posts and centres tend to be located in the proximity of the administrative centres and villagised areas close to roads. The development of additional primary schools and satellite schools in some sites has reduced distances for households within proximity to additional educational facilities. Some of the *kebeles* are very large and distance walking to health facilities can take up to a couple of hours from settlements located further away notably in the case of Dinki and Korodegaga, which can be critical in the cases of health emergencies, especially complicated deliveries.

56. However access to administrative services is also related to power and connections with people in authority. Households with better connections are able to obtain services more easily and poorer and less well connected households sometimes complain that they do not obtain services promptly or may even be denied services. In the aid-dependent sites some allegations were made in relation to targeting and selection for receiving assistance; some relatively better off households were

included due to connections and there were instances of poorer households without connections being excluded.

57. For female-headed households gender biases also play a role, particularly in cases of land disputes with husbands and sharecroppers or cases of male violence; women often have to go to the wereda level to seek justice, often, though not always, with success.

2.3. Inter-household level inequalities

58. Inequalities between households depend primarily on the following five factors: 1) access to resources, 2) labour composition 3) position on the development cycles and types, 4) shocks faced, and 5) the household's status.

2.3.1. Access to resources

59. There are important differences in wealth between households in rural communities, which are built on better access to resources, notably land and livestock and other productive assets.⁵

60. **Land** in all the sites is unequally distributed, contributing significantly to household productive wealth differences. In the survey in 2004 in the four WeD sites there were important differences between and within communities in land holdings. In terms of variation between sites mean hectares used per household ranged from less than a hectare in Turufe (0.9 ha) to over two hectares in Korodegaga (2.3 ha). Regarding the inequalities within sites the biggest variation was in Korodegaga and the least in Turufe.

Table 2: Land Distribution by Site

	Dinki	Korodegaga	Turufe	Yetmen
Mean no of hectares	1.2	2.3	0.9	1.6
	%	%	%	%
Landless	8.9	2.0	13.5	2.0
< ¼ hectare			1.2	0.4
Between ¼ and ½ has	4.1	2.4	10.8	2.8
Between ½ and 1 has	25.4	9.0	40.2	12.8
Between 1 and 2 has	43.8	28.2	29.5	50.8
Between 2 and 3 has	15.4	24.7	4.4	23.2
Between 3 and 4 has	1.8	19.6	0.4	5.6
Between 4 and 5 has	0.6	9.0		2.0
Between 5 and 6 has		3.1		0.4
6 or more has		2.0		

61. In Korodegaga 34% had between three and six or more hectares; in Dinki 18% of households had between two and five hectares, but only 2% had 3 ha or more; in Turufe 34% had between one and 4 hectares, but only 5% had two ha or more; in Yetmen 31% had between two and 6 hectare, but only 8% had 3 ha or more.

⁵ The following discussion is based in part on quantitative data from a survey on resources and needs carried out in the four WeD sites in 2004.

62. There were few households in Turufe with large landholdings: 4.8% with 2 or more hectares compared with 17.8% in Dinki, 58.4% in Korodegaga and 31.2% in Yetmen. However, large rainfed landholdings in Korodegaga often produce little or in bad drought years nothing. Access to irrigated land varied across the sites: 50.8% in Korodegaga, 26.1% in Dinki, 2.2% in Yetmen and none in Turufe; although by 2010 there had been expansion of irrigation in Yetmen and a small amount in Turufe.. Inequalities to access to irrigation in the drought-prone sites of Korodegaga and Dinki has led to increasing inequalities in household wealth.

63. **landlessness** is a major constraint for the youth, very poor and migrant households. 14% of households in Turufe were reported as landless, compared with 9% in Dinki and 2% in both Yetmen and Korodegaga. However, the 2004 sample did not include the landless young men who have been unable to set up their own households. In the integrated communities very few households had landholdings of less than ¼ hectare.

Box 1: Landless Households

From Korodegaga

There are more than 100 landless peasants, and the number is even greater when we include here those who get only a very small (1/2 ha.) amount of land from their parents during their marriage ceremony. There are also some migrant landless households in the community. The landless earn their livelihood by renting land and share-cropping with weak farmers. They also participate in off-farm activities like daily labour and firewood selling.

From Dinki

After the revolution, land was allocated to every tenant and to the landless according to family size. Each individual was given not less than five *timad*. Land was distributed for married people, young adults and female-headed households who did not have land in 1987, and it was given to individuals who were introduced to the village later from land which was communally owned. Since the last redistribution, nineteen years have passed, and the young people who did not get land at that time are now grown up with families and children. They have lived either as sharecroppers, received the help of their parents or they have bought land from people who are unable to pay tax, and as a result sell their land for a specific time period under a contract.

64. By 2010 the problems of landlessness had increased significantly. The issue was also a major concern in the two sites in Tigray (Geblen) and the Southern Region (Girar). In the later the number of landless was estimated at 200, and landlessness has been a major factor contributing to high youth outmigration in these sites. Growing landlessness also was the major reason prompting the distribution of communal land to youth in several sites.

65. Differences within sites were particularly important by gender and age of household head. The gender of the household head affects access to land in all sites although inequalities vary across sites. Mean landholdings of women heading households were less than half those of men in Korodegaga, and Dinki, and almost half in Yetmen, whereas the difference was less pronounced in Turufe. In terms of landlessness too the proportion of landless female headed households was much larger in all sites except Yetmen. In the Amhara region sites differences in the average size of landholdings by male and female heads are notable: 1.3: 0.6 in Dinki and 1.8: 1.0 in Yetmen. The differences are no so great in the Oromia sites: 2.4: 2.2 in Korodegaga and 0.9: 0.7 in Turufe. This is associated with differences in the status of the women heading households: in the Oromia sites they are mostly widows likely to have inherited all their husband's land while in the Amhara sites there is a higher proportion of divorcees who would only have received a portion of land. Female-headed households were considerably less likely to use irrigated land than males in Dinki 10% compared with 30%, while there was a small difference in Korodegaga 46% compared with 52%. Female-headed households were considerably less likely to use irrigated land than males in Dinki (10% compared with 30%), while there was a small difference in Korodegaga (46% compared with 52%).

Table 3: Sex of Household Head By Land Access

	Sex of hh head %	Mean landholding Hectares	Landless %	Mean irrigated land – estimate Hectares	Access to irrigated land %
KORODEGAGA					
Male	76	2.4	1.5	0.38	52
Female	23	2.2	3	0.30	46
DINKI					
Male	78	1.33	None	0.12	31
Female	22	0.62	40	0.03	11
TURUFE					
Male	78	0.88	0.5	NA	NA
Female	22	0.73	24	NA	NA
YETMEN					
Male	77	1.77	3	NA	NA
Female	23	0.95	None	NA	NA

66. Among female headed households there were differences between divorced and widowed female household heads; divorced women have significantly less land than widows, half or less in Dinki, Korodegaga, and Turufe. In Korodegaga widows have slightly above the mean average and in Turufe just below, whereas widows in the Amhara sites have significantly below suggesting that cultural traditions of widows inheriting in Oromia are relevant. In the Oromia sites the women heading households are mostly widows likely to have inherited all their husband's land while in the Amhara sites there is a higher proportion of divorcees who would only have received a portion of the land.

Table 4: Land Distribution By Sex of Household Head

	Dinki	Korodegaga	Turufe	Yetmen
Mean landholding	1.2	2.3	0.9	1.6
Mean male-headed landholding	1.3	2.4	0.9	1.8
Mean female-headed landholding	0.6	2.2	0.7	1.0
Mean divorced female landholding	0.3	1.8	0.4	0.7
Mean widowed female landholding	0.8	2.4	0.8	1.1

67. The **age of male heads** also affects access to land to some degree, particularly in Korodegaga, where the few males of 70 and over have the highest average landholding which is over twice that of males in their 20s and in Turufe, where males over 50 have higher average holdings than those under 50. In Dinki men in their 40s on average have the most land, while in Yetmen this is true for men in their 50s. The distribution of irrigated land by age of male head was more unequal and related to age hierarchies in Korodegaga than in Dinki where males in their 30s had the lowest access. Access to resources in relation to age is also partly determined by cultural practices. In the Oromo sites men in their 60s and older have the highest average size of landholdings; mean size decreases as household heads get younger. This is not the case in the Amhara sites where largest mean land sizes are held by men in their 40s and 50s and smallest by those in their 20s.

Table 5: Land Distribution by Age of Male Household Head

	Dinki	Korodegaga	Turufe	Yetmen
Mean landholding	1.2	2.3	0.9	1.6
Mean landholding males in 20s	0.9	1.4	0.7	1.1
Mean landholding males in 30s	1.1	2.1	0.8	1.6
Mean landholding males in 40s	1.5	2.9	0.8	1.7
Mean landholding males in 50s	1.2	3.0	0.9	1.9
Mean landholding males in 60s	1.0	2.9	1.0	1.6
Mean landholding males 70+	1.4	3.4	0.9	1.2

68. The distribution of irrigated land by age of male head was more unequal and related to age hierarchies in Korodegaga where the highest proportion with irrigation (over two-thirds) are in their 40s and 50s and the lowest in their 20s (over one-third).

Table 6: Access To Irrigation by Age of Male Household Head

	Dinki	Korodegaga
	%	%
Males in 20s	31.6	35.4
Males in 30s	25.0	50.0
Males in 40s and 50s	35.5	67.8
Males 50 and over	33.3	53.1

69. **Livestock** are a major form of wealth and investment, often endowed with cultural value. Cattle tend to symbolise wealth and horses in the highlands or camels in the lowlands status. As surplus from agriculture tends to be converted into livestock assets, livestock are often a very good indicator of wealth even though there is often underreporting of livestock holdings. Oxen are a key productive resource in all sites as they are vital for ploughing and the ideal of independent wealth tends to be measured by having access to a pair of oxen. Those with only one ox need to enter relationships of ox-sharing, or oxen for labour or land with people who have oxen to spare, and those with no oxen have to obtain them for ploughing on unfavourable through exchanging labour or land. Given the difficulties with computing livestock holdings and the major constraint of lack of oxen often determining poverty the following table considers lack of oxen and livestock comparing male and female headed households.

Table 7: Sex of Household Head By Lack of Oxen And Livestock

	Sex of hh head %	No oxen %	No livestock %
KORODEGAGA			
Male	76	44	9
Female	23	39	8
DINKI			
Male	78	39	8
Female	22	82	29
TURUFE			
Male	78	44	8
Female	22	60	22
YETMEN			
Male	77	28	13
Female	23	94	57

70. The proportion of female headed households without oxen and without livestock is higher in all sites except Korodegaga, where the Oromo cultural traditions of polygyny and widow inheritance mean that some richer men are able to marry additional wives and provide them with livestock.

Table 8: Assets By Age Of Male Household Head

	Age of hh head %	No oxen %	No livestock %
KORODEGAGA			
20s	25	46	4
30s	28	46	9
4/50s	31	31	9
60s+	17	28	6
DINKI			
20s	15	53	5.
30s	34	39	9
4/50s	24	26	7
60s+	28	43	5
TURUFE			
20s	21	63	25
30s	28	50	11
4/50s	31	48	12
60s+	20	23	14
YETMEN			
20s	15	29	14
30s	28	40	15
4/50s	35	15	9
60s+	22	34	14

71. The integrated sites have a higher proportion of male-headed households without livestock and oxen than the remote sites, which is partly related to cultural differences. Once again the age effect is clearly seen in the Oromia sites particularly with regard to ownership of oxen with decreasing proportions lacking oxen. Young male-headed households in Yetmen have greater access to oxen than elsewhere. This can be associated with differences in ideologies: in Amhara on marriage endowments are provided by both sets of parents, while among the Oromo bridewealth is provided by the parents of the groom to those of the bride.

72. Taking **all assets** into account based on an asset index People in Yetmen are on average considerably asset-richer (4.59 compared with a mean of 3) than those in Korodegaga (1.61) with Turufe and Dinki in between.

Table 9: Asset Ownership

(mean quintile score: max 5; min 0; mean=3)		
	Amhara	Oromia
Integrated	Yetmen 4.59	Turufe 3.11
Remote	Dinki 2.57	Korodegaga 1.61

73. Female-headed households tended to be worse off on average than male-headed households in all sites, most notably in Dinki where 53% of female-headed households were in the bottom asset quintile compared with 16% of male-headed households.

Table 10: Rural Asset Quintiles By Sex Of Household Head: 2004

	Percentage of households							
	Turufe K		Yetmen		Koro		Dinki	
	MH	FH	MH	FH	MH	FH	MH	FH
Top quintile	9	5	69	53				
Quintile 2	31	36	26	36	3	3	16	13.2
Quintile 3	31	31	5	10	10	8	38	47.4
Quintile 4	21	16			35	25	30	34.2
Bottom quintile	8	12			52	64	16	5.3

74. In line with this evidence self-reported average vulnerability was lowest in Yetmen (2.16) followed by Turufe (2.56), Dinki (2.60) and Korodegaga (2.86). The proportions reporting that they were 'struggling' or 'dependent' were less than 25% in Yetmen compared with 75% in Korodegaga. The highest percent reporting that they were 'doing well' is found in Dinki presumably reflecting recent opportunities to sell products grown by irrigation.

Table 11: Reported Household Vulnerability

	Remote		Integrated		Total
	Dinki	Korodegaga	Turufe Kech.	Yetmen	
Doing well 1	14.9	0.8	6.4	12.4	8.0
Doing just OK 2	25.6	29.0	38.8	63.1	40.2
Struggling 3	44.0	53.3	46.8	20.9	41.2
Dependent 4	15.5	16.9	8.0	3.6	10.6
Count	168	255	250	249	923
% within Site	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

75. While the figures tell part of the story to appreciate differences between the rich and the poor, elites and destitutes it is important to refer to descriptions of what these statuses entail. While from an 'objective' internationally comparative perspective most residents of the research communities would be considered as 'poor', there is considerable internal inequality in access to material productive and reproductive assets and services. The style of life of the wealthy may be relatively comfortable.

Box 2: Wealthy People**From Yetmen:**

The wealthiest people in the community are the merchants who buy agricultural products from the farmers for a lower price and sell it for a higher price in major towns. They have cars to transport the grain to towns and bring consumer goods to supply their own or other's big shops. Rich people in the rural part may have two or more oxen and the same number of cows and sheep, and may rent additional plots of land to increase their income. Those people who have additional skills like weavers and blacksmiths are also better off.

From Dinki:

Middle-wealth households may have some livestock - at least one cow and an ox or two, land and better access to labour. However, the richer households may have a good house, more than ten camels, at least one donkey, more than two pairs of cows and oxen with other livestock such as goats, sheep, enough labour, and at least one male and female servant.

76. On the other hand poor people often live difficult lives full of hardships. In addition to the structural poverty found in all sites a major cause of transitory poverty in the remote sites is regular harvest failure which in very bad years affects everyone, although poorer households without livestock assets tend to suffer most.

Box 3: Poor People

From Yetmen:

Poor people include those who work for a daily wage, farm labourers, those who are landless, those with no ox who sharecrop or rent their land out, those descended from a poor family, handicraft men who own no land, widows, prostitutes, those who collect and sell firewood and dung-cakes, those who make and sell *tella*, *areke*, *kolo*, bread, and those who are disabled and unable to work, especially old people with no one to look after them. The poorest of the poor are those people who are disabled and who have no supporter, but who make their livelihood by begging.

From Turufe:

Poor households may have land but no tools or oxen preventing them from getting a good yield. Destitute work as domestic servants or as daily labour. Ex-soldiers, unemployed youths who have completed school, and peasants without land are underprivileged groups on the one hand, and farm wage labourers and traders on the other are evidence of incipient class formation in the *kebele*. However, the importance of these people, except traders is low. Traders are a good example for other farmers to get involved in off-farm activities to earn additional income. Many of the destitute are leprosy victims who have no child or relatives to help them. Some of them have little or no farmland.

From Korodegaga:

There has not been a good harvest in the past ten years. Drought results in crop failure and inability to feed the household members, leading to dependence on food aid and daily labour and firewood selling. This results in intensification of poverty in all aspects of people's life. Lack of farm oxen is another handicap for the poor and destitute farmers. Due to lack of farm oxen, they are forced to rent or share-crop their farms or to share their labour in exchange for oxen with 'richer' farmers.

At the top and bottom of wealth ladder we find elites and destitute people.

77. **Eliteness** involves not just greater wealth but also influence, notably through local informal and formal organisational positions. Ability to influence external agents is also important for which literacy and education can be useful. However, limited opportunities in rural areas for high school graduates push them to look for work in urban areas.

Box 4: Local Elites

From Yetmen:

In 2005 the local elites were identified as those people who have political power, wealth and education. Priests are also considered to be elites. And their eliteness is based on their wealth and their capacity to influence other people. Those people who are wealthy and who have political position may get status in the community. But a wealthy person cannot get political power just because of his wealth, and equally, those with political power cannot obtain wealth just because of their political position. In addition people who have education are accorded good status: teachers, development agents, health workers and priests. And since most of the people in the community are not educated the formal education of these people gives them authority in their respective areas.

78. Greater wealth can enable elites not just to purchase productive assets, such as pumps and vehicles in the richer sites, but also to mobilize more labour through festive work groups, employ wage labourers, invest in more livestock in the poorer sites including prestige animals such as camels, horses and mules, improve their housing, notably with tin roofs becoming a symbol of eliteness in the poorer sites, build urban houses and purchase some luxury items, including better quality household goods such as metal beds and mattresses, radios and TVs, bicycles and even trucks in Yetmen. Elites are also be able to access better services in towns, and may send their children for education to live with town relatives.

79. In Dinki the main elites are those who have been able to gain access to additional land and particularly irrigated land and have become more wealthy by producing cash crops, notably onions and fruits. In Korodegaga elites have traditionally had large livestock and land holdings. However, control of irrigation through investment in pumps and sale of cash crops is now the most important access to wealth and elite status. In Turufe elites are those who have gained more land and are involved in trade. The most prominent case is a migrant who has offered to pay half the cost of electricity for the village alongside a mill he planned to establish. In Yetmen the elites are mainly the grain traders in town who have bought trucks and have consumer goods such as satellite dishes, TVs and videos. Priests are highly respected and educated youngsters can gain access to some positions.

80. We may distinguish between “traditional” and “modern” elites. The traditional elites gained power mainly based on control of land and labour and had greater livestock holdings. This was achieved in part through the management of social relations and was often gradually built up by elderly men. The extent to which elite statuses were inherited may be debatable. To some extent the land reforms reduced the transferability of elite status, with former landlords losing land in both Derg and EPRDF reforms and Derg “Bureaucrats” in the EPRDF redistributions in Yetmen. However, despite those redistributions some formerly wealthy families may well have been able to retain a higher status position.

81. The more powerful recently emerging elites, have gained their position much more through wealth and control of trade and external links. The traders in Yetmen, the pump owners in Korodegaga, the mill owner in Turufe, and those building town houses in Dinki are examples of these newer elites, who may also be differentiated from the rest of the population not just in terms of the quantity of their resources but also in the type of resources, productive assets and consumer goods they own.

82. **Destitute** persons are increasing in number, particularly in the integrated sites.

Box 5: Destitute People

From Dinki:

The community organizations do not have religious/cultural reasons to exclude the poor but their membership obligations systematically bar the poor. The poor have been increasingly excluded from *iddir* and *mehaber* since the famine period mainly due to economic factors. The destitute borrow or receive grain/food from others. Some people need the destitute to work for them. Others feel pity for them. Non-participation in *Idir* and *Mehaber* has been a typical form of social exclusion of destitutes.

From Korodegaga:

The poor are undermined by other people in their clan or the community. Poor and helpless people like me are excluded because we cannot contribute financially to social organisations. Old men who have wealth have a great role in decisionmaking and dispute resolution in the community. poor people have no voice in the community. Destitutes have no livestock or money; sometimes physically weak, no knowledge/skill to perform work properly, little or no food, may not be able to help family, leave organisations like *iddir*. Some depend on help from relatives, neighbours, govt. Others do daily labour or sell firewood. Two types – very poor who could change and those who don't know how to work and live with others.

From Turufe:

What makes them destitute is poverty. They are not called to feasts, nobody asks them when ill. There are homeless and landless. The courses of destitute are that they live with the support of people. They don't have proper meals; they sometimes sleep without eating. Destitute take part in any kind of work. They view themselves as socially outcast... Destitutes are involved in clientage. ... Types of destitute: landless destitute, homeless destitute, sick but landowning and support less destitute.

From Yetmen:

Some destitutes do not have houses and even if they have it, it is poorly constructed. Destitutes do not have oxen and land. They wear torn clothes and bad clothes, and most of the time they live a life that is hand to mouth. Some of them are without *iddir*, *mehaber* and other institution. These people cannot contribute in terms of money or food, and they cannot organize a festival and feed others. ... They have the habit of presenting themselves to a festival, and eat and drink even when they are not invited. They do not care/worry with respect about people's judgment. Some live by sheltering themselves around the houses of the rich because they do not have their house. If there is any some work on daily labour, and live. And yet others serve the riches by taking contract they chop woods collectively or in groups. By pooling themselves together, they harvest and work on the agricultural activities of the riches; they arrange marriage among themselves. Some live by begging.

83. In all sites there are ambivalent attitudes to those living in extreme poverty, as an analysis of the local language terms used to describe the 'destitute' reveals (see Pankhurst and Bevan 2007 Appendix 3). In the four sites twenty terms were mentioned ranging from three in Turufe to eight in Yetmen, with twelve terms in the Amhara sites and eight in the Oromo sites. Some of the terms simply qualified a general term for the poor with adjectives suggesting a greater extent, i.e. 'very poor' or a relational extreme, e.g. 'the last of the poor' within the category of the poor. In two sites poverty was associated with begging, with three terms in Yetmen, two of which are neutral or negative and one respectful, suggesting that anyone can become a beggar and that empathy is expected; one term in Turufe which referred to begging at the threshing ground, an archetypal reference to extreme food poverty in the midst of plenty, particularly associated with elderly destitute women. In Korodegaga three of the terms referred to weakness or softness with an immediate physical connotation and in Dinki two terms related to 'lacking' or having nothing.

84. Whereas most terms have neutral or descriptive connotations, four have positive or respectful connotations: *Miskin Deha* evokes pity for the wretched; *Marure* pity for elderly women who have to beg at the harvest; *Yenebite*, evoking the idea that the speaker realises they could also become a beggar; and *Tewari-Qebari Yatu*, suggesting they should be pitied for not having someone to look after them in old age and bury them. Four terms with negative connotations were mentioned; three

of these were from Yetmen, one referring to the extreme poor being dressed in rags, another suggesting that they won't escape poverty, and the third referring to the former class system, in which servants walked holding the reins of the horse on which their master rode. In Turufe the term *Debdu* refers to persons being socially sanctioned for not conforming to norms. The site with the largest number and greatest range of terms is Yetmen that includes terms that are neutral, positive and negative, with two terms associating poverty with the previous class system.

85. Comparing the terms with those recorded by the *Destitutions Study in the Eastern Highlands* in Wello, Amhara Region five terms were noted that qualify the term *deha*, meaning poor, including two of those found in Dinki. Other terms included *chigirteгна* 'those with problems', *tsom adari* 'those who spend the night fasting', i.e. go to bed hungry, and *wiha anfari* 'those who cook water'. The authors suggested that three elements: inability to meet basic needs, lack of assets and dependence on others recur frequently, that some terms imply being on the last or the bottom level or society and others suggest reaching the end of one's resources and habitual hunger. They also conclude that the destitute were seen as extremely poor rather than categorically different, and that there may be seen as being on the bottom of a sliding scale of poverty into which anyone may fall at some time⁶ (Sharp et al. 2003:11-2).

86. Among the twenty terms only two in Dinki directly mentioned lacking (basic needs or assets) and one term in Yetmen referred to the ragged clothing of the destitute. Seven terms related to dependence, four directly through begging, of which three were in Yetmen and one in Turufe referring to food hunger of those who beg at the harvest. Two terms in Yetmen referred to class and the former social order relating the very poor to the social status of servants. Another term in Yetmen refers to the social lack of care in old age and someone to bury them evoking the cultural salience of burial.

87. Apart from terms referring to the former class system in Yetmen, only one term suggests social exclusion: in Turufe *debdu* has the connotation of being sanctioned for not following norms. Only one term in Yetmen *Ayalfilish* suggests that the poor cannot escape poverty, whereas another term mentioned in Yetmen *Yenebite* suggests that anyone could become poor if unfortunate. Several terms suggest that the destitute deserve pity, such as in Dinki *misikin deha* and in Yetmen *TewariQebari yatu*, and *Marure* in Turufe.

88. This distinction between the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor is confirmed in the descriptions of destitute people provided by local informants. The quotations also reveal variation in attitudes between those who want the extremely poor to work for them and those who do not. In Yetmen there are signs of class formation reflected in the saying that 'they arrange marriage among themselves.'

2.3.2. Labour composition

89. The labour composition of households has a significant impact on inequalities and is also related to where the household development cycle, since households at early and late stages face labour shortages. This is further related to different family systems. Among the Amhara parental endowments are expected but there is little kin support. Among the Arssi Oromo bridewealth tends to enrich the older generation and gerontocratic polygyny delays sons' marriages in favour of second marriages; and negates or delays sons' entitlement to land.

90. The following table shows that on average households in the Oromia sites are larger than those in the Amhara sites; strikingly so in Turufe, which may be associated with polygyny and three generation households among the Oromo. Households with only 1 member are more common in

⁶ This may be behind the way in which beggars are sometimes referred to as *yené bit'é* literally 'someone like me' (Kane 1990:945).

the Amhara sites; such ‘households’ are usually included as dependent households in larger ‘livelihood clusters’.

Table 12: Size of Households: 2004

	Remote		Integrated	
	Korodegaga	Dinki	Turufe	Yetmen
Mean	4.8	4.1	6.6	4.8
	Percent of households			
1	2.7	13.0	1.6	4.8
2	11.0	13.6	2.8	10.0
3	15.3	19.5	6.8	18.0
4	24.3	14.8	12.0	18.0
5	16.1	14.2	15.1	12.8
6	9.0	10.1	12.4	12.4
7	7.1	6.5	14.7	10.8
8	7.8	4.7	11.6	5.2
9	2.7	1.8	7.2	4.8
10	1.6	1.2	7.6	2.8
11	1.2		4.4	0.4
12		1	2.4	
13			0.8	
14			0.4	
15			0.4	
Total no hhs	255	169		250

91. The household’s labour availability becomes important for diversified livelihoods, and in contexts of food insecurity to manage work on the PSNP and the OFSP credit.

92. Households with insufficient domestic labour may bring in relatives or adopt, or if richer employ servants. In Oromo culture adoption may be used to build up a household’s labour supply. Adoption is not common among the Amhara but they may host relatives for longer or shorter periods for the same purpose.

Box 6: Incorporation Of Relatives

From Korodegaga:

There do not appear to be women without children; if there are, they raised children of their husband’s second wife or relative’s children in the principle of adoption. Therefore, except a few people who have close contact, other people outside the community would not know about a woman’s infertility.

93. **Domestic labourers** may be employed by richer households as servants to fill labour gaps. Richer households in all the sites are able to hire agricultural and household labourers. Male labourers are involved in agricultural work and females in domestic work. Children, some of whom may be children of poorer relatives are also hired, boys involved in herding and girls in housework. In some cases an employer may become a patron and sponsor a labourer to establish himself marry and become independent. However many labourers are mistreated and are unable to escape the status of labourer. Daily labour is usually performed by community members who are landless and/or destitute or are peasants with small landholdings, although in Korodegaga young people do daily labour to raise cash. In Turufe ploughing at piece rates is acceptable while ploughing at a daily rate would make ‘them inferior to others’. Richer farmers employ servants as herders or farm-labourers for a season or continuously under a number of different arrangements.

Box 7: Employment Contracts

From Yetmen:

There are a number of arrangements:

- Farm servant works for a predetermined wage + board and lodging
- Servant takes one quarter of yield + board and lodging
- Wage labourer or married son takes one-third of harvest

Some households together hire a herdsman at the cost of 20 *birr* per household plus meals.

94. There were frequent complaints from agricultural labourers and employed herders of unfair treatment by employers.

Box 8: Exploitation Of Servants

From Dinki:

He revealed that his early appearances as a servant in individual household, taught him that most employers (masters) would try to cheat their workers, or even they could fire them without any compensation. He believed his last migration experience was the best as he was able to make good bargains with his masters and obtained the fruits of his labour. And he considered all others experiences as bad in terms of obtaining a fair wage for his labour.

95. Richer farmers may also employ daily labourers for particular seasonal tasks. This is very common in Turufe and on the irrigated farms in Korodegaga.

Box 9: Farm Servants and Daily Labourers

From Yetmen:

Rich rural people can afford to employ servants to help them in farm and herd activities; women are not employed as servants in rural households even in the rich ones. In the urban part of Yetmen young women are employed as servants in a few households. Labourers are also employed on a daily basis to carry quintals of grain and to move the grain by car; this for merchants living in Yetmen. There is a shortage of labour for harvesting in January and February, and for ploughing in July. There are migrant workers coming from neighbouring *kebele* to perform these activities (except ploughing). People in Yetmen also migrate to the neighbouring *kebele* for wage labour. Hard work, trustworthiness and responsibility are the principal criteria used in the area to identify the right person for the job. Labour is hired for herding, ploughing, harvesting and building. There are other activities like baby-minding, well-digging and wood chopping carried out through wage labour.

From Turufe:

For employees that come from outside the *kebele*, employers provide 180 or 200 *birr* annually if they are given shelter and food, but 5 *birr* per day if they do not demand shelter and food. For seasonal migrants harvesting one *timad* of farmland, the employers pay 35 *birr* if they do not demand shelter but 30 *birr* if they do. If it is weeding and digging during cultivation they are paid from 25 to 30 *birr* if there are few weeds and from 30 to 40 *birr* if the weeds are thick. One person can finish weeding one *timad* of farmland in two and half days and the maximum period it takes is three to four days for one person. The payment for weeding decreases if the labourer demands shelter from the employer. No one in the *kebele* wants to work ploughing at a daily rate since this will make them inferior to others. *kebele* residents will plough for piece rates. In this case they must bring their own oxen which few can afford. There are a few poorer households in the *kebele* who work weeding, collecting potatoes and harvesting at a daily rate.

Wage labour is practised on individual farms. Most households employ weeders and harvesters. The wage labourers come from inside or outside the *kebele*. Those from inside the *kebele* are landless or peasants who only have small pieces of land. Migrant labourers usually come from Wolayta though there are also individuals from Wello, Gonder, Gojjam in Amhara and other Oromo groups from Kofele and Shewa who are working as wage labourers. However, these others did not come specifically to be wage labourers as the Wolayta did. Previously the Kembata used to come for wage labour but since many Kembata were expelled following the fall of the Derg they no longer do so.

From Korodegaga:

The majority of the daily labourers are young boys and girls followed by destitute and female-headed households. Since cash crop vegetables are grown in lines of 5m long by 15cm wide, labourers are paid from 0.10-0.15 *birr* per row. They can get from 8-10 *birr* per day. Active and strong daily labourers can get up to 120 *birr* monthly. Our poor diary respondent said that he and his wife can get 10 *birr* each per day. Most of the native daily labourers are from the nearby villages of Satara, Buko, Olati and Shelota. Distance and high temperature hinder women and children from coming to the irrigation scheme.

96. Richer households who employ servants are in a powerful position in relation to their employees as if they refuse to honour the contracts the servants often have no redress. Disputes with migrant labourers who were not paid, and more general disputes between migrants and residents are described in below.

Box 10: Migrant Labour

From Korodegaga:

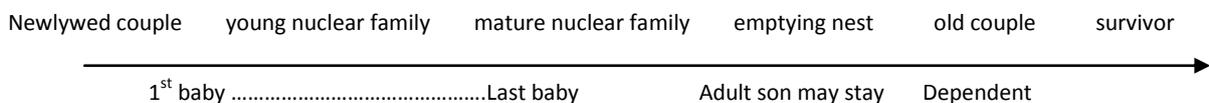
Almost all of these investors employed Amhara and Oromo migrant labourers who settle around the farmsteads and care for and protect the crops. The investors provide medium-sized irrigation motors, seeds, fertilisers, pesticides, salary of the motor operator, and food costs for the labourers. The migrant labourers work in the form of share-cropping. They perform all the works (digging, weeding, watering, harvesting, protecting the produce from thieves etc.). At harvest time local daily labourers may also be employed. At the end of the harvest, the investors count all the production costs, except the cost of the purchase, which the labourers pay. Then, the remaining profit is divided between the two parties - the labourers and the investor. Irrigation activities of such kind are carried out by using two motors (one costs 12,000 birr); one brings water up some distance and pours it into a hole; the second pump transfers the water from the hole to the farm.

2.3.3. The household development cycle

97. Households in these rural communities are small systems with three economic functions: to produce livelihoods; to reproduce household members on a daily basis, and, at certain stages in the household development cycle, to produce and raise children to work in the future. Their position in the local development cycle relates to the ages of the leading adults. As a result of the stresses of rural life households regularly deviate from the locally accepted household development trajectory (for shorter or longer periods) with consequences for the collectivity as well as individual members. Deviator households are likely to be connected to stronger households.

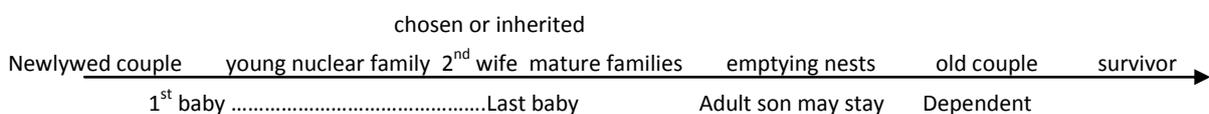
98. Among the Amhara in Yetmen, Dinki and Turufe the ideal-type household development cycle begins with the establishment of a new household by a young couple (new household), has a period where the first children are born and dependent (young nuclear family), moves into a period where children provide household labour (mature nuclear family), followed by period when the older children set up their own households with more or less assistance from the parents (emptying nest), ending with a period of dependency by the old parents and the handing over of the remainder of the property (dependent old household).

Figure 1: Ideal-type household cycle - Amhara



99. Among the Muslim Oromo of Korodegaga and Turufe and, to a lesser extent the Argobba of Dinki, and among the Gurage polygyny was customarily practised.

Figure 2: Ideal-type household cycle - Oromia



100. The ideal-type household development cycle is initially similar to the Amhara model but, most frequently when the household is in the mature nuclear phase, the head either brings a second (and sometimes third) wife into the household, or sets up a separate household for the additional wife, keeping more or less connection with the first wife. Customarily a widow was expected to marry a brother of her dead husband, while if a wife died the family was expected to replace her with a sister and these customs are still practised, although it may now be easier for the woman to refuse.

101. Most women heading households are widows. Some will be able to get back on to the ideal-type cycle by remarrying while others will remain female-headed until either a son who has grown up takes over the household, or the woman dies or is taken into a younger household as a dependent. Among the Arssi Oromo and Argobba divorce is frowned on and marriage with a divorced woman unwelcome. Divorce and the rejoining of the ideal-type cycle through remarriage are common among the Amhara.

2.3.4. Household types

102. In an analysis of the structures of all households responding to the RANS, 28 household types emerged, 11 ideal-type households forming stages along the two major ideal-type tracks found in the communities (monogamous and polygynous), and 18 deviator households which had 'fallen off' the ideal track at different stages (see Table 12 below).⁷

⁷ One case, that of the young man alone, has been considered in both types, since a young man living alone is exceptional (given the requirement of female domestic labour) and a dependent or transitional rather than stable type and is therefore a deviator, but he is also most likely to follow an ideal pattern, and therefore be on track.

Table 13: Major Household Types Experiencing Extreme Poverty

Ideal-type household cycle	Shock event or choice	Deviator households
1. Young man alone in household	Never to marry	12. Old man who never married
2. Young couple	Infertility	13. Young infertile woman divorced
		14. Old infertile woman widowed
3. Young nuclear family: young man 4. Old man remarries and starts new family	Death of one Divorce/separation Death of children	15. Widow with young children
		16. Widower with young children
5. Mature nuclear family	Death of one Death of both Divorce/separation Death of children	17. Widow/divorced/separated woman with older children
		18. Widower/divorced separated man with older children
		19. Step-family
		20. 3-generational mixed household young male head
		21. Sibling household
6. Polygynous: 2 wives in same hh 7. Polygynous: Wife 1s household	Abandonment of Wife 1	22. Polygynous: abandoned wife
		23. Polygynous: woman married to former lover and father of children
8. Emptying nest	Death of one Death of both Divorce/separation Death of children	24. Three-generational household headed by old female
		25. Older woman with grandchild(ren)
		26. Old male abandoned by successive wives
9. Male-headed three-generational hh	Old father dies or marries again	Household in transition towards ideal-type track
10. Nuclear family with old parent	Old parent dies	Household stays on track
11. Old couple	Death of one Last land passed to son(s)	27. Old man alone
		28. Old woman alone

103. The deviator households may be divided in the following discussion into three: 1) households that never entered the ideal track cycle include persons who never married and/or have not had children. This may be due to disability or infertility, or may be because they end up looking after parents, or a combination of these factors, 2) households that fell off the ideal cycle due to death or divorce of spouse(s), or abandonment, and 3) the late phase of old age: risks of abandonment, living with grand-children, and living alone.

104. Social shocks of death and divorce often destabilise a household sending it off track - and often consequently into poverty - with repercussions on the remaining spouse in the case of death and on both spouses in the case of divorce, and often on the children, especially if they are young, sometimes leading them to be sent to relatives or as servants, or living in step-families. This may not happen if the death or divorce happen before the birth of children or late enough for them to be old enough to care for themselves, if the labour profile of the household is good, if children are old

enough, or if resources are plentiful. The recovery of the household and its ability to re-enter an on-track ideal-type household cycle depends largely on when the social shocks occur; it is much easier for widows/ers or divorcees to re-establish themselves when they are fairly young, though it is more difficult with young children. The effects on young children can be drastic leading to servitude or being brought up poorly by relatives and being more vulnerable to shocks (including rape and abduction of girls), or discrimination in step-families. Whether the spousal shock is death or divorce a key difference is the age of the children, with far more problems if the children are young. Death of parents and divorce often lead to the formation of step-families with children from earlier spouses. If both parents die a sibling household may be formed. The oldest son will tend to marry if he has not done so already and may live with his younger siblings, his wife and children once they are born. Such households also tend to be transitional as the siblings usually leave once they are adults to set up their own households. They also tend to be struggling to establish themselves without the experienced leadership of the older generation, and with loss of resources associated with parental death. In polygynous households it is not uncommon for a second or third wife to live in a separate household. Sometimes the head may still support the first wife. However, he may also have sent her away or abandoned. Upon the death of her husband a widow may be inherited in Korodegaga and Turufe. Or she may be married by a former lover and father of her children. The prospects of such women may depend largely on support from children who have reached productive age.

105. Widow(er)hood is often a serious shock, particularly for women, since the death of their husband makes women vulnerable to loss of land to relatives or the authorities, loss of labour needed to plough land forcing widows to give land to sharecroppers since they tend not to have male relatives in their husband's village, and loss of livestock through forced sales to cover food needs or theft. These problems are particularly acute if the widow has young children. The death of a wife can be overwhelming, and force the head to send children to relatives if he cannot find female labour. However the prospects for recovery and remarriage are often better for men.

106. Whereas divorce often happens early after the establishment of a household, the death of one spouse is clearly a growing risk later as the couple get older. Death of a spouse can lead to impoverishment or among poor households lead to destitution. Gender differentials, age of the surviving spouse, and gender of the older children are also important variables. For a woman the death of her husband means the loss of the chief agricultural producer. Unless she has a son who can replace the father, or a male relative of hers who can help, or is rich enough to employ a labourer she will need to give land to sharecroppers, thereby at least halving the household agricultural income, and leading to gradual impoverishment. If the husband had an additional source of income his death may result in impoverishment, and the widow may need to think of other means of income generation for survival. The death of a husband can result in a dramatic drop in standard of living and even changes in nutrition. For a poor household with little land and livestock the early death of a husband can even lead to extreme poverty. In some cases, particularly among elderly women, the husband's death can lead to destitution and involvement in low status activities such as collecting manure and especially the highly symbolic activity of preparing the threshing floor with dung only to receive in exchange a little grain at a time of plenty.

107. For a man the early death of his wife raises the problem of immediate food production and child care. Unless he has an older unmarried daughter or an unmarried sister of his wife or his own sister who can cook and look after young children or unless he is rich enough to hire a girl to help, he will face an immediate crisis and may have to send young children away. If he can resolve the female labour problem or remarry soon, he may be able to avoid a lasting effect of the crisis, and the wife's death may be a temporary set-back for the household. However, a poor widower will not be able to afford to hire female labour and ma

108. Divorce particularly in the Amhara sites is common especially in the early years after the first marriage. Many young women run away from their husbands within a year; some are persuaded or pressured to return to them and settle down or become resigned especially after having children.

Others, particularly those who were most unhappy refuse to go back to their first husbands but they tend to remarry fairly soon after. Women who are unable to have a child, may be divorced on these grounds. Men are under greater pressure to remarry quickly to solve the domestic crisis of food preparation, and single male divorcees cannot survive on their own for long. Women tend to be divorcees for a while until they can remarry, unless they are unable to do so due to infertility or old age, and more rarely by choice.

109. Divorcees may return to their parents almost empty handed or leave to look for work. Even if they try to lay claims to land during the divorce, due to virilocal marriage residence rules, they find themselves in the village of their ex-husband surrounded by his relatives. Even if they gain access to land as they have become more entitled to make claims due to government support for women's rights, they face the problem of male labour and will lose at least half the produce from the land by giving it to a sharecropper. Older divorcees have less chances of successful marriages or ability to find gainful work. Divorcees may also be subject to harassment from men, become ostracised or labelled as "loose women", and may come under pressure to get married.

110. Divorce is disruptive of a household's labour organisation, and engenders problems regarding where the children live and who looks after them. Like with widowhood, divorce tends to have more serious consequences for the woman, especially if she has young children, which may constrain her ability to find work. A divorcee may be forced to send children to relatives or to work as a servant in richer households and may try to find work as a migrant.

111. Many factors can be involved in the off-track households trajectories into extreme poverty, some occurring long ago, some very recently, and others at times in between. Case studies revealed that they included infertility, conflict with spouse, loss of spouse(s) through death, divorce or abandonment (sometimes taking money and grain), deaths of parents, deaths of children, illness of head including mental health problems, expenses associated with illness and death of family members, marriage costs, old age, loss of land by women, livestock stolen, forced sale of livestock, drought, livestock diseases, crop pests, ethnic discrimination, burned houses, conflict with neighbours, compensation costs, taking to drink, and inability to escape from being a labourer.

2.3.5. Shocks facing households

112. In the RANS respondents were asked about shocks over the past five years from 1998 to 2004. These shocks were categorised into four: 1) livelihood and reproductive asset shocks, 2) human resources - health shocks, 3) social shocks that are household related, and 4) social shocks that are government related.

Table 14: Shocks Reported in the RANS by Site And Type

SHOCK TYPES	Dinki	Korodegaga	Turufe	Yetmen	All
LIVELIHOOD AND REPRODUCTIVE ASSET SHOCKS					
Drought	142	244	66	4	456
Pests before harvest	59	12	77	62	210
Livestock diseases	33	35	38	28	134
Frost	2	3	26	62	93
Flood	26	6	19	7	58
Pests storage	17	2	20	9	48
Cold wave	6	3	4	1	14
Loss job	0	1	11	1	13
Debt	1	3	13	0	17
Fire	3	1	5	0	9
sub-total asset shocks					1052
HUMAN RESOURCE SHOCKS - HEALTH					
Illness	39	40	118	62	259
Death	23	79	72	68	242
Accident	2	4	7	3	16
sub-total human resource shocks					517
SOCIAL SHOCKS: HOUSEHOLD RELATED					
Divorce person	8	3	9	10	30
Divorce child	4	2	6	11	23
Family dispute	1	2	10	5	18
Land contract dispute	3	1	7	3	14
Robbery	1	0	8	5	14
Theft	0	0	4	0	4
Input contract dispute	3	1	2	1	7
Sale contract dispute	0	0	6	0	6
Conflict	0	2	5	0	7
Neighbours dispute	0	0	2	0	2
Exclusion from organizations	0	0	2	0	2
Marriage costs	1	3	15	14	33
sub-total social shocks					160
SOCIAL SHOCKS: GOVERNMENT RELATED					
Imprisonment	0	2	9	12	23
Forced contribution	0	0	2	19	21
Confiscate land	5	2	6	0	13
Ethnic discrimination	0	1	11	0	12
Confiscate other types	0	0	7	0	7
Political discrimination	1	1	1	1	4
Migration ban	1	1	1	0	3
Political imprisonment	0	0	1	2	3
Land reform	0	1	1	0	2
Resettlement	1	0	0	0	1
War	1	0	0	0	1
sub-total political					90
TOTAL	383	455	591	390	1819

113. According to the categorisation of shocks livelihood and reproductive asset shocks represented over half the shocks reported (58%) and human resources - health shocks (including injury, illness and death) over a quarter (28%). Other types of shocks were reported much less frequently. Household related social shocks represented 9% and government related social shocks 5%.

114. However, there is considerable variation between the sites in terms of: 1) the proportion of the shocks reported; 2) which shocks are reported most frequently, 3) the relative importance of types and specific shocks 4) the proportion of people affected, and 5) the annuality of shocks. Almost a third of the reported shocks (32%) were from Turufe, a quarter (25%) from Korodegaga, and just over a fifth in the other two sites (21%).

115. The most frequently reported shock is drought in Dinki and Korodegaga, whereas it is death of a family member in Yetmen and serious illness of a family member in Turufe. Drought is in fourth place in Turufe and only in 15th place in Yetmen. Death of a family member is in second place in Korodegaga, in third place in Turufe and in 6th place in Dinki; serious illness is in third place in Dinki and Korodegaga, and fourth place in Yetmen.

116. According to the categorisation of types of shocks, livelihood and reproductive asset shocks (drought, pests before and after harvest, livestock diseases, frost, and cold, fire, loss of job and debt) represent a little over half the total reported shocks. However in the two drought prone sites the proportion is much higher, representing three-quarters (75%) in Dinki and over two-thirds (68%) in Korodegaga, (compared with 47% in Yetmen and 45% in Turufe).

117. However, there are also differences *within* the different livelihood and reproductive asset shocks. Whereas drought was largely a problem in the lowland drought prone sites, frost was predominantly a problem of the two sites in the higher areas, notably Yetmen, although cold waves were also a problem in the lowlands and were reported most in Dinki; flooding was reported in the two sites with irrigation, notably Dinki.

118. Livestock diseases and pests are one of the few shocks that was a problem in all the sites. Loss of jobs was largely an issue in Turufe with 11 cases reported as compared with one each in Turufe and Yetmen and none in Dinki. Indebtedness was also predominantly reported in Turufe with 13 cases as compared with three in Korodegaga, one in Dinki and none in Yetmen. There were nine cases of fire reported, with five in Turufe, three in Dinki, one in Korodegaga and none in Yetmen.

119. Human resources - health shocks (death, illness and accidents) represent over a quarter of all the shocks (28%). However, these were higher in the richer sites (34% in Yetmen and 33% in Turufe, compared with 27% in Korodegaga and only 17% in Dinki). Among the health shocks illness was reported more frequently in the two wealthier sites and is extremely high in Turufe, accounting for 45% of the reported cases. Death was the most important shock in this category representing 14% of all the shocks reported. It was most frequently reported in Yetmen and Korodegaga at 17% of shocks, with 12% in Turufe and only 6% in Dinki. Accidents were rarely reported, and were most frequent in Turufe.

120. Household-related social shocks represented 9% and included divorce of the person or his/her son or daughter, disputes with family; disputes with neighbours; disputes over land contracts, inputs, sales; conflict, robbery and theft, exclusion from organisations and marriage costs. These were most common in the richer more integrated sites representing 13%, whereas they represented only 5% in Dinki and 3% in Korodegaga. Divorce of self and child were the most important of these social shocks together representing 3% of the shocks. Divorce was least frequently mentioned Korodegaga, and was most commonly reported in Yetmen.

121. Most other types of disputes were more prevalent in Turufe. Family disputes, conflicts, and disputes with neighbours were much more common in Turufe than in other sites. There were ten cases of family disputes in Turufe compared with five in Yetmen, two in Korodegaga, and one in Dinki. Disputes with neighbours were only mentioned in Turufe, and there were five cases of 'conflict' mentioned in Turufe and only two in Korodegaga.

122. Disputes over agricultural production (land contracts, input contracts, sale contracts) were also most significant in Turufe. Likewise theft and robbery were far more important in Turufe, the former only mentioned in Turufe and the later also in Yetmen (whereas there was only one case mentioned in Dinki and none in Korodegaga).

123. Marriage costs could mean costs for the actual marriage, for bridewealth from the groom to the bride's family (presumably all three cases in Korodegaga) or endowments from parents to children, notably of land to sons (presumably all 14 cases in Yetmen) and possibly either in the 15 cases in Turufe, though they are more likely to be bridewealth costs. The only two cases of exclusions from organisation were also in Turufe.

124. Government related social shocks representing 5% of shocks included imprisonment, forced contributions, confiscation of land or other property, ethnic and political discrimination, land reform, resettlement and war. These were also much more frequently reported in the more integrated richer sites, and proportionally were most frequent in Yetmen representing 9%, followed by Turufe with 7% and only 2% in Dinki and Korodegaga .

125. Imprisonment and forced contributions were most common in Yetmen, and two cases of political imprisonment. Confiscation of property was only reported in Turufe, and confiscation of land in Turufe and Dinki. Discrimination on ethnic basis was reported only from Turufe. There was one case of political discrimination in each site. There were three cases of migrations bans one in each site except Yetmen, and only one case each of resettlement and war both in Dinki.

126. The greater prevalence of livelihood insecurity and reproductive asset shocks in the poorer drought-prone sites is no doubt related to the more precarious production conditions and more limited assets which can be buffers to avoid shocks.

127. The greater proportion of human resources - health shocks in the richer sites may be related to environmental factors which might explain the low reporting of illness and death in Dinki. However deaths in Korodegaga are proportionally as high as in Yetmen and higher than Turufe.

128. The reasons for a much greater prevalence of social shocks related to human resources in Turufe may well be related to the heterogeneous society and the underlying conflicts between groups. The greater prevalence of social shocks related to government in Yetmen is probably due to the political context.

129. It is worth noting that a few shocks were not mentioned in any site. These included two 'natural' shocks: earthquakes and erosion, and two socio-political ones: destruction of property and religious discrimination.

130. The frequency of shocks can also be considered in terms of the proportion of the sample that were affected overall and in each site.

Table 15: Shocks Reported In The RANS By Proportion Affected by Site

SHOCK FREQUENCY	Dinki	Korodegaga	Turufe	Yetmen	All
Drought	84	96	26	2	51
illness	23	16	47	25	29
Death	14	31	29	27	27
pest before harvest	35	5	31	25	23
livestock diseases	20	14	15	11	15
Frost	1	1	10	25	10
flood excess rain	15	2	8	3	6
storage pests	10	1	8	4	5
divorce self	5	1	4	4	3
marriage costs	1	1	6	6	4
divorce son/daughter	2	1	2	4	3
imprisonment		1	4	5	3
forced contribution			1	8	2
Debt	1	1	5		2
family dispute	1	1	4	2	2
accident	1	2	3	1	2
cold wave			2		1
land contract dispute	2		2		2
Robbery	1		3	2	2
land confiscation	3	1	2		1
loss of job			4		1
ethnic discrimination			4		1
Fire	2		2		1
Conflict		1	2		1
confiscation other			3		
outputs contract dispute			2		
Theft			2		
inputs contract dispute	2		1		
dispute with neighbours			1		
migration ban	1				
political discrimination	1				

131. By far the highest proportion of shocks was reported for drought by 96% of households in Korodegaga and 84% in Dinki, (whereas it was only 26% in Turufe and only 2% in Yetmen). The highest proportion in Turufe was much lower and was for serious illness at 47% and in Yetmen for death of a family member at 27%. In other words whereas the vast majority of households in the drought-prone sites were affected by drought, under half the sample in the richer sites were affected by any shock, illness being the most important in Turufe and for Yetmen, death, the most prevalent shock, affected only a little over a quarter.

132. Regarding the annuality of shocks drought was reported as having occurred most frequently in 2002 in Dinki, Yetmen and especially in Korodegaga. Pests were reported more in 2001 in Yetmen, 2003 in Dinki and 2004 in Turufe; livestock diseases were most important in 2002 in Dinki and 2003 in Korodegaga Turufe and Yetmen. Frost was most serious in 2001 in Yetmen and Turufe. Deaths were more frequently mentioned in 2001 in Korodegaga, 2002 in Turufe, 2003 in Dinki and Yetmen. Illness was most commonly mentioned in 2003 in Turufe, and Dinki and 2004 in Yetmen.

Table 16: RANS Shocks by Year and Type

Shock/ Year	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Natural shock: Drought							
Dinki			9	31	74	27	1
Korodegaga			12	33	198	2	
Turufe		5	1	11	21	14	14
Yetmen		1	1	1		1	
Natural shock: Frost							
Dinki		1		1			
Korodegaga				1	2		
Turufe		3	5	9	4	4	1
Yetmen	1	3	6	40	10	2	1
Natural shock: Pests							
Dinki	1	1	10	14	6	23	4
Korodegaga		1	5	2	4		
Turufe		2	5	11	11	19	29
Yetmen			12	22	14	10	4
Natural shock: Livestock diseases							
Dinki			4	10	11	5	3
Korodegaga		1	2	6	3	20	3
Turufe		3	3	3	10	15	4
Yetmen		1	4	3	5	12	3
Natural/Social shock: Illness							
Dinki		3	4	7	4	15	6
Korodegaga	6	3	4	9	9	9	
Turufe		3	13	13	20	38	31
Yetmen		4	4	5	2	20	27
Natural/Social shock: Death							
Dinki		1	1	4	5	7	5
Korodegaga		8	14	20	13	8	15
Turufe		6	14	13	18	13	8
Yetmen	1	1	6	9	13	22	16

Comparing the shocks reported by the extreme poor with the entire sample

133. In the RANS reporting of shocks, comparing the whole sample (1819 households) with the Very poor (179) and Destitute (92) combined as the extremely poor (271) reveals significant differences in the categories and types of shocks to which they are vulnerable. A greater proportion of the shocks reported by the extremely poor are human resources shocks, which represent 37% as compared to 28% for the entire sample. This proportion is even higher for the destitute (40%). Conversely the extremely poor reported a lower proportion of livelihood and reproductive asset shocks (48%) than the whole sample (58%). The Very poor (though not the Destitute) reported a slightly higher proportion of social shocks related to the household (12%) as compared to 9% for the whole sample, and the extremely poor reported a slightly lower proportion of social shocks related to government (4%, as compared to 5% for the entire sample).

134. There are also some shocks where the shocks reported by the extremely poor represented a higher proportion than would be expected given that they represent 15% of the sample. Among the Livelihood and reproductive asset shocks fire, loss of jobs, and debt were more common among the extremely poor. Among all the human resources - health shocks the extremely poor reported a relatively higher proportion of shocks for death, illness and accident. Among the household-related social shocks the extremely poor reported a higher proportion of divorce, theft and disputes over inputs and over sales. It is also significant that eight out of 33 cases of marriage costs, or 24%, were among the extremely poor. Among the government related household shocks, though the number of cases is also small, the extremely poor reported four out of 23 cases of imprisonment, two out of 13 cases of land confiscated and one out of three cases of migration bans.

Table 17: RANS Shocks by Site Comparing Very Poor and Destitute with The Sample

SITE	DINKI			KORODEGAGA			TURUFE			YETMEN			ALL SITES			
	ALL	VP	D	ALL	VP	D	ALL	VP	D	ALL	VP	D	ALL	VP	D	VP+D
LIVELIHOOD AND REPRODUCTIVE ASSETS SHOCKS																
Drought	142	15	9	244	17	15	66	6	4	4	2		456	40	28	68
Pests before harvest	59	3		12			77	11	4	62	5	2	210	19	6	25
Livestock diseases	33	1	1	35	4		38	2	2	28	1		134	8	3	11
Frost	2			3			26	2		62	5		93	7		7
Flood	26	1		6			19	1	1	7	1		58	3	1	4
Pests storage	17	1	1	2			20	4		9	1		48	6	1	7
Cold wave	6			3			4			1			14			
Loss job	0			1			11	1	1	1	1		13	1	2	3
Debt	1	1		3			13	2		0			17	2	1	3
Fire	3	1		1		2	5			0			9	1	2	3
livelihood – assets	289	23	11	310	21	17	279	29	12	174	16	2	1052	87	44	131
HUMAN RESOURCES - HEALTH SHOCKS																
Illness	39	5	2	40	3	4	118	10	8	62	12	5	259	30	19	49
Death	23	3	3	79	7	7	72	7	4	68	14	4	242	31	18	49
Accident	2	1		4	1		7	1		3			16	3		3
Human - health	64	9	5	123	11	11	197	18	12	133	26	9	517	64	37	101
SOCIAL SHOCKS - HOUSEHOLD RELATED																
Divorce person	8	1	1	3	2		9			10	2	2	30	3	3	6
Divorce child	4	1		2	1		6	1		11	4	4	23	6	1	7
Family dispute	1			2			10	1		5	1	1	18	1	1	2
Land dispute	3			1			7			3			14			
Robbery	1			0			8	1		5			14	1		1
Theft	0			0			4			0			4			
Input contract dispute	3			1		1	2	1		1			7	1	1	2
Sale contract dispute	0			0			6	2		0			6	2		2
Conflict	0			2			5	1		0			7	1		1
Neighbours dispute	0			0			2			0			2			
Social Exclusion	0			0			2			0			2			
Marriage costs	1			3		1	15	4	1	14	2	2	33	6	2	8
Social – household	21	2	1	14	3	2	76	11	1	49	9	9	160	21	8	29
SOCIAL SHOCKS - GOVERNMENT RELATED																
Imprisonment	0			2			9	2		12	2		23	4		4
Forced contribution	0			0			2			19	1	1	21	1	1	2
Confiscate land	5		1	2	1	1	6			0			13	1	1	2
Ethnic discrimination	0			1			11			0			12			
Confiscate other	0			0			7	1		0			7	1		1
Political discriminate	1			1			1			1			4			
Migration ban	1			1			1		1	0			3		1	1
Political prison	0			0			1			2			3			
Land reform	0			1			1			0			2			
Resettlement	1			0			0			0			1			
War	1			0			0			0			1			
Social - government	9		1	8			39	3	1	34	3	1	90	7	3	10

TOTAL	383		455		591		390		1819	179	92	271
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Insights from the shocks module and lives⁸

135. In many cases it is not a single shock that results in a decline into poverty but rather a series or combination of shocks. The shocks that combine may be independent or inter-related one leading to another, inducing a spiral of impoverishment. For instance the asset loss of livestock through disposal to purchase grain, through marriage gifts, thefts, or to pay for compensation can then mean that the household can no longer plough lacking oxen, which then forces the household to give land to sharecroppers which in turn reduces the income, which in turn can create food shortage, which in turn can make household members vulnerable to illness and death, which involve further costs etc... However, there may a particular shock that is more important or pivotal - the straw that breaks the camel's back- leading to impoverishment and sometimes destitution, and sometimes respondents do identify what they consider to be the most significant shock. In some cases social shocks such as death and divorce may have a demoralising effect that reduces the household's ability to cope and overcome the shock resulting in a decline into poverty.

Livelihood and reproductive asset shocks

136. The quantitative data on shocks is of limited value in understanding the significance of shocks for households since: 1) it does not provide information on the severity of the shock, 2) the type of household affected is not considered, 3) the meaning of some shocks is not clear (migration ban, confiscate other, the difference between robbery and theft and the lack of specifying what is stolen, family dispute between whom?) and sometimes depends on the site context such as in the case of marriage costs.

137. Livelihood and reproductive asset shocks are the most frequently reported but also those that are often described in the literature on poverty. The WeD shocks module therefore focused on other types of shocks, notably human resources - health and social shocks, both household and government related. In particular households were selected for follow up questions that had reported deaths of household head or spouse, accident or injury of family member, dispute in family, divorce, dispute over contracts, land, inputs, sales, and political shocks (such as confiscation of land or assets, imprisonment, discrimination, conflict, and resettlement). However, the module has limitations in understanding extreme poverty since 1) we did not seek to select households among the poorest, 2) the reporting of a shock does not mean that it was necessarily serious or lasting, 3) in a number of cases other shocks than those reported turned out to be more significant.

138. Nonetheless on the basis of the shocks module as well as information from lives and our knowledge of the communities we can discuss the impact of shocks on different types of household and suggest why the extremely poor are more vulnerable to shocks.

139. We have seen that livelihood and reproductive asset risks were the most widely reported shocks. Whether such risks turn into significant shocks depends largely on the type of household and the ability to cope with and overcome shocks. Richer households can have buffers that enable them to overcome such shocks. These can be savings, disposal of assets notably livestock, employment, irrigation, credits, wage labour, food for work or remittances.

Drought and crop failure

140. Wealthier households may not be severely affected by production risks. Some households in Korodegaga coped with drought, loss of livestock and food shortage mainly through irrigation, as well as some daily labour and credits. Whereas savings and asset disposal are common strategies in all sites, employment is a more common for a few in the integrated sites. Remittances from urban

⁸ Illustrative case material has not been included in this section but can be found in Pankhurst and Bevan 2007.

areas and from migrants to the gulf were sometimes options for overcoming production shocks in the more integrated sites. Households in the drought-prone less integrated sites have less options to overcome production risks that poorer households within these sites are particularly vulnerable to these risks turning into significant shocks. Members of poorer households from these often resort to wage labour and seasonal migration. This was a major survival strategy during the 1973-4 and 1984-5 famines.

Death of livestock

141. The RANS did not include livestock deaths as shocks though one can expect that respondents would have reported these under livestock pests and diseases, which represented 15% of all shocks and was reported by 7% of all respondents. Livestock losses are not just related to disease, but often to lack of grazing in times of drought. There is therefore a synergy between drought and livestock losses. This was mentioned by two widows from Turufe one of whom, lost three cows, and the other one cow and sold her two other cattle fearing she would lose them.

142. The loss of oxen as key production inputs is particularly significant as it can mean that household is no longer able to plough independently, forcing it to borrow oxen on unfavourable terms. This can have a serious effect on the household's ability to cope, particularly if it compounded by other shocks. In some cases loss of livestock can lead to giving land to sharecropping and a serious decline in the household's fortunes, especially if further shocks occur. Livestock diseases can sometimes be extremely severe; however, wealthier households can survive even serious livestock death shocks.

Job loss

143. There were 13 cases of job loss in the RANS, 11 of which were in Turufe. A case from Yetmen shows how an injury followed by a temporary job that came to an end and a constrained business environment affected a household that relied on employed income and service business.

Debt

144. There were 17 cases of indebtedness mentioned as shocks, 13 of which were in Turufe. Indebtedness is often related to credit taken for fertiliser which farmers who encounter production shocks are unable to pay back.

Fire

145. Of the 9 cases of reported fire, five were in Turufe. In several cases in the lives, people suggested that fires were not accidents but rather deliberate arson by enemies, sometimes with ethnic overtones, and as such could also be categorised under social shocks related to households.

Human resources - Health shocks

Illness and accidents

146. Whereas illness was reported quite frequently representing 29% of shock and 14% of households, accidents were very rarely reported, with a total of 16 cases. Both illness and accidents were exceptionally high in Turufe, with almost half the sample (47%) reporting an illness and representing 45% of illness shocks reported in all sites, and 7 out of 16 reported accidents. Sometimes disability can lead to discrimination and the inability to cultivate due to disability or accidents can be a reason for land confiscation. Injuries can be particularly serious in the case of people with particular skills such as a case of a carpenter in Yetmen. Costs of illness can lead to indebtedness and even to the possibility of exclusion from institutions.

Illness and ageing

147. Illness that prevents the household head from working on agricultural land can mean giving land to sharecroppers; accidents often associated with ageing can also reduce the ability of elderly household heads to cultivate and lead to a decline in living standards; illness and injury can be part of a story of decline for elderly women.

Death

148. Deaths were reported by no less than 27% of households and represented 13% of reported shocks. The highest reporting was from Korodegaga with 79 cases, followed by Turufe with 72 and Yetmen with 68. Reporting from Dinki is surprisingly much lower at only 23 cases. The quantitative data on shocks does not tell us which household member died. Deaths often follow high expenses for illness treatment and involve high costs for funerals, though some of this is borne by burial associations which no doubt partly explains the willingness of even poor households to invest in regular *iddir* payments. Some households may suffer serious consequences if multiple deaths occur.

Social shocks related to households

Divorce

149. Divorce was mentioned as a shock by 30 persons and about their children by 23 persons, representing some 6% of shocks. The largest number of cases was in Yetmen, notably of divorces of children, and the least both of the person and of children was in Korodegaga. Divorce is often a more serious shock for women than men, as women tend to leave the house and have difficulty establishing claims to property, and if they return to their parents no longer try to do so. Even when a woman gains access to part of the land she has to rely on sharecroppers if she does not have male relatives who can help her plough the land, which is often the case if she moved to her husband's village according to the prevalent virilocal norm. A divorced woman may find it easier to return to her parents or to try to survive in an urban area; though in both cases it is often difficult for them to survive. Although the prevailing gender relations mean that women tend to lose out in divorces cases, it can also be a serious shock for a man, especially if the wife is able to assert her claims to property. Divorce may have a knock on effect when combined with other shocks.

Disputes

150. Disputes leading to fighting can be severe shocks. Several cases of fights were noted in the lives, with compensation brokered by elders. The burning down of houses as a result of disputes was mentioned repeatedly, especially at the time of political instability around the fall of the Derg in 1991. Many of the disputes related to land.

Theft of livestock

151. Theft of livestock were not reported as such in the survey, which had theft and robbery as categories, the former only mentioned in Turufe, and the latter predominantly in Turufe. This was a serious problem for many in Turufe, particularly for elderly women and for migrants. Richer persons might not be affected too much by theft. However, a sense of insecurity over thefts may lead to further asset disposal particularly among the elderly and migrants.

Marriage costs

152. There were 33 cases of marriage costs reported as shocks in the RANS, representing 4% of shocks and of the sample households. Most of these were in Turufe (15 cases) and in Yetmen (14 cases); but these are no doubt for very different reasons. In the case of Turufe and the 3 cases in Korodegaga the costs are most likely to be primarily bridewealth given to the family of the bride by the groom and his family in cash or livestock, whereas in the case of Yetmen both husband's and wife's parents would be expected to give livestock as endowments which ideally should be matching for the new couple to establish themselves.

Land given to sons and second wife

153. In the household cycle the endowment of sons setting up their own household can lead to asset depletion as was noted in cases in Turufe.

Social shocks related to government

Loss or lack of land

154. The categories who do not have land include: 1) the youth who have not been able to obtain land from either the *kebele* administration, 2) in-migrants who have not been able to gain access to land, 3) those unable to pay land tax and having it taken from them, notably elderly disabled or female household heads, 4) those who lost land for being in the administration under the Derg in Yetmen and ex-soldiers.

.Imprisonment

155. In the RANS there were 23 cases of imprisonment and 3 cases of political imprisonment mentioned as shocks. The most frequent in both cases were in Yetmen with 12 cases of imprisonment and two of political imprisonment. Turufe was the next most important with 9 cases of imprisonment and 1 of political imprisonment. There were no cases of either recorded in Dinki and only two of imprisonment in Korodegaga. Imprisonment may happen for rather minor reasons but may have very serious consequences. Sometimes imprisonment can involve a long period that can affect the household's livelihoods. Imprisonment may not solve disputes and once released a prisoner may face further problems.

2.3.6. The household's status

156. The household's status within the community tends to be associated with that of the household head. The gender and age of the household head are inter-related with wealth though this is partially mediated by cultural patterns. We have seen that female headed households generally have smaller land and livestock holdings, though widows, particularly in the Oromia site are less disadvantaged than divorcees. The control of resources by male household heads tend to increase with age; however, this gerontocratic power and status is more pronounced in the sites in Oromia region, and older elders begin to lose control over resources earlier in the sites in Amhara region.

157. Beyond gender-age other statuses related to 1) ethnic and religious identities, 3) clan identities, 3) residence status, and 4) occupational "caste"

158. The sites are in four regions: Amhara and Oromia, Tigray and the Southern Region . Two of the sites are relatively homogenous in ethnic terms and 'representative' of their respective regions: Yetmen is overwhelmingly Amhara and Korodegaga overwhelmingly Oromo. The two other sites are more diverse: Dinki has both Argobba (60 percent) and Amhara (40 percent), and Turufe has a majority of Oromo (57 percent), and migrant minorities from the South (Wolayta 10%, Kambata 6%, Hadiya 4%, Gurage 5%) representing about a quarter of the population and northern migrants (Amhara-Tigraway) about 17 percent.

Table 18: Ethnic Mix

	Remote				Integrated				All sites	
	Korodegaga		Dinki		Turufe		Yetmen			
	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No
Oromo	99.6%	244			57.1%	140	0.4%	1	43.3%	385
Amara	0.4%	1	36.4%	60	7.8%	19	99.6%	233	35.2%	313
Argobba			63.6%	105					11.8%	105
Gurage					5.7%	14			1.6%	14
Hadiya					2.9%	7			0.8%	7
Kembata					5.3%	13			1.5%	13
Sidama					0.4%	1			0.1%	1
Silte					0.4%	1			0.1%	1
Tigrayan					9.8%	24			2.7%	24
Wolayta					10.2%	25			2.8%	25
Sodo					0.4%	1			0.1%	1
	100%	245	100%	165	100%	245	100%	234	100%	889
	Homogenous		Ethnic mix		Ethnic mix		Homogenous			

159. In terms of power relations ethnicity has been important mainly in the two heterogeneous sites. In Dinki the Amhara landlords who came from the highlands in the imperial times obtained land and the Argobba tended to be looked down on. During the Derg period the Argobba as well as Amhara tenants gained access to land. During the EPRDF period the Argobba were accorded more political prominence as an ethnic group with its own political party and representation in the parliament. However, still today in terms of land and livestock holdings and other indicators of wealth the Argobba have slightly lower averages than the Amhara.

160. In Turufe the migrant groups particularly those from the North and especially those from Tigray gained economic power in the imperial period through exploiting larger land-holdings and involvement in trade. The migrants' superiority continued during the Derg period with the Kembata, who had a strong political position, becoming particularly active in the Derg regime. In 1991 at the time of the change of government the Oromo gained the ascendancy and most of the Kembata were expelled and their land taken over. A few Eritreans were also expelled at the time of the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea, and very few have remained. Several of the few traders are Tigrayan or Amhara. However, positions in the *kebele* Administration are controlled by the Oromo. Some migrant labourers have faced discrimination or employers not honouring payments, and there were attempts to restrict or ban migrant labourers. The migrant groups have been uneasy about their status, and the northerners in particular feared expulsions if the EPRDF lost power in the 2005 elections. Although expulsions have not taken place they express feelings of insecurity, and some have adopted a strategy of sending their offspring to live, study and work in local towns and in Addis Ababa.

161. In Korodegaga in 1994 the only ethnic group living in the site were Oromo. In 2005 there were about 30 migrant labourers, mostly young men, who worked in groups of four or more on the land rented and irrigated by the investors. Most of them were Amharas from Wello (Northern Ethiopia) and some from Eastern Shewa, and there were also some Wolayta. They came into the community alone without any family members and lived in temporary tent-like houses which they built around the irrigated farms of the investors who rented the land from the locals. Some of these labourers also rented land from local farmers and produced vegetable cash crops. There were also a few share-cropper migrant labourers. The investors said they preferred to employ migrant labourers

because they believe that the temporary settlers are hard-workers and well-experienced in irrigation work. There was no strong social interaction between the migrants and locals, but there were some conflicts. Local people accused them of raping their daughters and introducing bad habits like drinking

162. Many people of Korodegaga say that they are Arssi and, at the same time, Oromo because they are Muslims. They consider the non-Muslim population of the Oromo as 'Amhara' which to them means Christianised Oromo. As one female informant put it, 'the Amhara [to mean the Christian Oromo of Eastern Shewa] like their stomach; on market days both men and women enter hotels to eat food and to drink beers and Katikala; women are not afraid to enjoy the company of men. However, the Arssi do not give much attention to their stomach; they prefer to sell their farm outputs and livestock to the Amhara to consume at home; and women are culturally forbidden to enjoy themselves with men in hotels.' Thus, we can understand from the above description that people call themselves Arssi in order to differentiate themselves from the rest of the Oromo population. During the *Derg* regime the local governments said that, 'all Arssi Muslims and Shewa Oromo must be called by the name of 'Oromo'. Arssi is the name of the region.' So some Muslims have accepted this concept but others still believe 'we are Arssi'.

163. Historic conflicts with neighbouring ethnic groups were reported from Korodegaga and Dinki, although the regular Korodegaga conflicts with Jille pastoralists are said to be a thing of the past. In Dinki both Amhara and Argobba consider the Afar to be traditional enemies involving occasional armed conflicts in market places such as Dulecha, Zuti and Senbete and some theft of cattle and camels.

164. There is a correlation between ethnicity and religion but the overlap is not complete. 19% of Amhara are not Orthodox Christians and 24% of Oromo are not Muslims. The Argobba are all Muslims while all four religious are covered by the ethnic groups from SNNP in Turufe.

Table 19: Religious Mix

	Remote		Integrated		All sites
	Korodegaga	Dinki	Turufe	Yetmen	
	%	%	%	%	%
Islam	98.9	65.8	44.2		52.5
Orthodox Christian	1.1	34.2	34.4	99.5	41.5
Protestant sect			18.5	0.5	5.3
Catholic			2.9		0.8
	Homogenous	Ethnic mix	Ethnic mix	Homogenous	

165. **Clans:** Clanship is very important for the Oromo Arssi in Korodegaga and Turufe, with certain clans claiming superior status, respect or precedence, numerical predominance, prior land rights or precedence in the *gada* age grading institution in the area.

Box 11: Arssi Oromo Clans

From Turufe:

The Oromo groups in Turufe are members of the *Weyrera*, *Se'emana*, and *Gomora* clans which are patrilineal. The land [is said to] belong to the *Weyrera* group. Members of the *Se'emana* and *Gomora* groups live in the *kebele* mixed with the *Weyrera* without having [prior] territorial claims...In order to wield power in the PA one has to be liked and respected within the clan lineage. Being a member of a respected lineage, for example *Amannu* which is the dominant lineage within the *Weyrera* clan is an important factor for gaining power in the PA. With the support of a strong lineage one can accomplish any objective in the PA. During elections people tend to elect their clan members and people from their lineage; the clan or lineage whose members are a majority have the possibility of dominating the PA.

From Korodegaga: There are thirteen clans (*gosa*) in the community... The *Sebro* is the largest in terms of population and dominant in terms of economic power and social and kin networks. ... *Ogodu* is the most discriminated clan because people say that members of this clan are extravagant and harsh in time of conflict. They call them *laffee gogogdu* ('dried bones') which shows the extent of the people's hatred towards them. *Gulele* is also not liked by many people. Members of this clan migrated to the area from Eastern Shewa in the past few decades. Thus, they do not belong to the Arssi Oromo. Moreover they are Christian in religion while all the rest are Arssi and Muslim.

166. The significance of clanship has declined but it is still important in murder cases, with group responsibility for blood compensation payments, and also to some extent for bridewealth payments.

167. Though belonging to descent groups is no longer the relevant social distinction it used to be in imperial times in Amhara societies, in Yetmen individuals can sometimes gain access to land through close maternal as well as paternal relatives and disputes, particularly murder cases, can involve family feuds.

Occupational 'caste':

'Throughout Ethiopia there are minority groups of craftworkers and hunters that are excluded from mainstream society. The marginalisation of these groups is not a new or localised phenomenon. It occurs in the north and the south, in towns and in the countryside, in the past and in the present. ..it is so widespread that it has been described as a 'pan-Ethiopian cultural trait' (Levine 1974: 56). (Pankhurst, A. 2001: 1)

168. In all sites there are small **craftworker minorities** involved in non-farming occupations including smiths, potters, in some cases tanners and weavers. Apart from the last category they tend to be despised (Freeman and Pankhurst 2003), and interaction with them is constrained and intermarriage unheard of. In Dinki all five full-time weavers and ten out of 11 part-time weavers are Argobba and this is considered a respectable occupation. The only part-time leatherworker is also Argobba, but the two part-time smiths are Amhara. In Turufe the only full-time leatherworker is from the Wolayta minority. However, insofar as craftworkers are able to farm as well as obtain income from craftwork they may become relatively wealthy as in Yetmen, and their status can improve. Other skilled occupations such as those of carpenters, masons, and tailors in all sites may be means to becoming relatively wealthy involving occasional or seasonal work in urban areas.

169. **Former slaves:** In Yetmen former slaves descended from Southerners brought to the Amhara Region to work during the Imperial regime have been despised and looked down upon by the *chewa* of "noble birth" and even by the craftworkers. Former tenants and herdsmen may also be considered somewhat inferior.

170. **Natives and immigrants:** Distinctions are drawn for some purposes between natives (*balager*) and immigrants (*mete*). In response to a RANS question about how the head of household identified him/herself socially 167 out of 925 responded. The status has some importance in Yetmen.

Table 20: Natives and Immigrants – Self-Identification

	Remote		Integrated	
	Dinki	Korodegaga	Turufe	Yetmen
Native	2	47	13	139
Immigrant	0	6	14	28
Total	2	53	27	167
Total hhs	169	255	251	250
% of hhs	1.2%	20.8%	10.8%	66.8%

171. Men who are powerful in the community governance structures are likely to belong to the dominant status group. Criteria for elite status include wealth, occupation of key community roles such as dispute settlement, leadership in local organisations, education, and religious office. Powerful men can mobilise collective ‘*power with*’ in kin, neighbour, friendship, and clan and/or ethnic networks. Mobilised status groups may use ‘*power against*’ other status groups in processes of exclusion which may lead to conflict. In contrast women, younger uneducated men, and poor men have little say in community affairs, although female relatives of powerful men may have informal influence and there are official positions for women in *kebele* structures and women who occupy these positions and take a lead in organising women for collective women’s activities.

2.4. Intra-Household inequalities

2.4.1. Gender-age

172. Though gender and age are often viewed separately we consider the two as inextricably linked. As discussed in an earlier paper (Bevan and Pankhurst 2007) our conception of a ‘person’ is of a genderaged being. Everyone has a gender and a (changing) age; in all societies, taking both together, embodied ‘genderage’ affects not only the roles which actors play in the society, economy, polity, and culture, but also the particular instantiations of abstract universal human needs⁹, and the forms of the resources required to meet those needs. We believe it is difficult to conceive of power relations in any society without recognising the importance of genderage.

173. On the basis of psychological theories of human development we have distinguished a number of key life stages adapted to fit rural Ethiopian lifestyles. These relate to: infants; knee children; roaming children; learning/working children; adolescents; very young adults, mature adults; and declining adults. Erikson (1959) identified the following challenges posed during these life stages: babies - learning to trust in a relation of dependency; knee children - becoming autonomous and able to make choices and decisions; roaming children - developing initiative in physical and mental activity; children – becoming industrious through learning and practising skills; adolescents – establishing an identity; young adults – developing intimacy in close physical and emotional relations; mature adults – establishing and guiding the next generation; declining adults – integrating and accepting what has happened in life. We see the first five categories, covering roughly from birth to about 15, as being particularly relevant for the development of embodied capacities for, attitudes towards, and the likely goals of ‘meaningful choice’.

⁹ Conceived as including internally-oriented needs for competence and autonomy, and externally-oriented needs for relation and meaning. These needs may compete.

174. Each individual is born as a gendered biologically-structured baby into a family occupying a more or less elevated position in the local social and cultural structures. The status of family of origin has considerable implications for future experiences and development. Child development is based on interactions between bodily maturation and the natural, other material, social, and cultural environments, leading to three types of embodied *resource or liability*¹⁰. The first set relating to health, strength, locally-relevant skills and practical and pedagogic knowledge are often described as 'human resources', though we prefer to call them *competence resources/liabilities*. The second set, which we are calling 'personal identity', relates to personality, and a history of experiments, experiences and learning in natural and material contexts, and key personal relationships. The emotions play an important role. The development of personal identity depends on a continuous sense of self which everyone acquires early in life, By the time we reach maturity we have acquired a personal identity which defines the kind of person we are (for example confident, immoral, easygoing, fanatical, lazy, defeated, reflective, critical...). Personal identity includes 'psychological resources' (and liabilities) one component of which are *autonomy resources/liabilities*. Adult experiences may lead to changes in personal identity.

175. A third contribution to personal agency is made by the 'embodied structures' described by the term 'habitus' (López and Scott, 2000: 101). A child spends the first 15 to 20 years of his or her life learning how to become an adult in the style of his or her parents and other significant adults. 'A habitus develops as children imitate actions and infer patterns that are incorporated as structures that generate their own future actions' (López and Scott, 2000: 103). In other words they develop tendencies to act in one way or another in particular situations. These are 'coded into the brain and other organs in such a way that individuals are able to act in routine ways without having to think consciously about what they ought to be doing ... Values, norms, and ideas, then, come to be fixed in the body as postures, gestures, ways of standing, walking, thinking, and speaking'. A habitus provides a person with internalised unconscious information as to *how*, given the kind of person they are, they ought to think, behave, want, and choose and *what* they ought to think, do, want and choose. Morality is a key element of habitus. Habitus vary by gender and local culture and potentially by class and other unequal local statuses.

176. Through the development of a habitus young people are prepared for particular social roles. With maturity they assume and personify roles, achieving a social identity. Over time as they pass through life people modify their habituses as a result of new experiences related to the ageing process, and to external changes in their social context and social roles. For example, early habitus acquired in the family is transformed by schooling, while people migrating to new cultural contexts find that their routine ways of acting are inappropriate.

177. Embodied resources/liabilities of relevance to personal agency can be analytically divided into (1) those that underpin physical and cognitive in/competence, (2) those aspects of personal identity related to heteronomy/autonomy and (3) those aspects of habitus which restrict or enable the ability to choose and suggest what should be chosen.

178. Table 20 shows the demographic structures of the four sites in relation to age and genderage. In these rural sites many people do not know exactly how old they or their children are, and also may respond inaccurately to improve their status, for example, men may claim to be much older than they are once they have decided they are old while older women may claim to be younger.

¹⁰ It is important to recognise that what is embodied may be an asset or a liability. For example, the bodies and brains of children who are regularly malnourished are damaged, while the psychological resources of many child soldiers would be better described as liabilities.

Table 21: Demographic Structures 2004 (RANS)

Birth era	Age	Koro			Dinki			Turufe			Yetmen		
		M	F	All	M	F	All	M	F	All	M	F	All
2003/4	< 1	2.0	1.4	3.4	1.9	1.0	2.9	0.5	0.7	1.2	0.7	0.3	1.0
2002/3	1-2	2.5	3.4	5.9	3.8	2.2	6.0	2.6	2.7	5.3	1.7	1.8	3.5
1999/2001	3-5	4.6	4.6	9.2	4.1	6.0	10.1	4.9	4.7	9.6	4.0	3.7	7.7
Under 6		9.1	9.4	18.5	9.8	9.2	19.0	8.0	8.1	16.1	6.4	5.8	12.2
1992-1998	6-12	10.6	9.2	19.8	9.0	11.0	20.0	10.4	11.5	21.9	10.5	11.8	22.3
1988-1991	13-16	5.6	4.1	9.7	5.4	3.8	9.2	4.6	5.5	10.1	5.7	6.3	11.9
1985-1987	17-19	4.1	3.7	7.8	2.2	1.2	3.3	4.7	3.0	7.7	3.4	2.9	6.3
Working Youth		20.3	17.0	37.3	16.5	16.0	32.5	19.7	20.0	39.7	19.6	21.0	40.6
Under 20s		29.4	26.4	55.8	26.3	25.2	51.5	27.7	28.1	55.8	26.0	26.8	52.8
1975-1984	20-29	9.8	8.2	18.0	6.2	9.0	15.2	10.3	9.5	19.8	7.9	8.5	16.4
1965-1974	30-39	4.6	5.1	9.7	7.1	5.7	12.8	5.0	4.6	9.6	5.3	5.0	10.3
1955-1964	40-49	2.8	4.8	7.6	2.9	2.6	5.5	2.6	2.8	5.4	3.0	3.9	6.9
1945-1954	50-59	2.7	1.5	4.2	2.2	3.3	5.5	1.9	2.5	4.4	2.9	3.6	6.5
Adults		19.9	19.6	39.5	18.4	20.6	39.0	19.8	19.4	39.2	19.1	21.0	40.1
1935-1944	60s	1.6	1.1	2.7	3.0	3.2	6.2	1.3	1.6	2.8	2.7	1.8	4.5
1900s-1934	70s	1.3	0.7	2.0	2.3	1.0	3.3	1.1	1.1	2.2	1.1	1.5	2.6
Ageing		2.9	1.8	4.7	5.3	4.2	9.5	2.4	2.7	5.0	3.8	3.3	7.1
		M	F		M	F		M	F		M	F	
Total		52.2	47.8	100%	50.1	49.9	100%	49.8	50.2	100%	48.8	51.2	100%

179. In all four WED sites somewhat over half the population was under 20. In the remote sites 19% of the population were under the age of 6, often reported as the age when children start doing useful household work. In Turufe the proportion was 16% and in Yetmen 12% which may be associated with increasing use of contraception. In all sites but Yetmen (46%) the proportion of 'developing young' (0-16) was 48% and of adults (20-60) 39% or 40%. Dinki had the highest proportion of 'ageing' (10%) and Korodegaga the lowest (5%). Differences between genders in different age categories were insignificant although overall there were slightly more males in Korodegaga (52%-48%) and females in Yetmen (49%-51%). In the other two sites proportions were equal.

180. This paper has focused on the general categories of children, adults and elderly, with the companion paper by Bevan (2011) providing a detailed analysis of youth.

2.4.1.1. Children

181. There are key problems and challenges related to different moments in the progress from baby to adult. Infants, knee children and roaming children are in process of developing the foundations of their future in/competence, psychological resources and cultural habitus. Nutrition, health and the learning of practical skills are important for in/competence. Psychological resources and liabilities are developed in different development stages. Infancy is a period of learning to trust - or not. Knee children or toddlers are learning to be autonomous and able to make choices and decisions - or not. Roaming children are developing initiatives in physical and mental activity - or not. These children are also learning local ways of doing things and incorporating values and beliefs.

182. The gender of a child is relevant from the beginning. If a boy is born there are celebrations: the father may 'kill a sheep' and the attending women will announce the birth with more ululations than for a girl. Some women admitted to better feeding and caring of sons. Small boys are encouraged to hit out with sticks; the girls to be submissive and obedient. Once they reach the age of six or so children of both sexes are expected to make useful contributions to the household economy. Until they reach adolescence they are in a phase of psychological development in which they 'become industrious through learning and practising skills'. While most of the work skills they are learning are gendered, small girls may herd and small boys may fetch water. As they grow older their work and play activities are increasingly gender specific. As we have seen increasing numbers of girls are now attending primary schools, although we do not have evidence about the ways in which school cultures approach gender differences.

183. The publicly expressed preference is for male babies, although women interviewed by women often express a preference for female babies, since these will assist them with domestic work.

Box 12: Infant Gender Preferences

From Turufe:

There is a belief, particularly among the Orthodox Christians, that it is better to give birth to male than female children. They believe that males can defend themselves and their family from any danger while females are easy victims for enemies. A husband feels happiness when his wife gives birth to a son and the wife also feels proud. The husband may kill a sheep or a goat for the wife who gave birth to a son. When a son is born, women who gather in the house of the woman giving birth make a thin loud clamour called *ililta* seven times, but only three times if the child is female.

From Dinki:

One respondent said that all parents say they have greater love for their son than their daughter. Parents provide better food and clothes for their son. Some women said that their husbands usually wanted male children, while they themselves preferred female children. The reason for this preference, according to the women themselves, was because they would receive more help from their children. The men, on the other hand, did not share this argument and said instead that the gender of the child was unimportant to them. The family, as we have noted, could hire a boy to help the man with duties such as taking care of the animals and ploughing. The women, however, did not have this possibility, but were very much dependent on their own children's labour and especially on a teenage daughter.

From Yetmen:

Respondent 1: Men prefer baby boys. They will buy alcoholic drinks.

Respondent 2: Women prefer baby boys in order to be secured in old days.

Respondent 3: Baby girl. They will be happy. But they can't express it since they are afraid of their husband.

Respondent 4 : Mothers like both babies equally. But sometimes when they have many of one they prefer the other.

Infancy

184. The main problems reported in raising infants relate to feeding them and dealing with their illnesses.

Box 13: Infancy

From Turufe:

The raising of children is much better than before. In the past children suffered from a variety of diseases like kwashiorkor, polio, etc. However, because mothers now get advice on children's health matters these diseases have become rare. But children still suffer from diseases like measles. Of course child-rearing is better among the relatively well-to-do than among the poor. *Woman health worker.*

When children are sick we have to sell our grains first before we take them to hospital. This takes time and the children will be harmed in the meantime.

Nurturing and socialising children

185. As argued above 'Developing Children' move through a number of developmental phases. In two protocols we asked a number of male and female key informants in each community a series of questions about children of different genderages.

186. Causes of harm to **babies** included poor health and care of the mother during pregnancy, illnesses such as malaria and waterborne diseases, a mother unable to care for and feed the baby, starvation, lack of a balanced diet, lack of vaccination, hygiene not well kept, lack of care due to poverty, not getting medical treatment at the right time.

187. Causes of harm to **girl children** included illnesses such as smallpox meningitis, and malaria, and disability, lack of medical care, lack of parental care, inability to play with their friends, dress like her friends, or bad relations with friends, lack of adequate food, being beaten, early marriage (Yetmen), doesn't find a marriage partner, abduction, if she is abused, lack of modern education, circumcision (Turufe), and heavy work – 'They are burdened with work. They are the ones who accomplish all the housework and also much of the farmwork and many of them go to collect firewood' (Korodegaga).

188. Causes of harm to **boy children** were similar although lack of medical care was not mentioned while mother's death was, and having no clothes replaced not being able to dress like friends. Not being able to go past Grade 4 was mentioned in Korodegaga where the primary school only covers Grades 1-4.

189. In the following table a male respondent from Yetmen describes in more detail and for infants, knee children, roaming children, working/learning children, adolescents and very young adults, the problems faced and goals and expectations of parents and other adults in the community.

Table 22: Problems faced by children of different ages – reported from Yetmen

	Common	Male	Female
Infants	Susceptible to disease Lacking appropriate medical care Nutritional failures Mothers leave them to work without arranging appropriate babysitters		
Knee children	Drowning, fire, using harmful objects, dirt Injury from cattle, donkeys Destroying their clothes		
Roaming children	Floods, playing with mud in the rainy season		
Working Children	Not getting access to education; health problems and dropping out of education; workloads and child labour; not getting their meals at the right time. Shortage of clothes and food.		Made to fetch water beyond their capacity; expected to do heavy labour work. If they fail or break the pots they are punished physically and verbally.
Adolescents	At risk of contracting STDs including HIV/AIDS; emotional instability resulting from potential lack of opportunities. At risk of problem behaviours including gambling, drinking, stealing, fighting and getting easily upset.		Girls from poor families face the prospect of not getting married leading to low self-esteem and social ostracism. Threat of rape and unwanted pregnancy.
Very young adults	Problems for them are primarily related to shortage or lack of land, unemployment and AIDS.	Poor young men employed as labourers in other people's households are at risk of labour abuse and exploitation.	

190. 'Developing children' (0-16) face a number of problems, which are much more severe for those in poorer households. Nutritional failures, diseases, and the lack of appropriate medical care are common problems but most problematic for infants and small children. The norm is for children to start work at around the age of 6; working/learning children may be expected to do work 'beyond their capacity' in terms of strength and may not get access to education. They may not get their meals at the right times and shortage of clothes and food may be a problem, particularly in times of drought in the remote sites.

191. Parental goals and expectations for infants are much the same for both sexes; once they have passed the age of 1 or so expectations become increasingly genderised. Male knee children should begin to engage in 'male activities' especially herding animals; they should defend themselves against their peers and protect their sisters. They should obey their fathers. The use of bad words and rising aggression is expected. Female knee children should start doing minor activities around the house. They should be obedient to their mother and not be seen naked. They should not talk too much or use bad words and be 'submissive'.

192. In Yetmen female working/learning children are increasingly confined to the household except for going to school. The labour contribution to male and female household activities increases with age. As adolescents males should behave aggressively and defend their rights behaving in masculine ways and following the father's role. Female adolescents should be non-

aggressive and non-confrontational and concentrate on learning domestic skills so that they can get married. They should keep their virginity. Very young adult males and females are expected to help their fathers and mothers and also to work for themselves.

193. Small children, working children and adolescents may be beaten if they behave badly. Other socialisation incentives include meeting their needs, teaching them directly, keeping them from bad peers, rewarding, encouraging and praising and offering incentives for doing particular things. Fathers help young male adults to save for their future independent lives and discuss their futures with them. Parents may have relationship problems with working children but report that the main issues start with adolescence.

194. Parents send children to school partly in the hope that they will do well and secure off-farm employment, and partly because they recognise the value of literacy and numeracy and modern knowledge.

Religious education

195. Religious schools are found in all sites. There has been a flourishing of Islamic education in Korodegaga related to the recent building of three mosques with finance from Saudi Arabia. In Dinki there is a woman who teaches the Koran to children and a few young men who are being educated in *madrasas* in Saudi Arabia. In Yetmen attendance at the local priest school had declined

Box 14: Religious Schooling

From Yetmen:

In 2005 respondents said that, unlike earlier times, it is only a few children who attend local priest school before they start attending primary schools. Mostly these children are the ones who help their parents by looking after cattle and by performing other duties, and who attend the priest schools simultaneously. But when their parents decide to send them to school they start learning formal education. However most children at ages of six or seven are sent to school after their family members teach them the Amharic alphabet.

Formal education

196. In 2004 Korodegaga had a primary school Grades 1-4. There was a junior school within walking distance at Sodere. Junior and high schools can be attended in Dera by renting a house. The nearest primary school to Dinki was a walk of around 30 minutes and provides Grades 1-3. They could pursue education up to Grade 8 in the town of Aliyu Amba (around 9 km) but had to go Debre Berhan for high school (60 km). There was easy access to primary and secondary schools from Turufe. Yetmen had a junior school (Grades 1-8). For secondary education they had to go to town (Dejen or Bichena) which involves hiring accommodation.

197. Given that many people of non-official school age are keen for an education the ages of those attending schools are widely dispersed. The average ages of the RANS sample of males in Grade 4 in mid-2004 were 17 in Dinki, 16 in Turufe, and 15 in Korodegaga and Yetmen.

Box 15: Education

From Korodegaga:

There is no fixed age at which pupils start their education. As generally they start formal education from the age of seven to forty / fifty years old. So they have different age groups in different classes. At grade one they started to read and at two/three they write effectively. The community people would like to see changes in their standard of living and they want to educate their all children. At the present time they learn Oromiffa, mathematics, civics, English, sport, music, drawing, environment, science and social science. Under civics, they learn about democracy, human rights, citizenship, harmful culture, etc. In addition to the Korodegaga elementary school, some students attend Sodere elementary school (1-6 grade). Still others (boys) learn in Itaya primary school by staying in their relatives' home. After completing elementary education, Dera is the most favourable location to continue secondary education because the nearest high school is located there. Only some male students continue their secondary education in Nazret high school. It is difficult to determine the average ages of students in each grade, but it is possible to give the range. In grade one, the age of female students extends from 7 to 19, and boys from 8 to 22; in grade four the range for girls is from 13 to 18 and for boys 13 to 21.

From Yetmen: Students go to Dejen or Bichena for secondary education; they usually rent rooms in groups while their parents send them food.

198. The following table shows that in the integrated sites in 2004 there was no gender difference in studying; in Korodegaga there was a small difference, while in Dinki more than twice as many males were in education.

Table 23: Proportions of Under 20-S Studying

	Amhara	Oromia
Integrated	Yetmen	Turufe
	Male: 52.8%	Male: 67.8%
	Female: 52.2%	Female: 66.9%
Integrated	Dinki	Korodegaga
	Male: 41.2%	Male: 44.4%
	Female: 19.1%	Female: 36.1%

Although we do not have quantitative evidence in 2010 a higher proportion of young people were in schooling in all sites and the difference between integrated and remote sites was no doubt reduced.

2.4.1.2. Youth

199. The condition of the youth and the dilemmas, the opportunities and constraints they face are the subject of the companion paper by Bevan (2011). This section is therefore brief, focusing on inequalities and exclusions within the youth.

200. Adolescents suffer from emotional instability, which may be related to realising they lack opportunities. They are at risk of problem behaviour; males may get into gambling, drinking, stealing, fighting and 'getting easily upset' while females are at risk of rape and unwanted pregnancy. Both sexes are at risk of contracting STDs, including HIV/AIDS. Girls from poor families face the prospect of not getting married leading to low self-esteem and social ostracism.

201. Gender differences become accentuated among adolescents and with potential sexual activity the differences become most salient with greatly increased risks for girls and young women of abduction, rape, forced marriage, and not finding a husband. Adolescent boys in Dinki were said to be 'beyond the age of beating' as they may rebel, whereas girls could still be beaten for

misconduct. Young men were said to risk engaging in premature sexual behaviour exposing them to HIV/AIDS. Very young men may be promised or given land as well as animals as rewards, whereas young women may be given animals, clothes and jewelry. Young men face challenges of gaining access to land and livestock, finding a wife, whereas young women face challenges of marriage, pregnancy and childbearing.

202. Inequalities between the youth depend in part on parental ability and willingness to endow children which is also mediated by cultural traditions. In Amhara society adults are expected to eventually endow their sons at least with some land, although land scarcity is making this less feasible. In Oromo and southern societies there were traditions of primogeniture in which the oldest son inherited.

203. Access to education can also be a cause of inequalities between youth, with older children from very poor households excluded from education since their parents need their labour and in extreme cases sending them to become herders or maidservants, which can also happen due to the breakup of the household as a result of death or divorce. However, there is also evidence that some wealthier households may keep some children away from school due to household labour needs.

204. In gender terms there is currently a higher proportion of girls in primary schools suggesting more of a need for male child labour. However, the situation is reversed in secondary school where far fewer girls attend, reflecting gender biases and assumptions about domestic roles for women.

2.4.1.3. Adults

205. Young men and women who reach adulthood are frequently contributing to the household economy while trying to establish themselves as adults in an environment with insufficient farming opportunities for all. In the remote sites there are few off-farm opportunities, and in the integrated sites great competition for the opportunities that exist leading to unemployment and underemployment particularly for males.

206. Parents worry about these young people, and at the same time are prone to get into conflicts with them. Uneducated parents may have particular problems in understanding the mindsets and ambitions of educated children.

207. Differences between adults depend largely on gender, the status of the household, and whether the adult is a household head, a spouse or other dependent. Within households dependents have limited say in decision-making and restricted access to resources and services.

2.4.1.4. Elderly

208. In old age the main risk is lack of support and losing control of resources to guarantee that support, once the effects of ageing become felt; these include reduced mobility and inability to work, loss of faculties, especially sight and hearing and memory, loss of teeth, risks of physical injury and slow recovery. Whereas the wealthy may employ labourers, ideally a male labourer for field work and a girl for domestic help in fetching wood and water, cooking and cleaning, the poor have to rely on help from children and grandchildren, and those who do not have relatives or offspring willing to help may become destitute and have to rely on charity of neighbours and richer members of the community.

209. The share-cropping out of land operates as a form of social protection for elderly and sick people. While sons have the main responsibility for the care of parents in old age there may be close personal relationships between mothers and daughters. It was reported that fathers living with daughters may not be looked after properly.

210. Gender differentials in old age relate largely to differential control of resources. Elderly women living on their own need the help of sons (or sons-in-law) to plough their fields if they have land as widows and have retained control if it. Otherwise they have to give land to a sharecropper unless they are exceptionally rich and can employ a labourer. But old women living alone also need household help of a younger female relative, preferably a grand-daughter. Ideally they have both adult male and adolescent female help, otherwise they may face destitution. In Girar it was said that elderly people who do no longer have the strength to work and have little or no 'regular' support from their relatives are very vulnerable.

211. If they are able to do some work elderly women may be involved in low status activities such as collecting mature and preparing threshing floors with dung. If they do have adult children living close and once they become too old to live on their own they may live with one of their children and may be well looked after. However, living with a married child means losing their independence and they may not get on with their daughter-in-law or son-in-law. In Dinki few elderly and destitute female-headed households received food aid, and some complained that the amount was less than those doing food for work received. A number of the elderly destitute women in this site were Argobba.

212. Elderly men living on their own also need help of sons (or sons-in-law) to plough land and face the decision of when to hand over control over property. A son may work for his father either directly, with the food being kept in the same granary or the son may be a sharecropper on terms which may be different than non kin. Elderly men may find their standard of living declining whereas that of the younger generation of helpers improves. Elderly men without sons or sons-in-law to help are reduced to giving out their land to sharecroppers and may give out their cattle on a share-use basis and their oxen in exchange for grain at terms that may be unfavourable. Elderly men in the Orthodox tradition may take the decision to retire from active life hand over their property to their sons, take communion and devote themselves to religious activity and living simply. However if they are too old and poor elderly men may suffer from loneliness and lack of contact.

213. In Korodegaga the patriarchal authority of adult men means that they are able to control resources and become more powerful with age to a greater extent than in other sites. Mean landholdings of male household heads are double those of female household heads and increase with age for men from their 20s to their 60+ (Bevan and Pankhurst 2007:90-91). With the ideal of polygyny successful elderly men may marry a younger second and even third wife. Elderly men especially from important clans play an important role in community decision-making notably in customary dispute resolution.

Health, wealth and support among the elderly

214. Health issues become more important with old age. Several of the women heading households were elderly and appreciated health services, such as an old woman living on her own in Geben. Problems with high blood pressure were mentioned by respondents in four sites: Korodegaga, Dinki, Yetmen and Girar. Two elderly men in Korodegaga went to a private clinic, one coughing and fever and the other diagnosed with high blood pressure. Similarly, an elderly man in Dinki went to the health centre for headache and was given medicine for blood pressure. Likewise, an elderly man in Yetmen suffering from hypertension went for treatment in towns which he found costly. In Girar the middle wealth head went to the Catholic hospital for hypertension and got drugs from the government pharmacy. Likewise an elderly woman living with her granddaughter had her blood pressure checked at the health centre. Several of the elderly men and women suffered from problems with their sight a few becoming blind. Trachoma droplets were provided to some elderly, some finding it useful others not understanding what it was for. There were also cases of elderly persons falling and breaking limbs in several sites. Several of the divorced men in Yetmen who are generally older had made use of health facilities, and the old man in Girar had received assistance

from the HEWs when he broke his hand. Resistance to using latrines in Dinki was expressed by an elderly woman living on her own.

215. Inability to afford health care was mentioned among some elderly persons. For instance an old woman in her 70s in Korodegaga suffered from backache and problems with her sight and hearing but lacked money for treatment. In contrast another old woman in her 70s in the same site was able to have an eye operation in Nazaret as her son is wealthy. In Girar an elderly woman living with her granddaughter complained that the tablets she got fortnightly for high blood pressure (12 birr for the tablets and 2 for the check-up) were expensive.

216. The targeting of the PSNP direct support includes the elderly in both Geblen and Korodegaga and the “weak” in Geblen. The assistance has clearly been very important for elderly without support and for women with children. In Korodegaga an elderly woman said it was essential for her to live as she has no means of livelihood and another said that without it her life was in question. A poor woman said it especially benefits poor people as it is important for their survival.

217. Due to infirmity and attitudes towards old age the elderly in practice are not easily able to get access to development services. In Geblen they were specifically excluded from getting package loans in Geblen, even though land was not a requirement, which was considered unfair by some.

2.5. Dependents

218. Overall the dependents interviewed had less involvement with interventions than household heads. In particular they had less interaction with interventions in the livelihood field, given their dependent status and the focus of interventions on households and their heads. Within the human reproduction field dependents, particularly women, had more involvement in health than in education particularly since their health needs were linked to their individual conditions, and since most were beyond school age and had had not got school-age children of their own. Regarding community management dependents had limited involvement with measures related to good governance, security and justice. Views were expressed on these issues, and some cases of personal justice were taken to wereda and social courts in some sites.

2.5.1. Genderage differences

219. The women dependents were generally less involved in livelihood interventions based on agriculture, since the extension services were more focused on male and richer households. The older dependents were not involved in productive interventions due to their age. There was only one case of an older male dependent in Girar who benefited personally from some social protection assistance with clothing and a little money from the Catholic Church, though the relatives he lives with benefitted from extension services. Both older women in Korodegaga obtain direct PSNP support and one got food aid. One of the old women in Yetmen obtained a certificate for land which her son uses and pays tax on and the other used to be part of a spinning cooperative until her daughter became seriously ill.

220. Some women dependents were involved in **non-agricultural livelihoods** notably pottery among the poor wives in Girar; although some had received advice, two of them claimed that the extension services were not interested in them as potters and one suggested that the government should think of organising potters into an association. The female migrant dependents are involved in household labour in Turufe and therefore invisible to the extension services. Though some women had benefited from **land rights legislation**, older women divorcees got divorced before the new legislation came into effect and a divorcee in Dinki was unable to claim land since she was an

Argobba Muslim. Insofar as the women dependents are wives the extension services tend to focus on their husbands.

221. Some categories of women dependents, notably wives and young women living with parents, have been able to benefit from interventions relating to **livestock** and certain categories from **credit** in some sites, particularly wives in Girar and women with children in Geblen.

222. In the area of **social protection** there were less gender differences with women dependents working on **food for work** and receiving **food aid** in the aid dependent sites. Elderly dependents whether male or female had benefited from **PSNP direct support**, and migrant women as well as men had benefitted from **food aid** in Turufe.

223. There were significant difference between the male and female dependents in the extent to which they were involved in **health care** interventions. Whereas the male dependents tended to have rather limited involvement with health care, being mainly single young healthy men without families of their own, the women dependents had more needs, since apart from the most of the young women living with parents most of the rest had families. Whereas only some of the male migrants and divorcees with families and some male dependents in Geblen had made use of curative services all the women dependents had sought health care. Among the women three had sought traditional health care, two in Dinki for tonsillitis and one in Girar to holy water for paralysis since she was too poor to afford to continue hospital treatment.

224. There were generally rather positive views held by the women dependents about the preventive extension services. On latrines three dependent women in Dinki mentioned not having to walk far to relieve themselves, whereas a young man said he only used the latrine in the rains and another that he did not use it as it did not have a roof.

225. With regard to bednets an elderly woman in Yetmen had given the only one they had to the grandson living with her. Medicine against trachoma was taken by young women in Dinki without knowing what it was for whereas an old woman in Yetmen said it helped with her vision while another claimed it dealt with internal parasites.

226. Women dependents were also more involved with health extension services due to the key role of the HEWs in providing contraceptives, whereas among some of the male dependents resistance to contraceptive use was expressed. Contraception was particularly important for younger women, especially those living with their parents and for those who had children without being married but not wanting to have more. Women of child bearing age also obtained some perinatal care, to differing extents depending on site conditions. Apart from the young women living with parents and the very old ones, women with children were involved with health care facilities for their children, notably vaccinations to varying degrees depending on site conditions.

227. Age is also an important factor. None of the young male dependents in Dinki had made use of curative health facilities except for two who had treatment for stomach problems when they migrated to towns to visit relatives and work. In contrast several of the divorced men in Yetmen who are generally older had made use of health facilities, and the old man in Girar had received assistance from the HEWs when he broke his hand.

228. With regard to **education** there was limited involvement of both male and female dependents in their own education since they were past school age. However, whereas there were exceptions among the young men in Girar and Geblen who were going to school there were none among the women. Moreover, among the women there was some evidence of women dropping out of school to take on caring or economic roles, notably a young woman in Dinki who had to look after the household when her mother left, and two young women in Girar who stopped school, one to care for her sick mother and the other due to economic problems in the household. Among the women dependents there were also a few cases who had children at school, though there was also a middle aged man in Geblen with five children at school.

229. There were limited cases of comments on issues of good governance. These were raised by several male divorcees in Yetmen, a young man in Dinki, and several women in Geblen and Girar. Regarding personal justice it is striking that the only case of an appeal to the wereda by a dependent was by a young man from Geblen. It is even more significant that wereda courts imposed verdicts in favour of women, in the cases of mothers of women in Girar and Dinki. It is also striking that two young dependent women in Dinki were able to win cases taken to the Kebele court, and that migrant men in Turufe and Korodegaga were able to bring cases to the Kebele court

230. The male dependents had little to say on gender issues except for the divorcees who resented women's rights to divorce. There were isolated cases of a young man in favour of female circumcision in Dinki and of a middle-aged man against contraceptives in Geblen. In contrast women dependents have benefited to some extent from gender-related policies in land, female circumcision, access to contraception, and violence against women.

231. Age mattered in terms of land rights since young dependent women have not yet benefitted personally though some noted that their mothers' had, including a case in Dinki when the wereda court renewed the contract for her mother, and another in Girar whose mother inherited land when her father died. An elderly woman in Yetmen appreciated getting her land registered though in practice her son uses it and pays the land tax. Two divorcees in Yetmen and Girar had not benefitted as their divorces were not recent. Two young women in Girar said they had benefitted from the ban on **female circumcision**.

232. The availability of **contraceptives** was seen as important for young women. Three women in their teens in Girar were using them as was a young woman in Dinki who had one child out of marriage and did not want another; however a wife in Geblen mentioned that the family planning came too late for her as she already had a large family. In Girar HEW were supportive of women's access to contraceptives but were intimidated by husbands' resistance.

233. Regarding **rights of women and girls on divorce and inheritance** in Dinki the social court defended a woman bringing a case of a man refusing to acknowledge paternity and another young woman in dividing the property when her mother remarried. However, she complained that the court did not take the case of marginalised women seriously. She mentioned that they ignored a case she brought where a neighbour's goat had eaten their crops and suggested that they took her case seriously in this instance since she had the support of an wealthy relative

234. Regarding **land rights** an elderly woman in Yetmen appreciated getting her land registered and a young woman in Dinki and another in Girar mentioned that their mothers had inherited land when their fathers died, though three divorcees had not, one in Yetmen as her divorce was not recent, another in Girar where the divorce was also not recent and the land small, and one in Dinki as she was an Argobba Muslim

2.5.2. Wealth and status

235. Among the male dependents the wealthier young men were able to benefit from agricultural extension services whereas migrants and divorcees had little interaction with the DAs. Access to land and livestock holdings mattered in order to benefit from extension services. Younger and migrant dependents lacked land. However, poorer dependents were able to obtain veterinary services, credit in some sites, and access to food for work and food aid.

236. Among the women dependents most were poor and had little involvement in livelihood interventions, and some were very poor. Exceptions were the rich wives in Geblen one of whom took loans for livestock and government credit to start a clothes shop in a small town, the other whose father is a model farmer benefitting from a number of livelihood interventions.

237. Migrant status also affected ability to engage with interventions: in Korodegaga the migrant men were not considered part of the community or allowed to be involved in institutions and even one who married a woman who grew up there was excluded on the grounds that she had been a Christian. In Turufe the men were able to obtain IDs through the intervention of sponsors, but the only interventions mentioned by women migrants was food aid.

238. There was some evidence that wealth affected the ability of dependents, particularly among the women, to access curative health care. A poor woman in Girar who was unable to afford hospital costs for treatment for her paralysis went to holy water. Wealth was also a factor among the elderly in Korodegaga where a woman with a rich son could afford eye treatment whereas a destitute old woman suffering from hearing and sight problems could not afford treatment. Some of the women went for private health care in towns despite the cost such as a divorcee suffering from kidney problems in Korodegaga, and a woman with children in Geblen who took her father suffering from diabetes to hospital, having to raise a lot of money despite being poor.

239. There was also evidence that some of the dependents, particularly destitute migrant women in Turufe and a poor man in Girar, were unable to benefit from free medical care. In Turufe two of the migrant women mentioned being unable to get exemption letters from the Kebele and one had to beg for money to take her daughter to hospital. Among the men the poor young man in Geblen did receive a letter of exemption from the Kebele to receive free medical care. However, the HC staff were bureaucratic in handling his case and sent him back to get corrections to the letter. A young man living with his poor mother in Girar was unable to afford treatment for her eye problem.

240. Regarding education the marginalised status of being a female migrant also led to one woman in Turufe not being able to send her daughter to school as she needed the income she obtained from her working as a herder.

241. There were a few mentions of issues relating to good governance in four sites. In Yetmen several male divorcees raised issues to do with the dispute between the wereda and the community over the siting of the school, the extent to which security had improved or deteriorated as a result of good governance measures including leniency or tough penalties towards thieves and disarming militia with differing views expressed. Allegations of nepotism over food aid were made by a middle-wealth man who is a Party member in Geblen and a young man from a rich family in Dinki. Among the women two Party members had different views, one implying corruption over food aid and another suggesting the problem was rather due to delays in PSNP payments. In Girar a very poor woman who is Party member and was elected onto the Women's Association suggested that there were some improvements for women and youth, and a poor woman was appreciative of improved security and justice. However, several of the women complained that as potters they were not given due attention in development and the mother of one of the potter women was accused of sorcery but defended by the wereda court which imprisoned her harasser.

242. The migrants have had a less secure status in both Turufe and Korodegaga and are not involved in community institutions, although in the former the men were able to obtain ID cards through the intervention of sponsors and in the latter their appeal to the Kebele to be included in food aid lists was successful. One of them faced exclusions despite being married to a woman who was raised in Korodegaga on the grounds that she had been married to a Christian. The only reported case of violence relating to dependent men concerned a migrant in Turufe who was attacked and had his bicycle stolen on the way to market. Though he was able to get it back through the social court which referred the case to elders for mediation he had to pay for medical expenses for one of his attackers that he had kicked in self-defence. A migrant in Korodegaga was also involved in two land cases that came to the Kebele court, and were referred to mediation. In both cases the migrant did not feel he obtained justice, since in one case he was forced to pay compensation to a man who he accused of taking land belonging to his sponsor and in the other the people he accused of trespassing were not charged. One of the two dependent women who were raped was also a migrant in Turufe.

243. Regarding **violence against women** a woman in Girar said that her abusive husband behaved himself after the police intervened. However, it is noteworthy that two women in marginalised positions were subject to rape that they were unable to report. In Turufe the woman was a migrant servant who was raped by sons of her employees and in Yetmen the woman was raped by a neighbour and had two children by him and felt unable to protect herself with contraception.

244. Regarding **marital status** most of the male dependents were not married, either since they were young dependents in Dinki and Girar, divorced in Yetmen or migrants living with households as in Turufe and Korodegaga. There was only one married migrant among those in Turufe and one in Korodegaga neither of whom were involved in livelihood interventions.

245. The category of divorced men in Yetmen were particularly bitter about the loss of land to former wives. Though some divorcee women had benefited, older women dependents were divorced before the new legislation came into effect and a divorcee in Dinki was unable to get land as she was an Argobba Muslim. Two young women, one in Dinki and the other in Girar, said they had benefitted from land certification as their mothers obtained access to land when their fathers died.

246. Marital status had some effect on uptake of health interventions. Among the migrant men those in Turufe had not been involved in health care whereas in Korodegaga the married migrant spent a lot of money on his wife's bone cancer. The divorced men in Yetmen had made use of curative services, two of them for their mothers, and a third for an eye illness. Among the women the wives and women with children were more involved in health care, in particular those with young children.

3. Exclusions

3.1. Dimensions of exclusion

247. The literature on exclusion has focused on social exclusion and derives from a western social science tradition looking at ways in which societies with welfare systems still exclude marginalised groups or categories of people. However, there have been attempts to apply the concept more broadly in developing and third world contexts. Despite the emphasis on the social dimension, related cultural exclusions and sometimes deeper economic exclusions and more directly politically-related exclusions are equally if not more significant in some contexts and/or for certain groups or categories of persons.

248. In the Ethiopian context the exclusion of craftworker groups has been analysed in terms of different dimensions of marginalisation: economic, political, social and cultural (Pankhurst 2003). Likewise in this paper these four types or aspects of exclusion are considered: 1) economic, 2) social, 3) cultural, and 4) political. These different forms of exclusion affect particular groups of people or specific types of household or defined categories of person in relation to their attributed statuses.

249. Some forms of exclusion are more general and concern categories of person with specific statuses such as status of adult dependents within household or servants who may find that they are excluded in various ways, though in the case of dependents this is mediated by gender and wealth.

250. There are also exclusions or constraints related to distance in terms of geographical location as we have seen notably in relation to the community administrative centre, roads, and markets, which may also be related to connections to people in power and mediated by gender relations.

251. Whereas some forms of exclusion are found across all the sites, there are site specific types of exclusions affecting particular categories of household that this paper considers. For example non-residents in Korodegaga, landless female-headed households in Dinki, recent migrant labourers in Turufe, homeless persons in Yetmen, and potters in Girar, and households losing land to

communal grazing in Geblen face particular problems which do occur or do not seem to be as serious in other sites.

3.1.1. Economic exclusion

252. Economic exclusion is related to inequalities and tends to be a manifestation of forms or aspects of unequal distribution of resources. The differences in land and livestock holdings, access to irrigation land, and other productive assets result in significant de-facto economic exclusions, particularly affecting the very poor and destitute who are unable to have access to resources and tend to rely on their labour, often provided at exploitative rates.

253. Some forms of poverty resulting from inequalities lock certain categories of person into extreme forms of class-like inequalities. The most important category are household **labourers/servants**. As we have seen this has genderage dimensions which may be linked to poverty and sometimes shocks in household cycles: boys are involved as herdsboys and girls as maidservants, women as domestic female house servants and men as agricultural household labourers. These statuses may also be inherited, and children of persons in these categories face further exclusions for instance in relation to access to education and health care. Another category in some sites are **migrants** who do not have equal access to resources and therefore have limited economic options, relying largely on selling their labour at exploitative rates or terms in risky and uncertain conditions.

254. Opportunities arising from interventions notably extension services are also areas where unequal access leads to economic exclusions of certain categories. The focus of agricultural extension on male and richer farmers tends to exclude the poor, landless youth and women.

255. Credit services may exclude those considered not to be credit-worthy who are often poor households, women, and the elderly. However, there are some initiatives that seek to empower categories of the poor and women in credit services, prioritising them or involving criteria that specifically include them. Though these may be useful if well designed, there are dangers of indebtedness as some of the case material discussed in this paper amply demonstrate. This is particularly the case if the credit involves risks such as loss of livestock notably in drought conditions, and since these categories tend to have fewer buffers and resources to cope with shocks such as illness in the family or food shortage leading to them using loans for consumption or to deal with various household shocks.

3.1.2. Social exclusion

256. Social exclusion relates to the social status of the category of person and is often also linked to the economic inequalities and exclusions discussed above. Genderage categories often restrict access to resources. Youth tend to be landless and women heading households often have less land. Youth may be provided some land by their parents and in some sites schemes to provide limited land to youth organised in groups have been promoted, although these have been fraught with problems (see Bevan 2011). Access to land by women heading households may depend on the reasons for them becoming the household head, and site differences between widows and divorcees are in part related to differing cultural norms between sites in Oromia and Amhara as we have seen earlier. Recent migrants also tend to be unable to obtain access to resources. The elderly in Geblen were specifically mentioned as being excluded from taking loans, which was considered unfair by some. The local status of dependents within families also restricts the ability of those who are not heading households to be involved in decision making and access resources, even after becoming adults. Wives may not be able to benefit directly from access to resources and may have less say in decisions about disposing of assets and use of income.

257. Exclusion from forms of social organisation, networks and associations is a major aspect of social exclusion which may be only in part related to economic exclusion. Thus inability to afford membership fees can result in the very poor not being able to join funeral associations or other forms of association requiring contributions, unless they are allowed to provide contributions in the form of labour. Poorer households are not able to organise work parties for agricultural labour as they cannot afford the cost of preparing food and beverages.

258. There are forms of tolerance, social inclusion and protection of destitute persons and those with illnesses and disabilities, notably through religious institutions, with churches and mosques providing charity, a locus for beggars and disabled people to receive food and sometimes support on particular occasions such as holidays and saints days. However, exclusion of people with some disabilities such as those with leprosy, and recently people with HIV/AIDS has been an issue in a number of sites. Cases were reported of people with mental illness being chained to beds in Yetmen.

259. Interventions and programmes may reinforce forms of social exclusion by not giving due consideration to gender categories or by policies and programmes that do not adequately accommodate needs of specific categories or define criteria for assistance using unpopular modalities. For instance the focus of packages and credit on agricultural options tend to exclude women, many of whom are much more involved in income generating activities through trade, food and beverage production and craftwork. The tendency of credit to be offered in groups may exclude women unless they form women only groups, and may exclude the poor since richer farmers may fear being associated with them lest they default on loans. Attempts to involve youth in group activities may be difficult to organise and run counter to wishes for individual enterprise.

260. Interventions specifically aimed at countering social problems or benefiting disadvantaged categories may also have unintended negative consequences and/or increase social friction. For instance the application of laws asserting women's land rights led to some tensions in cases where daughters claimed land against their brothers as occurred in Korodegaga, and where divorced men found themselves with non-viable plots of land after divorce settlements, a grievance raised in Yetmen. Where women took land cases to court this often led to lengthy and costly proceedings and increased tensions within households. The campaigns against customs defined as harmful traditional practices, notably female genital cutting and early marriage is another case where tensions and resistance was widespread and where external and local logics tended to clash.

3.1.3. Cultural exclusion

261. Forms of cultural exclusion relate primarily to social statuses linked to cultural identity markers and norms. Some forms of cultural exclusion are related directly to ethnicity and/or religion, sometimes class linked to gender issues and local politics. For instance Argobba women are culturally proscribed from working in the fields and hence also earning income from agricultural labour. Migrants from Kambata in Turufe were expelled at the time of the defeat of the Derg with whom they were seen to be allied. Recent migrants from other regions have limited access to resources in the Oromia sites, and may be subject to discrimination over pay; in cases of disputes they may become scape-goats accused of causing trouble.

262. With the hardening of religious identities, there has been a tendency for institutions that had involved people from different religious groups to split, such as funeral associations in Dinki involving Orthodox Christians and Muslims and in Turufe ones that involved Orthodox and Protestants. This led to some cases of exclusions.

263. The exclusion of craftworkers and former hunting groups who were marginalised and ostracised in much of Ethiopia and treated as quasi-castes was very much related to cultural exclusion; these groups were considered to consume unclean meat that had not been ritually slaughtered. Social relations with them involved maintaining distance, avoiding eating together and

intermarriage, and they were allocated task considered polluting such as circumcision and burial (Freeman and Pankhurst 2003). Although there were few craftworkers in most of the sites, potters in Girar known as Fuga and those from Wolayta in Turufe suffered from discrimination, and there were cases mentioned of exclusion from institutions. There were even cases of abuse: In one case in Girar a potter woman's hand was broken by an official for dirtying an attendance sheet. Ostracism and discrimination have declined especially where craftworkers have been able to improve their livelihoods by combining craftwork with agriculture.

264. Interventions aimed at redressing inequalities related to gender and culture have met with some resistance. For instance the application of the land certification process involved wives' names and photographs being included in certificates which was at first resisted by Argobba Muslim men on the grounds that this did not conform with Sharia law. Attempts to ban polygyny and widow inheritance in Oromia sites also faced some resistance. Likewise, interventions related to preventing female genital cutting and early marriage were perceived to go counter to local traditions and bans were sometimes circumvented by various means (see Boyden, Pankhurst and Tafere 2011).

265. Regarding craftworkers there has been a campaign in Girar and other Gurage areas to ensure equality and counter prejudices. Though this seems to have brought about some change many respondents felt that change was skin-deep and more for appearances and cultural prejudices persist as evidenced by continued lack of intermarriage.

3.1.4. Political exclusion

Direct political exclusion has involved categories seen as over-privileged in the past, notably those who lost land at the time of the 1997 land redistribution in Yetmen (and many other areas of Amhara Region though not in Dinki), who were seen as associated with the Derg regime (referred to as Derg bureaucrats) or the imperial regime (referred to a feudal remnants). Though these categories were also initially excluded from engagement in politics this appears to have been relaxed and they have been somewhat rehabilitated. There was also some harassment and exclusion from involvement in institutions such as cooperatives of a few persons associated with opposition groups at the time of the 2005 elections in a couple of sites.

266. More indirect political exclusion relates to persons who do not have contacts and relations with persons in positions of authority and are generally among the poor and sometimes female headed. In the aid-dependent sites they may not benefit from inclusion in various forms of assistance, as was reported in a few cases in these sites. Conversely those with connections may benefit even and especially if they are rich and hence powerful. For instance there were cases of wealthy people becoming beneficiaries of the safety net schemes that were meant to be targeted to the food-insecure poor.

267. Interventions that attempt to redress inequalities and target the poor through assistance may run into contradictions with ways in which local power structures and personal interests of those in positions of authority tend to reinforce inequalities and privileges. Moreover, a widespread community ethic of sharing resources more widely rather than focusing assistance on a few can lead to a clash of approaches between frameworks based on targeting the most needy and community ethics of solidarity and sharing resources equally, irrespective of wealth.

3.2. Categories of excluded households and persons

Exclusions affects certain categories of households and individuals. The following sub-sections discuss those most at risk in the sites studied in this phase of the research.

3.2.1. Excluded categories of households

268. Some categories of household are more likely to experience different forms of exclusion due to their specific characteristic in terms of wealth and other statuses. In terms of wealth status the destitute and extremely poor are the most vulnerable to exclusion from social institutions, especially where they are unable to afford membership fees. They may also be at risk of exclusion from interventions aimed at improving production due to lack of resources and assets, and from food security interventions if they lack connections to persons in authority.

269. As we have seen there are gender aspects to extreme poverty and very poor female-headed households, elderly households without support, especially elderly women living on their own, are particularly vulnerable. They may not even have the resources or ability to benefit from interventions aimed specifically at poorer households. So for instance fee-waivers for the very poor require a long and bureaucratic process of certification involving time and travel costs that the very poor may not be able to afford.

270. There are also households whose status attributes may limit their access to resources and result in exclusion. These include minority groups that in some contexts are craftworkers who are marginalised, in others migrants whose ethnicity or lack of sufficiently long residence prevents them from being entitled to access resources.

271. Households that are in the early stage of the development cycle may be excluded from interventions to boost production due to lack of access to resources, notably land, and household in the late phase of the cycle may not have the labour and/or have lost other resources and are therefore likely to find themselves excluded. Households that have fallen off the ideal cycle especially due to social shocks, including death and divorce, or other shocks notably health shocks affecting productive members such as accidents, chronic illness and disability are also very much at risk of exclusion.

3.2.2. Excluded categories of person

272. Categories of person that are vulnerable to exclusion are related to gender, most frequently in conjunction with wealth-status attributes.

273. Children of very poor households or of servants or migrants are likely to be more at risk of malnutrition, limited health care, not being sent to school, working from a young age, boys being sent as herders, and girls as servants.

274. Adolescent boys and young men from poor families and those from migrants or other disadvantaged categories such as craftworkers, are likely to be more at risk of not gaining access to productive resources, and/or becoming household labourers.

275. Adolescent girls and young women from poor and disadvantaged categories are more at risk of suffering from gender-based violence and exploitation, including rape and abduction, dropping out of school, being sent or deciding they have no option but to work as housemaids, early marriage, pregnancy, abortion, risky deliveries resulting in complications and even maternal mortality.

276. Very poor adults, and those who are migrants may never form their own households and remain dependents, working for others as household labourers.

277. Adults facing health shocks, including accidents, chronic illness and disabilities may also be unable to engage in productive activities and remain dependents.

278. Men and women whose families break up due to divorce or whose spouse dies may find themselves with reduced resources.

279. Women divorcees and widows' options may be constrained by cultural norms, and poorer and less connected women may be less able to take advantage of legislation and measures to promote their rights.

280. Among the elderly those who do not have support of children or other relatives and lack resources notably land may not have access to customary social protection. Those with disabilities and as they age facing increasing health shocks are more at risk of exclusion from participation in social activities and institutions.

281. Elderly women living on their own, especially those from minorities or low status groups are even more vulnerable.

Part III: INEQUALITIES AND EXCLUSIONS IN THE SIX COMMUNITIES

4. Differential impacts and exclusions: the six communities

282. The following section provides a description of the six sites starting with the four WeD sites for which we have more data. After a summary outline issues that are significant in relation to differentials and exclusions are highlighted within each site.

4.1. Korodegaga (Korodegaga kebele, Dodota Wereda, Oromia Region)

4.1.1. Description

283. Korodegaga is a collection of nine villages scattered over a large area (two hours walk between some of them) and forming one *kebele* in Dodota wereda in Oromia. Sefera village, the administrative centre (and a legacy of the Derg villagisation) with some new administrative and service buildings, is located along the Awash river. The nine villages are almost encircled by the Awash and the Qelete, another perennial river. Access to Dera, the wereda centre, is either through a dirt road (25 kms) which is not passable the whole year or, crossing the Awash river on a manually-hauled raft as there is no bridge, and walking to Sodere where there is an all-weather road and transport to Dera. So on the one hand Korodegaga is remote. On the other hand, once on the all-weather road people can easily reach Nazreth (30 kms), the second or third largest city in Ethiopia, and several small towns on the way. Moreover, most people have access to a mobile phone (in addition to a public V-Sat phone in the *kebele* though only receiving calls). Almost all the residents are Arssi Oromo Muslims. Farmers are involved in rainfed maize and tef production but the site is drought-prone and food deficit and was a PSNP/OFSP site (NGO-implemented) from 2005. The potential for irrigation from the Awash has been increasingly exploited through an NGO scheme, a government scheme, private pumps, inward investors, including an Australian, and co-operatives. This has increased daily labour opportunities. There has been some distribution of communal land to landless youth in recent years. New migration to Sudan and Saudi Arabia started recently. There has been a Health Post since 2009 and there are a health centre and private clinic (preferred) in the nearest town (about 8 kms from Sefera). Grade 5 was recently added to the school. There has been progress on a number of women's rights issues.

4.1.2. Differentials

284. There are two aspects of the geography of Korodegaga that are highly pertinent to a discussion of differential impacts of interventions. First the nine villages are scattered over a wide area meaning that access to health and education services can involve walking up to two hours distance. Linked to this and even more important is the central place of the Awash River. An area along the river is where the main villagisation took place during the Derg and where administrative

buildings are located. Furthermore the Awash is where the range of interventions related to irrigation through external investors as well as government and NGO sponsored irrigation schemes involving local groups organised in cooperatives takes place. Access to irrigated land is a diacritical distinction in terms of wealth.

285. There are important differences based on genderage, wealth and status. The patriarchal authority of adult men means that they are able to control resources and become more powerful with age to a greater extent than in other sites. Mean landholdings of male household heads are double those of female household heads and increase with age for men from their 20s to their 60+ (Bevan and Pankhurst 2007:90-91). With the ideal of polygyny successful elderly men may marry a younger second and even third wife. Elderly men especially from important clans play an important role in community decision-making notably in customary dispute resolution.

286. There is considerable inequality in household productive wealth. In 2004 44% of households were estimated as poor on a mix of productive assets (9% destitute – ‘not even a hen’) in 2004 with 15.3% rich and 2.4% very rich. Regarding the characterisation of the assets of different wealth groups qualitative data from 2004 suggested the following:

Box 16: Asset Characteristics of Different Wealth Categories in Korodegaga

Very rich households have a radio, tape player and quality watches, beds of cattle skin, chairs, farm implements like a plough, jamba (machete), sickle, spade, hammer, private irrigation pumps, hand pumps, and sprays. Rich households have a bed and mattress made from animal leather and a plastic sheet for the floor. One farmer has a gari, a horse-drawn cart; another rich person has a bicycle.

Medium-wealth households have a radio, bed, plough, sickle, spade, jamba, hand-pump, a few have a private irrigation pump in a group, and house furniture like pots made of plastic. The beds are made from animal skin or mud (medeb) and the mattress of straw.

Poor households may have a plough, sickle, spade, jamba, jerry-can and a bed medeb. The destitute have a sickle, spade and jamba. One destitute female-headed woman reported that she has only a sickle and jamba.

287. Asked to compare overall community wealth at the time of the WIDE3 interview (February 2010) with wealth in 2003 respondents claimed that the community was poorer due to the 2009 drought. ‘Farmers have already sold their oxen and goats for buying cereals’. The sale of assets was confirmed in all the household interviews, while some farmers said that they were also renting out land in order to buy food and/or pay debts incurred for improved seed which had produced little or nothing due to lack of rain. They said that this would mean less income in future. One respondent suggested that richer farmers were selling assets in order not to be graduated from PSNP. The drought has affected farmers of all wealth levels causing richer ones to adopt coping strategies usually reserved for poorer households.

Box 17: Households Downplaying their Wealth: Korodegaga

Except this year they lived well, that they have enough farm and irrigable land to utilise and rent out. They also have a pair of oxen, sheep, goats, heifer. So they are categorised under middle wealth. Still they are among the middle wealth households in the community. But they take themselves as poor, as they are searching for assistance or aid. However this is common behaviour among the community members.

288. Richer households may support poorer relatives as the following example illustrates.

Box 18: Assistance to Poorer Relatives: Korodegaga

TK and her family were living in LM’s kitchen. Such households may also exploit poor people – a poor woman of 50 living with her son (AU) who said that she hadn’t any assets not even a house, said that the same LM had taken 15 kg of wheat in her name during the second round of relief assistance this year. She decided not to involve the Woreda because she fears the *kebele* officials and fears that she may lose different benefits from the *kebele* in the future.

289. Young boys in poor households may be sent to work as herders or agricultural labourers in other people's households.

Box 19: Children from Poor Households Sent to Work as Herders: Korodegaga

One of the Dependent Adult respondents told how until he was 18 his parents forced him to be employed 'and took my salary and used it for their own decision'. One of the household respondent women heading a household (MS) partially depends on her 13 year-old son's herder salary of 400 birr per year. While he cannot go to school because he is working, a daughter is attending the primary school.

4.1.3. Exclusions

290. Regarding economic exclusion a major source of inequality is control of the land by the older generation resulting in exclusion of the younger generation.

Box 20: Landlessness: Korodegaga

There are more than 100 landless peasants, and the number is even greater when we include here those who get only a very small (1/2 ha.) amount of land from their parents during their marriage ceremony. There are also some migrant landless households in the community. The landless earn their livelihood by renting land and share-cropping with weak farmers. They also participate in off-farm activities like daily labour and firewood selling. (Bevan and Pankhurst 1997:72).

291. Half the households do not have access to irrigated land which is particularly important for survival and chances of becoming prosperous.

292. Half the households do not have access to irrigated land which is particularly important for survival and chances of becoming prosperous.

293. Regarding social exclusion recent migrants are the main social category who are disadvantaged and sometimes excluded. They live in temporary shelters, work for residents often for poor conditions with little security, without access to services and benefits, may be accused of theft or rape, and conflicts have led to cases of discrimination.

Box 21: Exclusion and inclusion of migrants: Korodegaga

People who are not considered to be *kebele* residents are excluded; they are not allowed to participate in any organisations nor access any of the development programmes. Those who live in the house of a resident may be included in PSNP. Korodegaga Community Profile).

294. Extreme poverty can also be lead to exclusions from community institutions and lack of voice:

Box 22: Exclusion of the poor in Korodegaga

The poor are undermined by other people in their clan or the community. Poor and helpless people like me are excluded because we cannot contribute financially to social organisations.. Poor people have no voice in the community. Destitutes have no livestock or money; sometimes physically weak, no knowledge/skill to perform work properly, little or no food, may not be able to help family, leave organisations like *iddir*. Some depend on help from relatives, neighbours, govt. Others do daily labour or sell firewood. (Bevan and Pankhurst 1997:27).

295. Political exclusion related to the provision of aid in the PSNP was also a factor discussed in the 2010 community profile. There was some conflict during the selection for targeting. About 70% of the community benefited but because of quota shortage all poor people did not benefit.

Box 23: Exclusion from Programmes

Everybody wants to be included in PSNP. The excluded poor went to the wereda to complain and then back to the kebele officials to solve their problem. Then kebele leaders, gerie and DAs with the community discussed the issues and solved the problem... Poor people from outside the area were excluded from OFSP because of quota shortage. (Korodegaga Community Profile).

296. Potential exclusion from the benefits of aid was also related to involved in communal activities organised by the *kebele* and women's and youth associations. When issues arise *kebele* officials in the gerie or got mobilise them to participate and if they don't action is taken by *kebele* leaders. Women who don't participate in meetings and community work will be excluded. (Korodegaga Community Profile).

297. A number of respondents complained of "relatives' bias" in the implementation of interventions and one said their household was excluded (not graduated) from PSNP after benefiting for two years because of their wealth status although she named another household as richer but still benefiting from PSNP.

298. There were also some allegations of biases over land allocations. One of the male youth focus groups said that officials had refused to provide land for one Youth Co-operative 'for unknown reasons' and that 'Corruption has to be stopped'. They also agreed that well-to-do families were getting food aid due to corruption. A poor woman asked that government interventions should include all poor people without discrimination as a result of 'relatives' bias'.

299. Linkages between exclusion relating to gender and politics was raised over the implementation of the family law. There was one report of 'corruption in the court and archive' related to a woman's claim to land. A wereda official said that the court was not making decisions on the division of property quickly and when a woman took her case to the Women's Affairs they intervened and found that the archivist had hidden the file to delay the court appointment.

300. Men are supportive of the family law when the household land increases when their wives get parental land, but oppose it when their sisters come to claim a portion of parental land. One woman who had benefited said that her brother refused to share her parents' land with her and five other sisters but was forced to when they went to the wereda. A rich respondent said his wife had inherited land from her parents in another area so the family had benefited. In the long-run he said 'Oppression will be reduced in the community and equality promoted; that makes Allah happy'. However a number of other respondents said that the law was 'creating disappointment between brothers and sisters and in the long run would loosen the social bonds of the community'.

4.2. Turufe (Turufe Wetera Kecheme kebele, Shashemene Wereda, Oromia Region)

4.2.1. Description

301. Turufe is one of three villages and the administrative centre of a larger *kebele* in Shashemene wereda in Oromia, not far from the border with the Southern region. The village is surrounded by two rivers and located on fairly flat terrain. It is adjacent to the town of Kuyera (3 kms), to which it lost some land in 2009, and not far from Shashemene (14 kms). Most people live in the central densely populated area of the village (legacy of the Derg villagisation) with piped water

at several communal water points and electricity since 2008, obtained with help of an investor who installed an electric mill. The mobile phone network covers the area. The village is linked to Kuyera by a dirt road reaching the main road along which Kuyera and Shashemene are located. The proximity of Kuyera and of the booming town of Shashemene (radically transformed and attracting investors since it became zonal capital in 2006) goes a long way to explain what life looks like in Turufe – notably comparatively better infrastructure and access to a range of services (government and also big private sector expansion in Shashemene and missions in Kuyera – education and health), market opportunities for agricultural and other products and wage labour opportunities. The population is mixed, ethnically with a majority of Oromo and significant minorities of migrants from both northern and southern Ethiopia established in Turufe for many years as well as recent migrant labourers, and religiously with a majority of Muslims, and Orthodox Christian and (growing) Protestant minorities. Different groups in the community therefore have different social and family norms. Turufe is a food secure, surplus producing area, traditionally exporting potatoes and maize to Addis Ababa. Farmers also grow a variety of other crops, all based on rainfed agriculture, and rear livestock. Community members, especially the landless young, commute for daily labour to Shashemene and Kuyera towns; some women have migrated to work on the Ziway flower farms. There are also opportunities in trade, informal business, brokering, and local transport activities. There is good access to public and private health and education facilities. Women's rights have been formally established and implementation is increasing.

4.2.2. Differentials

302. The settlement pattern of Turufe with a central village which is densely populated and has administrative buildings means that those within the villagised area have much better access to services including electricity, mobile network coverage and water points, and for some of the wealthy even piped water in their homesteads, and closer access to schools and the health post. A few households living close to one of the rivers have been able to benefit from irrigation. The relatively close proximity of the site to the towns of Shashemene and Kuyera offer opportunities for wage labour for the poor and for better health and education notably for the rich.

303. There are important differential based on genderage, wealth and status. Given patriarchal values men tend to control resources, and the mean size of landholdings of men increases very slightly with age from their 20s to 60s +. However, the difference between male and female headed households in land holdings is very small (0.88 ha for men and 0.73 for women) compared to other sites, probably since most women heading households are widows who have managed to retain access to land.

304. In 1995 the route to wealth for most people was perceived to be through access to land and agriculture, though a few had become wealthy through trade. Constraints for the poor were considered to be lack of oxen and tools, health problems, old age, and bad luck, notably the loss of livestock. The rich were characterised as having better nutrition, with a more mixed diet and choice of foods and consumption of meat and milk not just for holidays. In 2005 it was suggested that hard work could allow people to become richer but that oxen or support from relatives were important.

305. The rich are characterised by better housing, including iron roofs (in 2004 41% had them), a separate food store (25%), separate kitchen (45%) and livestock yard (30%). They also have more household assets. The distribution of household assets in 2004 suggests that over a quarter of households had beds, and two-thirds have mattresses. Chairs, which were seen as an attribute of the richer households in 1995, were found in 82% of households in 2004. Gas lamps were found in 60% of households. Only two percent of households had sofas. Recent remittances from migrants were said to be used to improve housing including furniture. Qualitative characterisation of assets of different wealth groups in 2004 suggested the following:

Box 24: Assets Characteristics of Different Wealth Categories in Turufe

Assets in a wealthy home might include wooden beds, a clock, a cupboard, table, chairs, bench, mattresses, sheets, carpets, glasses, plates, cups, a tray, all types of kitchen equipment, a tape recorder with radio cassette, bicycle and a lantern. The middle wealth households have a radio, wooden beds, cart (pulled by donkey), and different kitchen equipment, and a bicycle. In a poor home the assets you can find are prepared skins used as a mattress, home-made stools, cooking materials like a coffee pot and cups, and wot and injera preparing materials and maybe a kuraz (kerosene lamp). The destitute have only few kitchen implements.

306. Consumer goods and electrical goods are also indicators of wealth distinctions. In 2004 over a quarter of households had radios, and over a fifth had a cassette player. Whereas there was no electricity in Turufe in 1994 a decade later one in five households had electricity, though these were households living close to Kuyera. However, only four percent were using electricity as fuel. Moreover, electronic goods were clearly indicators of wealth with four percent having a TV, and two percent each a CD player and fridge and one percent a satellite TV. In 2008 Electricity was extended to most households living in the village so that not having access has become a sign of poverty, and some poorer households obtained a line from richer neighbours paying them on the basis of the number of bulbs they use.

307. In 2004 no households owned a mobile phone whereas by 2009 many did. According to the wereda the wireless telephone service was started in 2008 and 32 *kebeles* obtained the service though 16 of these are waiting for missing parts, some of which were stolen. Turufe was not included due to its proximity to the urban networks which have had telephone services for a long time and recently access to the mobile network. One businesswoman pointed out that it is not just those who have bought mobile phones who are using them but their neighbours, friends and relatives can make missed calls on the phones of people who have bought them when they need to communicate with them.

308. The rich have better access to health care being able to afford to go to private clinics avoiding queues at the government hospital and obtaining better treatment and drugs. There were a number of cases of richer households who went to private clinics in Shashemene and Hawassa for specialised medical care. The rich can also afford costs of private education, for pre-school and especially tertiary college education. Many of the richer household heads have positions in both formal and customary institutions. The rich are also able to employ labourers often on an annual live-in basis.

309. The very poor are characterised by lack of land, livestock and assets, and often are labourers. In 2005 Turufe had the highest proportion of officially landless households (13.5%) of the four WED sites (Bevan and Pankhurst 2007:72). Many of the landless are migrants who live as household servants, most of whom start off destitute and may remain so unless they find a patron who will support them to establish their own household. Some of the poor may have fallen off the ideal cycle due to death, divorce or other shocks; others lack helpers or may live alone, and yet others are old and in poor health.

310. Children living in poor households are at a disadvantage, although, due to the long-term nature of childhood the issue of childhood poverty is complex. Depending on socio-economic context the proportion of households where children are poor throughout their childhood varies but in many contexts children are not poor all the time experiencing one or more patches of poverty whose consequences for their life trajectories may be negligible or instead constitute a turning point. In some cases children are instrumental in helping their household out of poverty by working to provide household income. However children of migrant labourers often face serious disadvantages suffering from hunger and inadequate health care, and working as herders instead of going to school. In some cases this poverty may be inherited.

311. The poor and destitute are less likely to be involved in institutions and to benefit from interventions. Agricultural packages require up-front payment for fertiliser, seeds and cross-bred cattle which the poor cannot afford and from which they are therefore excluded by default. The poorest and destitute often rely on charity and receive food at churches and mosques on holy days

312. There have been inequalities associated with migrations. The migrant groups, particularly those from the North, and especially those from Tigray, gained economic power in the imperial period through exploiting larger land-holdings and involvement in trade. The migrants' superiority continued during the Derg period with the Kambata, who had a strong political position, becoming particularly active with links to the ruling party. In 1991 after the defeat of the military regime the Oromo gained the ascendancy and most of the Kambata were expelled and their land taken over. They represented over a quarter of the population (87 out of 413 households). Almost 40 percent of the Kambata left (34 out of 87 households). Some went back to Kambata and others to a relief camp in Shashemene and then became daily labourers around Shashemene or migrated elsewhere. The land they occupied was provided to Oromo landless, ex-soldiers and those wanting to use more land, and some of the leaders were said to have benefited personally and sold some of the land. Apart from the Kambata some of the other migrants were attacked. A few of the Amhara and Tigrayans had their houses burnt and some lost part of their land in Wetera when the area was designated as a grazing area. A few Eritreans were also expelled at the time of the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea, and very few have remained. However, since then many migrants from both north and south Ethiopia have become established and had land rights recognised through the registration and certification process. Several of the few traders are Tigrayan or Amhara. At the time of the 2005 elections there were fears among the migrants that they might face further threats of expulsion as happened to the Kambata when the Derg lost power in 1991, if the EPRDF lost power. Although expulsions have not taken place some migrants privately express feelings of insecurity and some have adopted a strategy of sending their offspring to live, study and work in local towns and in Addis Ababa. Positions in the *kebele* Administration are fully controlled by the Oromo. Some migrant labourers have faced discrimination or employers not honouring payments, and there were attempts to restrict or ban migrant labourers. However, longer term migrants have been able to successfully claim land and many migrants have obtained resident identity cards on the grounds that they are living with their employers.

313. In the 2004 survey Tigrayans on average had larger mean landholding while Oromo and Amhara mean land sizes are almost the same. Immigrants from the Southern Region on average have access to less land. There were no landless Tigrayans compared with 6% of Oromo, 16% of Amhara and 71% of Gurage (who are famous throughout Ethiopia for their entrepreneurial activities). In terms of livestock only one in five Tigrayans had no oxen compared to half the Oromo, Amhara and Hadiya, 58% of the Kambata and 72% of the Wolayta.

314. Recent migrants form an underclass of domestic labourers who come to Turufe hoping to improve their lives. Many are sponsored by previous migrants. In some cases brokers in Shashemene arrange for them to find employers, in others people in the village contact potential migrants through informal networks. They tend to work in people's houses as domestic labourers, the men in the fields and the women in the houses. If they are hardworking and are lucky to have an employer who becomes a patron, they can improve their lives. The employer has them registered as a dependent with the *kebele* so that they can obtain an ID card. The employer may allow them to sharecrop some land on their own account, through which the male migrant can obtain livestock, most crucially oxen. The employer may turn into a patron and help arrange for the migrant to marry and set up his own household and farm on his own account.

315. Migrant men tend to marry women who have migrated from the same region and in some cases women may be "brought" for marriage, as in the case of a Tigrayan migrant who had married another migrant, divorced her and then married another Tigrayan migrant through an arranged marriage. Women migrants work in houses doing the bulk of various domestic chores. Some

migrants suffer abuses with little recourse. They can be sent away by employers if there is a quarrel and may even be denied wages.

Box 25: Difficulties Faced by Migrants in Turufe

In one case a migrant has been working for an employer for five years and was sent away empty handed but fortunately fared better with subsequent employers. Women who have children find it very difficult to find employment as the employers resent the food given to her children and time spent looking after them. One such migrant from Wello who had two children was first employed for 15 birr by an employer who sent her away. She relies on charity and even begs during the threshing season for food and for money to take her child to hospital. Women may also face risks of rape by men in the household. In one case the woman had children by two of the sons, which the household members did not acknowledge. There is also a risk that the status of migrant domestic worker may be inherited. One migrant worker has a 10 year old daughter who does not go to school. Another is the daughter of a former migrant from Gurage who was also a domestic worker. She had a child from a son in the household and tried to poison herself. Women domestic workers with children are often desperate and one said she was thinking of giving her children for adoption.

316. Whereas the male migrants from the North (Amhara and Tigray) seem to want to establish themselves in Turufe through a strategy of first working for an employer, then sharecropping, purchasing oxen and marrying a migrant, an Oromo male migrant from Kofele has been saving the 700 birr annual salary he receives to send to his parents to rent land. He plans to save some more money and return to his home area to rent land and set up his own household. A woman migrant from Wolayta who was assisted by her sister who lives in Turufe has been producing *areqe* and sending the profits as remittances to her parents in her home area.

4.2.3. Exclusions

317. Economic exclusion of the younger generation from access to land may have been partly mitigated for opportunities of wage labour and employment in the nearby towns.

318. The main forms of exclusion in Turufe seems to be social and political, and are partly related to ethnicity and migration history. We have seen the case of the expulsion of the Kambata and Eritreans in the post 1991 period. Though some of migrants who remained and some who came subsequently from Northern and Southern Ethiopia have become established and even had land rights recognised, many migrants, especially recent ones, remain an underclass excluded from access to services. They often work in poor conditions and their labour is exploited for limited remuneration and they may also be mistreated and abused. Women migrants are particularly susceptible to abuse and there were cases reported of abuse. Female migrant household labourers with children face difficulties finding employment. Their children may be subject to abuse, without going to school or getting adequate health care, and girls face risk of domestic rape by employers or their sons, and the status of servant may be inherited.

319. There have also been exclusions related to religious tensions and declining tolerance, with funeral associations that included Orthodox Christians and Muslims separating, and inter-generational tensions over conversion of the youth to Protestantism leading to a case of exclusion from a funeral association.

Box 26: Separation of *Iddir* Funeral Associations on Religious Grounds

Previously there was a bale-wold Iddir whose members were Orthodox as well as Muslim. At one time there was a mourning at a Muslim house. Utensils from the Iddir were used for the mourning feast. Later on the Orthodox said that the utensils are stained/contaminated and need to be blessed to be used at an Orthodox home. Because of this reason the Orthodox Christians discussed and agreed to organise the Iddir in a new way (to form a new Christian group), and they made that Iddir to serve the purpose of both Iddir and mahiber. Thus any person who wants to join this iddir / mahiber has to be an Orthodox Christian.Older people are not happy when their children/grandchildren change their original religion, and their relationship begins to deteriorate. There was a problem in Senbete when one informant was thrown out of the iddir because her grandsons converted to Protestantism and the other members refused to attend the feast in her house (Bevan and Pankhurst 2007:121-2)

320. There is also some discrimination and exclusion based on traditional notions of occupational hierarchies. Potters and tanners and smiths were culturally despised though were only a couple of full-time leatherworkers from the Wolayta minority.

4.3. Dinki (Hagere Selam kebele, Ankober Wereda, Amhara Region)

4.3.1. Description

321. Dinki, along the river of the same name, is one of five *gots* in Hagere Selam *kebele*. In Chibite, the *kebele* administrative centre 1 to 2 hours walk from Dinki, a very small town is emerging, with a few 'modern houses' built also by people from other *gots* including Dinki, and a small market. The *kebele* is located on the lower edges of the escarpment down to the Afar Region, which it borders; it is one of a few lowland *kebeles* of Ankober wereda in Amhara, with a rugged and hilly topography and small scattered hamlets of a few households. Two-thirds of the population of the *kebele* are Argobba Muslims and one third Amhara who are mostly Orthodox Christians. The community is remote, drought-prone and food-deficit; emergency food aid has been provided every year since 2005. There have been a recent expansion of the use of irrigation to grow vegetables and fruit which now involves around a third of Dinki's households. Land shortage and population pressure has led to a very large number of (mainly young) landless households. There is a Health Post with nurse at the *kebele* centre and a Health Centre in the nearest town (10 kms) which has recently been re-equipped. There is a full cycle primary school in the *kebele* centre and a satellite school in Dinki and a secondary school recently opened in the nearest town. There have been changes in women's land rights and some cases of implementation. Relationships between Amhara and Argobba are fairly good, although some people say that the community cohesion is only superficial. Although formally there are a large number of *kebele* and sub-*kebele* level structures for both government and the ruling party involvement in government and party matters is weak - Here too community people refer to the good governance package and their right not to participate.

4.3.2. Differentials

322. Two aspects of the settlement and administrative patterns of Dinki are relevant to differential effects of interventions. First, the amount of irrigated land is limited and those with access have much better options to go beyond household food security, sell irrigated surplus and become more prosperous. However, those with irrigated land also risk losing it to erosion. Two *gots* including Dinki have access to irrigation, whereas those without face severe water shortage and drought.

Second, the new administrative town of Chibite is fairly far from the inhabitants of Dinki who have to walk up to two hours, for instance to access the health post, for vaccination of animals and the full cycle primary school. Some richer persons from Dinki have been able to build houses in the emerging town near the administrative centre.

323. There are important differentials and inequalities based on genderage, wealth and status. Given patriarchal values men tend to control resources, and the mean landholding of male headed households (1.3 ha) is twice that of female headed households (0.6 ha). Even more significant whereas almost a third of male headed households (31%) had access to irrigated land, only 11% of female headed households had irrigated land. Landlessness has also been a serious problem for the youth.

Box 27: Landlessness in Dinki

After the revolution, land was allocated to every tenant and to the landless according to family size. Each individual was given not less than five *timad*. Land was distributed for married people, young adults and female-headed households who did not have land in 1987, and it was given to individuals who were introduced to the village later from land which was communally owned. Since the last redistribution, nineteen years have passed, and the young people who did not get land at that time are now grown up with families and children. They have lived either as sharecroppers, received the help of their parents or they have bought land from people who are unable to pay tax, and as a result sell their land for a specific time period under a contract (Bevan and Pankhurst 2007:72).

324. The 2004 WeDE household survey suggested that 23% of the households were female-headed. Though there are a number of different types of female headed household, depending on stage in the life-cycle, reasons for becoming female headed, networks and community assistance, and external interventions, many face problems of access to male labour, and if they have land have to give it to sharecroppers; moreover a large proportion are poor and some are destitute. Women's potential access to land had improved with the land registration and certification and despite resistance from men, mainly Argobba arguing that Sharia law did not entitle women to equal shares, the registration process ensured that wives were included in the land certificates. Some women are involved in wage labour on farms at a rate of 15 birr per day during weeding and in the seedling nursery at a rate of 10 birr. Some women participate in food for work activities in road maintenance or natural resource management. A few women earn some income from petty trading, from selling fruit such as bananas, from preparing alcoholic drinks, and others from selling livestock. A few women have migrated away, and one of the case women had moved to Aliyu Amba town with her daughter and was earning her living from spinning but returned to Dinki, relying on assistance from her son and charity from Muslim community members.

325. The wealthiest households in the community are headed by strong farmers with access to irrigated land, livestock and grain in stores. Some are involved in trade using camels, and many of them have positions of authority in both customary and formal institutions. They usually live in houses with corrugated iron roofs which are better furnished and are able to send older sons to towns for education. Wealthy households have better land and livestock holdings, and may be able to employ labour.

326. Characterisation of different wealth categories in terms of assets in qualitative terms in 2004 suggested the following:

Box 28: Characteristics of Wealth Categories: Dinki

Very rich people have a tape recorder, a modern bed and gold earrings or necklaces. Rich people are expected to have a tin-roofed house and a tape recorder. Middle-wealth people are expected to have a good house though it may not have a tin roof. A poor person is expected to have a house.

327. Richer men with access to irrigable land produce vegetables and fruit for sale, and some have built houses in Chibite. A few men acquired water pumps in groups but several of these broke down rapidly. Poorer men tend to sharecrop land and/or work for wage labour at peak agricultural seasons, or in the nursery. At least one male member of most households work on food for work on road maintenance or natural resource management work when it is available. The rich have been able to earn significant incomes from the sale of vegetables, especially onions, and fruit such as bananas, avocados and mangoes, and from the production of chat and coffee. The irrigation has meant better food security, improved nutrition, and income for those with access, although it has meant more work often involving child labour. Some households have been affected by erosion that has eaten away their irrigated land.

328. The very poor are characterised by less land and livestock, often lacking oxen for ploughing, and may be involved in wage labour and selling firewood, earn some income from spinning or weaving, or borrow grain and money. Many may have fallen off the ideal cycle due to death, divorce or other shocks, some lack helpers or may live alone, and may be old and in poor health. Destitute people have no land or livestock, may not have a house or if they do a poorly constructed one. Their clothing is often ragged and they mostly live a life that is hand to mouth doing daily labour, serving the rich, chopping wood, or begging. As one poor person put it: "*When one does not have land and any labour support, - this is real poverty*". The poorest migrate out to work as agricultural labourers or in towns, and a few become household labourers working for rich households or are sponsored by richer households for whom they work most of the time.

329. Children living in poor households are at a disadvantage although due to the long-term nature of childhood the issue of childhood poverty is complex. Depending on socio-economic context the proportion of households where children are poor throughout their childhood varies but in many contexts children are not poor all the time experiencing one or more patches of poverty whose consequences for their life trajectories may be negligible or constitute a turning point. In some cases children are instrumental in helping their household out of poverty by working to provide household income. The increase in irrigation has meant that child labour is more important for households with access to irrigation, though the income derived was also said to benefit children through improved nutrition and better living conditions. There has been a big increase in girls' enrolment. However, girls are expected to work in the home on household chores and looking after younger siblings after returning from school and at weekends. Girls from poorer homes or ones that lack labour are more likely to have to work or be absent during peak periods, and face risks of lack of basic needs such as food and clothes, lack of educational opportunities and exploitation of labour if they work for others outside their parents' home.

330. The community organizations do not have religious/cultural reasons to exclude the poor but their membership obligations systematically bar the poorest. The poor have been increasingly excluded by from *iddir* and *mehaber* since the 1984 famine period mainly due to economic factors. The destitute borrow or receive grain/food from others. Some people need the destitute to work for them. Others feel pity for them. Non-participation in *Iddir* and *Mehaber* has been a typical form of social exclusion of destitute (Bevan and Pankhurst 2007:27).

331. The main differences based on status relate to ethnicity. The Argobba form a majority of almost two thirds (64%) and the Amhara represent just over a third (36%). The Argobba are numerically dominant but in terms of wealth the Amhara are slightly better off and there are higher proportions of poor and destitute among the Argobba, particularly among women heading households. There were some differences in productive wealth holding between Amhara and Argobba in 2005: 13.5% of the latter were landless compared with 1.7% of the former, and 20% had access to irrigation compared with 35% of Amhara. 54% had no oxen compared with 34% and 15% no livestock compared with 7% (Bevan and Pankhurst 2007:89). There is a greater proportion of the very poor and destitute among the Argobba (13% of the Argobba were very poor as compared with 8% of the Amhara, and all the destitute were Argobba). Argobba women are culturally excluded from working in fields, and thus earning income from wage labour, although this is beginning to change for some particularly among the poor. There are also a number of very poor or destitute Argobba women heading households with little or no support. Although the Amhara are somewhat better off economically the Argobba have the upper hand in terms of the current political context at the local *kebele* level, with the potential that political office can be translated into benefits or avoiding of harm.

332. Roles in customary institutions are often held by elderly respected men, and some men have acquired status resulting from their religious knowledge. Positions in leadership within the *kebele* system are based partly on literacy and particularly at a sub-kebele level on party membership. There are also a few militiamen.

4.3.3. Exclusions

333. Economic exclusion based on genderage is related to landlessness affecting the youth and women to a greater extent. In 2004 officially 9% of households were landless and 15 female headed households were landless, although in practice there were no doubt many more. Landless households tend to resort to sharecropping on unfavourable terms or rely on wage labour.

334. Social exclusion on the basis of poverty from community organizations notably funeral associations and socio-religious *Mehaber* associations was a characteristic of the destitute. A major source of social exclusion relates to the combination of ethnicity and gender. Argobba women had traditionally been excluded from working in the fields and thereby gaining independent income, although this has been changing to some degree. There are also a number of destitute and especially elderly Argobba women.

335. Political exclusion in the context of food aid and food for work was also an issue raised by some, particularly those who did not have connections with persons in positions of authority. For instance one single woman claimed that she had not heard about the food for work and when she sent her daughter to work she was not allowed to do so. According to the Wereda 20% of the food can be given to the needy without work. However, it seems that in practice only a few elderly and destitute female-headed households received food aid, and some complained that the amount was less than those doing food for work received. One poor daughter living with her female headed mother received one kg of flour but said it was so little she baked it and gave it to her dog, which is perhaps a way of expressing its insufficiency. There were also allegations that some food was used for other purposes. *kebele* officials suggested that some was used to sponsor construction of *kebele* buildings in the absence of any other budget. A *Hiwas* sub-kebele cell leader said the only incentive they received was canned oil. At the time of the 2008 elections there were allegation that the previous *kebele* chair was suspected of being involved in corruption related to land issues, which were thereafter dealt with by a specific land administration committee.

4.4. Yetmen (Felege Selam kebele, Enemay Wereda, Amhara Region)

4.4.1. Description

336. Rural Yetmen is one of three *gots* in a *kebele* surrounding 'urban Yetmen', a small town with a separate *kebele* administration, founded around a Swedish-funded school established in the 1960s. All the rural residents are Amhara and Orthodox Christians. Yetmen is along an all-weather road going in one direction to Bichena, the wereda capital (17 kms and good transport), and in the other to Dejen, another town (same distance, transport) and from there to Debre Markos and Addis Ababa. There is good mobile network coverage everywhere. The site exports most of the tef it grows to Addis Ababa. There has been recent agricultural diversification with increased daily labour opportunities involving irrigation used to grow vegetables, two harvests (barley and chickpeas) from the same land using the Broad Bedmaker plough, and the introduction of breed cattle. Land shortage and population pressure has led to high youth un(der)employment. There is a Health Centre and private clinic in urban Yetmen and a Health Post in the *kebele* centre in a neighbouring got. Yetmen town has had a full cycle primary school since the mid-1990s; a secondary school should be built shortly – initial plans for its location on communal land provoked strong resistance. Most members of the community no longer participate in meetings and communal labour which they regard as of no benefit claiming a 'democratic right' to refuse established in the 2005 'good governance package'; the community also refused to go along with government plans for the siting of the secondary school on rural communal grazing land and the abolition of expensive memorial ceremonies. There have been changes in women's land rights and some cases of implementation.

4.4.2. Differentials

337. A major difference in Yetmen from the other sites in terms of settlement is the fact that part of the inhabitants live in the town and the rest in the rural area. The town offers opportunities for trade and income-generating activities in food and beverage provisions, better access to health facilities (private clinic), and schooling (a full cycle primary school, and a secondary school planned).

338. There are important differential based on genderage, wealth and status. Given patriarchal values men tend to control resources, and the mean size of landholdings of men increases somewhat with age and 10% of men in their 20s were landless, the highest proportion in the four sites. The issue of landlessness and inability of youth to form households was noted in 2005.

Box 29: Landlessness in Yetmen

People get access to land for housing during land distributions; however since land distribution has not taken place since 1997 there is no access to land for housing for young people. They build houses in either of their parents' compound, usually that of the parents of the bridegroom. Because there is a shortage of land in the community there is no scheme for allotting land for housing. Young people with new households may live with the husband's parents for a long time.

339. There is also significant difference between male and female headed households in land holdings (1.8 ha for men and 1.0 for women).

340. Yetmen is clearly the richest site with a much larger proportion of households in the top asset quintiles (Bevan and Pankhurst 2007:91). The site also has a high proportion with larger land holdings (over a third have 2 hectares or more). However in terms of subjective sense of relative wealth Yetmen has the highest proportion (23%) who consider themselves to be destitute or very poor, suggesting that inequalities are strongly felt.

341. Characterisations of assets belonging to different wealth categories in 2004 suggested the following:

Box 30: Assets Characteristics of Different Wealth Categories in Yetmen

A few rich people have refrigerators, TVs and video players. In rich households there are big barrels and up to four big pots in which to make tella (local beer). The availability of tella throughout the year is one indicator of status in the rural part. Rich and some middle households have beds, chairs and a table. Poor households may not have pots and other household furniture. A destitute household may lack even the basic assets and be forced to borrow from neighbours.

342. Yetmen also has important elites mainly controlling the grain trade who have been able to invest in productive activities have bought trucks and have consumer goods such as satellite dishes, TVs and videos. Priests are highly respected and educated youngsters can gain access to some positions.

Box 31: Characteristics of Elites in Yetmen

In 2005 the local elites were identified as those people who have political power, wealth and education. Priests are also considered to be elites. And their eliteness is based on their wealth and their capacity to influence other people. Those people who are wealthy and who have political position may get status in the community. But a wealthy person cannot get political power just because of his wealth, and equally, those with political power cannot obtain wealth just because of their political position. In addition people who have education are accorded good status: teachers, development agents, health workers and priests. And since most of the people in the community are not educated the formal education of these people gives them authority in their respective areas.

343. The wealthiest households in the community are headed by strong farmers with large amounts of livestock and grain in stores, grain traders or educated people employed by government. They usually live in houses with corrugated iron roofs which are well-furnished, and are able to send children to towns for education beyond Grade 8. For example there are some parents sending their children to nursing school in Debre Markos at a cost of 13,000 birr. Destitute people have no land or livestock and may not have a house or if they do it is a poorly constructed one. Their clothing is poor and they mostly live a life that is hand to mouth doing daily labour, serving the rich, chopping wood, or begging.

344. Children living in poor households are at a disadvantage although due to the long-term nature of childhood the issue of childhood poverty is complex. Depending on the socio-economic context, the proportion of households where children are poor throughout their childhood varies but in many contexts children are not poor all the time experiencing one or more patches of poverty whose consequences for their life trajectories may be negligible or constitute a turning point. In some cases children are instrumental in helping their household out of poverty by working to provide household income. Some children within households get better education opportunities than others depending on labour needs in the household, birth order and interest in learning. Stepchildren are often said to be discriminated against. Old dependent people may not be well looked after. Poor children may suffer educationally if they are sent to work in other people's farms or house; if there is not enough money for exercise books and pens; if parents are unable to cover living costs in towns for secondary and post-secondary education or for private post-secondary education if the child fails to get on a TVET course.

4.4.2.1. Exclusions

345. Economic exclusion concerning the youth and women relates to land shortage and landlessness. Youth have less access to land and women smaller holdings. In particular divorced women in 2004 had much lower land holdings (0.7 ha, as compared to 1.0 for women and 1.8 for men). In 2010 some divorced men were claiming that they were disadvantaged when their former wives took their share of the land and married men with land.

346. Social exclusion of occupational groups of craftsmen, who make pots, tan leather and prepare metal tools, and households of former slaves used to be the main form of social exclusion in imperial times. Although these distinctions have largely disappeared and some craftworkers have become wealthy combining craftwork with agriculture, households coming from a landlord background still believe they are superior and inter-marriage is not permitted.

347. Political exclusion in the early period after the EPRDF took power concerned those labelled as Derg bureaucrats and feudal remnants who had part of their land confiscated in the redistributions in 1997. *Got* leaders were responsible for selecting candidates through the casting of lots and distributing the land. Some of them were fined by the court for illegally allocating land that was formally inherited by a man from his dead father and others were accused of favouritism and corruption. Children and other relatives of the dead landowners took their cases to court claiming the land was theirs by inheritance. In some cases they won the case leading to conflicts; for example one man was violently attacked while ploughing his father's land after regaining it through a court decision. There is a fear that the disputes between the two sides will continue because later a new law came into effect entitling all prospective inheritors including independent children and other relatives through wills or other ways. Until the 2005 elections the categories considered as having been overly privileged and linked to the previous regimes had been excluded from any participation in public meetings and elections. However, they now are able to participate fully in local affairs.

4.5. Girar (Girarna Yeferema Zigba kebele, Cheha Wereda, Gurage Zone, SNNP Region)

4.5.1. Description

348. In 1995 parts of Girar were in a *kebele* near to Imdibir town named Imdibir Haya Gasha. This *kebele* was split, with part joining the town and part joining with a rural community to become Girar which comprises sixteen villages surrounding Imdibir town. The villages of Girar adjacent to Imdibir are as urbanised as the town itself. Girar and Imdibir are bisected by a (gravel) all weather road with regular public transport, going to the zonal capital Wolkite (30 kms) and from there Addis Ababa in one direction, and Hoseana in the other direction. The mobile phone network covers the whole area of Girar. Rural livelihoods are organised around *enset* cultivation and cattle rearing, and urban migration to engage in all sorts of activities - from shoe shining to very big businesses, or joining older migrants to further develop their activity. Migration by young women to Arab countries is on the increase. Population density is high and landholdings are very small and there is a growing number of youth and young households who do not have their own farmland. Farmers grow an increasing number of complementary crops for cash, and household consumption especially for richer households, some of these promoted by the wereda and DAs (grains and vegetables and fruits), others in response to market demand (e.g. coffee). Chat and eucalyptus wood have emerged as high demand/value products and some farmers growing these are quite wealthy. People in Girar have access to non-farm daily labour opportunities in Imdibir town. People are almost 100% Gurage, a group with strong customary institutions and structures that are still very important in people's everyday lives and with which the government is increasingly trying to work. The Orthodox Christian and Catholic religions are predominant, though there are also Muslims and a growing number of Protestants. In the *kebele* there is a Health Post, though it lacks basic amenities, and a full-cycle primary school. There is a Health Centre and a secondary school in Imdibir town and a Catholic mission hospital within 12 kms. There is an emerging big change in women's lives, which the new regional family and land laws underpin and with actual cases of women claiming and obtaining new land rights and rights to divorce, evidence of successes in banning girl circumcision, progress in girls'

education and associated reduction in the trend of young girls being sent to work as easily abused housemaids for relatives in towns, and progress in women's economic empowerment.

4.5.2. Differentials

349. Proximity to the town of Imbidir is a major differentiating factor with some sub-villages close to the town being much more urbanised than more remote villages and benefiting from the proximity of services (notably the health centre and secondary school).

350. Genderage and wealth structure inequalities in the site. Patriarchal values linked to the clan system are strong and polygyny which was customary and still practiced in the 1990s, is said to have died out though some migrants to towns are said to have a town wife as well as one in the village.

351. Land shortage and pests (and especially *enset* and coffee diseases) are major factor explaining the community's poverty, but thanks to greater attention to disease reduction, livestock production and agricultural diversification, the situation is said to have improved. Wereda officials consider Girar as a 'middle wealth' community. However, the data from ERHS research shows that Girar is one of the only sites in which poverty did not decrease between 1994 and 2004 GC. Our research and in particular, the interviews of household heads and spouses and adult dependents reveal large differences of wealth/poverty between households, and differences in trajectories too.

352. Chat is a major source of income for some households. According to the *kebele* leader one farmer can sell for up to 10,000 birr annually (he wonders why they are not awarded as model farmers). Several interviews confirm this and show that coffee may also be a good source of income. Some households also get wealthier when their eucalyptus trees, planted some time ago, become ready to be sold. Rich households are also engaged in major non-/off-farm activities, such as one case with a butchery and café/restaurant in Imbidir. Remittances may be critically important in making the wealth of a family.

353. The elderly Cheha clan leader believes that in the community there may be around 5% people who 'live from hand to mouth'. These are people who don't have any land or only very small amounts, who live with relatives or as in the case of one person in the cattle house of neighbours, who struggle to make ends meet with daily labour or pottery (for women), and for whom owning one hen makes a difference. Very small households (such as one with a very young adult and one parent) without external support and elderly people who do no longer have the strength to work and have little or no 'regular' support from their relatives are very vulnerable.

354. The relative wealth or poverty of a household also depends on its position on the household development cycle (household can become poorer because they spend their assets to educate their children and their regular sources of income are not enough to compensate) and can be affected by shocks like prolonged/incurable illness or death of an adult, or court cases, major incidents such as house burning, or other social and familial problems (like drunkard fathers).

355. Poor young people can be forced to drop out of school to support the family. For instance one young woman dropped out of Grade 8 to concentrate on pottery because her father was a drunkard, and another dropped out when her father died and her mother became sick. Poor people of all ages may be unable to pay for medical treatment and forego it, or have to borrow in what seem to be endless cycles of loans from relatives and *iddirs*, or go to the holy water instead (there is supposed to be a system of exemption but we did not find evidence that it was functional). They have a poorer diet (less diverse than richer households who can complement *enset* with milk from their cattle, *enjera* and bread, vegetables and fruits). They may eat less and may face food shortage whenever things turn bad. They may have to live in very poor shelter, and hardly afford clothes. Some community members say that they are at a disadvantage when they confront richer people in court.

4.5.3. Exclusions

356. Economic exclusion relates largely to land shortage and landlessness which are serious problems for the youth and female headed households, notably those whose husband have migrated in search of work.

357. A form of gender-aged social exclusion relates to the tradition of sending young children especially to town to work in houses of relatives or other people as housemaids. This has been viewed as a form of exploitation or trafficking and there has been a campaign against it by local officials and NGOs. As a result the practice is said to have decreased and parents have started to agree to send their children to schools, and thanks to the intensive work of a dedicated *kebele* committee whose members go door to door at the beginning of each school year and have linked up with another 'youth, women and children's affairs' committee. Thus the trend of trafficking children and especially, sending one's daughter to work as housemaid has decreased.

358. The major form of social exclusion in Girar relates to marginalised craftworkers. In Girar and in Gurageland generally, blacksmiths, woodworkers and tanners (called 'Fuga' in Girar) used to be 'outcaste' or excluded minorities. There is also a correlation between gender and occupation with the potter women facing particular ostracism. Their exclusion and stigmatisation is combated as part of the government policy defending the rights of all minorities. Wereda officials and *kebele* notables explain that there is a campaign against discrimination of occupational castes and awareness-raising about their importance in the local economy (as they produce and maintain farmers' utensils). Previously, they say, these groups were excluding themselves from some services (like pregnancy, childbirth and other health services) but this is now improving. Community members note that they are now paid cash for their services; they were given land under Derg and have land certificates – and some have started ploughing their land; they are 'tough' in their specific skill area and are respected for it; some send their children to school and even university and many do well; some migrated even to Addis, where 'they married to other Gurage clans', became successful and did not return.

359. Notwithstanding this evolution there still is a distinct perception of 'otherness' in the way some members of the community talk about these groups. The 'Fuga' are also the people carrying out circumcisions, and it is not clear to what extent they have been targeted and in what way, through the strong campaign against this practise. Wereda officials say that '*as discrimination is not exaggerated the social system by itself*' will adjust.

360. Political exclusion of supporters of opposition in the period of the 2005 election was mentioned notably in the context of their exclusion from the women's association. A case of linkages between gender-based and political exclusion was raised in relation to allegations of nepotism. A woman claimed that her case was initially ignored when she brought it to the wereda police because the police official was a relative of her adversary.

4.6. Geblen (Geblen Tabia (kebele), Saesia Tsaeda Emba Wereda, Tigray Region)

4.6.1. Description

361. Geblen tabia comprises four kushets¹¹: two of them lie on the Eastern Tigray highland plateau, the other two spread out on the steep slopes from the plateau to the Afar Region, are not easily accessible. A very small town called Mishig is emerging around the tabia administrative centre which has electricity since 2008. The tabia centre is connected through a small all-weather road to a tar road joining the zonal capital Adigrat (35 kms) and Freweini, the centre of Saesia Tsaeda Emba

¹¹ A tabia in Tigrigna is like a *kebele*; a kushet is a part of a tabia, like a got for a *kebele*.

wereda (39 kms). In Geblen there are Erob and Tigrayans, though several people said that they could not clearly identify to which group they belong. There are two main religious groups, Orthodox Christians and Muslims, as well as a few Catholics. Geblen is a food-deficit site which suffers from recurrent drought and has been included in PSNP/OFSP programmes since 2005. Less than 10% of tabia is farmland, and landlessness affects a growing number of young households; main crops are barley and cactus and very small-scale seasonal irrigation is practised. The wereda OFSP packages are focused on goats, sheep and beehives but these have been badly affected by drought and disease leading many into debt. People engage in daily labour and a few have taken OFSP non-farm package options and are running small shops, teashops and bars in Mishig. Otherwise there are few local work opportunities and people migrate for variably long periods of time finding jobs on construction projects or quarry work in the Region, going to Humera for the sesame harvest, finding work as housemaids, waitresses or commercial sex workers, or increasingly (the males illegally) to the Gulf States with stories of hardship and failures but also successes – with a few people sending remittances. There is a Health Post and one full-cycle and two satellite primary schools in the tabia as well as a health centre and new secondary school in the neighbouring tabia at about 45 min walk from Mishig. Geblen has been under the control of the TPLF since the mid-1980s and women's rights are said to be well-established. Over 40% of the households in the tabia are headed by women.

4.6.2. Differentials

362. The geographical and settlement pattern is such that parts of the site that are on the escarpment are less accessible than those on the plateau. Households living within the small emerging town around the Tabia administrative centre, may benefit from better services.

363. One of the distinctive characteristics of Geblen is the extremely high proportion of female headed households (40% as compared to about 20-25% in the other sites). Among them 35% are said to be widows, 30% are divorcees and the rest women abandoned by their partners. People in the community give different explanations for this large proportion of female-headed households, which was confirmed in cases reported in the interviews: many men died during wars against the Derg or Eritrea more recently; unmarried young women have babies outside of wedlock and are abandoned by their partners; men (especially young) abandon their families to migrate and seek better opportunities; men have several partners and only one is the official spouse. This situation certainly influences the way both officials and community people think about genderage and gender equality.

364. The *kebele* administration says that Geblen as a whole is a poor community mainly because the land is un-productive – this is incomparably more severe than in many other areas and defeats people's hard work. But people living in Irata and Semui Daga kushets are said to be very poor and this is linked to their lack of, or poorer access to, the centre of the *kebele*, and to road, telephone and electricity services.

365. In relation to poverty and food aid and eligibility for the PSNP in particular, there are people saying (and even young boys and girls of 11-14) that there are no rich households: they are comparatively better off but not rich. Yet, the interviews suggest that there are households with a considerably larger asset and income bases than others and better coping/recovery capacities. Some people with shops and bars in the *kebele* centre of Mishig have prospered.

366. Income from migration and remittances is also important in Geblen. Migration has become an option for both male and female youth. Women, and even professionals like one female teacher who left her husband and one year old daughter behind, are migrating to 'look for a better life'. They migrate abroad, or to towns as housemaids or even commercial sex workers. The participants to an FGD on migration explained that some women are migrating abroad leaving their children behind with their parents. Others migrate in towns, like a woman who left her son with his uncle for whom he is herding goats whilst the uncle feeds him and supports his education. Migration can be very

risky and fail, for women as for men. One woman paid 10,000 birr, made a long, tiring and very dangerous journey on foot and by boat through Djibouti and Yemen and spent 20 days in prison in Saudi Arabia before being flown back to Addis. Yet she wants to try again. Another is successfully settled in Saudi Arabia and regularly sends remittances to her parents; thanks to the phone in Geblen they talk at least three times in a year. Women are said to be better than men at sending remittances.

367. One male graduate is now teaching in Mekele University and helping with his siblings' education. There are a few women from Geblen who made it through education and are getting a wage job – like two young women who work as teachers elsewhere. There may be more of those in the future as more girls from Geblen go further in being educated. But like boys they may face unemployment, as is the case for the daughter of one of the respondents.

368. Drought severely affected the rich households with large numbers of livestock, but at least for some this didn't leave them with nothing. For instance one household who lost at least 8,900 birr in 2001 still had five goats, one bee colony, an ox and two cows and was excluded from the PSNP in 2002; an old woman who says she has become very poor still has two cows and two oxen, and she didn't mind the land of her husband being taken away because she still had one hectare of land which would be fertile with enough rain. In contrast, a very poor household with six children and 1/8 ha of land belonging to the wife had just one goat left after the 2001 drought.

369. Some people who are poor/er are of the opinion that there is no attention to poor people. Exemptions don't work, the government doesn't care (*'it runs after the rich'*), or *kebele* officials are negligent. Others mention that they benefited from some attention. For instance the son of a soldier killed during the war got free medical treatment in the health centre of Adikelembes on recommendation from the sub-*kebele* leader, who sent him to get a letter from the *kebele* administration. However, exemptions and special attention relate to specific categories of people (female-headed households, malnourished under-five children, families of killed soldiers/ veterans, elderly) and it is not necessarily the case that all people in these categories are poor. On the other hand, poor and very poor households are not exempted from contributions such as for the school (in cash and labour) and the 'free' (unpaid) community works.

370. Categorical exemptions also don't always work well. A group of 11-14 year old boys say that TPLF veterans are not treated properly when they go to the health centre or Adigrat hospital for free treatment and that they are made to pay to renew their certificates of free medical services. When the young man mentioned above went to the health centre, the staff there were not cooperative. They first asked him to 'update' the letter so he had to return to the *kebele* office and get the paper corrected. With these small corrections he then got the services needed. The *tabia* leader explains that there is actually free medical service for five very poor people selected by the *kebele* administration every month. But this is not successful because in the end they are made to pay for the service (health workers don't treat them properly, they force them to pay for drugs in their private pharmacy even if drugs are available at the centre). They argue that it should be expanded to more people to include orphans in particular, and health workers should be forced to give the services freely.

371. In Geblen there are Erob and Tigreans, and Orthodox Christians, Muslims, as well as a few Catholics. Wereda officials mention that Protestantism has appeared in the urban areas of the wereda and this is frowned upon by the rural people – this was not mentioned by anyone in Geblen. The Catholic presence is also notably less strong in Geblen than in some neighbouring *kebeles* like Tahtay Ziban, with only three Catholic households in Geblen. People find it difficult to estimate, but believe that Muslims could represent one third of the community and certainly less than 50%.

372. Fieldwork carried out in 2007 suggested that it would be simplistic to think about Erob as Muslims (because of their alleged links with Afar in some accounts) and Tigreans as Orthodox Christians. The links between ethnic and religious identities in Geblen are far more complex, as they

are more generally in the area around Geblen. Muslims are said to be descendents of Afar but Erob are not seeing themselves as Afar-related; their language, Saho, is not Afarigna. They think of themselves as mainly Christians even though a few of them are Muslims. Erob people are also said to have a 'democratic' (less hierarchical) outlook in terms of relationships between generations and attitude to women, which doesn't necessarily fit with the usual attitude to women in many Muslim societies. The harmonious relationships between groups in Geblen also reflect a wider and historical pattern in the area around Adigrat. Fieldwork and an analysis of the ERHS data available in 2007 suggest that Erobs in Geblen are not marginalised politically. For instance, there is no talk about Erob and Tigreans when it comes to positions of leadership in the tabia; a good number of the notables, including in government positions, were Erob, and this did not seem to be linked to any affirmative action but reflecting the nature of the community. It is unlikely to have changed drastically since then.

373. Economically, as Erob people mainly live in remoter parts of the tabia they benefit less from the general development of services. This is an issue which the tabia leadership appears to be aware of and addresses as much as possible (e.g. expansion of schools in Irata and Semuidaga). Some of what is needed (e.g. investment in water structures and in gravel roads) would require greater wereda technical and financial support than has been available. Patterns of residence are also changing in Geblen (urbanisation in Mishig, in Welaalabur kushet) and we do not have data allowing an assessment of whether this concerns equally all groups in the community.

374. Socially/culturally the picture is complex, as is the Erob identity itself. In 1995 the language of the Erob people, Saho, was said to be dominant in Geblen. In 2007 an elderly Erob man was deploring the lack of interest of the young generation in learning Saho. While he recognised that Amharic or English, preferred by the young ones, are important, he explained that "*if people don't learn their language they will lose their identity and will become unable to communicate with their roots*". So the Erob people of Geblen seemed to be somewhat 'searching their soul'. Today there is a sense that ethnic identity has become 'fuzzier': adults speak both languages, and several people interviewed said they could not clearly identify to which group they belong. None of the informants raised the issue of the language of instruction in schools, yet it is likely that, as children are taught in Tigrinia as elsewhere in the Region the expansion of schooling will reinforce the trend deplored by the elderly man met in 2007. These trends are unlikely to be specific to Geblen

375. The WIDE3 research suggests that religion is not more of a dividing factor than in 1995. But issues have emerged or have taken more prominence for both the Orthodox Christian and the Muslim communities, arising from aspects of the government 'model': the reduction of non-working holy days is still not fully accepted among Orthodox Christians (although there are people strongly in favour of it as, they say, this will help them better run their business); the credit programme is strongly upsetting Muslim religious leaders and wereda officials attribute the 'resistance' of Geblen people to the fact that part of the community is Muslim; the ban on the *hijab* at school for girls having reached puberty is said to have upset Muslim leaders – though the issue didn't arise in interviews of Muslim households. It is not clear whether contraception is more readily accepted by one community than another. Religious leaders of both congregations seemed equally reluctant to discuss the issue, although perhaps Muslim leaders are more overtly against family planning.

4.6.3. Exclusions

376. Economic exclusion of the younger generation facing land shortage is a factor that has led to much out-migration. There are some cases of genderage issues instilling a sense of social exclusion. For instance an elderly women who was formerly rich and became impoverished and does not receive much family support suggested she was excluded from social relationship due to what she calls her poverty. Unlike in the other heterogeneous sites social differences in Geblen based on ethnicity and religion do not seem to have been the basis of significant inequalities and exclusions.

377. Most sources of political exclusion seem to relate to the provision of services, the dilemmas of targeting assistance in a context of an ethic of community sharing and the potential for nepotism.

378. Despite the attempts to introduce stricter full family targeting, the ethic of spreading the benefits within the community is very strong. Even young boys (11-14 years old) explain that *'so called rich households should not be excluded from PSNP because they are not rich'*. Fieldwork in 2007 revealed that wereda officials were well aware of this practice and although this was against policy, said it was important to have *'socially acceptable solutions'*. There were some claims that some poor people were excluded on the alleged grounds that they were rich, and that officials sought to benefit their relatives. There were also cases of appeals to the wereda from people excluded from the PSNP. Although no household had graduated at the time of the fieldwork in 2010, a few households benefiting from the PSNP in the first phase were excluded from the Phase Two just started. Those households say that they have been *'excluded'*.

379. Several programmes engender tensions between community people and *kebele* officials or other decision-makers involved in their implementation and complaints about exclusion.

380. The provision of food supplements for children resulted in some complaints about the Health extension Workers (HEW) and the selection committee over the exclusion of children from some families, as community members feel that every child should benefit. The HEW notes that the programme creates jealousy and dependency – with families not feeding their child well so she/he gets in the programme. The interviews show that the programme can include children from rich families (if their condition is poor) while children from poor families may be excluded. People complain (about selection, exclusion when the child improves, and that all children should benefit). One person (a poor man whose child started benefiting in 2001) said that *'aid never brings change in our life in the long run'*, and the community should rather use family planning. Respondents who have children benefiting from the programme said that they share the food supplement among all household members, explaining that they are all malnourished.

381. The credit programme which sought to focus on those able to pay excluded the elderly, which some community respondents thought was not fair. The group-based modality for regular credit is said to act as a constraint for people who don't have land as those who own land usually don't want to associate with them, and poor people who don't find others to associate with (there is overlap between these two groups of people *'de facto'* excluded from the service). In contrast, land as collateral is not needed for the package programme for those who have a *'good reputation'* and that the *kebele* administration therefore agrees to let take credit. However, those who take credit under the package or regular agricultural/ livestock extension programmes cannot participate in other micro-credit services.

382. The zero-grazing programme pits farmers against *kebele* officials. Some farmers explain that it is not proper for their (private non-farm) land to be *'taken by the government'* and some even accuse *kebele* officials of using the land from which they excluded the farmers for their own benefit. The girls interviewed in the two FGDs have strong views about this too (*'it is not legal to take it away from the community control and conserve it for the government use because it is the community's own property'*), presumably reflecting those of their parents. The *kebele* leader explains that the administration is trying to generate some revenues from the sale of grass harvested from communal land as livestock fodder.

383. There was also one case of conflict between the *kebele* administration and a farmer whose land was taken for the school expansion – but he didn't have a land certificate although he has witnesses.

Part IV: INEQUALITIES AND EXCLUSIONS IN DIFFERENT DOMAINS

5. Differentials and exclusions in the domains and fields of action

This section considers differentials and exclusions in the five domains or fields of action identified in the WIDE research: 1) human re/production, 2) livelihoods, 3) social reproduction, 4) cultural ideas and 5) community governance.

5.1. Differentials and exclusions in the field of human re/production

384. Issues to do with the field of human re/production are considered in relation to: 1) Genderage and life cycles, 2) Health differentials and interventions, and 3) Education differential and exclusion risks.

5.1.1. Gender-age, life cycles and interventions

385. Issues to do with the field of human re/production are considered in relation to: 1) Genderage and life cycles, 2) Health differentials and interventions, and 3) Education differential and exclusion risks.

386. Through the individual life cycle interventions in different sectors are more salient at different ages and for each of the sexes. For children just after birth the issue of female circumcision in the Amhara sites, in early childhood the question of nutrition, health care, vaccinations and child care, and as children grow access to education are major areas where interventions matter. In late adolescence sexuality and for young women issues to do with reproductive health, and interventions to counter male violence, and for young men access to land and opportunities for obtaining independent income and establishing a separate household become key areas where interventions are relevant. For adult men opportunities for expanding their production and sources of income and for women issues around bearing children and child care, domestic labour and income-generating activities are important. For the elderly food security, health care and social protection are key areas of concern.

387. From birth gender differences matter and interventions can interact with local practices either deliberately or unintentionally. A first issue relates to **female genital cutting (FGC)** customarily performed in the Amhara sites a few days after birth, whereas in the Oromo and Southern sites it is customarily practiced shortly before marriage. Interventions aimed at stopping this practice have come as part of a package of gender-related measures promoted by government. This has become more prominent with the introduction and application of the new family law, through the wereda women's affairs and health bureaus, involving the HEWs and schools, and seeking to build links with customary institutions. The practice is also often singled out as the most serious example of "Harmful Traditional Practices", an issue taken up with NGO support in some sites. In Tigray the TPLF had already had campaigns during its struggle and the practice was said to have been largely stopped and was not mentioned as an issue during this research.¹² In Turufe (Oromia) the campaign involved meetings, the formation of an anti-HTP committee, celebrating and involving girls who had not been circumcised in the campaign, fines and imprisonment of people who had been involved in performing circumcisions. Largely as a result of interventions some change seems to have come about in the Oromia and Southern sites, from a norm of all girls being circumcised, to a situation where many are not, and only a few in secret, to a period where exceptions who were not

¹² Likewise the Young Lives qualitative research did not find this issues to be relevant although the 2005 DHS suggested that there were prevalences of 29% in Tigray among women aged 15-49, and 30% of women having at least one daughter circumcised (Boyden, Pankhurst and Tafere 2011).

circumcised were subject to ridicule and abuse.¹³ However, the situation is less clear in the Amhara sites, notably Dinki, where the view that female circumcision is normal still seems very strong, and resistance to the campaigns against it common. In Turufe (in Oromia) it was noted that FGC was more difficult to monitor or influence among the migrants from the North. It may be that there is also a “time lag” or “window of opportunity” to bring about change in the Oromo sites faster since the potential to influence attitudes while the girls grow through the work of HEW, the schools, the women’s affairs committees, the WA, and especially to influence the girls themselves is greater than in the Amhara sites where the girls are circumcised at birth. However, the peer pressure to conform can lead to girls themselves becoming promoters of FGC as was noted in the Young Lives research (Boyden, Pankhurst and Tafere 2011).

388. For early childhood questions of **nutrition, vaccinations and child care** have been crucial areas for intervention. Much of the Health Extension Package has focused on mother and child health care, and this has been a key role of the HEWs. There seem to have been improvements in nutrition; this may be due to diversified diets and improved income related in part to production of vegetables through irrigation, rather than just a result of campaigns and nutrition education. With regard to **supplementary feeding** for malnourished children particularly in times of drought, three points are noteworthy. First, ethics of sharing have meant that whereas the supplementary feeding is targeted to the malnourished child, there has been a tendency for the food to be shared more widely within the family. Second, there was a sense expressed in Dinki that the selection of only the very malnourished children for supplementary feeding was excluding children deserving assistance and that supplementary feeding should be provided to all children. Third, some children receiving supplementary feeding were in relatively better off households in Turufe, suggesting that either wealth does not always translate into better child nutrition and/or that better off households with connections were included in distributions.

389. **Vaccination** campaigns have become routine and institutionalised in all sites, though some resistance was noted in the Amhara sites, in Dinki in part as vaccination of mothers was suspected of being disguised family planning. In terms of infant and child care there have been indications of improvements, though how far these are part of wider modernisation processes or more specific interventions is hard to tell.

390. As children grow the question of access to **education** become the most salient area where interventions matter. Regarding **pre-school** some richer households in the more integrated sites close to towns have sent children to private kindergartens. There have been impressive changes in **primary school access** with a massive expansion and the building of satellite schools, and noteworthy gains in **girls’ primary education**. However, some children still do not go to school as their labour is needed for the household’s survival. These are usually from very poor households and/or households that have fallen off track due to death or divorce of parents, and in Turufe in particular children of household labourers. Often they are sent to richer households to work as herders. There are also cases of household that might not send one child to school to look after livestock. Children’s **absence from school** is partly related to the need for child labour in peak agricultural seasons but may also depend on the household labour profile.

391. Gender difference become more salient with adolescence, and older girls and young women face **risks around sexuality, marriage, pregnancy, birth-giving and child-rearing**, and interventions aimed at changing gender relations begin to have a central role. For young women risks of abduction, rape, unwanted pregnancies and abortions, and contracting HIV/AIDS become salient, and interventions around access to contraceptives and gender-based violence become crucial.

¹³ A similar situation was found in the Young Lives site in Oromia where insults and peer pressure even led young girls who previously did not want to be circumcised to want to undergo the operation (Boyden, Pankhurst and Tafere 2011).

Abduction was mentioned as a reason for girls not continuing with schooling. However, strong measures, including imprisonment of men involved in abductions were said to be having some effect.¹⁴ There seems to be a move towards “voluntary abduction” of couples eloping to avoid parental decision-making and customary bridewealth payments in the Oromia sites.

392. Young men also face risks related to sexuality notably in relation to risks of contracting HIV/AIDS and violence particularly in getting into fights. However, the main issues for them is access to land and un(der)employment, and interventions relating to youth access to land and employment and cooperatives are particularly important for them (see companion paper on youth - Bevan 2011).

393. For women risks around child-birth are important with maternal mortality a real threat. Though health posts are beginning to offer perinatal services, lack of equipment and training of health workers and local preferences mean that most women still give birth at home. Improvements in transport in the integrated sites can be crucial in cases of complications.

394. Contraception is probably bringing about important changes though access to it is not as easy in the remoter sites and opposition from men was mentioned. For instance in Girar men expressed resentment at the role of the Health Extension Workers in this respect.

395. A major risk for women is divorce which is particularly common in the Amhara sites. Interventions to protect women’s rights to land can lead to women asserting their claims though due to virilocal residence many women prefer to return to their parents, and even if they remain face difficulty accessing male labour, and/or finding other sources of income and obtaining credit for businesses especially if they are bringing up children on their own. If they remarry their children may not be cared for properly by stepfathers.

396. For men accessing sufficient land, livestock and labour and establishing their own household through marriage and are major challenges in their lifecycle. Once established improving their livelihoods and bringing up children are constant concerns. Those facing death or divorce experience an immediate problem of obtaining female labour especially for cooking unless they have adult daughters or sisters, and most remarry. Loss of land due to divorce was a major problem for divorced men in Yetmen.

397. For the elderly loss of resources and health risks are major risks increasing with age, and particularly important for older women. Relations with their children and support from them, neighbours and relatives are key to a good life in old age. In the drought prone sites interventions related to direct support through the PSNP and food aid have been crucial to the survival of the poorest. Interventions in health care are the most important for the elderly, and many have benefited from the expansion of services closer to where they live. Some benefited from trachoma medicine although others were not aware of what it was for.

5.1.2. Health Differentials, Interventions and Exclusions Risks

398. Health differentials are considered in relation to 1) health, wealth and other statuses, 2) women headed household, 3) adults dependents, 4) women dependents, and 5) health, wealth and support among the elderly.

¹⁴ The EDHS 2005 statistics show that abduction was more of an issue in Southern Ethiopia than in the North (Boyden, Pankhurst and Tafere 2011).

4.1.2.1. *Health, Wealth and Other Statuses*

399. Although the male headed households had important interactions with interventions in **health care** in all sites there were differences in terms of wealth categories in health-seeking behaviour though the extent to which this is significant varies between sites. The most important difference in relation to the use of **curative facilities** is in the ability to afford health care and in particular to go further to obtain private health care, particularly in the wealthier sites: Turufe, Yetmen and Girar. In Turufe the middle wealth household made use of the hospital and Catholic mission clinic, whereas the rich household used these as well as private clinics in Shashemene and even a hospital in Hawasa when the household head injured his leg. In Yetmen the rich household went to town for treatment for the head's hypertension and the wife's eye injury. In Girar the rich household went to Imbidir hospital for the treatment of a child sick with malaria and one of the middle wealth household went to Addis Ababa for his wife's heart problem and a daughter working there also had surgery.

400. Another difference related to **attitudes towards the available health care**, in the wealthier sites. In Yetmen the poor households appreciated improvements in HC being closer. However, the rich household head suggested that the HC lacked medicine, and they went to town for costly treatment. In Girar the poor household thought that the HC was useful and efficient with less time to wait than in the past, but the household was too poor to make use of the services frequently. In contrast the richer household head suggested that the HC staff were less competent than those in the hospital where he obtained good services. He also complained that the HC nurse did not keep information confidential. Likewise the middle wealth household head was not impressed with the HC services and attitude of the staff, although he said the cost was less than in private clinics and his wife was treated well for a rash. The other middle wealth household has used both government and private services including referral to Addis Ababa.

401. In contrast in the poorer drought prone sites notably in Korodegaga and Dinki there were common views across wealth groups about curative health facilities. In Korodegaga rich, middle and poor household expressed **preferences for the private clinics** rather than the government services. This was in part due to lack of drugs but also that people were not treated politely. Even the poor household said that there was a shortage of drugs and that people were not treated well at the government services whereas they got good treatment at fair prices at the private clinic. In Dinki both rich and poor households had been to the HP but both felt that despite its proximity the services and the supplies were inadequate, and they tended to go to the HC, although even there, despite improved building and facilities, even the poor household was thinking of going further for medical care.

402. In cases where the modern medical facilities do not provide cures households, particularly among the poorer ones, try **traditional cures**, notably holy water as in the case of a son with a mental problem in a poor household in Yetmen and a daughter suffering from chronic headache in a poor household in Korodegaga.

403. Increasing **costs of curative care** were mentioned in Geblen including by the very rich household; the rich household had spent 500 birr on a daughter's illness and 200 birr on a son's malaria treatment. In Korodegaga the very poor household sold an ox for treatment relating to typhoid and stomach ache contributing to his impoverishment.

404. **Health exemptions for the poor** have been problematic in most sites with limited evidence that they are or functional. In Turufe the system was known but seems to have broken down due to cost recovery policies and bureaucratic procedures.

Box 32: Problems with Health Exemptions in Turufe

The kebele used to write a letter of support to the hospital after three witnesses assured the poverty of the applicant in front of the public court. Then the poor gets medical service in the hospital. Since 2000 the medical centres and hospitals are ordered by the regional health bureau to implement the recently introduced health care financing system so as to cover their administrative cost by charging the clients. So, as the kebele officials disclosed that they don't write letter to the hospital and even if they write the letter is addressed to the wereda administration office and the wereda could write to the hospital. Because of this complex process that may not end in exemption the poor prefer to go to the hospital by themselves or prefer to use herbs if they cannot afford to pay.

405. Regarding **preventive** care there are site differences regarding the interest in the measures promoted by the HEWs ranging from enthusiasm in Girar, through interest in Turufe and acceptance in Geblen and Korodegaga to resistance in Yetmen and especially Dinki. There were also some indications of wealth playing a role in the ability to make use of soap and water in washing.

406. In Girar households from all wealth categories seemed to be following the advice of HEWs on latrines, and some on separate rooms for livestock and waste disposal. However, the richer and middle wealth households said they already had latrines before the HEWs promoted them. In both Dinki and Yetmen there seemed to be resistance, particularly to the **latrines**. In Dinki both the middle and poor households did not dig latrines, the latter with the excuse that they were thinking of moving house, and the rich household saying theirs was useful mainly in the rains. In Yetmen the rich household said they lacked time to implement the sanitation measures, though they now use soap. In Geblen the poor household suggested the price of soap was prohibitive. In Turufe the poor household heads mentioned learning about latrines but only the rich household, whose head is a health promoter, said his household had adopted hand washing after latrine use. In Geblen all wealth categories mentioned the advice from the HEWs; the rich household said they came to check about sanitation and cleanliness; only the very poor household head expressed outright displeasure about the latrine, saying they suffered from flies when using it.

5.1.2.2. **Women-headed households**¹⁵

407. The women heading households in most sites had positive experiences with the health extension services, although there were site variations. This is no doubt largely related to the fact that the HEWs are women and the women mentioned them in a good light appreciating their assistance though less so in the Amhara sites.

408. The most positive case seems to be in Girar where both women selected for household interviews had good experiences with the HEWs, the younger woman visited the Health Centre (HC) for her hypertension, obtained trachoma preventive medicine and the older woman got her blood pressure checked regularly at the HC. The older woman got advice and dug a latrine and keeps her compound clean, whereas the younger woman received visits from the HEW every two months, now had a latrine, a waste pit, and separated the rooms for animals and the kitchen. In Geblen too both women appreciated the HEW's advice and the HC services. In Turufe both women said they benefited from the teaching of HEWs about health care and latrines and one of them obtained painkillers from the HP. In Yetmen the older woman obtained a bednet which she values against malaria, though the trachoma preventive medicine made her ill so she would not take it. In Korodegaga the widow obtained good advice from the HEW, food aid for malnourished children and a check-up at the HC. The site where preventive health services seemed least appreciated was Dinki,

¹⁵ This section is based on interviews with two women headed households in each of the sites.

where the older woman resented having to have a latrine dug, and the bednets were considered more effective against other insects rather than mosquitoes or were damaged. The women heading households did not have much involvement with reproductive health no doubt since most are elderly and past child bearing age.

409. Although the women headed household seem generally to appreciate the health extension services, the **cost** of services is an issue for some of the poorer women. In Dinki the younger woman cannot afford health care and has not been to any health care services in over four years, despite a heart problem. She could not afford 20 birr to have her ears cleaned and used hot butter from goat's milk which did not improve her hearing. In Girar the older woman got her blood pressure checked fortnightly at the HC, paying two birr for the check-up and 12 birr for tablets which she finds expensive. In Korodegaga one of the women spent a lot of money at the HC when she was ill and went to private clinics for herself and her granddaughter.

5.1.2.3. Adult dependents

410. Due to their needs as individuals facing health shocks adult dependents had important involvements with health interventions, though there were **significant difference between the male and female dependents**. Whereas the male dependents tended to have rather limited involvement with health care, being mainly single young healthy men without families of their own, the women dependents had more needs, since apart from the young women living with parents most of the rest had families. Whereas only some of the male migrants and divorcees with families and some male dependents in Geblen had made use of curative services all the women dependents had sought health care. Among the women three had sought traditional health care, two in Dinki for tonsillitis and one in Girar to holy water for paralysis since she was too poor to afford to continue hospital treatment.

5.1.2.4. Women dependents

411. There were generally rather positive views held by the women dependents about the preventive extension services. On latrines three dependent women in Dinki mentioned not having to walk far to relieve themselves, whereas a young man said he only used the latrine in the rains and another that he did not use it as it did not have a roof.

412. With regard to **bednets** an elderly woman in Yetmen had given the only one they had to the grandson living with her. Medicine against trachoma was taken by young women in Dinki without knowing what it was for whereas an old woman in Yetmen said it helped with her vision while another claimed it dealt with internal parasites.

413. Women dependents were also more involved with health extension services due to the key role of the HEWs in providing **contraceptives**, whereas among some of the male dependents resistance to contraceptive use was expressed. Contraception was particularly important for younger women, especially those living with their parents and for those who had children without being married but not wanting to have more. Women of child bearing age also obtained some **peri-natal care**, to differing extents depending on site conditions. Apart from the young women living with parents and the very old ones, women with children were involved with health care facilities for their children, notably vaccinations to varying degrees depending on site conditions.

5.1.2.5. Health, wealth and support among the elderly

414. Health issues become more important with old age. Several of the women heading households were elderly and appreciated health services, such as an old woman living on her own in Geblen. Problems with high blood pressure were mentioned by respondents in four sites: Korodegaga, Dinki, Yetmen and Girar. Two elderly men in Korodegaga went to a private clinic, one

coughing and fever and the other diagnosed with high blood pressure. Similarly, an elderly man in Dinki went to the health centre for headache and was given medicine for blood pressure. Likewise, an elderly man in Yetmen suffering from hypertension went for treatment in towns which he found costly. In Girar the middle wealth head went to the Catholic hospital for hypertension and got drugs from the government pharmacy. Likewise an elderly woman living with her granddaughter had her blood pressure checked at the health centre. Several of the elderly men and women suffered from problems with their sight a few becoming blind. Trachoma droplets were provided to some elderly, some finding it useful others not understanding what it was for. There were also cases of elderly persons falling and breaking limbs in several sites.

415. Several of the divorced men in Yetmen who are generally older had made use of health facilities, and the old man in Girar had received assistance from the HEWs when he broke his hand. Resistance to using latrines in Dinki was expressed by an elderly woman living on her own.

416. Inability to afford health care was mentioned among some elderly persons. For instance an old woman in her 70s in Korodegaga suffered from backache and problems with her sight and hearing but lacked money for treatment. In contrast another old woman in her 70s in the same site was able to have an eye operation in Nazaret as her son is wealthy. In Girar an elderly woman living with her granddaughter complained that the tablets she got fortnightly for high blood pressure (12 birr for the tablets and 2 for the check-up) were expensive.

4.1.3 Education Differentials, Interventions and Exclusion Risks

417. As children grow the question of access to **education** become the most salient area in relation to interventions. Important issues relate to wealth and access, gender, and quality of education.

418. **Pre-schools** kindergarten provisions are available in four of the sites including all three integrated sites. In urban Yetmen run by World Vision, in Girar by a Catholic NGO (the wereda would like to take it over but does not have the budget), in Korodegaga and in Turufe one situated in Kuyera town previously run by and NGO was taken over by the wereda. These schools offer opportunities for wealthier households to invest in early education of children. One of the rich households in Turufe had a child who had been first to the pre-school and then to a private primary school in Kuyera. In Girar the school costs 23 birr but even a poor household sent a child there, saying the school had good education and provided uniforms and tea and biscuits. Likewise a woman heading a household who is a potter also sent a daughter to the pre-school saying the service is very good and the child likes it a lot. Another middle wealth household head said that he found that children going there performed better in primary school which was also stated by one of the teachers. The pre-school in Korodegaga was said not to be effective as children learn with grade one and only those near the school attend. In Dinki **satellite schools** provide younger children access to education which was not possible before.

419. There have been impressive changes in **primary school access** with a massive expansion, and noteworthy gains in **girls' primary education**. However, some children still do not go to school as their labour is needed for household survival. These are usually from very poor households and/or that have fallen off track due to death or divorce of parents, and in Turufe in particular children of household labourers. Often they are sent to richer households to work as herders. There are also cases of households that might not send one child to school to look after livestock. Children's **absence from school** is partly related to the need for child labour in peak agricultural seasons but may also depend on the particular household's labour profile.

4.1.3.1. Genderage in education

420. Improved access to primary education and a commitment to increase girl's enrolment has meant increasing gender parity and girls are as likely to go to school as boys and in several sites as there are more girls than boys in primary schools.¹⁶

421. Constraints on **girls' secondary education** were related to gender issues. In two sites, Yetmen and Geblen girls stopped school for marriage or as a result of having a child. In Yetmen a daughter in a middle wealth family was made to drop out of secondary school since her parents wanted her to marry, and in Geblen a girl in a poor household stopped at grade six when she gave birth. In Yetmen it was mentioned that dormitories were built for 22 poor female students in Bichena.

422. Regarding **tertiary education** there have been a few children who have been to tertiary education in all the sites except Dinki, though most of them, and exclusively in Korodegaga and Yetmen were male. There have been a few girls that have gone to universities in Girar, Geblen, and to private colleges in Turufe. In Girar two girls who had been to university were working for an NGO and in Addis Ababa as teachers, in Geblen a daughter of a middle wealth household had been to university in Arba Minch and a daughter of a poor woman heading her household had graduated from Adama. In Turufe a few women had attended private colleges notably nursing extensions courses and one was assisting her family. In Korodegaga and Yetmen only sons were mentioned as going to university. However, in Dinki no children had had tertiary education opportunities. In Yetmen it was mentioned that girls can be admitted to TVET with lower points than boys.

4.1.3.2. Wealth and other statuses

423. There are **pre-schools** in four of the sites two of which are run by NGOs. These schools offer opportunities for wealthier households to invest in early education of children. One of the rich households in Turufe had a child who had been first to the pre-school and then to a private primary school in Kuyera. However, in Girar the cost did not seem to be a deterrent to some poor households. The school costs 23 birr but even a poor household sends a child there, saying the school had good education and provided uniforms and tea and biscuits. Likewise a woman heading a household who is a potter also sends a daughter to the pre-school saying the service is very good and the child likes it a lot. Another middle wealth household head said that he found that children going there performed better in primary school which was also stated by one of the teachers.

424. There has clearly been greater access to **primary education** for all wealth categories. Even children from poor households in many sites go to school. However, poorer children, those from women headed households and children of servants are less likely to go to school or may be more prone to dropping out. **Discrimination as a result of poverty** was mentioned by the very poor male household head in Geblen, who had two children who were not attending school. Among the women headed households in two sites there were cases of children who did not go to school or dropped out. In Dinki the very poor woman required her daughter's assistance and therefore did not send her to school. *kebele* officials came to persuade her to do so but relented when she pleaded with them seeing she was bedridden. In Korodegaga both women had children or grandchildren including girls at school; however, one had a son who was a herder and the other a son who dropped out of grade five. Wealthier households have sent children to better primary schools in towns in two sites: to Kuyera in Turufe and Dera in Korodegaga.

¹⁶ This was also found in the Young Lives Round 3 research (Young Lives Country Report 2011).

425. Nonetheless, there are also cases of children **dropping out** of primary school **among the non-poor** in three sites: Geblen, Korodegaga and Yetmen. In Geblen a seven year old son in the very rich household was not going to school whereas his siblings were. In Korodegaga a 13 year old in the middle wealth household dropped out due to sickness and drought affecting the family's ability to pay for education costs. In Yetmen a son in a middle wealth household is herding livestock. In Girar even children from a poor household were able to go to a Catholic pre-school, whereas the head of the middle wealth household, while appreciating the quality, found the cost high.

426. For **secondary school** the question of wealth becomes more important due to the cost of transport and living expenses, particularly in the three poorer drought prone sites, and gender concerns and attitudes mean that education beyond the sites is largely restricted to boys. In Dinki only a son from the wealthy household is going to school in Aliyu Amba staying with relatives. In Korodegaga the son in the poor household dropped out of secondary school as his parents could not afford the cost of living expenses or a bicycle, whereas a son in the middle wealth household completed his education and is now employed in the municipality. In Geblen whereas the very rich and rich households have children going to secondary school in Adigrat, even though this was mentioned as expensive by the very rich household head, the poor household had a child going to school closer in Adikelembes.

427. Access to **tertiary education** is **not entirely determined by wealth** since TVET colleges and universities unlike private colleges are subsidised, and there are a few cases of children from poor and also women headed households that have made it through university or colleges in all sites except Dinki. One household in Korodegaga was pleased that their son was benefiting from free accommodation and food in university unlike in private college. In Yetmen it was mentioned that only clever students get into universities whereas the families of children doing less well have to pay a lot for college expenses.

428. There are **TVET services** in the vicinity of three sites two of which are integrated sites closer to towns. For Turufe residents there is one in Shashemene, for Yetmen there are three, in Dejen and Debre Markos and one that started in Bichena in 2009, though it has faced start-up problems; for Geblen one in Edaga Hamus and but there is high demand and entrance is restricted.

429. **Costs of private education can be substantial.** In Turufe a rich household sold an ox when a son graduated and another to sponsor the education of a son and daughter in private colleges in Shashemene. In Geblen a woman headed household who had five children at school and sold two goats to cover education costs, had her oldest daughter who graduated from Adama university. However she had not yet obtained get a job and the woman remarked that it was chance not education that was important for getting work. There were also concerns expressed in Girar that poorer children have difficulties coping with university, and at the limited opportunities for TVET. Likewise in Geblen there are limited places in the TVET in Edaga Hamus, and the women's association leader suggested that this restricted opportunities for the poor. Lack of access to TVET nearby was also mentioned in Girar, although the Catholic Mission is building one in Imdibir and one son had trained in woodwork in a TVET elsewhere but did not get a job.

430. There are a number of cases of **graduates finding work** in the three integrated sites, some of whom are assisting their families and sponsoring their siblings' education. In Girar a few women who graduated had found work as teachers with an NGO and in Addis Ababa. In Yetmen a son who graduated from Bahr Dar University was supporting his parents, and in Turufe a daughter who graduated from a private college is helping her parents, and a son is assisting his siblings. However, a female teacher said she knew of at least four youths who were **unemployed graduates** of private colleges.

431. There has been some educational **assistance from NGOs** in the three integrated sites: Turufe, Girar and Yetmen. However, only in one of the three did it seem to be directed at a poor household. Whereas in Yetmen the child supported by World Vision is from a poor family, in Girar and Turufe the children obtaining scholarships were from middle wealth households. The only mention of direct involvement of a **PTA** was by a rich household head in Korodegaga who mentioned its role in fencing and latrines. The rich head in Girar was the only one to raise specific question to do with school quality, complaining about the self-contained and plasma screen teaching systems.

5.2. Differentials and exclusions in the livelihood domain

5.2.1. Agriculture

432. In all the six sites agriculture is the mainstay of livelihoods. However, genderage, wealth and status, as well as site differences, the type of agriculture, other livelihoods, investment and market opportunities matter crucially in the extent to which interventions in agriculture have differential effects, and whether they can lead to certain forms of exclusion.

4.2.1.1. Genderage in agriculture and the differential impact of interventions

433. Genderage differences in the division of labour are the basis of the household economy in all sites. From the age of about six or seven **children** begin to play a key role in herding livestock, and from about the age of ten the gender differences become more salient with boys involved in herding and assisting men with ploughing and other agricultural activities and girls in domestic chores and childcare.¹⁷ For **youth**, particularly young men, lack of access to land has been the major issue, with the control of land by the older generation leading to youth landlessness and un(der)employment (see paper on Youth).

434. Interventions in agriculture are not aimed specifically at **children** with the possible exception of some cases of schools where children grow crops. However, intensification of agriculture through **irrigation** in sites where this has taken place has had both positive and negative effect for households with access to irrigated land. It has meant more household labour requirements which can involve children, reducing time spent on schooling, homework and leisure. However, in Dinki an older girls' group said that they enjoyed working with the family. The older girls also mentioned that when there were disputes over the water distribution they were left to do the housework. A younger girls' group said that boys working on the irrigation were no longer helping with fetching water and collecting wood. In Yetmen conflicts were mentioned between parents and children and between siblings over who does the extra work. However, the produce from irrigation can mean better nutrition for the household as a whole and children in particular through consumption of vegetables and fruit or purchase of food from sale of cash crops. The general improvement in household wellbeing can translate into income being used for better clothing and education expenses benefiting children, as was mentioned by young people in Yetmen, where income was used to support children at secondary school in towns. In Yetmen some wives of non-irrigation users have become involved in vegetable retail trade, buying from irrigators and selling vegetables in the market.

435. The campaign to dig **water harvesting ponds** was considered dangerous for children and livestock in Dinki and Girar due to possible risks of them falling in. However, the extent to which this was perceived as a real threat or as a justification for other reasons for disliking the campaign may be questioned. In Geblen a woman who had her pond dug by PSNP labour grew vegetables, although she noted that the water does not last long. The **spring development and rock catchments** in the

¹⁷ See Bevan and Pankhurst 2007 for the WED sites; and for a wider review based on Young Lives data Heissler and Porter 2010.

same village also provided some benefits for irrigation, but a young woman mentioned she had too little land and lacked interest and therefore transferred her land to her father.

436. The key issue with regard to **children's role in agriculture** is the tension between their school attendance and agricultural work, notably herding livestock. There are a number of ways in which households deal with this. Richer households may employ a labourer, who may be a landless adult or a child of a poorer relative or from a very poor household which values the additional income. However, this transposes the problem from the rich to the poor and raises issues of **exclusion** of children in very poor households. Delaying the age at which children go to school can be a way of ensuring that the herding is done, children may drop out from school early, or one child may not be sent to school. In Dinki a teacher complained that parents send children to school alternatively. In Turufe groups were formed for herding livestock in turn by an adult male household member.

437. Changes in **access to schools** and **education policy** can affect the dynamics of child labour. The building of primary schools at *kebele* level and satellite schools at community level has meant less distance to travel to school allowing children to work after going to school. Likewise, the construction of secondary schools in nearer towns enables children to come home at weekends and help their families. However, attempts to move from **shift to full day** schooling were successfully resisted in Turufe.

438. Interventions to address **youth landlessness** have sought to provide some land from communal areas to youth (largely male) organised into cooperatives, though these initiatives only materialised in three sites (Korodegaga, Turufe and Girar), involved relatively small numbers and faced various problems; these included resistance from the older generation, uncertain linkages with markets, disillusionment of the youth at promises that were not kept and problematic group dynamics. Most of the youth cooperatives were all male, with only a few having a minority of women (see Bevan 2011).

439. **Gender** differences in agricultural work are pronounced. Although agriculture is portrayed as a male-dominated activity, and ploughing is the preserve of men, apart from among the Argobba in Dinki, women do play an important role in agriculture, particularly in key periods of weeding and harvesting, and also bring food to men in the fields. Women also have a lead role in livestock management within the homestead, notably in milking cows, looking after small-stock and chickens, processing butter and cheese, and selling livestock products.

440. **Women heading households** face constraints in agriculture due to limited land and access to male labour. Divorcees may only have a small share of land, and they and widows, unless they have sons who are old enough to take on agricultural tasks or can rely on a brother or other male relative living close enough to help, have either to hire a labourer if they can afford to do so or give their land to male sharecroppers, having to give up at least a third of the produce to the sharecropper. This often involves disputes about the amount actually produced or even attempts by the sharecropper to claim the land, which, however, have been successfully resisted by women in the context of land certification.

441. Interventions aimed at protecting **women's land rights** have enabled divorcees, widows, and daughters to make claims to land, and in practice some cases have been taken to wereda courts successfully. To some extent this may have exacerbated land shortage facing male youths, with daughters claiming rights to a share to the detriment of their brothers, and divorced wives claiming a share of the land their husbands used. However, in practice given virilocal marriage patterns in which women tend to marry away from their natal village and since land rights are linked to residence this may be only a marginal factor contributing to the overall land shortage.

442. The **land registration and certification** has had important effects in relation to women's land rights. Wives were expected to be registered alongside husbands with their names and photographs

on the certificates. This led to opposition and an initial boycott in Dinki among the Argobba on the grounds that Sharia law does not allow women equal rights to property. The certification enabled divorcees to claim land, sometimes taking cases to the wereda level, and has allowed women heading households to assert claims to land that sharecroppers tried to claim as theirs notably in Turufe.

443. **Agricultural extension services** have focused not just on those with land but also those with sufficient capital and labour to afford to adopt technologies and inputs, including fertiliser, improved seeds and breeds, and where there is irrigation potential water pumps. The model farmers that the Development Agents work with are mainly rich and male although there are some notable exceptions (see Dom 2011). This has meant that women heading households tend to be overlooked by the extension services in part since they generally have less land and need male labour for agriculture, but probably also because of biases undervaluing the involvement of women in agriculture. None of the case study women headed households had benefited from extension services, and one of the women in Girar mentioned that since she had no land or livestock she could not benefit from packages. The end to the provision of fertiliser on credit, increasing prices and the risks of failure in the drought-prone sites have meant that women heading households are less keen and able to use **fertiliser** and **improved seeds**. The alternative of using **compost** promoted in all sites has been adopted by some women. However, it requires adding manure, and female headed households tending to be poorer have less livestock to make this effective. More generally the use of **manure** involves female and child labour to carry the manure to fields. Younger boys in Dinki mentioned that this was difficult work and compost was used close to the homesteads. Access to **credit for improved seeds** is limited by supply and in Dinki an older girls group suggested that there was discrimination and that female headed households and those not related to persons in power were excluded.

444. Regarding **livestock services** there is a **genderage difference** between ownership of cattle and small-stock, with packages for cattle, especially purchase of oxen and cross-bred cows¹⁸ being promoted mainly for richer male headed households whereas sheep, goats and especially hens are seen as also involving women and youth. In Geblen women were reportedly more successful than men with the goat and sheep breeding packages. Modern bee-hives are also directed mainly at men in Geblen and Girar though some women are involved in bee-keeping in Girar, mainly of the traditional type. The introduction of breed chickens that might have been useful for women failed in Dinki, Geblen and Korodegaga. However, women in Korodegaga with access to an NGO credit scheme had been able to generate income from hybrid hens and their eggs (Bevan and Pankhurst 2007:40). Though some women in Korodegaga benefited from livestock on credit others faced serious **indebtedness** as a result of loss of livestock purchased through loans. One woman lost two oxen and feared her land may be taken as she cannot pay the debt. Although women do have access to livestock packages particularly for small stock, there were complaints by some women in Korodegaga that they were excluded if they did not have connections with those in power suggesting that **gender can interact with power over service provision**. Gender and poverty can also combine in disadvantaging women. For instance a poor woman in Dinki said that although she had chickens she did not have them vaccinated as she heard it would cost her money.

445. Interventions aimed at promoting **irrigation** were also more accessible for wealthy households who are generally male, especially insofar as groups need to be formed to purchase pumps (see section on wealth below). However, in Korodegaga irrigated land was allocated in 2006 to people who already had land and these included 53 female headed households, (i.e. one fifth out of 240). A women's agricultural cooperative was formed, and one of the youth groups that obtained communal land was a mixed sex group. The irrigated nursery in Dinki provided wage labour which

¹⁸ In another study this led to men controlling the sale and income from milk traditionally left to women (Pankhurst xx).

was appreciated by some adolescent girls and young women, and in Yetmen working on irrigation is an emerging activity for women.

446. The promotion of **agricultural investment** had limited impact on the sites, with the notable exceptions of Korodegaga where a number of local investors and one foreign investor have obtained land, and potentially Turufe where one diaspora Ethiopian has been promised land. In Korodegaga the investment is leading to transformations providing increased labour opportunities for youth, both men and women, as well as migrant labour. The Australian investor also helped a women's cooperative by ploughing their land with his tractor only asking them to pay for fuel costs, and members of the youth cooperative obtained work loading his vegetables onto lorries; however, another youth cooperative had been given the land by the *kebele* which was subsequently allocated by the wereda to the investor, revealing power struggles with potential benefits involved in allocation of land by the *kebele* and Wereda administrations.

447. Regarding the **elderly** gender differences with respect to agriculture can be very stark. Generally older men begin to transfer work and power to sons, especially as they become disabled, infirm or lose sight, sometimes providing them with some access to land and livestock. There are site differences in the extent to which elderly men continue to maintain control over resources. Comparing land distribution by age in the four WED sites older men had significantly more land in Korodegaga and to some extent Yetmen than in the other two sites (Bevan and Pankhurst 2007:73). Older women are less involved in agricultural activities, and even the elderly female headed households who have land have these ploughed by sons or sharecroppers. There are, moreover, quite a number of elderly destitute women without land access living on their own with grandchildren, whereas this does not seem to happen so much to elderly men. There also seems to be correlation between genderage and ethnicity in the case of the Argobba in Dinki where there are quite a few elderly destitute Argobba women (Pankhurst 2007).

4.2.1.2. Wealth and poverty in agriculture and the impact of interventions

448. Despite prevalent assumptions that **inequality** is limited in rural contexts, in fact there are considerable variations within the sites in terms of wealth, which is expressed largely in terms of livestock holdings, land used and other assets. However, there are site differences in the extent of inequalities. In 2004 in the four WED sites the mean hectare used per household in Turufe was 0.9, in Dinki 1.2, in Yetmen 1.6 and in Korodegaga 2.3 (Bevan and Pankhurst 2007). Moreover, in Korodegaga 58.4% of households had more than two hectares, and in Yetmen 31.2%, as compared to 17.8% in Dinki and only 4.8 percent in Turufe. In Korodegaga around a third of households have access to three or more hectares. However, unless they have irrigated land they will often produce little due to poor rainfall. Access to irrigated land varied across the sites: 50.8% in Korodegaga, 26.1% in Dinki, 2.2% in Yetmen and none in Turufe. Since the WED study irrigation has increased in Yetmen, and a few households were found to be involved in irrigation in Turufe in 2010.

449. Larger landholdings and access to irrigated land and sale of cash crops have been key ways in which **elites** have been formed.

Box 33: Characteristics of Elites

Greater wealth can enable elites not just to purchase productive assets, such as pumps and vehicles in the richer sites, but also to mobilize more labour through festive work groups, to employ wage labourers, to invest in more livestock in the poorer sites including prestige animals such as camels, horses and mules, to improve their housing, notably with tin roofs becoming a symbol of eliteness in the poorer sites, to build urban houses and to purchase some luxury items, including better household goods such as metal beds and mattresses, radios and TVs, bicycles and even trucks in Yetmen. Elites are also able to access better services in towns, and may send their children for education to live with town relatives. In Dinki and Korodegaga control and use of irrigation are the most important access to elite status based on wealth. In Turufe and Yetmen such status derives from larger landholding and involvement in trade (Bevan and Pankhurst 2007:45)

450. Generally **the rich have more opportunities** to expand and intensify their production, benefit from interventions and diversify their source of income, leading to increasing inequalities, particularly where the production of cash crops and trade linkages provide opportunities.

451. **Poorer farmers** tend to have less land, livestock and other assets, which constrains their involvement in agriculture as they have to rely on disadvantageous sharecropping institutions to gain access to land and/or livestock on unfavourable terms. **The very poor** are often landless, with few or no livestock, and tend to have to sell their labour, while the **destitute** rely on help from neighbours, relatives, community and religious charity, and ultimately in extreme cases begging or migration. There is a strong overlap between poverty and genderage in agriculture with youth facing serious landlessness and un(der)employment, and women heading households often, though not always, among the poorer with less land, livestock, and, as noted earlier, facing constraints of access to male labour.

452. The lack of **land redistribution** since the Derg period, and the process of **land registration and certification**, as well as the legalisation of extended periods for renting and leasing (with *kebele* or wereda agreement) has been a step towards the consolidation of a 'kulak' landed peasant elite and incipient class formation. Ways in which forms of inheritance and interventions will affect this in the next generation remain to be seen.

453. **Extension services** in agriculture tend to be directed at the wealthier households due primarily to their greater assets and capacity to afford inputs. Moreover extension agents with limited time and resources focus on **model farmers** who are largely among the wealthy. Those who are **landless** are much less likely to benefit from extension services although some who sharecrop use fertiliser and improved seeds (see Dom 2011).

454. **Fertiliser** used to be provided on credit with preferences for model farmers. However, it is no longer provided on credit and increasing prices have become a serious constraint for poorer farmers. Some stated that they simply cannot afford to pay for it since credit specifically for fertiliser is no longer available even through cooperatives (though fertiliser purchase is still an important use of credit). However, in Geblen people had been forced to take fertiliser credit including poor people under threat of not getting access to the PSNP and even poor people who had little or no land had to take fertiliser and many faced indebtedness due to failure of rains. As a result one poor man who was relatively self-reliant had to sell his ox and join the PSNP. Lack of provision of fertiliser on credit, increasing prices and risks of crop failure in the drought prone sites have led to poorer farmers being unable or unwilling to purchase fertiliser in all sites, and even in Yetmen where the potential is better and use more widespread, those who could not afford it tend to spread the fertiliser too thin to obtain good results. The alternative of using **compost** has been promoted in all sites and is used to some extent in all sites with the possible exception of Korodegaga. The main constraint is that it requires adding **manure** to be effective, and this means poorer households cannot produce much as

they tend to have few livestock. Provision of **Improved seeds** on credit is limited by supply and is focused on model farmers, whereas poorer farmers are wary of investing in these. This is particularly so in the drought prone sites and may be compounded by crop failures due to insufficient extension advice as happened in Korodegaga with a maize variety. There is also the danger that poorer farmers facing food crises may have to consume the seed becoming indebted, as was also reported in Korodegaga, where after the drought some seeds were distributed free, with allegations that those with connections got the types of seeds that were preferred. Moreover, those with outstanding debts were not given seeds.

455. **Livestock** are vital for the household economy, with oxen crucial for ploughing. Livestock are an appreciated form of investment that reproduces with good management unless there are shocks and they represent a key symbol of wealth and wellbeing. In all sites enough cattle to have a pair of oxen to plough with is an indicator of self-sufficiency and a comfortable life. In Korodegaga and Dinki camels are kept by the wealthy. In all sites those with one ox enter arrangements to pair the ox, or in some cases may use a cow or donkey. Households without oxen have to obtain them through unfavourable arrangements providing land or labour in exchange for oxen, often not at optimum ploughing periods increasing the risk of crop failure. Smallstock can be easily converted to cash as the need arises especially in case of shocks, and those without small stock are generally very poor. Extreme poverty is sometimes expressed as “not even having a chicken”. Livestock products are also important for nutrition and sale.

456. The cost of **crossbred cattle** in Turufe meant that only a few very rich farmers could afford to buy them paying the price upfront, though they did very well from it given the significant urban demand for milk. However, there was a strong view expressed that people would like to have them on credit. **Beekeeping** also seems to be an activity carried out mainly among the wealthier,¹⁹ despite attempts to promote it more widely in Geblen and Girar.

457. **Veterinary services** are appreciated by all wealth categories; however, some of the poor are unable to afford services. For instance a poor woman in Dinki could not even afford vaccinating her chickens. **Credit** tends to be used for purchase of livestock, and some forms of credit are allocated specifically for livestock purchase (see section on credit below). However, often the poor are not considered credit worthy; even though there may be official criteria that the poor should be targeted, these are sometimes circumvented. In Korodegaga the provisions of credit for purchasing livestock was in part supposed to be directed at “poor active” households. However, there were complaints from poor people to the *wereda* that the rich were benefiting but that no action was taken. There were also problems with death of cattle, sheep and chickens obtained through credit schemes affecting poorer households sometimes leading them to sell key assets. One man had to rent out his land to repay the debt. In Geblen people were pushed into taking bee-hives on credit and when most failed due to drought poorer farmers faced serious problems to pay for the hives, some selling off the hives at a lower price than they had to pay for them and others even selling PSNP rations to cover costs. Furthermore, the drought led to loss of goats and sheep taken through the packages and poorer households were particularly affected, having to sell assets. In Girar credit for purchasing smallstock was targeted at the poor by the Catholic Mission through the *iddirs*.

458. Other technologies often provided through packages, such as **drip irrigation** in drought prone sites notably in Geblen, or the **broad-bed maker** to enable two harvests in one season in Yetmen, and **water pumps** in the irrigable sites tend also to focus on model farmers and the rich, and the poor may be either unable to afford them or rightly wary of indebtedness. Given the costs pumps these may be bought only by rich farmers on their own as in Geblen, or rich farmers need to form groups to buy them as in Dinki and Yetmen. In the latter site some groups including youth groups were able to get help or credit from ACSI, World Vision and a business company with support

¹⁹ This was also found in the PSNP+ baseline survey in Sekota (TUFTS 2011).

from the extension services. In Korodegaga the cooperatives may involve poorer farmers. However, improvements through irrigation may also lead to such farmers becoming wealthier. Costs as well as land shortage were mentioned as reasons for resistance to building **water ponds** in Dinki.

459. Interventions to support **poor households** with agriculture were limited to targeting poor households mainly for livestock in three sites, two of which were sponsored by NGOs: a goat loan scheme in Girar run by the Catholic mission, and a few breed cows and sheep in Yetmen provided by World Vision, and livestock in Korodegaga for poor farmers who were considered “active”. Fruit seedlings were provided to some poor households in Girar by the Catholic mission and seeds were also provided by the *wereda* to those affected by pests destroying crops in Turufe in 2010.

4.2.1.3 Other statuses and agricultural interventions

460. **Ethnicity and religion** for the most part do not have a direct influence on agriculture and related interventions, and their influence tends to be mediated by gender, wealth and politics. Three of the sites are monoethnic (Korodegaga, Yetmen and Girar) and in one of the remaining three (Geblen) ethnicity does not seem to be salient. However, in the remaining two there is some correlation between wealth and ethnicity. In Dinki the Amhara are slightly wealthier on average in land and livestock holdings (see Dinki Community Profile), and the Argobba are poorer and some, particularly among the women, are extremely poor. In Dinki Argobba women traditionally did not engage in agriculture though this has been changing possibly partly as a result of opportunities for wage labour due to irrigation. In Turufe in the 2004 WeD survey Tigrayans on average had larger mean landholding while mean land sizes held by Oromo and Amhara are almost the same. Immigrants from the Southern Region on average have access to less land. There were no landless Tigrayans compared with 6% of Oromo, 16% of Amhara and 71% of Gurage (though this may be explained due to their greater involvement in non-agricultural entrepreneurial activities). In terms of livestock only one in five Tigrayans had no oxen compared to half the Oromo, Amhara and Hadiya, 58% of the Kambata and 72% of the Wolayta. (see Turufe Community Profile, and Bevan and Pankhurst 2007:36).

461. However, in both sites there is a contrast between economic power and **political power**. In Dinki which is in Amhara Region the Argobba have the upper hand in the *kebele* administration (though not at the *wereda* level), and likewise in Turufe which is in Oromia, the Oromo are dominant in the *kebele* administration. However, well-established migrants have been able to assert their land claims in Turufe through the land registration and certification process. In Dinki the land certification process involving wives being certified co-owners was resisted by Argobba men on religious grounds, since they claimed that Sharia law does not allow equal property rights to women.

462. **Education** has some role to play in involvement in agricultural interventions. Literacy can be a criterion for positions of responsibility such as the employed head of the seedlings nursery in Dinki, who was able to invest income from his salary in other productive activities. One reason given by a farmer in Dinki for not planting in rows was that he was unable to read the crop calendar.

463. Links to people with **political power** is often relevant to access to resources, particularly in the aid dependent sites, and there were allegations that access to agricultural packages and credit may be influenced by connections with those in power and that conversely those without such connections may not be able to benefit.

464. **Gender and wealth** also interact with connections, such that poor women may have less access to extension services. Among the selected exemplar women-headed households none had access to the extension services, although some categories benefited from the land certification, and in two sites, Korodegaga and Girar, women were able to obtain credit for fertiliser, seeds and livestock. However, in Korodegaga one of the women was facing problems repaying the debt as the ox died, and the other repaid one debt but still had another to pay.

465. **Adult Dependents** within households were generally not able to benefit much from agricultural interventions which are targeted at the household level through the head of the household. Younger dependents generally did not have land, and older ones were often infirm. However, gender and wealth matter. There were cases of young wealthy men benefiting from some extension advice, and even some poorer young men were able to obtain veterinary services and credit. In contrast among the women dependents most were poor and some extremely poor and most had no involvement with agricultural extension services. However, there were exceptions of rich wives in Geblen who obtained loans from livestock, and other livelihood options.

466. **Migrant** status was also a constraint on access to agricultural extension in several sites as many migrants are dependents and not registered as residents. In Korodegaga the migrant men were not considered part of the community or allowed to be involved in institutions and even one who married a woman who grew up there was excluded on the grounds that she had been a Christian. However, in Turufe the men were able to obtain identity cards through the intervention of sponsors, but the only interventions that women migrants mentioned benefiting from was food aid.

467. The category of **divorced men** in Yetmen were particularly bitter about the loss of land to former wives as a result of measures to enforce women's land rights. However, for women age and other statuses mattered. Though some **divorcee women** had benefited, older women dependents were divorced before the new legislation came into effect and a divorcee in Dinki was unable to get land allegedly since she was an Argobba Muslim. Two young women, one in Dinki and the other in Girar, said they had benefited from land certification as their mothers obtained access to land when their fathers died.

468. Regarding **illnesses and disabilities** the only form of agricultural livelihood assistance mentioned was related to categories affected by HIV/AIDS. In Turufe an NGO provided sheep for People living with HIV/AIDS; in Dinki a goat breeding programme for AIDS orphans supported by HAPCO was mentioned by *wereda* officials but not by respondents in the site.

5.2.2. Domestic and other household reproductive work

469. There are clear **genderage differences** in the division of domestic labour. Girls assist their mothers in household tasks, and unless there are no girls of the right age, boys do not do cleaning, cooking or childcare and limited fetching of water and gathering wood, although there were said to be some signs of positive change in some sites. However, irrigation has resulted in requirements for greater household labour and in Dinki girls complained that meant that boys were not fetching water and collecting firewood.

470. Regarding interventions affecting household labour **girls going to school** was seen as resulting in more work for mothers. The promotion of **fuel saving stoves** was mentioned in the three drought prone sites (Dinki, Geblen and Korodegaga) and these are now promoted by HEWs, though there were different views on their usefulness. In Korodegaga it was said that most households were using them. In Geblen it seems that this was linked with urban values as adopters were in the little Tabia town of Mishig. In Dinki one respondent said that there were good as they did not involve bending down. The introduction of **grinding mills** in part as a result of introduction of electricity in Turufe and close access in Girar to the electric grinding mill in Imdibir has been seen as a labour reducing intervention, and sites closer to urban centres have better access to mill services.

471. **Wealth and status differences** affect domestic labour in that richer households can afford to hire **domestic labourers**. In stark contrast the very poor send their children to work as **household servants** in rich households, where they work under arduous conditions for very little remuneration,

with risks of poor nutrition, generally not having access to education and health care, and for girls facing risks of abuse including sexual exploitation.

5.2.3. Work in and for the community

472. Involvement in work for others in the community includes: 1) working in reciprocal or festive groups, 2) working as household or wage labourers, 3) in cooperatives and 4) on community projects.

473. Work groups tend to involve men, though there are also work groups notably in weeding where women are involved. Whereas reciprocal work groups known as *wenfel* often involve neighbours independent of wealth, festive work groups called *debo* require hosting a feast. These were traditionally a strategy of richer households and in the past landlords, and poor dependent persons and tenants would often go to such work parties. It is said that these types of work groups are becoming less common and in areas closer to market influences wage labour is becoming more important. The only case of **interventions** in this respect was an attempt in 2005 in Turufe, to replace self-initiated group labour with labour groups organised by the local administrative structure, through the *gere*, the lowest level of organisation set up by the formal political system. This attempt at replacing customary labour organisation was apparently successfully resisted in this case.

474. In all the sites employment of **household labourers** is one way in which wealthy households can address labour shortages, particularly for those with school age children. Richer households may employ male and/or female labourers and/or children of either sexes. Boys from poorer relatives or poor families become herders and girls housemaids. Poor landless young men will help with agriculture and poor young women with housework. It is expected that the household worker will be single without children, and there are cases of women who had children who found it very difficult to find employment as household labourers, as the children are perceived as an extra mouth to feed and caring for them was viewed as taking time away from the work the servant does. Cases of women in this position suggest that both the women and their children are subject to deprivation and abuses, including poorer living conditions, worse nutrition and potentially sexual abuse, with some evidence of cases in Turufe.

475. **Children** working as **domestic servants** do not go to school, may not get enough food, rest, sleep and health care. Girls and women labourers are also at risk of rape from young men in the households and if with child may not get paternity acknowledged let alone child support. Household servants are given low wages, have little security and may be dismissed at the employer's will, and may not be given salaries they are owed let alone compensation. There are cases of labourers moving from house to house working for many years without managing to improve their livelihoods. However, there are also cases where employers may become patrons, giving them access to some land to plough for their own use, and even eventually sponsor them to marry. In Turufe and Korodegaga household labourers tend to be **migrants**, and in the former are often sponsored by former migrants from the same areas.

476. In Girar there is a tradition of children particularly girls being sent to towns sometimes to richer relatives to work as housemaids, and there were reportedly cases of them suffering abuses including rape. This is the only site where any interventions were recorded in this respect. A local NGO has been involved in trying to oppose the practice. There are some suggestions that the practice may have declined in part as a result of schooling and NGO advocacy. However, girls still go from several sites to Arab countries to work as **domestic servants**, which is also an area where there had been media and government concern about cases of abuses.

477. **Wage labour** opportunities include working on the farms of richer persons in the community, in Korodegaga for investors, as well as migrating for seasonal labour on private or

commercial farms. This has been one source of additional income and coping for poorer households and a means for richer households to expand their production. In Geblen wage labour rates have increased recently from 10 birr to up to 25 birr, and there are opportunities on a monastery orange farm six hours away where men earned 30 birr a month. In Girar daily labour is becoming quite common and wealthier households and women whose husbands have migrated employ daily labourers at a rate of seven birr per day plus food and coffee. In Korodegaga there are opportunities to work on other peoples' farms as well as on those of investors. Wage labour beyond the community has the disadvantage that it is not easy to combine with work on one's own land but is an important strategy for landless youth. Agricultural projects further away and more recently closer to the sites are offering increased opportunities for wage labour.

478. **Women's involvement in wage labour** is an important change in several sites. Wage labour is emerging in Yetmen, and labourers may be paid 25 birr with food or 35-40 birr without food for *tef* harvesting. Women can earn 15-25 birr per day, though men are paid better for the same work. In Dinki poor and young women benefited from working on the nursery.

479. There was criticism in Girar of men being attracted to daily labour in Imdibir town and wasting the income on drink with detrimental impacts on their households.

480. So far the only site where there has been investment in commercial agriculture is in Korodegaga, where there are national investors as well as one international investor, offering opportunities for wage labour for landless youth, women, poor persons and migrants. We have also seen that in Turufe a diaspora Ethiopian has also been offered land but has not yet used it.

481. There are **cooperatives based on age and gender** in most sites. There were attempts to set up **Youth Association cooperatives** mainly composed of young men in all the sites although this failed in Dinki and Yetmen and only some were successful in Korodegaga (see Bevan 2011). The one in Geblen was specifically for bee-keeping and women were offered to join but refused as bee-keeping was seen as a male activity. There are **Women's Association cooperatives** in three sites Girar, Yetmen (for spinning) and Korodegaga, (for irrigation). In all three sites the cooperatives obtained land but with a struggle, and faced opposition. In Korodegaga the *kebele* refused to provide the land but the cooperative obtained it through support of the wereda and an investor; in Yetmen and Girar they faced destruction of their crops. In Girar the cooperative provided credit to members, and played a role in social support for women facing domestic violence, for orphans, and in promoting HIV/AIDS tests for returning male migrants.

482. Working on community projects involves **free labour** time on natural resources rehabilitation work, irrigation, or **food-for work** activities. The former is defined as a specified number of days a year. The food for work has been mainly related to the productive safety nets in the two PSNP sites (see below). In Dinki the work involved environmental rehabilitation, road construction, and work on the seedlings nursery, which has been considered a useful source of income notably by some younger women.

5.2.4. Non-farm local work

483. Opportunities for off-farm work involve three gendered and "wealthed" types: 1) craftwork, 2) trading, and 3) coping strategies in the informal sector (see Bevan and Pankhurst 2007:31).

484. Craftwork may be a full-time or part-time occupation, and has traditionally been looked down on as inferior to agriculture. In parts of the country some craftwork is linked with occupational groups such as potters, tanners and smiths who were traditionally ostracised (Pankhurst 2003).

485. There is a gendered division of labour with men involved in blacksmithing and weaving (exceptionally there are a few women who weave in Dinki), and women spinning and making pottery and producing alcoholic drinks, sometimes running drinking houses linked with prostitution. In Dinki

craftwork used to be associated with the Argobba though there are no longer any rigid distinctions. In Turufe some migrants from the south are involved in craftwork notably women potters from Wolayta, and have been looked down on. In Girar and more generally in Gurage the craftworkers were a caste called Fuga, who perform circumcisions and funerary rituals. There is a wereda campaign against this marginalisation and discrimination involving awareness raising. Wereda officials said that these groups used to “exclude themselves” from services (notably pregnancy childbirth and health services), but they suggested that this is now improving. They were given land under the Derg, and now have land certificates. Some are doing well and have children who have migrated to Addis and remained there where the taboo on marriage with other clans has been overcome. However, some discrimination seems to persist though wereda officials downplay it. In 2004 a *kebele* official broke the arm of a potter woman who dirtied the attendance sheet at a *kebele* meeting, after which the potter women formed an association. Some women potters complained that DAs would not work with them on the grounds that they were not good at agriculture and do not have much livestock.

486. In Yetmen there are some smiths who have become relatively rich and there have even been inter-marriages with farmers, though social acceptance still remains an issue. In other sites craftwork is a part-time occupation, which can be a coping strategy in hard times (such as weaving in Dinki) or a source of generating some additional income, rather than a full time occupation. In Geben it was said that women no longer have time for craftwork.

487. **Trading** ranges from petty roadside, through shop-keeping and small-scale trading to lucrative wholesale cash-crop trading businesses with distant towns. Whereas petty trade is mainly carried out by women as a coping strategy or source of some additional income, cash crop trading is controlled by men. There have been some attempts to promote trading opportunities for youth groups, with limited success (see Bevan 2011). Brokering between farmers and large traders is carried out by men in Turufe and women in Yetmen.

488. More lucrative retail and wholesale trading is carried out by men particularly in the more prosperous market-linked sites. In Girar the *chat* and eucalyptus trade has allowed some to become very wealthy and diversify into other areas such as a trader who opened a butchery, and there are strong trading networks to Addis Ababa, and in Yetmen some grain traders even own trucks. In Girar there was confusion over changes in the tax for traders as Imdibir gained a municipality status leading to higher taxes which were resented.

489. **Coping strategies** for males and females in poorer households in addition to craftwork and petty trade mainly involve collecting firewood and making dungcakes for sale in town usually done by women, and begging, often culturally linked to religious institutions and occasions, or at the threshing floor during harvest. For most households these are supplementary to farming livelihoods although for some households, mostly female-headed, they are their main means of livelihood. In Korodegaga during droughts the collection and selling firewood is widespread. However, opportunities for work on the PSNP was said to have resulted in a reduction in this practice. In Geben the prohibition of cutting firewood led to some households using kerosene.

5.2.5. The Productive Safety Net and Food Aid

490. Three of the six sites are in food insecure sites, two of which are PSNP sites and the third, Dinki has food for work which replaced food aid.

491. Though the PSNP regulations specifically exclude children from public works, evidence in some other studies suggest that there are cases of children working, and that parents working on public works results in children substituting work they would have done in the house, particularly

affecting girls.²⁰ In Korodegaga the younger male youth Focus Group said that the FFW programme both helped and harmed their education. *“The food protects us from disease and enables us to learn at school without hunger. In contrast it harms us when we are absent from school to participate in terracing”*.

492. This study also found some evidence of sharing within households of food allocated for malnourished children among all family members, as well as more generally sharing the PSNP rations among a larger number of households rather than following the guidelines of full family targeting of fewer households. This ethic is quite strongly expressed even by children. Young boys (11-14 years old) in Korodegaga explained that *‘so-called rich households should not be excluded from PSNP because they are not rich’*. Fieldwork in 2007 revealed that wereda officials were well aware of this practice and although this was against policy, said it was important to have *‘socially acceptable solutions’*.

493. PSNP public works have encouraged women to work, and in Geblen female-headed households were specifically targeted. Involvement in the public works has been useful to women heading households, preventing them from having to migrate to look for work which is difficult if they have small children and can be more risky for them. In both PSNP sites both the interviewed women heading households were beneficiaries. In Geblen the older woman was exempted from work, but is sharing her ration with her cousin. The widow in Korodegaga was on direct support and the other woman was working on the food for work but also received some food aid. One of the women in Geblen had to take fertiliser to be included in the PSNP but lack of rain made this useless, and delays in PSNP payment meant she had to borrow money and food and sell assets. One of the women in Dinki obtained some grain as food aid, and the elderly woman in Girar was given some oil and fafa supplementary food as aid from an NGO. The food/cash for work in Dinki was much appreciated by poor young women as it gave them opportunities for income and food. However, there was a complaint in Dinki by a disabled soldier that he had to do as much work as an able-bodied person.

494. The targeting of the PSNP direct support includes the elderly in both Geblen and Korodegaga and the “weak” in Geblen. The assistance has clearly been very important for elderly without support and for women with children. In Korodegaga an elderly woman said it was essential for her to survive as she has no means of livelihood and another said that without it her life was in question. A poor woman said it especially benefits poor people as it is important for their survival.

5.2.5.1. Poverty and power in the safetynet and food aid

495. It is quite clear that the PSNP and food-for-work has been extremely important for very poor people in all the sites, and without it some might not have survived. However, some poor without relatives or friends in positions of authority were excluded and better off households with networks connecting them to officials have been included. In Korodegaga food aid under the emergency programme during years of drought was also given to some people with two oxen or more and was dubbed *“food aid for the rich”*. There have also been some complaints in all the sites by poorer persons that involvement in the PSNP and food for work includes some richer people and excludes some very poor people.

496. Poor people in Geblen were reportedly using some of the income to **pay debts** (including for some because of the pressure to take packages) and there were cases using it as collateral for obtaining loans. Although the assistance is vital for the livelihood of the very poor, for better off households it may be useful as one element in their diversified livelihoods, as noted in Korodegaga,

²⁰ See also Young Lives reports and policy briefs and Tassew and Yisak 2011.

to prevent them from selling assets notably livestock as distress sales, or to avoid borrowing money to buy food thereby allowing them to overcome seasonal food shortage. In Dinki the food for work was most useful for the landless and those whose livelihoods are based on daily labour.

497. Among younger dependents in the aid-dependent sites both men and women dependents that were interviewed were working on food for work and receiving food aid. Elderly dependents whether male or female had benefited from PSNP **direct support**. In Turufe some migrant women as well as men had benefited from food aid after an epidemic and drought.

498. Genderage, poverty and power interact such that **poor women** who are not well connected are **vulnerable to exclusion**. So for instance a poor woman in Dinki complained that she did not hear about the food for work and when she sent her daughter to work she was refused.

499. There were suggestions in all the aid dependent sites that the food assistance could be harmful in instilling a culture of dependency and perverse incentives. One richer woman and the tabia leader in Geblen suggested that in the long run regular food aid (which PSNP somewhat institutionalises) is harmful as *'those who had been industrious and self-sufficient people are now developing a culture of dependency'*. An overall conclusion in Geblen was that the PSNP doesn't bring significant change in people's life, although it helps them sustain their livelihoods. A major issue seems to be that the package and credit programme accompanying the PSNP is failing most people.

5.2.6. Access to microfinance

5.2.6.1. Genderage in microfinance

500. Microfinance credit services vary considerably by site, involving credit from government and private MFIs, associations, cooperatives and NGOs. Regarding women's involvement many of the government MFIs and cooperatives are directed more at men, and screening is often carried out by *kebele* officials who use as criteria of creditworthiness whether the person has land and assets which tend to exclude poorer women headed households and landless youth. Moreover, the group collateral model of lending which the MFIs use can lead to women being discriminated against, as men are likely to be less keen on forming groups with them. However, some women only groups are formed and there have been attempts by cooperatives and MFIs to promote women's borrowing for reasons of gender equity and since women are said to be less likely to misuse loans.

501. Potential negative effects on children if loans lead to indebtedness were mentioned. In Dinki a girls group expressed concerns that sale of key assets such as livestock to repay loans could lead to indebtedness, sale of further assets, including livestock and land, resulting in children dropping out of school, losing a home, sometimes ending in family break up, and the danger of becoming further indebted to repay loans. A boys group mentioned the case of a man who sold his ox to repay the debt and whose children were facing hunger.

502. The **elderly** were specifically excluded from getting package loans in Geblen, even though land was not a requirement. Forced taking of package fertiliser loans harmed poor people. One woman who was landless had to take the fertiliser under threat of not having access to PSNP support.

503. There are some credit services directed specifically at women in three sites: Korodegaga, Girar and Turufe. In Korodegaga, there is one government and two NGO sponsored schemes. Both the women heading households interviewed were able to get credit for fertiliser, seeds and livestock. However, one of the women is facing problems repaying the debt since an ox she bought died, and the other repaid one livestock debt but still had another to repay. In Girar one woman heading a household obtained a loan from the Women's Association and another from an NGO. One

of the women paid back the loan through involvement in food and drink production. It is said that a quarter of the women are involved in one or other of the schemes. In Turufe a private MFI targets women in groups for businesses mainly producing alcohol. Another NGO formed a credit group composed of female headed households and poor large families whose children they were previously supporting in a child support programme.

504. There were some cases of women who benefited considerably from microcredit. For instance in Korodegaga a very successful woman was selected to go to Japan as a model farmer. There was also a rich female-headed household in Girar who prospered from livestock rearing using credit, and some women in Turufe improved their lives from the loans used to produce alcohol. In Geblen a rich woman used credit to engage successfully in trade.

505. However, there were also cases of credit harming women, particular poor women. In Geblen people being forced to take fertiliser packages affected some women. A poor landless woman complained she had to take it lest she lost her access to working on the PSNP. She gave the fertiliser which she could not use to her parents. There were also cases of women saying that they did not want to take loans as it was too risky, for instance a poor woman who found the prospect of repayment too stressful. Some who diversified such as a woman in Geblen who used part of the loan to buy shoats that she lost to disease and part to improve a house in Mishig did not do as badly as she might have, if she had invested all the loan in livestock production. In Dinki a woman whose crops were affected by pests used the loan for food rather than purchasing an ox and was worried that she would have to sell her livestock assets; she said that credit could lead to *“sustained poverty rather than sustainable development”*.

5.2.6.2. **Poverty, power and status in microfinance**

506. Credit services are also in practice focused on the richer farmers as Development Agents and *kebele* officials are involved in screening those seeking loans for creditworthiness. The group lending modality is also another factor discriminating against poorer farmers, as richer farmers are less likely to want to join them in forming a group.²¹

507. There is some evidence of credit leading to **indebtedness** of poorer farmers, as a result of drought, loss of livestock to disease, or other shocks, which explain the reluctance expressed by many poorer farmers to take credit. Forced extension package credit of fertiliser under threat of losing access to PSNP was a major reason why poorer people were bitter about and wary of package loans.

508. There were concerns about failed loans and poor people especially women facing cycles of indebtedness and suggestions in several sites that credit was not appropriate for the poor. In Dinki there was mention of people using loans for consumption and losing land as a result of indebtedness, and loss of oxen bought with loans leading to serious family problems, especially affecting children who were facing hunger.

509. However, some categories of **women dependents**, notably wives and young women living with parents, have been able to benefit from interventions relating to livestock and certain categories of women have done well from credit in some sites, particularly wives in Girar and women with children in Geblen.

510. **Muslims** were less keen to take credit in Geblen, under the influence of migrants from Arab countries, on the grounds that it was not allowed by Islam. One Muslim leader suggested it led to bad habits.

²¹ This was also found in other studies of microcredit (Pankhurst 2009).

5.2.7. Migration

511. There are a range of types of migration with different gender-age-wealth-status characteristics and implications. Earlier WeD Research (Briefing 1, 2006, and Tadele, Pankhurst, Bevan and Lavers 2006) identified ten types of migration and rural-urban linkages of which four were discussed in more detail.

Box 34: Types of migrations identified in the WED research

- 1) **Regular commuting for work.** People moving on a frequent basis for work either within rural areas or going from rural areas to towns. People go to town for markets, schools, health services, casual labour, grinding, administrative services, skilled work, transport work, trading, begging and recreation.
- 2) **Seasonal migration for daily labour and cash.** Seasonal migration to work as daily labourers or for fixed periods within rural areas or from rural areas to towns. This can be due to food insecurity, shocks, including landlessness, bad harvests, lack of off-farm employment, due to need for cash for paying taxes and debts. It can also be due to urban employment opportunities in construction work, loading, chopping wood, domestic labour and other informal sector activities. Seasonal labour involves daily labour, coffee-picking, sowing and harvesting cotton, and other cash crops, forest lumber work and gold mining. People may also migrated for trade and schooling.
- 3) **Food insecurity distress migration.** Migration at times of seasonal food shortage in the hungry season or at times of drought and famine.
- 4) **Shock related distress migration.** Migration to resolve particular problems resulting from shocks such as indebtedness due for fertiliser or taxes or oxen loss.
- 5) **Women's distress migration.** Women leaving rural areas due to marriage-related abuses and divorce usually from rural areas to towns. This may be due to death of parents, early marriage, abduction, violent husbands, divorce and widow inheritance.
- 6) **Women's migration for marriage.** Women leaving their natal area and moving to the place where their husband lives due to prevalent virilocal marriage traditions.
- 7) **Migration for education.** Young people moving from areas where education services are limited or not considered appropriate to other areas, usually in towns or religious centres where such services are available.
- 8) **Migration for health services.** Individuals moving in search of better health services in towns, spiritual centres or at holy waters.
- 9) **Longer-term migration within Ethiopia.** Migration which results in a longer residence and settlement in the place to which the migrant moves.
- 10) **Longer-term international migration.** Migration to other countries notably the neighbouring countries, the Gulf and the US.

5.2.7.1. Genderage in migration and interventions

512. In all the sites there is a tendency for the migrants to be young; for some categories such as migration for education mainly by young men, and women's migration for marriage, these tend to be adolescents or young adults. Children with poor parents may be sent to work as herders (mainly boys) in rural areas or domestic servants (mainly girls) in rural or urban areas.

513. In gender terms two categories relate exclusively to women: those for marriage and women's distress migration due to abuses. Regarding migration for marriage this is commonplace in all the sites as virilocal residence where women move to their husband's village is the norm. This is generally short distance; however, in Turufe some male migrants from both the North and the South "import" wives from their home areas which can be quite distant in the case of migrants from Tigray in Turufe. Distress migration away from sites to towns was also noted in some sites. For instance a

poor woman in Dinki left for a nearby town when she had no means of survival or support, and several cases of women who had contracted HIV/AIDS were known to have migrated away to towns and died leaving orphans in the village.

514. Forced migration of girls to work as housemaids in towns, often organised by their relatives, was a particular problem in Girar and was an issue taken up by the wereda women's affairs and NGOs in campaigns, allegedly leading to a decline in the practice.

515. Although perhaps less so than men, women are involved in commuting for work and for distress or health reasons. There are also women from several sites migrating to towns in search of work as domestic servants, bar workers or commercial sex workers, and abroad notably to the Gulf states to work in domestic labour.

516. Some of the migrants both locally and internationally are able to send remittances that can assist their households and enable them to buy assets, pay debts, cover medical or educational costs, and purchase livestock notably oxen or farm implements. One woman from Geblen settled successfully in Saudi Arabia and regularly sends remittances to her parents. Women are said to be better at sending remittances than men, and some are said to send 500 to 800 birr annually. One father is very grateful for 1000 birr his daughter sends each year. In Girar too there were success stories; for instance one woman sent money to her brother who started a business in a container shop.

517. However, migration is often risky and many do not prosper. One woman in Geblen paid 10000 birr to make a long and dangerous journey on foot and by boat to Yemen and spent twenty days in prison in Saudi Arabia before being flown back to Addis Ababa. Despite this she wants to try again, this time to the United Arab Emirates, when she has made some money from working in towns locally. Women going to work on investment projects especially flower farms from Turufe is a new and increasing phenomenon. Both men and women go to towns for relaxation and men for drinking, watching football and video shows.

518. The migration of youth is a major livelihood option for both young men and women in two sites: Girar and Geblen. In Girar Gurage urban migration for trade and wage labour is almost a way of life epitomised in the saying *Gurages and landrovers go everywhere*". Such migration is gendered with boys and young men joining relatives in town starting with menial work and petty trade and sometimes becoming successful traders and girls and women working as housemaids, waitresses and clothes washers, a few becoming merchants. In Geblen there was traditional migration to Eritrea which was replaced by migration to the Gulf states and Humera in the west. In Girar there has been a change in patterns with more permanent or long-term migration of people who find employment elsewhere in government or the private sector or launch their own businesses, as well as migration to Arab countries mainly of women. In Geblen migration is a symptom of youth hopelessness in livelihoods in the site and youth have pressurised parents to take credit for them to use to migrate, leading to Development Agents advocating a change from credit in kind instead of in cash from 2009. Official Youth Association statistics mentioned an increase in annual migration from 17 men in 2006 to 56 men and one woman in 2010. However, there is considerable evidence of female migration too, and the figures no doubt reflect Youth Association biases towards men.

519. Migration is also becoming important in Turufe, from where migration of young women to flower farms and to the Gulf states is a new and growing trend, and the remittances some send have been important for their households, enabling their households to improve their wellbeing, purchase grain or fertiliser, and improve their housing or purchase consumer goods. A handful of women obtained work away from Turufe such as a HEW and a teacher

Box 35: Remittances in Turufe

Remittances from two girls working in the flower farms, enabled their family to purchase oxen, seed and fertiliser and improve the household assets and housing conditions notably putting a corrugated iron roof and buying good quality wooden sofas and a table. Likewise an average wealth female headed household has a daughter who went to work in the flower farms in Ziway and married there. The money she sent enabled her mother to buy seed and cover the rent of oxen, though it was not enough to purchase oxen. Her daughter also bought her a mobile telephone with which they keep in touch. (Turufe Community Profile).

There are far fewer migrants from Yetmen and Korodegaga, and even less from Dinki.

Box 36: Migration from Yetmen

In Yetmen Young men who fail to get on TVET courses and are not interested in farming may migrate looking for work elsewhere. The son of one of our respondent households went to look for work and has permanently migrated to Gode town in Somali Region. He has sent greetings to the family through other people but do not know how he is making a living and suspect he is not in a position to support himself. There are linkages with Metema in the lowlands of North Gondar Amhara Region: some migrants have used land there to produce sesame. There are people who live in Addis Ababa, Bahirdar and Debre Markos who send **remittances** (clothes and cash) to their families living in Yetmen. Most are engaged in trading while the others are educated and have jobs. Most migrated a long time ago (Yetmen Community Profile).

520. Migrants from Korodegaga have joined the army, a few have found jobs in government, and some young men and women have migrated for work to Saudi Arabia and Sudan. Migration is still very rare from Dinki. A few female migrants live in towns, and some were suspected of having contracted HIV/AIDS. Some young men migrate for education, including Islamic learning, and a few for seasonal or longer term work.

521. The migration of men abandoning their wives has been a major problem in two sites: Geblen and Girar. Women migrating both within the country and abroad mainly to Gulf states often leave their children behind with their parents, as noted in Geblen, where one woman left her son with her uncle for whom he his herding goats, while his uncle feeds him and supports his education.

5.2.7.2. *Poverty and status in migration*

522. In terms of wealth status, migration tends to be a strategy of the youth who lack opportunities in the rural areas often due to landlessness, and distress migration due to shocks is often a strategy of the poorest, and some of the destitute go to towns to beg, around religious centres and market places. A few of the educated youth have obtained jobs in government service. Very few people migrate for work with skills, though those who do earn a significant income.

523. Richer households travel to urban areas for better medical treatment and better quality and higher education. Migration for education is common in all sites, but in Dinki this was mentioned

mainly in connection with Islamic education. Some educated youth migrate in search of better opportunities, such as a female teacher in Geblen, and in Girar women going for university or nursing training or to work as teachers after graduation, or to follow their husbands when they move for work.

524. Migration by **craftworkers** from Girar who were considered somewhat like castes and looked down on was a means of escaping ostracism and some of these prospered in towns and even married women from other Gurage clans.

525. **Skilled workers** from Turufe such as carpenters and masons are able to earn well through work in towns. In Turufe **richer migrants** from other areas particularly the north have followed a deliberate strategy of sending their children to school and work in urban areas, perhaps reflecting a sense of unease about their long-term prospects in the area. For instance one elderly rich women originally from Tigray sent her son to work in a Garage in Addis Ababa, and although he came back he plans to return to the capital city.

526. **In-migration** was an important issue only in two sites: Korodegaga and Turufe. In Korodegaga there were tensions between in-migrant labourers and local people, with the former accused of thefts and other social ills and sometimes mistreated.

Box 37: The Underclass of Migrants in Turufe

In Turufe **recent migrants** form an underclass of domestic labourers who come to Turufe hoping to improve their lives. Many are sponsored by previous migrants. In some cases brokers in Shashemene arrange for them to find employers, in others people in the village contact potential migrants through informal networks. They tend to work in people's houses as domestic labourers, the men in the fields and the women in the houses. If they are hardworking and are lucky to have an employer who becomes a patron, they can improve their lives. The employer has them registered as a dependent with the kebele so that they can obtain an ID card. The employer may allow them to sharecrop some land on their own account, through which the male migrant can obtain livestock, most crucially oxen. The employer may turn into a patron and help arrange for the migrant to marry and set up his own household and farm on his own account (Turufe Community Profile).

527. In Turufe migrant men tend to marry women who have migrated from the same region and in some cases women may be "brought" for marriage, as in the case of a Tigrayan migrant who had married another migrant, divorced her and then married another Tigrayan migrant through an arranged marriage. Women migrants work in houses doing the bulk of various domestic chores. Some migrants suffer abuses with little recourse. They can be sent away by employers if there is a quarrel and may even be denied wages. In one case a migrant who had been working for an employer for five years was sent away empty handed but fortunately fared better with subsequent employers. Women who have children find it very difficult to find employment as the employers resent the food given to her children and time spent looking after them.

528.

Box 38: Problems Faced by Migrants in Turufe

One such migrant from Wello who had two children was first employed for 15 birr by an employer who sent her away. She relies on charity and even begs during the threshing season for food and for money to take her child to hospital. Women may also face risks of rape by men in the household. In one case the woman had children by two of the sons, which the household members did not acknowledge. There is also a risk that the status of migrant domestic worker may be inherited. One migrant worker has a 10 year old daughter who does not go to school. Another is the daughter of a former migrant from Gurage who was also a domestic worker. She had a child from a son in the household and tried to poison herself. Women domestic workers with children are often desperate and one said she was thinking of giving her children for adoption. (Turufe Community Profile).

529. Whereas the male migrants in Turufe from the North (Amhara and Tigray) seem to want to establish themselves in Turufe through a strategy of first working for an employer, then sharecropping, purchasing oxen and marrying a migrant, an Oromo male migrant from Kofele has been saving the 700 birr annual salary he receives to send to his parents to rent land. He plans to save some more money and return to his home area to rent more land and set up his own household. A woman migrant from Wolayta who was assisted by her sister who lives in Turufe has been producing *areqe* and sending the profits as remittances to her parents in her home area.

530. Migration to towns and abroad has tended to be **viewed negatively by government**. There only interventions relating to this were the discouraging of trafficking of girls from Girar and the change of package credit from cash to kind in Geblen. There was also an attempt in Turufe to prevent migrants from other regions working in the area. Indirectly, however, the productive safety net programme has been seen as a way of avoiding distress migration due to food insecurity and shocks particularly of women, and in many ways it seems likely that this has had the effect of discouraging migration which would have otherwise taken place. It is also possible that the promotion of women's land rights and measures countering violence against women may have avoided some female distress migration.

531. Many interventions in various sectors have indirectly **encouraged migration**, including road construction and improved transport facilities (which in itself provides opportunities for employment), the availability and development of better health and education facilities in towns, education of youth whose ambitions are broadened and who aspire to jobs and urban lifestyles, the increase in wealth of some farmers leading them to being able to send children to higher education in towns, build houses in local towns, and make use of better urban health facilities, the expansion of towns creating opportunities for labour in construction and informal sector activities, and the expansion of agricultural development notably private investment offering attractive wage labour opportunities.

5.3. Differentials and exclusions in the field of social re/pro/duction

5.3.1. Producing new households through marriage

532. **Marriage** is the basis of the formation of new households. The extent of parental endowment is a key element in whether a new household begins with a head start or not. Cultural patterns of **endowments** vary between northern and southern Ethiopia. In Northern Ethiopia dowry systems were common in the past. In Tigray dowry payments (called *gezmi*) traditionally could involve ten to fifteen head of cattle and a horse or mule, although gifts could also include land and weapons (Shack 1974, Bauer 1985). In Amhara endowments were in theory from both sides usually of moveable property in the form of livestock, which each party retained on divorce (Wodajo 1953,

Ambachew 1956, Hoben 1973). Such endowments and arranged marriages were made among wealthy and politically powerful families to ensure a desirable alliance, whereas poorer families might put off contracting an alliance until their child is already mature, while the very poor may never make any contracts or have their child go through the ritual of marriage (Reminick 1973, Alemante 2004). However, in practice and more recently payments have tended to be limited and in the form of gifts given by the groom to the bride, notably clothing and jewellery and sometimes gifts to the bride's parents, though there may also be gifts to the groom from the bride's parents. Moreover, endowments were limited by class and wealth, the land redistribution after the 1974 revolution and subsequent impoverishment, droughts and reduced land holdings with increasing population. In contrast to the northern systems of dowry, in most of the South, including among the Oromo and a number of societies in the Southern Region bridewealth systems are common. These traditionally involved gifts of ten to twenty cattle, iron bars and after the monetisation of the economy in the twentieth century cash.²² Among the Oromo and some southern peoples polygyny is part of the cultural norm, but only a few successful elderly men would marry a second and very rarely a third additional wife.

533. The evidence from the WED sites suggests these cultural patterns matter. The two major types are the Amhara-Tigrayan Orthodox Christian contract-based institutions (Yetmen, Geblen, and groups in Dinki and Turufe) and Oromo Islam-related bridewealth-related institutions (Korodegaga and the largest group in Turufe) which include polygyny, widow inheritance and sororate (marriage to a sister of a wife who dies). There are also polygynous marriages in the Argobba group in Dinki who are also Muslims, and in Girar. Turufe contains Tigrayans with similar arrangements to those of the Amhara, some groups from the Southern Region with their own institutions, and a few Catholics and Protestants.

Box 39: Main Forms Of Marriage

From Yetmen (Amhara):

Marriage is a contractual agreement between a man and a woman involving pooling of labour and property to establish a new household and raise children. The main forms of marriage are known as 'equal partners', communion and pay marriage; there is also living together.

From Turufe (Oromo Arssi):

An Oromo Muslim may have up to 4 wives. Apart from bridewealth marriage there are the following forms: family exchange (man's sister marries wife's brother) - this marriage avoids bridewealth; abduction: *buta* (no longer practised); *hewata*: marriage agreed by the couple; *dalla*: inheritance of a widow; *benbeto*: marriage to dead wife's sister.

534. The situation in the four WED sites reveals commonalities as well as cultural differences. Customarily first marriages were arranged between the parents of the groom and bride; often the first inkling the bride had that she was to be married was people arriving for the wedding. This still occurs, although young people are increasingly resistant. First marriages are accompanied by exchanges of wealth between families and gifts to the couples. The Oromo system involves bridewealth payments from the groom's family to the wife's family which are associated with the customs of the replacement of a dead wife by a sister and the marriage of a widow to one of her dead husband's brothers. In the Amhara system the parents from both sides give (in theory equal) negotiated presents or endowments to the couple. The rules of both systems, particularly the Amhara system, make it likely that marriages will take place between families of similar wealth status.

²² Huntingford 1955; Ambachew et al. 1957, Cerulli 1956, Hamer 1978, Baxter 1996.

Box 40: First Marriages - Exchanges Between Families And Gifts To The Couple

From Yetmen:

For a first marriage elders chosen by the parents of the prospective groom are sent to the parents of prospective bride; the bride is expected to be a virgin. The bridegroom gives presents to the bride. Parents give (negotiated and equal) presents to the couple to give them a good start in living an independent life. In 2005 it was said that each set of parents may give ¼ hectare land; otherwise the groom works on father's land and shares a third of the produce.

From Turufe:

Among the Amhara and Tigrayans 'bridewealth' is less than 300 *birr*. For the Oromo it can be up to 3,000 *birr*: For poor people it is 100 *birr* and *tej*. The average bridewealth payment is 1000 *birr*.

535. There are rules about who can marry whom. In Korodegaga and among the Turufe Oromo marriage within a clan is forbidden. Couples who break this rule are likely to be socially excluded. The Amhara have a rule that two people who have a kinship relationship up to the seventh degree of consanguinity cannot marry, but it no longer seems to be strictly enforced beyond the third degree. There are desirable ages of marriage: in Korodegaga girls should be more than 15 and boys more than 18. In Yetmen child marriage is practised.

Box 41: Child Marriage in Yetmen

Child marriage: parents of children propose they be married when 8 to 12 years old and a feast is held. They stay in parents' houses until they receive resources to start their own family. Marriage often does not last long as the children do not want to live together. Then they can marry again by their own choice or their parents'.

536. Campaigns to prevent child marriages have been most prominent in Amhara Region notably in Yetmen and were said to have had some success.

537. These are most frequent in Korodegaga and, as the case below shows, often involve the rejection of the first wife.

Box 42: Polygyny in Korodegaga

When the husband has a second and third wife, he refuses the first wife and she lives with her children in a separate house. He does not help in labour or finance. The properties (cattle and land) are shared by elders and mediators. The children live with their mother. Religious law does not allow divorce and the husband must care for all wives equally, but in reality this does not work.

538. However, arrangements may be more complex, as exemplified by one of our 'Household Diary Households', where an elderly elite man reported that he managed what might be called a 'livelihood complex' of 18 people, which consisted of three sub-households each occupied by one of his wives and a 'daughter' (one a real daughter, one an adopted relative, and one a grandchild) and in one case a son, who partially provided for their own needs by doing daily labour and/or selling firewood, plus two adult sons living separately with their families who had achieved partial independence but many of whose activities, at least in the eyes of the old man, were organised by the patriarch.

5.3.1.1. Women heading households

539. Between 23% and 24% of households in each of the sites were headed by a woman in 2004; though the proportion in Geblen is much higher. Some of these were widows, some divorced or separated, and some were 'minor' or rejected first wives of polygynous husbands. Some of these had been abandoned, while others reported themselves as the head of the household with the husband (who might be reported as the head of another household) as a household member.

Table 24: Proportion of Household Heads Reported as Widowed In 2004

	Amhara	Oromia
Integrated	Yetmen	Turufe
	Male 2.6%	Male 1.0%
	Female 51.7%	Female 71.7%
Remote	Dinki	Korodegaga
	Male 3.8%	Male 5.7%
	Female 57.9%	Female 65.6%

540. Most women heading households in all the sites are widows. Some will be able to get back on to the *ideal household development cycle* by remarrying while others will remain female-headed until either a son who has grown up takes over the household, or the woman dies or is taken into a younger household as a dependent. There was an interesting report from the female Research Officer in Dinki related to women's decisions to remarry. A number said that they had not remarried to avoid the situation where their children became stepchildren in the new household which might lead to exploitation and/or neglect by the new husband.

541. In the Amhara culture widows and widowers are expected to remarry. Among the Oromo there are rules about who a widow can marry. Customarily a widow is expected to marry a brother of her dead husband.

Box 43: Inherited Wives

From Korodegaga:

Dalla (inheritance of widows) is one of the important types of marriage applicable in Korodegaga until now. If a husband's wife dies, the man can inherit his wife's sister. He does not make any payment (such as *Gabara* or clothes). Equally if the husband dies, the wife may be inherited by her husband's eldest brother. If the eldest brother is too old, he transfers the responsibility to the second eldest but takes a cloth (*bulluko*) from his younger brother as an exchange for the inherited woman. This type of marriage is done a year after the death of the head: this year allows her to forget her dead husband and is called *gufufa* (bad year). After a year the dead man's brother calls a meeting of his and her relatives and elders to fix the day on which he will be her formal husband called *kaya-oga* which means the last day of sadness and the beginning of a new life.

From Turufe:

A younger brother can inherit the wife and property of a deceased older brother and bring up the latter's children if the wife has not reached the menopause. This is to prevent the transfer of property to a non-kin group and bad treatment of the children by another husband. If the first younger brother of the dead husband is not willing to inherit the wife he goes to the *shanacha* (elders), tells his problem, and the next younger brother can inherit the wife and property of the elder brother. If the dead husband has no brothers one of the sons of the dead husband's paternal uncle can inherit.

542. In Korodegaga widows and widowers can remarry unless they are too old, disabled or unable to work: if so their kin have the responsibility to help them. Later marriage is applicable among those who are divorced, widowed or who want to have more than one wife. It is prohibited to marry a

divorced or widowed woman unless the man is also divorced or widowed or wants to marry more than one wife.

543. Proportions of widows in the sites with Amhara residents, among whom divorce is relatively acceptable and remarriage encouraged, are lower (Dinki 58%; Yetmen 52% compared with Korodegaga 66% and Turufe 72%) and proportions of female-headed households headed by divorced women are notably higher in the sites with significant Amhara populations.

544. The qualitative evidence from all the sites confirms that divorce and remarriage are common among the Amhara, but rare in the Arssi Oromo sites. It is interesting that the explanation from Turufe is focused on the bridewealth payment, while that from Korodegaga is couched in terms of Islamic *sharia* law.

Table 25: Percentage of Household Heads Divorced in 2004

	Amhara	Oromia
Integrated	Yetmen	Turufe
	Male 2.6%	Male 0
	Female 37.9%	Female 11.7%
Remote	Dinki	Korodegaga
	Male 5.3%	Male 1.5%
	Female 34.2%	Female 6.6%

5.3.2. Dissolution of households through divorce and death

4.3.2.1 Divorce

Box 44: Divorce in the four WeD sites

From Yetmen:

If there is a dispute between husband and wife they usually get divorced. In 2005 respondents said that divorce is becoming common. People are getting divorced without any apparent reason. Either of the spouses can appeal to divorce and the elders who were involved in the marriage try to reconcile them. But if one of the spouses is resolute in getting divorced, the property is divided equally and children also go equally for both. The father is supposed to pay a fixed amount of money each month, (it might be in kind) for little children who will stay with their mother till they reach the age of six. There is no difference of opinion between government, religious leaders and elders regarding divorce. All of these do not want spouses to get divorced, but if they do not want to live together, no one can prevent it. The people who got divorced will marry again soon. A divorced woman especially is sought out because she has resources which were divided from her previous husband. The man also gets married even if his resources decline. In some rare cases a divorced man marries another divorced woman to create jealousy, leading to the marriage of the husband's former wife and his new wife's former husband.

From Dinki:

Christian women can divorce their husbands if they do not want to live with them. Bridewealth and dowry are divided in proportion to what each contributed. Christian women also have a right to a share of the land or household property. It was reported that Muslim women do not have the right to divorce; if her husband does not want a divorce she cannot get the divorce document and if she leaves home without this she cannot remarry. In the past if a Muslim couple divorced the woman would take only her clothes and 30 *birr* (about £2). In 2005 it was reported that she can get 200-500 *birr*. However, a Muslim woman does not have the right to land on divorce, even if she counted as a household member during the distribution of land. 'This is because of the Islamic law on marriage'

From Turufe:

The divorce in which a wife gets half the assets including land applies only to marriages among Tigrayans and Amharas. The amount of land each has depends on how many children they take with them. If a woman (Arssi Oromo) is married under *gabera*, some people believe that she has no right to share all the properties. This is because her husband paid more (as *gabera*) to her parents to marry her. But she can take her clothes, house equipment and other properties that she got from her relatives as a gift during the marriage. If there are children, especially sons, who live with the woman, he shares land

for bringing up the children. Later on the land belongs to the children. Both the widows and the widowers have a right to remarry if they can.

From Korodegaga:

Divorce is rare because of the religious influence of sharia law; couples may separate. By 2005, a divorced woman had acquired the right to share land with her husband.

545. **Divorce** particularly in the Amhara sites is common especially in the early years after the first marriage. Many young women run away from their husbands within a year; some are persuaded or pressured to return to them and settle down or become resigned especially after having children. Others, especially those who were most unhappy refuse to go back to their first husbands but they tend to remarry fairly soon after. Women who are unable to have a child, may be divorced on these grounds. Men are under greater pressure to remarry quickly to solve the domestic crisis of food preparation, and single male divorcees cannot survive on their own for long. Women tend to be divorcees for a while until they can remarry, unless they are unable to do so due to infertility or old age, and more rarely by choice.

546. Divorcees may return to their parents almost empty handed or leave to look for work. Even if they try to lay claims to land during the divorce, due to virilocal marriage residence rules, they find themselves in the village of their ex-husband surrounded by his relatives. Even if they gain access to land as they have become more entitled to make claims due to government support for women's rights, they face the problem of male labour and will lose at least half the produce from the land by giving it to a sharecropper. Older divorcees have less chances of successful marriages or ability to find gainful work. Divorcees may also be subject to harassment from men and may come under pressure to get married.

4.3.2.2. Death of spouse

547. Whereas divorce often happens early after the establishment of a household, the **death of one spouse** is obviously a growing risk later as the couple get older. Death of a spouse can lead to impoverishment or among poor households lead to destitution. Gender differentials, age of the surviving spouse, and gender of the older children are also important variables. For a woman the death of her husband means the loss of the chief agricultural producer. Unless she has a son who can replace the father, or a male relative of hers or is rich enough to employ a labourer she will need to give land to sharecroppers, thereby at least halving the household agricultural income, and leading to gradual impoverishment. If the husband had an additional source of income his death may result in impoverishment, and the widow may need to think of other means of income generation for survival. The death of a husband can result in a dramatic drop in standard of living and even changes in nutrition. For a poor household with little land and livestock the early death of a husband can even lead to extreme poverty. In some cases, particularly among elderly women, the husband's death can lead to destitution and involvement in low status activities such as collecting manure and especially the highly symbolic activity of preparing the threshing floor with dung only to receive in exchange a little grain at a time of plenty. For a man the early death of his wife raises the problem of immediate food production and child care. Unless he has an older unmarried daughter or an unmarried sister of his wife or her own sister who can cook and look after young children or unless he is rich enough to hire a girl to help, he will face an immediate crisis and may have to send young children away. If he can resolve the female labour problem or remarry soon, he may be able to avoid a lasting effect of the crisis, and the wife's death may be a temporary set-back for the household. However, a poor widower will not be able to afford to hire female labour and may not be able to attract a wife, especially if he would expect her to look after young children.

5.3.3. Participating in local networks and organisations

548. *Social re/pro/duction* is achieved through social networks, social institutions, and social organisations. Networks are formed on the basis of neighbourhood, kin (blood-related and affinal), and friendship relationships and often go beyond the community. In some cases clan or lineage membership brings obligations. Important social institutions order life-passages including birth, in some cases transitions to adulthood, marriage, divorce, widow(er)hood, death and inheritance. Other institutions set rules for different aspects of social life, for example resource-sharing and exchanges such as work groups and share-cropping, and social exchanges such as attending funerals and visiting the sick. Social organisations include religious organisations and groups, workgroups and business organisations, community-initiated organisations providing social protection, credit and insurance, government-sponsored organisations such as service co-operatives and women and youth organisations, and community-based organisations sponsored by NGOs for particular projects.

549. This section will consider 1) to what extent the networks and organisations are involved in social protection, 2) whether they involve inequalities and exclusions and 3) how interventions interact with them. *In these rural communities the locally-based 'welfare mix' is dominated by self-help, households, families and wider kin, neighbours, friendship and patron-client networks.* (Bevan and Pankhurst 1997: 45).

4.3.3.1 Neighbours

550. Assistance from **neighbours**, who are sometimes brothers due to virilocal residence, is very important particularly for labour support, and sometimes to borrow grain, but much less for financial support. Neighbours are particularly supportive in times of bereavement. The elderly, particularly women rely heavily on the support of neighbours and their children particularly when they become less mobile, for all needs including fetching water and wood, for grain and cooking food. However, people try not to ask for help as everyone faces problems, and when facing difficulties those who have animals sell small stock. Cooperation with households in the same hamlet is based partly on the need for sharing of household and agricultural implements and coming together to accomplish tasks that a single household cannot complete on its own or not in the available time. There is regular cooperation in agriculture for weeding, harvesting and threshing. Households also lend each other agricultural and household implements, cooperate during holidays and ceremonies, and share happy and sad times together. Women borrow implements from each other and also help one another for ceremonies and prepare food when husbands work in groups on each other's fields in turn.

551. However, there are some sources of potential exclusion based on genderage, wealth and status, especially where these interact. Poorer female headed household sometimes complain at not receiving much support from neighbours, and in one case in Dinki the daughter of one of them was raped by a neighbour.

552. In the multiethnic sites cooperation with neighbours may cut across ethnic and religious lines, and in other sites may cross divides based on clan and wealth. However, wider networks, particularly those involving religion may be based on religious, ethnic or clan lines.

4.3.3.2. Relatives

553. Assistance from **relatives** may depend on whether they live close and have the means to help. Relatives may help if the matter is serious and beyond the capacity of neighbours to help out. Many men have relatives within the community some of whom are neighbours with whom they cooperate regularly. Women often face difficulties given virilocal marriage norms. This can be

particularly serious in cases of marital disputes and divorce, and women heading households face the risk of limited cooperation.

554. **Remittances** from relatives who left sites and found employment elsewhere or migrated abroad was important in the three more integrated sites for some households as migration is a risky strategy and many migrations are not successful. In Girar there has been traditional and continuing migration to towns notably Addis Ababa, and in Geblen to the Gulf States. In Yetmen some migrants to Addis Ababa and Bahr Dar send remittances. In Turufe some women working in flower farms have sent remittances that helped their families, and a few migrants to Gulf States.

555. As noted in the section on migration, interventions have not been aimed directly at promoting migration but a number of interventions that have promoted transport and communications and investment in agriculture and construction in towns have encouraged migration. International migration trends have been volatile and presumably the current unrest in the middle East will further affect opportunities for migrants to work as domestic labourers.

4.3.3.3. Wider clan networks

556. **Wider clan networks** are important in three sites: Korodegaga, Turufe and in Girar, and provide contexts for assistance for instance in the case of murder in terms of bloodwealth compensations and bridewealth arrangements, although their importance has declined. Clans may offer members protection particularly in times of conflict. However, dominant clans may look down on members of other clans especially ones that are considered migrants. Certain clans may claim superior status, respect or precedence, numerical predominance, prior land rights or precedence in the *gada* age grading institution in the sites in Oromia. In Korodegaga the dominant clan the Sebiro were slightly better off than non-Sebiro in terms of less landlessness and ownership of oxen and other livestock (Bevan and Pankhurst 2007:36).

557. Though belonging to descent groups is no longer the relevant social distinction it used to be in imperial times in Amhara societies, in Yetmen individuals can sometimes gain access to land through close maternal as well as paternal relatives and disputes, particularly murder cases, can involve family feuds.

558. Kinship connections can be important for access to government resources associated with packages and food aid in the drought prone sites, and there were instances of exclusions. Female-headed households in Dinki were said to be unable to access agricultural package resources and the daughter of one of our female household head respondents was not allowed to participate in FFW. In Korodegaga 'non-residents' were excluded from accessing interventions.

4.3.3.4 Occupational minorities and former slaves

559. In all sites there are also small **occupational minorities** involved in non-farming occupations including smiths, potters, in some cases tanners and weavers. Apart from the last category they tend to be despised,²³ and interaction with them is constrained and intermarriage unheard of. In Dinki all five full-time weavers and ten out of 11 part-time weavers are Argobba and this is considered a respectable occupation. The only part-time leatherworker is also Argobba, but the two part-time smiths are Amhara. In Turufe the only full-time leatherworker is from the Wolayta minority. However, insofar as craftworkers are able to farm as well as obtain income from craftwork they may become relatively wealthy as in Yetmen, and their status can improve. Other skilled occupations such as those of carpenters, masons, and tailors in all sites may be means to becoming relatively wealthy involving occasional or seasonal work in urban areas.

²³ See Freeman and Pankhurst 2003.

560. In Yetmen **former slaves** descended from Southerners brought to the Amhara Region to work during the Imperial regime have been despised and looked down upon by the *chewa* of “noble birth” and even by the craftworkers. Former tenants and herdsmen may also be considered somewhat inferior.

5.4. Differentials and exclusions in the field of cultural ideas

5.4.1. Ethnicity and Religion

Ethnicity is a feature of social status and Turufe and Dinki. In Dinki there were some differences in productive wealth holding between Amhara and Argobba: 13.5% of the latter were landless compared with 1.7% of the former, and 20% had access to irrigation compared with 35% of Amhara. 54% had no oxen compared with 34% and 15% no livestock compared with 7%. In Turufe largest mean landholdings attached to the Tigrayans and Amhara with Oromo in third place. The ethnic groups from SNNP had the smallest average holdings. There were no landless Tigrayans compared with 6% of Oromo, 16% of Amhara and 79% of Gurage (who are famous throughout Ethiopia for their entrepreneurial activities). (Bevan and Pankhurst 2007:89).

561. In the heterogeneous sites people live with models of other ways of thinking, particularly in religious terms. There are contradictions at a number of levels in the ideas and narratives of the different religions: Orthodox Christianity, Islam, various versions of Protestantism, and Catholicism. The increasing influence of religious fundamentalists in all religions is making these logical contradictions more visible leading to a decline in religious tolerance. Religious differences are associated with ethnic differences and consequently affect and are affected by inter-ethnic competition for scarce material resources and local political influence.

5.4.1.1. Ethnicity

562. Three of the sites are relatively homogenous in ethnic terms: Yetmen is overwhelmingly Amhara, Korodegaga is predominantly Oromo, and the population in Girar is Gurage. The three other sites are more diverse: Geblen includes Tigraway and Erob, Dinki has both Argobba (60 percent) and Amhara (40 percent), and Turufe has a majority of Oromo (57 percent), and migrant minorities from the South (Wolayta 10%, Kambata 6%, Hadiya 4%, Gurage 5%) representing about a quarter of the population and northern migrants (Amhara-Tigraway) about 17 percent. However, ethnicity does not appear to be very salient in this site.

563. In terms of power relations ethnicity has been important in the other two heterogeneous sites. In Dinki the Amhara landlords who came from the highlands in the imperial times obtained land and the Argobba tended to be looked down on. During the Derg period the Argobba as well as Amhara tenants gained access to land. During the EPRDF period the Argobba were accorded more political prominence as an ethnic group with its own political party and representation in the parliament. However, still today in terms of land and livestock holdings and other indicators of wealth the Argobba have slightly lower averages than the Amhara. In Turufe the migrant groups particularly those from the North and especially those from Tigray gained economic power in the imperial period through exploiting larger land-holdings and involvement in trade. The migrants' superiority continued during the Derg period with the Kambata, who had a strong political position, becoming particularly active in the Derg regime. In 1991 at the time of the change of government the Oromo gained the ascendancy and most of the Kambata were expelled and their land taken over. A few Eritreans were also expelled at the time of the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea, and very few have remained. Several of the few traders are Tigrayan or Amhara. However, positions in the *kebele* Administration are fully controlled by the Oromo. Some migrant labourers have faced discrimination or employers not honouring payments, and there were attempts to restrict or ban

migrant labourers. The migrant groups have been uneasy about their status, and the northerners in particular feared expulsions if the EPRDF lost power in the 2005 elections. Although expulsions have not taken place they express feelings of insecurity, and some have adopted a strategy of sending their offspring to live, study and work in local towns and in Addis Ababa.

564. In Korodegaga in 1994 the only ethnic group living in the site were Oromo. In 2005 there were about 30 migrant labourers, mostly young men, who worked in groups of four or more on the land rented and irrigated by the investors. Most of them were Amharas from Wello (Northern Ethiopia) and some from Eastern Shewa, and there were also some Wolayta. They came into the community alone without any family members and lived in temporary tent-like houses which they built around the irrigated farms of the investors who rented the land from the locals. Some of these labourers also rented land from local farmers and produced vegetable cash crops. There were also a few share-cropper migrant labourers. The investors said they preferred to employ migrant labourers because they believe that the temporary settlers are hard-workers and well-experienced in irrigation work. There was no strong social interaction between the migrants and locals, but there were some conflicts. There were incidents of local people accusing them of raping their daughters and introducing bad habits like drinking

565. Many people of Korodegaga say that they are Arssi and, at the same time, Oromo because they are Muslims. They consider the non-Muslim population of the Oromo as 'Amhara' which to them means Christianised Oromo. As one female informant puts it, 'the Amhara [to mean the Christian Oromo of Eastern Shewa] like their stomach; on market days both men and women enter hotels to eat food and to drink beers and Katikala; women are not afraid to enjoy the company of men. However, the Arssi do not give much attention to their stomach; they prefer to sell their farm outputs and livestock to the Amhara to consume at home; and women are culturally forbidden to enjoy themselves with men in hotels.' Thus, we can understand from the above description that people call themselves Arssi in order to differentiate themselves from the rest of the Oromo population. During the *Derg* regime the local governments said that, 'all Arssi Muslims and Shewa Oromo must be called by the name of 'Oromo'. Arssi is the name of the region.' So some Muslims have accepted this concept but others still believe 'we are Arssi'.

566. Historic conflicts with neighbouring ethnic groups were reported from Korodegaga and Dinki, although the regular Korodegaga conflicts with Jille pastoralists are said to be a thing of the past. In Dinki both Amhara and Argobba consider the Afar to be traditional enemies involving regular armed conflicts in market places such as Dulecha, Zuti and Senbete and some theft of cattle and camels.

5.4.1.2. Religion

567. There is a correlation between ethnicity and religion but the overlap is not complete. 19% of Amhara in Dinki are not Orthodox Christians and 24% of Oromo in Turufe are not Muslims. The Argobba in Dinki are all Muslims while all four religions are covered by the ethnic groups from SNNP in Turufe.

568. Differences in ethnicity and religion in some instance notably in the multi-ethnic and multi-religious sites seem to be linked to certain different opportunities and exclusions. So for instance ethnicity and wealth seem to be interrelated in Dinki and Turufe. Some households and children have benefited from assistance from Protestant missions and NGOs, and some young men have gone to Islamic Madrasas

569. All the religions provide some form of social protection for those in need.

Box 45: Religion-Based Social Protection

From Turufe:

Followers of the '*Kale-hiwot*' religion help those children who didn't have a father. They help one of my children starting from 1995: they were paying any expenses related to her education, health clothes etc. And they gave me some money for her food until 1999. They also construct a house for me in 1996 when my house fell apart/collapsed.

On the occasion of Ramadan, we attend prayer at the field located at Wetera. There were almost 2000 Muslims who attend the prayer in the morning. After the prayer we went to our house and celebrate if. On the eve, every Muslim contributes a crop to be delivered to the destitute and weak. The Mosque organized the distribution of the crop.

Reciprocity, redistribution and collective action through *sadaqa* – a feast that can be prepared at any time by a wealthy person for the poor, *mowlid* (the birthday of the prophet Mohammed) and *id al fatir*.

From Dinki:

Aid Alfeter: The rich Muslim calls all the Muslim found surrounding. The main purpose for the caller is to get heaven in the name of Allah. A people who is a member of 'Degge' should prepare large ceremony (party) like tella, injera with wat, and he should invite all people. Participants should accept all rules state[d] in the Quran.

570. Orthodox Church followers donate to beggars on saints days and provide food during *senbete* which are feasts held on Sundays in churches. They also allow the destitute and poor to eat at *teskar* which are feasts to honour people who have died.

571. In relation to religion there have recently been increasing divergences over growing fundamentalist influences, among Muslim, Orthodox and Protestant Christian groups. This has led to tensions within and between religious groups. Within groups the fundamentalist tendencies have tended to be promoted by younger educated men often with external contacts preaching against lax religious practice and customs that were seen as traditional and not part of the main religion. Muslim fundamentalist ideas and expansion of mosques was promoted by Wahabi influences from Arabia. In Korodegaga there was conflict over rituals by the river that were condemned by Muslim leaders. In Dinki Muslim leaders condemned those who drink alcohol. Christian leaders in Yetmen exerted pressure on people to observe more religious holidays. Protestant leaders in Turufe tried to persuade people to abandon traditional festivals. The fundamentalist tendencies have also led to a hardening of lines of religious divides between religious groups. This has led to increasing separation of institutions such as funeral associations and pressure not to celebrate festivals such as the first of the month *adbar* ceremonies together.

5.4.2. Other repertoires: local customary, local modern, wider Ethiopia, international

572. During the DEEP research in 2004/5 we found evidence of competing cultural repertoires, or sets of ideas and norms, in all four sites: local conservative and modernising repertoires; repertoires of belonging to 'imagined communities'; government repertoires; donor/NGO repertoires, and various global repertoires. Some people were key in disseminating particular repertoires while others mixed and matched elements in different ways for different purposes.

573. This section considers 1) the extent to which repertoires involve exclusions and 2) how these interact with interventions.

Community care: From Dinki and Yetmen come examples of community care.

Box 46: Community Care For The Disabled And Destitute Youth

From Dinki:

The poor/ destitute may try to support their lives by begging house to house for food or grains from threshing floors as far as they can move. But if they become disabled and have not any one to take care of them, they were said to be looked after by the community on a rotating basis; villagers could take and nurse them turn by turn until they die.

From Yetmen:

There is no form of organisation but people personally and sometimes in groups will help sick, disabled and youth. It may be in labour or financial. Yetmen

574. *NGOs, religion-based programmes and charity:* In 2003/4 Yetmen had no NGOs active in the community. Turufe had the most active NGOs, many of them with religious affiliations, followed by Korodegaga where Self-Help International was active between 2001 and 2006, and then Dinki .

Table 26: Average Number Of NGO Services Per HH 2003-2004

	Amhara		Oromia	
Integrated	Yetmen		Turufe	
	homogenous		ethnic mix	
	NGO	None	NGO	1.33
Remote	Dinki		Korodegaga	
	ethnic mix		homogenous	
	NGO	0.22	NGO	1.07

Box 47: NGOs In Turufe

Catholic Relief Services, Kalehiwot church, Kuyera Adventist College provide modern hospital services but often only to adherents of the faith. Three NGO's (Ekalo, Compassion, and Catholic Relief Services) help poor parents by constructing a house, and by providing clothes, exercise books and shoes (annually), pens and soap monthly, and money and grain at some annual holidays for their children. They also give religious education at weekends.

Kale Hiwot church, in collaboration with the Wereda Bureau of agriculture, distributes coffee and tea seedlings (about 10,000). Catholic Children's Fund (CCF) funded the expansion of the school at Wetera in 2005, and during the month of November Arssi Development Organisation gave 10,000 birr as a gift for the construction of Wetera primary school. Pathfinder trained two youngsters in family planning in May 2005.

African Human Action (AHA) and Adventist Relief gave training for different *kebele* about female circumcision, HIV/AIDs, and contraceptive methods, and individuals who attend these training sessions teach their communities. AHA gives 70 birr to these individuals monthly to encourage them, whereas Adventist Relief gives 35,000 birr per month. However, the dedication of these teachers to teach the community has been declining because there is no supervisor to control them.

575. Land which can be sharecropped or rented out is sometimes used by old people and others who cannot work to provide a 'pension'.

5.5. Differentials and exclusions in the field of community governance

576. This section focuses on customary institutions. The role of go-between extension agents and community leadership is considered the companion paper by Dom (2011).

577. There have been attempts by Wereda and *kebele* administrations to interact with customary institutions, notably elders in Oromia sites in the campaigns against traditions defined as harmful, particularly relating to female circumcision, polygyny and widow inheritance.

5.5.1. Voluntary community based associations

578. A number of **voluntary community-initiated membership-based associations** play a key role in social organisation in all the sites, and some have social protection functions. The three most common are *iddir* funeral associations found in all sites (though in Geblen they may well be less formalised), *iqub* rotating savings and credit associations, found in four of the sites (all except Korodegaga and Geblen), *Mehaber* associations of Orthodox Christians found in all sites except Korodegaga. A variant of the later *Senbete* that are church based is found in the three northern sites: Dinki, Yetmen and Geblen). Groups that save to slaughter an ox for the Mesqel festival are found in the two southern sites: Girar and Turufe. Women's spinning groups are found in the two Amhara sites. Cattle insurance groups are found in Yetmen and Turufe, and women's butter pooling groups were mentioned in Turufe.

4.5.1. Iddir funeral associations

579. The **iddir funeral associations** provide generalised insurance but only for members and customarily only in relation to death of household members. However, they have had some further social protection functions, and have been expanding into other roles in part in collaboration with government and NGOs, although there is often wariness about them becoming co-opted. Some *iddirs* in some sites have been providing assistance for members beyond organising funerals and providing death insurance payments. In two sites: Korodegaga and Girar *iddirs* helped some sick people get to clinics, and in Korodegaga provided advance on medical costs. In two sites: Dinki and Korodegaga *iddirs* provide contributions when a member loses an ox. In Girar they help if a person's house burns down, and also contributed to poor people to pay the entrance fee. However, the *iddirs* are based on regular monthly payments and households unable to pay are excluded.

4.5.2.. Mehaber socio-religious associations

580. **Mehaber socio-religious associations** in three sites (Dinki, Girar and Yetmen) provide members with assistance at times of death in the household including food (Dinki), money (Girar), or agricultural assistance for orphans (Yetmen). In Yetmen they also provide members with help with agriculture in cases of illness. Mehaber also provide food for non-members who are destitute when they hold their monthly occasions, and this is even more institutionalised in the case of the variant *senbetes*, where the priests, beggars and poor are fed on Sundays by the members. In Girar the *Senbete* contributes one birr per week to the Church to give to the poor.

4.5.3. *Iqqub* rotating savings associations

581. ***Iqqub* rotating savings associations** which are more important in the three market oriented sites, small in Dinki and Korodegaga, and non-existent in Geblen are basically organised to enable members to save and obtain a lump sum in turn. However, it is not uncommon for *iqqub* to annul the drawing of lots and provide the sum to a member facing a difficulty. They also provide some assistance at weddings. ***Iddirs*** are also providing credit in all the sites; in Dinki, Yetmen and Korodegaga there is no interest charged, and in Girar also if the person is sick, whereas in Turufe and Girar they charge 10% per month.

4.5.4.. Collaboration between formal and informal institutions

582. Regarding how formal institutions and interventions interact with these customary voluntary associations there have been attempts by Wereda and *kebele* administrations to involve *iddirs* in development activities, especially in providing contributions and mobilising members. There have been both collaborative and oppositional mobilisations. The former can involve labour (in Yetmen to build ponds), cash (in Girar for school upgrading), awareness raising campaigns (notably in Girar on HTPs). *Iddirs* were also used in conflict resolution and imposing fines in Girar, with plans to do so in Dinki. *Iddirs* in some sites have provided their rules to *kebeles* and in Dinki, Turufe and Girar people can be taken to the *kebele* court if they fail to abide by the *iddir* rules. In Girar the HEWs and the *kebele* officials gave training on contraceptives and women issues, and the Catholic mission provided animals in credit through *iddirs*, and UNICEF training to *iddir* members. However, *iddirs* have also been involved in oppositional mobilisation in two sites. In Yetmen they mobilised the community against the construction of a school on grazing land leading to conflict, and in Turufe they mobilised support to oppose the move of Shashemene hospital further away from the site. In Girar there were allegations that they had been involved in oppositional mobilisations at the time of the 2005 elections.

Part V: CONCLUSION: IMPROVED FRAMEWORK, POLICY AND PRACTICE

6. Towards an improved differential impacts and exclusions framework

583. Much of the lack of awareness about differential impacts of interventions stems from limited appreciation of how differences in types of communities, households and persons affect the ways in which services are accessed and who benefits, and how different forms of exclusion affect various categories of household and persons.

584. An improved framework would need to start by thinking through implications of given interventions at the four levels, in relation to the four factors underlying inequalities and the four dimensions of exclusions. The framework should consider how the four levels, the four factors of inequality and the four dimensions of exclusion are interrelated.

585. The framework would thus need to understand the four levels: 1) inter-community, 2) intra-community, 3) inter-household and 4) intra-household, and how these are interconnected. It would need to take account of the four major factors underlying inequalities: 1) location, 2) gender-age, 3) wealth and poverty, 4) other statuses, and how these are inter-related. It should focus on the four dimensions of exclusion: 1) economic, 2) social, 3) cultural and 4) political, and how these are intertwined.

6.1. The community level

6.1.1. Inter-community differences

586. In the main WIDE report the following ten parameters were found to be crucial in terms of how different types of community are likely to benefit differentially from interventions.

1. Regional variations in policies and implementation
2. Urban linkages of various kinds
3. Development services
4. Core livelihood system
5. Diversification
6. New agricultural technologies
7. Cultural differences
8. Social inequality
9. Social integration
10. Government-society relations

587. Within one region, and even within the same wereda communities are positioned differentially in terms of urban linkages, infrastructure, development services, livelihoods, in the cultural mix and degree of social inequality and integration, and relations with government. The implications of each of these parameters for different types of household and individual have been discussed in this paper.

588. These 10 parameters may be conveniently regrouped into three broad areas:

- 1) Government-community relations**, including a) (1) Regional variations in policies and implementation, b) (3) Development services, c) (10) government-society relations
- 2) Livelihoods and urban linkages**, including: a) (4) Core livelihood system, b) (5) diversification, c) (6) New agricultural technologies, and d) (2) urban linkages of various kinds
- 3) Socio-cultural context**, including a) (7) cultural differences, b) (8) social inequality, c) (9) social integration.

589. An approach that seeks to understand likely differential impact of interventions between communities would need to take into consideration the three broad areas mentioned above and their components.

590. Regarding community types key distinctions relate to the following three factors: 1) economic and political (in)dependence in relations to linkages with government and markets, 2) urban proximity and integration with services, and 3) internal community composition and the degree of homogeneity. These lead to a typology along these three variables with two types in each case: 1) dependent versus independent economies, 2) remote versus integrated sites, and 3) homogenous versus heterogeneous communities.

591. Inequalities have been growing faster in peri-urban sites and sites where irrigation-based cash cropping and related growth has offered more opportunities for those controlling trade and with access to irrigation, leading to the creating of elites, and quasi class formation. It would therefore make sense for more attention to be given to those who are being marginalised in these processes. Areas where cultural differences are marked and relate to inequalities, and where social inequality is high and social integration low are potential places of tension and conflict and greater attention to areas where these issues are salient with the design of mitigation measures should be envisaged.

6.1.2. 5.2.1.2. Intra-community differences

592. Within communities hamlets and households within them are differentially situated in terms of four main factors relating to location and access to infrastructure and services:

- 1) **Geographical location, settlement and topography**
- 2) **Access to roads and communications**
- 3) **Access to water and irrigation**
- 4) **Access to administration and services.**

593. In order to understand differential effects of interventions below the site level within communities at village and hamlet levels the four factors mentioned above need to be taken into consideration.

594. The development and expansion of roads and other infrastructure and services is making an impressive difference in access from remoter areas within communities. Though such inequalities still persist policies and measures that promote greater access to remoter areas should be encouraged. Access to safe water is a constraint for poorer households and those living in remoter areas far from water sources and protected springs and measures to promote improved water supplies can make a difference.

6.2. The inter-household level

595. Inequalities between households were found to depend on the following six factors:

- 1) **Access to resources**, notably land, livestock and other assets and consequent wealth status
- 2) **Labour composition**, including the household size, and ways of increasing labour
- 3) **Position on the development cycle**, from early to late mediated by cultural rules.
- 4) **Types of household**, following ideal tracks or falling off them often leading to impoverishment
- 5) **Shocks faced**, with several broad types with differential incidence and implications
- 6) **Household status**, relating to ethnicity, religion, other identities, residence and occupation

596. Constraints on access to resources affect the categories of women and youth disproportionately. Measures to empower women and ensure their rights to access to land in particular have brought about significant improvements. However, women's access to male labour for agriculture and tensions over their assertions of rights as daughters, divorced wives and widows have resulted in tensions and women challenging discrimination often face difficulties. Moreover, policies and interventions to stimulate growth tend to focus on agriculture, with insufficient emphasis on off-farm and non-farm activities in which women play a key role, notably in processing food and beverages, in crafts and in petty trade. Measures to promote these activities should be further encouraged.

597. In contrast to change relating to women, measures to enable the youth to gain access to land have faced various constraints in part linked to land shortage and the group model of providing land to youth. Stimulating other income-generating activities for the youth has also had limited success and deserves more emphasis (See Bevan 2011).

598. When households' wealth is determined for instance in relation to graduation from the PSNP assets tend to be the main measure used, as this is considered to be more reliably measured than income. However, households' labour profile is vital to the extent to which they can take advantage of the resources at their disposition and the opportunities from interventions. This is also related to the position of the household on the development cycle with households in the early and late phases being more vulnerable. Moreover, households types that have fallen off idea cycles due

to death, divorce or health or other shocks are more vulnerable. A greater awareness should be promoted about how household labour, household cycles, household types, and the effect of shocks render all households at some stages and some household types at all stages more vulnerable to poverty and exclusion. These issues should be taken up in policy and programme design.

6.3. The intra- household individual level

599. Intra-household differences are related to 1) gender and age, which are inextricably linked and we have referred to as **genderage**, and 2) status within the household in terms of whether the individual is a household head or a dependent.

600. The importance of **genderage** in understanding inequalities and differential impacts of interventions cannot be underestimated. Within the four broad categories of children, youth, adults and elderly gender dimensions are crucial especially at the key periods of transition, notably in adolescence. Within the broad categories of children and youth the risk and problems faced for infants, knee-children, roaming children, working children and adolescents change and vary by gender. Inequalities may be accentuated by differential access to education. The stages youth go through are discussed in detail in the companion paper on youth (Bevan 2011). The risks and needs of the elderly are very much related to health shocks and social protection. An approach that focuses on **genderage** categories in relation to sectoral risks could be useful.

601. For younger children issues of child malnutrition are particularly important especially in seasonal hunger periods and at times of drought, where children from poorer households often are most vulnerable. Some evidence from the Young Lives study (see Country Report draft 2011) suggests that stunting is more severe for boys than girls so this gender difference would be worth understanding better.

602. In terms of education in primary school girls have equal and in many sites higher enrolment than boys and children from poorer families are more likely not to be going to school (both of which was also found in the Young Lives study). Moreover the dropout rate for boys is higher than for girls. However towards the end of primary school and in secondary school the bias goes against girls. In the Young Lives study the primary school completion rate is higher for boys than for girls and children from poor households also reported higher dropout rates. Therefore a greater focus on boys not attending school or dropping out in primary and on girls not attending or dropping out of secondary school would be important. Children from poorer and labour short households and from disadvantaged categories (migrants, servants/labourers, and ethnic and occupational minorities are more at risk of not benefiting from educational opportunities.

603. In terms of health care children from very poor households and especially children of servants/labourers may not get adequate health care in cases of illness due to poverty and since the fee waiver exemption schemes are bureaucratic, time consuming and too costly for some of the very poor to invest in. Children with disabilities are also particularly vulnerable and orphans, including HIV/AIDS orphans are categories who are especially at risk.

604. Other gender issues relating to children include female genital cutting in the northern tradition which is performed soon after birth, and governance/justice issues relate to girls being sent to become housemaids in towns with anti-trafficking programme carried out by some NGOs. However, it should be noted that some of these cultural migration patterns are longstanding among the Gurage and in some instances may open up opportunities for self-improvement. Moreover, rather than a practice affecting only girls the adoption of boys from poorer families and sending them to work in towns are also common.

605. For the category of youth gender differences and risks relating to sexuality are particularly salient. More focus on improving livelihood options for young men in a context of land shortage and limited other opportunities, and on protection against gender-based violence, education and work opportunities for adolescent girls and young women would be important. Adolescent girls in particular are a high risk category due to practice of female genital cutting and abduction in the south, early marriage in the North, risks of early pregnancy, abortion, complicated deliveries, risks of divorce and difficulties in single-parent child-rearing. Adolescent girls and young women from very poor households and those who become household servants are at risk of domestic violence and sexual abuse, and cases of rape and denied paternity by men from employers' households were noted in this study. More detailed analysis and suggestions have been made in the companion paper by Bevan (2011). Youth from households who fell of the ideal development cycle or never got on it, especially when households split or disintegrated due to death or divorce are more vulnerable than others, and often become labourers/servant working for others and unable to set up their own households unless they are lucky enough to encounter a helpful employer who will sponsor them and assist them to establish themselves independently.

606. Among adults men with less or without access to basic productive resources notably land and livestock, and in sites with irrigation those who do not have access are more vulnerable. Men from disadvantage categories, such as migrants, ethnic or occupational minorities may have constrained access to resources and abilities to prosper. Women who divorce or whose husbands die are often less well-off and face livelihood challenges, and measures that support divorcees and widows can be important, although the extent to which they are disadvantaged depends considerably on cultural traditions of social protection, their wealth and other statuses. Support for the livelihood activities of single women who often rely on non-agricultural sources of income are important areas of policy and practice which deserve strengthening. Women facing discrimination and domestic violence are further categories at risk, where measures to protect them through the formal justice system sometimes heighten conflict and could be mediated in collaboration with reformed customary justice.

607. Among the elderly some of the most vulnerable are those without family members who can support them, particularly elderly women living on their own or with grandchildren. Though community social protection can help elderly without support relying on charity from religious institutions and neighbours are often amongst the most vulnerable. Those with chronic illnesses and disabilities face increasing health risks with age. Elderly from low status groups (including labourers, ethnic and occupational minorities and migrants) are often particularly vulnerable.

608. The **(in)dependence status** of the individual in terms of whether the person is a household head or a dependent is of crucial importance to their options and wellbeing. The ability of dependents to access, use and dispose of resources is limited. However, this is very much related to genderage. It is also affected by the wealth and other statuses of the household..

609. Dependents have less rights and abilities to engage with developmental services, as these are primarily directed at household heads. Extension services in agriculture and credit are directed at household heads and in some cases dependents are not considered eligible since they lack property and a clearly defined status in relation to the local authorities.

610. However, some extension services are focused on particular categories of dependents, notably education for children, maternal and infant health services. Food security initiatives in the social protection safety net focus on providing direct support to the vulnerably but tend to use the household as the unit for provision of assistance.

6.4. Exclusions

611. Exclusions can be usefully thought about in terms of the following four interrelated dimensions

- 1) **Economic exclusion**
- 2) **Social exclusion**
- 3) **Cultural exclusion**
- 4) **Political exclusion**

612. Categories of household that are vulnerable to exclusion are related to wealth and other statutes and include:

- 1) **The destitute and extremely poor**
- 2) **Very poor female-headed households**
- 3) **Elderly households without support**
- 4) **Marginalised craftworkers**
- 5) **Marginalised migrants groups**
- 6) **Households in early and late stages of the development cycle**
- 7) **Households that have fallen off the ideal cycle**
- 8) **Households facing shocks notably health and social shocks**

613. Categories of person that are vulnerable to exclusion are related to genderage, most frequently in conjunction with wealth-status attributes. These include the following twelve categories:

- 1) **Children of very poor households or of servants or migrants**
- 2) **Boys not going to school**
- 3) **Adolescent boys and young men from poor, migrant or disadvantaged families**
- 4) **Adolescent girls and young women from poor and disadvantages categories**
- 5) **Very poor and destitute adults,**
- 6) **Adult migrants without access to resources**
- 7) **Adults facing health shocks, including accidents, chronic illness and disabilities**
- 8) **Adult household dependents, servants and labourers**
- 9) **Widows and divorcees (and to a lesser extent widowers and divorced men)**
- 10) **The elderly who do not have support and lack resources or face disabilities**
- 11) **Elderly women living on their own, especially from minorities or low status groups**
- 12) **Persons with illnesses associated with social stigma (HIV/AIDS, leprosy, mental illness)**

7. Policy and practice implications

614. A better understanding of the levels of inequalities, the factors underlying them and dimensions of exclusion categories of community, household and individuals most at risk can inform improvements to policy and practice. Approaches of government and donors have tended to focus on federal policies and the impact of programmes sectorally at regional and wereda level, or on measures relating to broad categories of person. However, ***the impact of interventions on different types of communities, household and individuals within them deserves more consideration.***

7.1. A focus on community differences and types

615. This research has suggested that ten parameters explain differences between communities which can be conceived of in term of three broad areas: 1) Government-community relations, Livelihoods and urban linkages, and 3) Socio-cultural context. ***Whereas more attention is given to government-community relations, livelihoods, urban linkages and socio-cultural contexts are very much interrelated with governance.***

616. Regarding community types key distinctions relate to: 1) relations with government and markets, 2) urban proximity and integration with services, and 3) the degree of homogeneity of the community. These lead to a typology along these three variables with two types in each case: 1) dependent versus independent economies, 2) remote versus integrated peri-urban sites, and 3) homogenous versus heterogeneous sites.

617. There has been rapid change in the independent economies and the integrated peri-urban sites. Opportunities to control surplus through trade had led to the emergence of elites and rising inequalities, although urban linkages are also important for poorer households. However, much of the growth and change has not been directly related to the focus of the agricultural extension services. There has also been less social protection support in these communities where most of the care for vulnerable categories is left to community institutions. ***An approach that focuses on the drivers of change that promote growth in peri-urban communities and create greater linkages between extension services and market potential could be important. At the same time ways of enhancing community social protection and mitigating risks of exclusion for instance due to loss of land with urban expansion deserve consideration.***

618. In the dependent economies the provision of food for work and direct support through safetynets has supported livelihoods notably of the very poor and vulnerable categories. However, there have been cases of some wealthier households included, due in part to a community ethic of sharing, and some poorer, female-headed and less well connected households excluded. The provision of food assistance has also resulted in greater control and there was less change related to local initiative and enterprise. In dependent communities with irrigation there has been more potential for cash-crop production and opportunities for those with access to improve livelihoods. However, access to irrigation has been limited and controlled by older generations, local elites and investors. ***Ways of promoting community inclusion of categories currently excluded from assistance, to enhance enterprise beyond food assistance and increase more inclusive access to irrigation deserve greater attention.***

619. Not all heterogeneous sites had cultural differences which were related to marked inequalities. However, some correlations between identities, control over resources and local power relations was a feature of all communities and this was more salient in the heterogeneous societies. Migration histories and the politics of resource control are particularly important in multi-cultural settings. In some contexts cultural differences are interrelated with genderage as well as wealth; other distinctions between sites relate to the existence of other marginalised categories such as craftworkers and migrants and the extent to which these are marginalised and excluded. ***Communities where social inequality is high and social integration is low are potential places where conflict may erupt in conditions of instability; ways of mitigating tensions, promoting integration and addressing the needs of marginalised categories deserve consideration.***

620. Differences within communities were related to: 1) geographical location, settlement and topography 2) access to roads and communications 3) access to water and irrigation, 4) access to administration and services. Proximity to urban areas, and to developing *Kebele* centres and villagised areas of sites provides better opportunities to access services and infrastructure. However, poverty and gender may interact with location in excluding categories from access to administration and services. ***An awareness of differences based on location and how access to infrastructure and services is unequally distributed within sites can inform policies and programme to promote***

greater spread and equity in access and service use. Exclusions relating to location, poverty and gender deserve greater attention.

7.2. A focus on household resources, cycles and types

621. Inequalities between households were found to depend primarily on the following five factors: 1) access to resources, 2) labour composition 3) position on the development cycles 4) household types, 5) shocks faced, and 6) the household's status.

622. Regarding **access to resources** two categories are particularly disadvantaged: **women household heads** who have fallen off the ideal household cycle due to divorce and death of their spouse, and **youth** who have not been able to establish themselves and get onto the ideal cycle due to parental control of limited resources and limited alternatives. Female headed household had less land, livestock and assets.

623. However, among female-headed household divorcees tended to have less land than widows though cultural differences affect their respective statuses. In Amhara sites divorce is common and divorcees much poorer, whereas in sites in Oromia female headed widows more common and better off. The promotion of women's land rights has improved the prospects of divorcees, widows, and inherited wives; however, upon divorce women may not want to assert land rights if they have migrated as customary to their husband's village, and if they do may face constraints of access to male labour, often having to give up their land to sharecroppers. **Though women's land rights have improved largely as a result of interventions, more attention to their access to livestock and income-generating activities could help to improve their status. Not all women heading households are poor or marginalised and the culturally mediated distinctions between widows and divorcees can be relevant to appropriate interventions. Access of young men and women to resources and livelihoods is discussed in detail in the companion paper by Bevan (2011).**

624. **Household labour** composition is related to the development cycle and households in the early and late phases are short of labour. Traditions of adoption are more common among the Oromo, but in all sites richer households facing labour shortages bring in children often of poorer relatives, and/or agricultural and domestic labourers. Children from poorer households working in richer households often face hardships, lack of care and education and potential abuse. Agricultural labourers and domestic servants often complained of unfair treatment by employers. They tend to form an invisible underclass of underprivileged and exploited rural workers, who often do not manage to escape this status which may be inherited. Disputes with migrant labourers who were not paid, and more generally between migrants and residents were common. Women working as domestic servants are particularly at risk of exploitation and abuse including rape by male household members. In the Gurage site traditions of sending children sent to work as labourers to urban areas were viewed as "trafficking" and interventions to counter this practice were said to have been fairly successful. **Though the trafficking of children to urban areas has been the subject of campaigns, abuse of children working as domestic labourers has not been the subject of interventions. Household labourers form an invisible exploited underclass, and female domestic labourers are further at risk of sexual abuse. Migrant domestic workers may not be able to obtain services and lack recourse in cases of conflict with employers. Advocacy regarding the rights of these categories of rural excluded minorities, with clear gender dimensions would be important for social change.**

625. **Household development cycles** are mediated by cultural traditions resulting in two basic household types: those that follow the ideal cycle and those that deviate by not entering the cycle, falling off it due to death of divorce or abandonment, or are in decline as elderly living with grandchildren or alone. There is a strong probability of **households that have fallen off cycles** being short of labour and among the poorer or destitute. **Widows and divorcees** face particular problems

related to access to male labour, land and in bringing up children. Men are more likely to remarry after becoming widowers or divorcing. ***Understanding household cycles and types can lead to a better appreciation of the dynamics of household poverty and how inequalities change over time and generations. The constraints faced by “off-cycle deviator” types, especially widow(er)s, divorcees and elderly households are insights with potentially important policy implications.***

626. **Household shocks** were categorised into **four types**: 1) livelihood and reproductive asset shocks, 2) human resources - health shocks, 3) social shocks that are household related, and 4) social shocks that are government related. Often multiple shocks combine leading to downward spirals of impoverishment leading to destitution. **Poorer and destitute** households report a greater proportion of human resource – health shocks. Fire, loss of jobs and debt, divorce and theft and disputes were more commonly reported among the extremely poor. Often multiple shocks combine leading to downward spirals of impoverishment leading to destitution. **Wealthier households** are better able to withstand shocks notably drought, whereas poorer and elderly households are more vulnerable and resort to wage labour and seasonal migration to cope. Loss of livestock especially oxen can force households to give land to sharecroppers leading to impoverishment. **Costs of illness** can lead to indebtedness and even to the possibility of exclusion from institutions. **Deaths** often follow high expenses for illness treatment and involve high costs for funerals, though some of this is borne by burial associations explaining willingness of even poor households to invest in regular *iddir* payments. ***A better understanding of types of shocks and how they are related to household cycles, poverty and genderage can inform policies and programmes of social protection for vulnerable categories.***

627. **Household status** tends to be associated with the household head. The gender and age of the household head are inter-related with wealth though this is partially mediated by cultural patterns. **Powerful older men** often from dominant status groups have better access to resources and can mobilise support networks; women, younger and poor men have less access to resources and little say in community affairs. **Other statuses** relate to 1) ethnicity and religion, 3) clan identities, 3) residence status, and 4) occupational “caste. **Ethnicity** is important in power relations in two of the three heterogeneous sites and is interrelated with migration histories, wealth and politics. Religious identities were important in relation to education and women’s rights. **Clanship** is important among the Arssi Oromo though its significance has declined, apart for in cases of murder and bridewealth payments. **Recent in-migrants** may not have rights of access to resources and services, except where they have been long established, and may face discrimination. **Craftworker minorities** used to be marginalised; despite changes though prejudices remain. ***A better understanding of cultural statuses and ways in which minority groups may continue to be marginalised and excluded can inform policy and programmes seeking to promote changes in rural poverty..***

7.3. A focus on intrahousehold genderage and dependence

628. **Gender and age** are inextricably linked and the fundamental aspects of intra-household power relations and inequalities, so that we have taken to referring to the two concepts together as genderage. Genderage is often interlinked with wealth and other statuses over the individual’s life cycle.

629. Many of the problems facing **infants** relate to the circumstances of their mothers, with poverty, marital status, and occupation of women having a bearing on their childrearing. **Children** particularly in poorer household may have to work from an early age. Though some child work is necessary for household survival and much of it may not be detrimental, excessive work may be harmful particularly for children of poorer and female headed households, sometimes sent to work in richer households. Though most children go to school there are exceptions, which are not only among poorer households, as wealthier households need child labour for herding livestock. More boys than girls are attending primary school with the gender balance reversed in secondary school

reflecting gender biases and expectations. Attempts to stop the shift school system were successfully resisted in Turufe revealing community that full day education is unpopular. ***A focus on maternal reproductive health can be important for improving conditions for infants. Measures to avoid excessive child labour and discourage employment of child servants may be useful; however banning child labour may not be advisable given rural household labour need, and shift schooling and flexibility over school calendars may be more effective. The gender disparities in education with more boys than girls not in school at primary level and more girls not continuing to secondary and post-secondary levels have important policy and programme implications.***

630. The condition of the **youth** and the dilemmas, opportunities and constraints they face are the subject of the companion paper by Bevan (2011). Gender differences become accentuated among **adolescents** and with potential sexual activity the differences become most salient with greatly increased risks for girls and young women of abduction, rape, forced marriage, and not finding a husband. **Inequalities between the youth** depend in part on parental ability and willingness to endow children which is also mediated by cultural traditions. ***A focus on adolescents and particularly girls can be an important strategy for interventions to affect intergenerational poverty transmission.***

631. Differences between **adults** depend largely on gender, the status of the household, and whether the adult is a household head, spouse or other dependent. Within households **dependents** have limited say in decision-making and restricted access to resources and services. The status of dependents is related to genderage, wealth and other statuses of the household. ***A greater awareness of the differential conditions of adult dependents could highlight needs of this neglected category.***

632. In **old age** the main risk is lack of support and losing control of resources to guarantee that support, once the effects of ageing become felt; wealth and gender differences are crucial in old age, since wealthier elderly households may retain filial allegiance and/or employ household labour, whereas poorer household without support may have to rely on neighbours, or community or religious charity. Poorer old women living on their own may be involved in low status activities such as collecting mature and preparing threshing floors with dung. Health concerns tend to become more prominent with old age, and improvements in the health extension services and direct support through the productive safety net were welcomed by the elderly, though they may be excluded from certain development initiatives such as credit packages. ***More policy and programme emphasis on the needs of the elderly, particularly older women living on their own is desirable, and ways of enhancing community social protection and health care catering for the elderly could be potential areas for advocacy and interventions.***

7.4. A focus on exclusions

1. Whereas the literature has focused mainly on social exclusion this report has highlighted the way four dimensions of exclusion (economic, social, cultural and political) are interrelated Exclusions affect categories of person with specific statuses, notably household servants, adult dependents, migrants and craftworkers though statuses are often mediated by genderage and wealth.

633. **Economic exclusion** is related to inequalities and tends to be a manifestation of forms of unequal distribution of resources mediated by genderage dimensions. The focus of agricultural and credit extension on richer male households may exclude de facto the poor, women, youth and elderly. Extreme forms of economic exclusion lead to **class-like inequalities**. Two categories often particularly at risk are **household labourers** and **migrants**. ***Advocacy to promote more focus of extension services on appropriate measures of non-agricultural extension and addressing the needs and capabilities of specific vulnerable categories could be useful; the exclusion of marginalised categories notably labourers and migrants deserves attention.***

634. **Social exclusion** relates to the social status of categories of person and is often linked to the economic inequalities. Genderage categories often channel and restrict access to resources. Youth, women heading households, the elderly and dependents tend to have less access to land and other resources. Exclusion from forms of social organisation, networks and associations is partly related economic exclusion, due to inability of the poor to afford membership fees, or the cost of sponsoring work parties. Despite some social inclusion and protection of the destitute and people with illnesses and disabilities, people with illnesses linked to social stigma, such as HIV/AIDS, leprosy and mental illness, may be ostracised. Affirmative action to counter social exclusion may face resistance or heightened tensions as with the case of women's land rights. ***Interventions focusing on social categories at risk of exclusion including the poor, female headed, elderly and dependents, and people with stigmatised illnesses deserve support.***

635. **Cultural exclusion** is linked to identity markers and norms related to ethnicity and/or religion and cultural traditions, sometimes linked to gender and local politics. These may involve ethnicity and religion in conjunction with gender as in the case of Argobba women prevented from working in fields, and in relation to local politics as in the case of migrant workers or caste status as in the case of craftworkers. Affirmative action to counter cultural exclusion may face resistance or heightened tensions as noted in relation to customs defined as harmful such as female genital cutting, early marriage, polygyny and widow inheritance. ***Attempts to change customary practices may be more effective through mediation and negotiating with cultural brokers rather than simply through imposed legislation and penalties.***

636. **Political exclusion** involved categories who were seen to have been over privileged in previous regimes and had land confiscated in Amhara, who were excluded from political processes but were rehabilitated after the 2005 elections, and cases of persons seen as linked to opposition in the 2005 elections. Indirect political exclusion involved persons without connections to people in authority some of whom were excluded from benefits notably in the safetynets. ***Ways of enhancing mechanisms to include persons who have been excluded from services and social protection should be advocated.***

637. Exclusions are often linked to **household characteristics** and **statuses**. The following eight categories of household that are vulnerable to exclusion deserve particular attention: ***1) The destitute and extremely poor, 2) very poor female-headed households, 3) elderly households without support, 4) marginalised craftworkers, 5) migrants, 6) Households in early and late stages of the development cycle, 7) households that have fallen off the ideal cycle, 8) households facing shocks notably health and social shocks.***

638. Exclusions are also related to **individual genderage in relation to wealth and other status characteristics**. The following twelve categories of person may be considered to be particularly at risk: ***1) children of very poor households and servants, 2) children not going to school (notably boys in primary and girls in secondary), 3) Adolescent boys and young men from poor, migrant or disadvantaged families, 4) Adolescent girls and young women from poor and disadvantages categories, 5) Very poor and destitute adults, 6) Adult migrants without access to resources, 7) Adults facing health shocks, including accidents, chronic illness and disabilities, 8) Adult household dependents, servants and labourers, 9) Widows and divorcees (and to a lesser extent widowers and divorced men, 10) The elderly who do not have support and lack resources or face disabilities, 11) Elderly women living on their own, especially from minorities or low status groups, and 12) Persons with illnesses associated with social stigma (HIV/AIDS, leprosy, mental illness).***