

A Social Analysis of Fifteen Rural Economies in Ethiopia¹

Philippa Bevan and Alula Pankhurst

March 1996

Centre for the Study of African Economies, University of Oxford

Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, University of Addis Ababa

¹ A Report for the Overseas Development Administration, UK.

Foreword

Many people were involved in the construction of this report which must be regarded as a translated amalgam of a number of discourses coming from the farmers and their families, via enumerators and fieldworkers using concepts and questions invented within a "Western" frame of reference. There is not any "scientific truth" here, although there are errors and some views show more insight than others. In the village studies there are inconsistencies and disagreements and these tend to get smoothed out the more one abstracts and generalises.

This research has received financial support from the ODA, the University of Addis Ababa, the ESRC and the CSAE. None of these bodies is responsible for any of the findings or conclusions drawn.

List of contents

1. Introduction
2. Methods
 - The choice of villages
 - Research instruments
 - Households, individuals and communities
3. The village economies: agricultural production and off-farm income
 - Introduction: the "visible" economy
 - An overview of the Peasant Associations
 - Common property resources
 - The environment
 - Land use and access
 - Agricultural production
 - Livestock
 - Off-farm economic activities
 - Labour and time use
 - Inter-linkages
 - Technology and innovation
4. The village economies: reproduction
 - Introduction: the invisibility of much reproductive activity
 - Household management
 - Domestic technology and innovation
 - Marriage and divorce
 - Fertility
 - Childbirth and childcare
 - Health
 - Socialization and informal education
 - Formal education
5. Change, survival and development
 - The importance of time and space
 - Consumption
 - Assets, wealth and poverty
 - Savings, credit and investment
 - Inheritance
 - Vulnerability and coping strategies: households
 - Lifecycle changes and social mobility
 - Long-term changes to the communities
 - Vulnerability and coping strategies: the communities
 - Relationships beyond the community
 - The effects of some government policies
 - Government and NGO activities in the communities: past and future
 - Implementing change: local organizations
6. Conclusion: developing new theoretical approaches to the study of rural African economies
7. Bibliography
8. Glossary
9. Appendix: research methods

1. Introduction

The research on which this report is based is an original contribution in a number of respects. Firstly the questions were designed from the outset to cover a broad range of inter-related topics addressed in the same way in 15 sites in contrasting areas of Ethiopia. As such the scope for sociological and anthropological comparisons across varied societies within Ethiopia is unique and unparalleled. Secondly, the report comes at a time when there is a dearth of qualitative data on rural Ethiopian societies: during the crucial transition period of the 1990s, following the devastating upheavals of famine and war and the replacement of the military government of the Derg by the transitional government. Thirdly, it is unusual, particularly in the Ethiopian context, to find sociological research intimately related to and in debate with in-depth rural household economic survey data in the same villages, at the same time, and addressing the same issues using complementary techniques. While this report focuses on the qualitative data, future publications will incorporate survey findings as well. Fourthly, the data cover a broad range of topics in a holistic fashion and seeks to understand the inter-relations between them. Fifthly, the data are based on the views of local people, as elicited through rapid assessment techniques which involved villagers in all the sites drawing maps, ranking their fellow villagers in terms of wealth, collating seasonal calendars relating to health, agriculture, livestock, migration, climate, credit, labour, festivals, etc, and expressing their own views on child socialisation, education and health (men and women in separate groups), and local economic history, and the roles of government and NGOs and local organizations (mixed groups). Finally, the profiles were researched in the sites by Ethiopian graduate students who used anthropological qualitative techniques to investigate the range of selected topics, and represent local views of each of the communities.

In creating a picture built from these composite sources, based on short-term research carried out by graduate students and the enumerators and site managers of the economic survey, we are aware that the multiplicity of voices represented introduce a number of biases and inaccuracies which result in inconsistencies and contradictory opinions and views which need to be taken into account in assessing this study. Firstly, the period of time was extremely short, with the student in the field for 3 to 4 weeks which suggests biases in terms of seasonality and a reliance on what people say, rather than what they do, on ideology rather than practice. This means that many of the views and opinions are more about what people ought to be doing, are expected to do, or would like to do than what they actually do, and behaviour which deviates from the norm is likely to be glossed over. This implies that the picture is overly normative and somewhat idealistic, in the "imagined community" mould, and presents a view of how local people would like to be viewed by the outside world. Secondly, the sites selected for the economic survey do not represent all regions, types of economies, social, cultural and linguistic groupings in Ethiopia. For instance, no pastoralist site was included. Thirdly, the qualitative research has relied on information from a few people and cannot be considered to represent a single "accurate truth" of the views of all the people in the study sites. We do not see ourselves as presenting any "scientific truth" about these localities. Rather we see ourselves as involved in the first step in a process of "translation", aimed at creating a greater understanding of the diverse structures, processes and changes which are currently being experienced in rural Ethiopia.

Finally, the enumerators, site managers and students - in all cases male (apart from a minority of enumerators chosen to interview "female-headed households") and educated in a western tradition - sometimes working through translators, come with their own biases and personal interpretations. Nonetheless, we believe that the multiplicity of voices, rather than resulting in babelian confusion, makes for a richer and more varied mosaic, closer to the untidy, multivocal reality, which can enter into a dialogue with the quantitative economic data, can sometimes illuminate or elucidate the survey findings, and often challenges it to seek a more dynamic understanding of local reality embedded in social processes.

At a more practical level we hope to have produced a picture of the local economies, as viewed by those living in and "socially constructing" them, which will provide background information and ideas for policymakers, donors and NGOs. This picture is one of rich diversity at one level, and of a number of common themes at another, suggesting that there is scope both for large macro policy action

and for the encouragement and support of diverse local strategies.

The villages included in this Report are listed below. They are roughly ordered according to an estimate of the relative wealth of the Peasant Association at the time when the research was done (1994/5)

Adele Keke, Kersa Woreda, Harerghe
Sirbana Godeti, Ada'a Woreda, Shewa
Yetmen, Enemayi Woreda, Gojjam
Turufe Kechemma, Shashemene Woreda, Eastern Shewa
Debre Birhan, North Shewa
Adado, Bule Woreda, Geddo
Aze Debo'a, Kedida Gamela Woreda, Kembata
Imdibir Haya Gasha, Cheha Woreda, Gurage
Harresaw, Atsbi Woreda, East Tigray
Korodegaga, Dodota Woreda, Arssi
Shumsheha, Bugna Woreda, North Wollo
Geblen, Subhasaesie Woreda, East Tigray
Dinki, Tegulet, North Shewa,
Do'oma, Daramelo Woreda, Gamo
Gara Godo, Bolosso Woreda, Wolayitta

2. Methods

1. The choice of villages

The villages were chosen by the economists. The panel sites were ones chosen by IFPRI in 1989 from drought-prone areas for their study of famine. The 1989 survey provided the first round of panel data. These sites were:

Adele Keke
Debre Berhan
Korodegaga
Dinki
Do'oma
Gara Godo

"No attempt was made in the selection of sites to ensure "representativeness" at a national level.... The survey locations ..were chosen for their positive deviance. That is, after ten months spent in Ethiopia consulting reports and discussing with government and donor officials, only ten sites were found to meet three desired conditions: first, proneness to extreme fluctuations in food production and documented indications of recent food crisis; second diversity of agro-ecological conditions; and third, public relief or rehabilitation interventions for which adequate baseline information was accessible." (Webb and von Braun: 1994, p7).

Because of the ongoing military conflict no sites north of Debre Berhan were included in the study. When the time came, therefore, to choose some more sites, three were chosen from Tigray and Wollo. All are in drought-prone areas. They are:

Harresaw
Geblen
Shumsheha

The remaining 6 sites were chosen to cover the main agro-climatic and farming systems of the richer parts of the country. Members of the Economics Department in AAU identified the broad regions and then consulted experts in the Ministry of Agricultural in the actual choice of Peasant Association. The question of how representative these villages are will be considered in our future book publication when we will compare them with secondary studies of other rural areas in Ethiopia as well as macro data. These sites are:

Sirbana Godeti
Yetmen
Turufe Kechemma
Adado
Aze Debo'a
Imdibir

2. Research instruments

1. Background Papers

Anthropological background papers were written for each site by a graduate anthropologist from the Department of Sociology at Addis Ababa University using mainly secondary sources. These papers were used, together with information from the Rapid Assessment exercise to write a village profile for each site. In most cases the anthropologists took each profile back to the appropriate village to read to a range of inhabitants for correction and supplementation; in a few villages they asked the supplementaries without having the profiles.

2. Rapid Assessment Techniques

1. Photographs: Site managers were given a disposable camera and a list of subjects for photographing (eg crops, water sources, school, health clinic, a rich man's house; a poor man's house; men working; women working; children; anything else of interest)
2. Three groups (men, women and children) were asked to draw a map of the site; a composite was constructed
3. A group of men and 1 of women were asked to make a map showing links with other communities; a composite was constructed; they were asked to describe water sources , distances from the centre of the village and show on a calendar when they were low.
4. Health: people were asked to list all common diseases, rank them, show when they occur on a seasonal calendar, explain the causes, how they can be prevented and local treatment; and show the relative use of each kind of treatment on a piechart. All of this was asked of a group of men, a group of women, and a group of women answering about children's diseases.
5. Local economic history: a group of old people were asked to identify important dates in the life of the community and then, starting from the earliest date remembered to record changes in crops grown, land size (average and biggest), tree cover, and soil fertility. They were asked to rank the 6 most important innovations and explain who introduced them, whether they were successful and how many and who copied and why, and why others didn't copy.
6. A group of men and a group of women were asked to complete seasonal calendars on crop activities, off-farm activities, migration, credit needs, livestock sales and diseases, rain, water and fuel availability, festivals, labour, and children's labour.
7. Questions were asked of a group of men and a group of women about socialising children, desirable and undesirable traits in men and women, practical intelligence and skills.
8. A group was asked to list activities in the area of government, NGOs and local organizations and to rank them in terms of usefulness to the community.
9. Three respondents did a wealth-ranking of the households included in the survey. They were asked to

describe the characteristics of the groups they identified and a number of questions about upward and downward mobility.

3. *Village Profiles*

A list of questions was given to the anthropologists to guide their fieldwork when they returned to the villages, under the following headings:

1. Locating the Site in Time and Place
 - Geographical location and population
 - Climate
 - Production
 - Social structure
 - History
2. Seasonality
3. The Farm Economy
 - Crops
 - Livestock
 - Land
 - Labour
 - Interlinkages
 - Technology
 - Innovations
 - Common property resources
 - Environment
 - Saving and Investment
4. Off-farm Activities
 - Within the community
 - Occupational structure
 - Migration
5. Reproductive Activity
 - House management
 - Fuel and lighting
 - Water
 - Sanitation
 - Fertility
 - Childbirth and childcare
 - Socialization
 - Education
 - Training
 - Health
6. Consumption
 - Food and other day-to-day goods
 - Housing
 - Household assets
 - Local services
7. Local Institutions and Organizations
 - Households
 - Marriage
 - Divorce
 - Inheritance
 - Kinship
 - Lineages and clans

- Age-grading, life-cycle changes and rites of passage
- Friendship contracts
- Markets
- Credit and social security
- Community decision-making
- Local organizations
- 8. Beliefs and Values
 - Land
 - Religion
 - Explanations of misfortune and illness
 - Community values
 - Political beliefs and attitudes
- 9. The Community
 - Community organization
 - Social conflict
 - Poverty and wealth
 - Social mobility
 - Status
 - Social stratification
 - Dissent
- 10. Relationships with Other Communities and the Wider Society
 - Villages and regions
 - Relations with wider Ethiopia
 - Effects of government policies
 - Government activities in the community
 - NGO activities in the community
 - Future

4. *Community questionnaires*: These were designed by the economists and administered by the managers of the household survey. They contained questions on ethnicity, land, agriculture etc (many of which were also asked by the anthropologists providing a base for checking), the environment and natural resource base, relationships between households in the sample, wage labour, technology, health services, formal education, weather and events, a map of the households in the survey, a price questionnaire, and credit.

5. *Enumerator questionnaires*: These were sociological questionnaires administered at the end of the research exercise, when the enumerators had been applying the household questionnaires in the villages over a period of 9 months. They included questions about how each bit of the household questionnaires "worked" and particular problems encountered with particular questions, as well as questions on current events and attitudes at the site.

6. *Household questionnaires* (3 rounds administered to cover a year's economic activity). Within each Peasant Association a random sample of about 100 households was selected giving a total sample of 1453. Three rounds of household questionnaire were administered, in a number of visits within each round, to cover a year's activity. Site managers and enumerators spent almost 6 months gathering data in each site.

Round 1: household roster; education; changes in household composition; asset ownership; credit; non-food expenditures; non-agricultural activities; vulnerability; land and its use; inputs; crop output and sales (*meher* and *belg*); recall on previous harvest; land rented to other households; livestock ownership; recall on livestock ownership; livestock expenditure and income; health status; illness and visits for treatment; breastfeeding; anthropometrics; consumption habits; food expenditure and consumption; energy; water and household consumables; female business activities.

Round 2: changes in household composition since last interview; education - parents and spouses; household assets; credit; non-food expenditure; off-farm income; business activities and remittances; non-farm business history; migration history and remittances; crop output and sales; labour input and other input expenditures; livestock changes since the last visit; livestock expenditure and income; innovation - crop adoption; improved livestock, use of modern inputs; networks; health status; illness and treatment in last 4 weeks; health history - 5 years; anthropometrics; consumption habits; food expenditure and consumption; household consumables; female business activities..

Round 3: changes in household composition; household assets; credit; non-food expenditure; off-farm income; business activities and remittances; vulnerability during the last 10 years; present wealth and background; children's activities; attitudes towards health and education; land and its use; crop output and sales; labour inputs and other input expenditures; livestock changes since last visit; livestock expenditure and income; events during the last *kiremt* season; health status; illness and treatment; anthropometrics; hygienic practices; household consumables; consumption habits; food expenditure; female activities; marriage and fertility history; attitudes towards contraception and children; mobility and status; women's questionnaire (for wives)

3. *Households, individuals and communities*

1. *Issues*

In research on rural economies what should be the focus? households? individuals? communities? kingroups? lineages? social networks? This was not thought about much before the research started: the economists went for the household and the sociologist/anthropologist for the community in traditional fashion. The "community" was defined as the Peasant Association - a political entity which was chosen by the economists for practical reasons related to the problems of undertaking household surveys in rural areas.

2. *Learning from experience*

The economists decided to do an economic survey focused on rural households on the grounds that these may be viewed (and are in the theoretical literature) as decisionmaking units involved simultaneously in joint production and consumption. Membership of Peasant Associations is a political status limited to heads of households who own land. The original sampling frame list was of households on the PA membership list. Some landless households were then added to this list. At the beginning of the survey respondents were asked to list everyone in their household (using the local definition), and in addition to name others who slept under the same roof, ate with them, or shared income so that different definitions of the household can be used for different analytical purposes. From the community research we have gathered the different definitions of the households used in the different villages and these are described below. One thing that emerged is that these definitions are not as clear or as stable as analysts might desire: the same word can be used for different groupings by the same person in different contexts. It is also clear that those who eat out of a common pot, those who share income, and those who sleep under the same roof, are not regularly and always the same group.

3. *"Households" in the village profiles*

Terms used for households:

<i>beteseb(i;a)</i>	Debre Berhan, Dinki?, Yetmen, Geblen, Harresaw, Sirba+ Godeti
<i>sidra(bet)</i>	Geblen, Harresaw
<i>warra</i>	Adele Keke; Korodegaga; Shumsheha; Turufe Kechema?
<i>keetta</i>	Gara Godo; Do'oma (<i>ketta assa</i>)
<i>minimana</i>	Aze Deboa
<i>maati</i>	Sirba and Godeti (also <i>Betesaba</i>)

Types of households and the developmental cycle: Different types of households can be distinguished and classified into two basic patterns:

(i) In central and northern Ethiopia the term *beteseb* (Amharic; literally "house of people") *betesebi/sidra(bet)* (Tigrigna; literally "House of people" or "House of family") is used to refer to the household. In Geblen the people actually living together are called *wisti bet* (literally "inside house") and are distinguished from the *beteseb* who are people who have lived together at any time. In any case co-residence seems to be central. The northern Ethiopian household has been characterised as people living, eating, working together. In other words it is primarily an economic unit, rather than one based on kinship, property or common ownership or use of resources. Even though all those living together are in theory members of the household, in practice labourers, hired shepherds and servants may not be considered real members (Harresaw). However, non kin may be incorporated in certain circumstances (Geblen). There often seems to be mobility and a rapid personnel transfer (Debre Berhan). The household is set up through the separation of a newly married couple from the parent household, after a couple of years of dependence. The process of setting up a new household *gojjo mewtat* is symbolised by the smoke of the new hut (Debre Berhan). While newly established households are short of labour and resources they gradually increase their assets. There tends to be little trans-generational continuity (Geblen), with division of property at the death of the head (Dinki).

(ii) In the south membership of the household seems to be more related to kinship. Co-residence is not necessarily a criterion of membership. Labourers living in the house are not considered members; but neither is eating together a necessary factor, since relatives who do not live together in a household may share meals (Sirba). In Oromo areas the term *warra* is used; but the term also applies to extended households or clans. In Sirba and Godeti the term *maati* is used to refer to the household in a strict sense. In other areas of the south various terms are used: *minimana* in Aze Deboa, *keetta* in Gara Godo, and similarly *ketta assa* in Do'oma; and *abarus* in Imdibir. It seems that there is a greater transgenerational continuity with more extended households often including three generations; and spouses of children and their offspring. After a son marries so long as he remains economically dependent he is still considered part of the household (Aze Deboa).

Household commensality: In some cases the pattern of consumption is hierarchical with adults eating separately or adults eating with the older children (Aze Deboa; Yetmen). The *warra* do not necessarily eat together (Adele Keke); while relatives who eat together do not necessarily live together (Sirba). In some instance during the agricultural season the household head has meals brought to him in the fields (Yetmen). In other cases the pattern of consumption seems to be more egalitarian with family members eating together (Gara Godo).

Adoption: is quite common in a number of sites, particularly in Oromo society where it is referred to as *guddifacha*, a term borrowed by other societies. Adopted children these days are usually children of relatives, especially brothers' sons (Korodegaga), but in the past war captives were also adopted (Turufe Kecheme). In some cases adoption seems to be accepted (Imdibir) but this is mainly of orphans or destitute children (Aze Deboa); while in others it seems to be rare (Yetmen), except after the death of parents (Adele Keke), although sometimes children of poor relatives may be helped (Harresaw). Adopted children may be conceived of like step children (in Dinki the same term *yenjera-lij*, literally "bread-children" is used for both). Rarely adoption seems not to be practised at all (Do'oma).

Status of migrants: Whether migrants are accepted as members of the household varies. In some cases migrants are not considered members (Adele Keke); in other cases they are (Korodegaga). In some areas rather than the migrants themselves it is the migrants' children who are part of the household (Imdibir); in others the wives of migrants are part of the household (Harresaw).

It became clear, as the household survey progressed and the community-level data was collected that focus solely on the household would misrepresent the nature of economic activity, exchange and relationships in these communities. It also became clear that networks and relationships go beyond the boundaries of the "communities" - some of the Peasant Associations are more integrated than others.

Livelihood strategies are developed at community, social group/network and individual levels as well as household levels. The household is an important local organization but there is considerable sharing of land, oxen, labour, food, implements etc among households and many relevant decisions are made at community, group and individual levels.

While some questions in the household survey are focused on individuals (eg those on health and education) we do not have much information of livelihood strategies at the individual level. In particular the strategies of wives have not been well covered since most questions were asked of the household head. Children are also rather invisible.

4. Conclusions

Future rural research should involve an integrated approach at individual, household, network and group/faction, and community level. Intra-household issues should be explored using simultaneous interviews of husband and wife by a joint team of male and female enumerators. Children, the old, and other members of households should be interviewed if possible. Networks of economic relationship should be traced and the rules of the local economic institutions (such as workgroups, oxen-sharing, share-cropping, *equbs* - savings associations, etc) and their organization should also be studied. Qualitative research should precede the design of more formal survey instruments.

3. The village economies: agricultural production and off-farm income

1. Introduction: the visible economy

This section is about those elements of the economy that are considered particularly important by economists and economic policymakers. The relevant questions raised in the village studies covered common property resources, and environmental problems, land use and access, agricultural production, livestock, off-farm economic activities including migration, labour and time use, inter-linkages [exchanges of land for labour and capital (particular oxen), exchanges of labour for capital (oxen and inputs), and various forms of sharing and exchange (labour and oxen)], and technology and innovation. It is easy to forget in household survey analysis, where the focus is on "variables", that in any community these features are all linked at the level of institutions, relationships, and individual decision-making. This perspective provides a context for the analysis and interpretation of household level data.

2. An overview of the villages

1. Issues

As stated above the villages were chosen by the economists as being representative of the important farming systems in Ethiopia. Some were selected because they had been studied in 1989: all these were struck by famine at this time and were south of a line passing through North Shewa because of the civil war. Below we give a summary of the fifteen villages. They are arranged roughly in order of wealth starting at the top. This section provides background information for the rest of the study and can be used in conjunction with other information to establish how representative these villages actually are.

2. Summary from the village studies

See Figure 2 on the next page

3. Conclusions

The first 8 villages are relatively wealthy: 6 are adjacent to all-weather roads and have relatively easy access to towns. The other 7 villages are all vulnerable to famine. The first group represent those areas where economic growth might be expected; the second those which need to be assisted towards self-sufficiency. Any broadening of the sample in future should include some "in-between" villages, some more remote sites, and should also include some pastoralists, agro-pastoralists and shifting cultivators.

Figure 1: The Fifteen Rural Sites

Site	agriculture	wealth	terrain	soil	subsistence crops	main cash sources	technology	infra-structure
Adele Keke, Kersa	cereals, <i>chat</i> potatoes	rich	flat/hills <i>woyena dega</i>		maize, sorghum, wheat, barley, millet, lentils, fieldpeas	<i>chat</i> , potatoes, cattle, sheep, goats	oxplough; irrigation	PA linked to Dire Dawa, Alemaya (7km) and Harar by main road
Sirbana Godeti, Ada'a	cereals (<i>tef</i>) pulses vegetables	rich	flat <i>woyena dega</i>	<i>lem</i>	<i>tef</i> , wheat, beans, maize, chickpeas, sorghum, barley	<i>tef</i> , wheat, cattle, meat, milk, sheep, trade	oxplough; tractors; solar pump	PA next to main road to Debre Zeit (1 hour walk)
Yetmen, Enemayi	cereals, especially <i>tef</i> and wheat	rich	flat <i>woyena dega</i>	<i>lem</i>	<i>tef</i> , wheat, maize, lentils, chickpeas	<i>tef</i> , wheat, cattle, milk, skins, sheep, wool, bees, trade, some migration	oxplough	PA linked to Bichena (15kms) and Dejen (17kms) by all-weather road
Turufe Kecheme, Shashemene	cereals, diversified	rich	flat <i>woyena dega</i>	<i>lem</i>	<i>tef, dagusa</i> , millet, barley, maize, wheat, horsebeans, potato, <i>enset</i> vegetables	potatoes, maize, wheat, barley, <i>tef</i> , cattle, milk, butter, goats, sheep, eggs trade, baskets	oxplough	PA linked to Shashemene by 10 kms allweather road and 2-4 kms dryweather road
Debre Birhan	cereal producing	usually self-supporting	flat	<i>lem/lemt af</i>	barley, peas, horsebeans, wheat, linseed	dungcakes, sheep, goats, cattle, milk, butter, crops (if harvest is good)	oxplough	4 PAS in the vicinity of Debre Birhan
Adado, Bule	coffee <i>enset</i>	mixed	mountainous <i>woyena dega</i>	<i>lem</i>	<i>enset</i> , barley, maize, beans, cabbage	coffee, fruit, <i>enset</i> , cattle, sheep, goats, trade, migrate for land, goldmining	hoe a few oxplough	The nearest big town is Dila (23km) on dryweather road. Nearest town 5 km.
Aze Debo'a, Kedida Gamela	cereals and permanent crops, very mixed	mixed; migration dependent	flat and hilly, <i>woyena dega</i>		<i>enset</i> , wheat, beans, barley, <i>tef</i> , sorghum, peas, potatoes <i>gommen guderie</i>	cattle, butter, cheese, eggs, sheep, goats, <i>gesho</i> , eucalyptus, <i>chat kocho</i> , coffee, trade, migration	hoe oxplough	An allweather road links Aze Debo'a to Durame (4 kms) and Hosaina.

Site	agriculture	wealth	terrain	soil	subsistence crops	main cash sources	technology	infra-structure
Imdibir, Cheha	<i>enset</i>	migrat-ion dep- endent			<i>enset</i> , maize, potato <i>gommen</i>	cattle, sheep, bananas, oranges, coffee, eucalyptus trade, spinning, pottery	hoe rare ploughing	The PA is on the all-weather road between Hosaina and Wolkite
Harresaw, Atsbi	cereals	vulner- able to famine	flat / slopes <i>woyena dega</i>		barley, wheat, lentils, <i>genfo tuffulo</i> , beans, peas, cabbage	cattle, milk, sheep, goats, salt trade, migration to Eritrea and Saudi Arabia	oxplough	There is a dry-weather road to Atsbi (1 and 1/2 hours on foot)
Korodegaga Dodota	cereals, bordering nomadic	vulner- able to famine	flat <i>kolla</i>	erosion	maize, <i>tef</i> , barley, wheat, haricot beans millet, beans, peas, vetch	selling firewood, cattle, goats, sheep	oxplough irrigation in the past	PA linked to Dheera by dirt road and Awash Malkaasa by a raft over the Awash river.
Shumsheha, Bugna	cereals	vulner- able to famine	flat <i>kolla</i>		<i>tef</i> , chick-peas, lentils sorghum, barley, peas, linseed	spinning, basket work, selling <i>tella</i> and <i>araki</i> , selling firewood, migration for agricultural wagem labour	oxplough	The PA is on the dry-weather road from Lalibela to Woldia, near airport and new allweather road
Geblen, Subhasasie	cereals	vulner- able to famine	on escarp- ment <i>dega</i>	<i>taf</i>	barley, maize, <i>tef</i> , cactus (wild food), wheat (aid or bought)	goats, cattle, sheep (few) casual labour in town, migration to Tigray Eritrea	oxplough water/soil conservation techniques	3 hours walk from Adigrat
Dinki, Ankober	cereals, bordering nomadic	vulner- able to famine	hilly gorges <i>kolla</i>	erosion	<i>tef</i> , sorghum, maize, banana, sugarcane	cattle, sheep, goats, animal products, spinning, yarnmaking, weaving	oxplough irrigation	<i>wereda</i> capital is 24 km from village
Do'oma, Daramalo	cereals resettlement village	vulner- able to famine	flat <i>kolla</i>	<i>lem</i>	maize, sweet potato, <i>tef</i> <i>goderie</i> , banana	cotton, weaving, spinning, trading, cattle, milk, butter	irrigation oxplough	nearest town of Wacha is 20 minutes walk

Site	agriculture	wealth	terrain	soil	subsistence crops	main cash sources	technology	infra-structure
Gara Godo, Boloso Sore	<i>enset</i> and cereals	vulner- able to famine	flat <i>woyena</i> <i>dega</i>		maize, sweet potato, <i>tef</i> cassava, <i>enset</i> , potato, yam, soybeans, oranges vegetables, bananas	trading, food for work, migration to Awash to harvest cotton, butter coffee, cattle, goats sheep	oxplough, axe, spade	densely populated area

3. Common property resources

1. Issues

The main question is how these are managed and to what extent (and how) they are being preserved for future generations.

2. Summary from the village studies

Adele Keke

Grazing lands are small and overgrazed; afforestation programme on grazing land in mountains carried out under food for work exacerbated the problem. Forests stopped being protected in 1991 and households are using them; everyone has equal access. Equal access to waterpipe for everyone in PA (which is a number of villages). Access to handpumps restricted to villagers since they contributed money.

Sirba and Godeti

Common property resources include water (solar pump, hand pumps, well, river for livestock). Each household contributed 2 *birr* to Debre Zeyt Water Resource Authority to repair the 2 handpumps. Ato Maru (a grain merchant) dug a well to be used by him and villagers free of charge (can also be used for livestock). Villagers pay 0.75 cents each month to pay the guard of the solar pump. Community shop, windmills; *no* community grazing land

Yetmen

There is one co-operative shop supplying commodities at fair prices; one diesel engine for generating electricity in centre of village; since 1975 the community land has not been reduced.

Turufe Kechemma

Common property resources include grazing land; mill; forest (natural and planted); river water; piped water; service cooperative; seedlings (raised by extension agent). The forest is semi-regulated by the *kebele*; need permission to cut wood (granted to build house, wife in childbirth; feast for the dead). Guard - sometimes bribed - some theft - if caught punished

Grazing land semi-regulated by *kebele*; any person can graze; they are grouped according to membership in blocks each takes turn to send a herder (if late punished by 2 extra days herding; if fails for no good reason - expelled)

Community labour is recruited for community projects (everyone expected to participate in form of food for work).

Debre Berhan

There are springs and some eucalyptus trees for use by the community; can use springs any time; have to have PA permission to cut trees; in one of the PAs there is no communal grazing land - people have individual grazing land; in another there is both private and communal grazing land.

Adado

Water is the main common resource and everyone has equal access. There is no problem of access to water, only to clean water. The service cooperative was formed by members who contributed 12 *birr*; all members have equal rights. The main source of energy is firewood. Adado is 800 ha and has 120ha of forested land and 20 ha of grazing land.

Aze Debo'a

Common property resources include water, grazing land, forestry for firewood and construction, and roads. People have almost equal access to them. No rules to regulate management: at times PA leaders issue rules but often they do not last; traditional rules apply. Public grazing lands and forests are ever decreasing (allocated by PA to landless). PA has 1012ha: grazing land 92ha; forest 130ha; other uses 77ha and

agricultural land 713ha.

Imdibir Haya Gasha

Theoretically every member of the community has the right to use communal grazing, forests, rivers, streams and spring water but forests and grazing are threatened by population pressure and changes in land use patterns. There is no now common forest in the PA. About 50% of the grazing land that used to be communal 25 years ago has been cultivated.

Harresaw

Common property resources: water, terraced land, forest, and grazing land which can only be used during droughts (*hiza'eti*). There are 35ha of forest; 3.5ha of terraced area; 40 ha of communal grazing; and 37 ha of *hiza'eti*. Resources are controlled and protected by different government and mass organizations. Everyone has access to all if they respect the rights. However, there is illegal woodcutting and grazing which is punished if caught. In the last 10 years, due to rising population some grazing land has been given for farming and about 70ha of land was rendered useless as a result of floods.

Korodegaga

All have rights to grazing land and to fetch firewood; all fetch water from the Awash river. There are 4 properties commonly used: electric mill (stopped serving September 1987EC because PA could not pay electricity bill); grazing land sold to the nomads in August (PA obtains 1000 *birr* a year to run office); service cooperative - closed at end of 1986EC when EDDC entered into competition with private traders; a boat to transport people across the river Awash (non-PA residents pay - money pays salary of boatdriver, renewed with money from UNICEF (there is still some in the bank for the future).

Shumsheha

The forest is common property although the government has stopped them from cutting trees and started planting more trees; wood is now collected from up to 15km from the site. There are two rivers which people use for drinking, livestock, washing clothes and themselves. There is no natural grazing land; they use formerly enclosed areas (protected for afforestation by Derg) when rains come in July.

Geblen

There is some land openly accessed for firewood collection and grazing land and water resources are open to all. The PA is on the escarpment and it can take 4 hours to walk from 1 house to another just within the PA. The PA has no office.

Dinki

There is no communal grazing land; water is available to all from the Dinki river and springs in different parts of the village. They use firewood and sorghum stalks (when available) for energy; it takes a long time to collect wood - most households get it from communal woods in the PA.

Do'oma

Common property resources include land; irrigation channels; grazing land; forestry; water; a grinding mill; an elementary school. Recently more settlers has meant a decline in grazing land. Irrigation is managed by intra-village and inter-village committees; officially only a limited number of farmers receive water when it is Do'oma's turn - but there is water "stealing" in the night. The grinding mill stopped working a year ago; now most walk 3 hours to Morka to an efficient Chinese-installed mill

Gara Godo

Common property resources include communal forests, water, community grazing - everyone has equal access to all 3. There was a Service Cooperative until 1991 when it was looted; a new one was set up in 1994 but it is not giving service since the goods allotted to the PA in the form of quota are being distributed in the nearby town.

3. Conclusions

- Grazing lands are usually small, declining and in some cases are overgrazed. In some villages they are "semi-regulated" by the *kebele* or traditional rules apply.
- Given the scarcity of land communities often have to choose between using it for grazing, afforestation programmes, or allocating to the landless.
- There are complaints in a number of sites of lack of access to *clean* water.
- When more complex technology breaks down - such as an electric mill or a generator to pump water for irrigation - there is often no access to skilled personnel to repair it and no-one responsible for maintenance.

4. *The environment*

1. *The issues*

Environmental sustainability: deforestation and tree planting; soil erosion and bunding; removal of protective vegetation; destructive land use practices; over-grazing.

2. *Summary from the village profiles*

Adele Keke

The area affected is by erosion; a large proportion of the green vegetation has been cleared. Some are trying to protect the soil with terraces and shrub tree planting (but it seems to be of no avail). Farmers use fertilizers and some dung but do not practise crop rotation. The MoA is encouraging them to plant legumes.

Sirba and Godeti

Those who farm in slightly marshy areas practice terrace farming and construct dykes. Trees cover roughly 1/3 of area; cover has declined. There are scattered planted trees in compounds. Soil fertility has declined so they use fertilizer and crop rotation; dung is reserved for fuel. They use less fertilizer than MoA recommendations, also they soak seeds in it and say this increases yields

Yetmen

Soil has been losing fertility over time; fertilizer introduced in 1969; everyone who can afford it uses it; crop rotation is also used; most only use dung for small horticulture; dung is the major fuel with relatively small amounts of charcoal and firewood. There is insignificant erosion since Yetmen is on a plain. Until the late 1930s about 25% of land was covered with trees. Yetmen has no communal forest - people buy wood from surrounding PAs. Small amounts of eucalyptus are grown in the centre of the village. There is no water problem - there is a perennial river and water wells (not purified).

Turufe Kechemba

Up till 1954EC dung used, then fertilizer: without it yields are low. Tree cover reduced alarmingly during the time of the Derg. Tree planting was not well-known until after 1966EC. There is an MoA programme of afforestation and people plant trees around dwellings. There are no serious problem with soil erosion or flooding since terraces have been constructed with the help of the MoA.

Debre Berhan

Soil fertility has been declining, especially in the last 20 years; reasons are deforestation and a pest (*faki*) -

crops planted in infested areas will not produce. People used to use manure (it is an old practice) but now they do not use cow manure (only sheep, goats and draft animals) since cowmanure is used for making dungcakes for fuel and for sale; fertilizer use started in 1974; some strong farmers also use the *gay* system (accumulate soil on a plot of land and scatter it after burning); farmers terrace soil on slopes. Almost everyone tries to control water on plot by building ridges made of stone and earth. As far as they can remember there are almost no trees in the area; they recently started planting them forced by PAs and MoA (now about 2% land is covered with trees). There are problems - seedlings are usually affected by frost before established; land unsuitable - generally swampy. They plant on hills and dry areas and cover seedlings with leaves to protect against frost.

Adado

Gedeoland is food self-sufficient and its soil is classified by MoA as one of most fertile in Ethiopia; soil erosion is infrequent; coffee and enset are semipermanent and help prevent it. Drystalling as a source of manure is widely practised. At one time roughly 90% of the land was covered with trees; now only about 10%. Treeplanting is now practised. Cooperativised forest lands have been returned to previous owners.

Aze Debo'a

Erosion and floods which wash off the fertile topsoil are common; they have introduced new ways of farming to protect soil on slopes; on the flatland the floods come from the hills and are powerful; people practice loose traditional terraces and plant trees and grass around the farm field. Forests have been plundered, especially publicly owned forests which are almost completely destroyed. Significant amount of privately owned trees. Soil fertility has been greatly decreasing, particularly since 1977EC. Reasons suggested - erosion, weather change, no fallowing, increase in price of fertiliser. Farmers use dung, fertilizer when they can afford it, crop rotation, mulching, and timely and proper hoeing and ploughing. There is enough fertilizer now but price has risen and there is no credit.

Imdibir Haya Gasha

Most parts of Gurage are eroded; *enset* fields are traditionally conserved with stone and soil bunds. People have been planting eucalyptus for firewood and sale (generates a high income); now about 60% of the land is covered with trees. Since the early 1960s soil fertility has been declining; they have used manure since before 1934 and applied mulches for the last 20 years. They hoe twice a year. The size of *enset* they harvest is smaller than it was 20-30 years ago.

Harresaw

There is a serious problem - about 95% of grazing land has been eroded. Community builds terraces (about 85% of farmland was terraced until recently). The forest area is now very small; nearly all land was covered with trees up to 1974 - now about 5% scattered around the Afar escarpment. Fertility of land has been greatly declining; community uses manures and builds stone and soil bunds. Most do not use fertilizer because it is too expensive. Although they know about crop rotation because of recurrent drought and soil degradation they prefer to plant barley continuously because it provides better production than other types of crop.

Korodegaga

The land is sandy and ragged and there is a serious problem of erosion and there is no dense vegetation. People use dung and fertilisers (starting this year) and some crop rotation. The Awash river is polluted by wastes dumped by the Wonji sugar estate - particularly when the flow is low. The water is impure and causes disease.

Shumsheha

Population pressure has led to the clearing and ploughing of all land, including mountain sides. This has aggravated deforestation, minimized pasture, accelerated erosion and further exhaustion of soil fertility and some believe affected the climate. Afforestation activities (by the MNRDEP and World Vision) are reported as insignificant compared with scale of the problem.

Geblen

The area is highly exposed to erosion since it is mostly *dagetama* (slopy) and *gedelama* (with ravines). Fertility of the soil is bad and has degenerated over years. There was a small attempt to construct terraces but it failed to control the erosion. Trees/bushes are being rapidly destroyed; attempt to grow trees failed due to lack of water. Farmers use contour ploughing, terracing and deep ploughing to control water as they have done for a long time.

Dinki

The main problem is soil erosion since the slopes are very great; there is also a problem with continuing deforestation.

Do'oma

Degradation in Gamo highlands forced people to resettle in places like Do'oma

In 1985 tree cover was about 75% but by 1993 it was reduced to 25%. The soil is fertile and much is unexploited and uneroded; no need for fertiliser; good potential for maize production

Gara Godo

In general soil is worked the year round and regeneration practices are inadequate. Most use organic fertilizer and practise mulching; however there is not much organic fertiliser due to shortage of livestock. The use of fertilisers was popularised by WADU in the early 1970s and since then many have used it on a number of occasions. But dramatic price increase means farmers cannot afford it on a regular basis and those who purchase with credit often default leading to a vicious circle of indebtedness and poor yield.

3. Conclusions

- Ten sites report that soil fertility is declining. In the *enset* areas people use manure and mulching as well as fertiliser if they can afford it.
- Tree cover has declined in many areas over the long-term but in some sites there is regular planting of eucalyptus. There can be a conflict between using dung for fuel (and for sale in Debre Berhan) rather than fertiliser. Using dung is a substitute for wood.
- Most sites report soil erosion and most have made attempts to control it some successful and others not.

5. Land use and access

1. Issues

The 1975 land reform nationalized land and it was redistributed relatively equally in all the PAs (eventually, although it took a long time to be implemented in some). When Producer Co-operatives were formed (mostly after 1983) they were often given the best land and not everyone joined; when they were disbanded the land was often shared just among PC members. After the Land Reform in some PAs as time passed there was some redistribution of land to take account of lifecycle changes and provide land for new households. Since 1991 redistribution has not been required but land sales and renting are not allowed. The major questions concern (1) how people are in practice getting access to land these days; (2) whether local methods of allocation are efficient; and (3) is uncertainty about land preventing farmers from investing in it? Responsibility for resolving land administration issues has been handed to the regional governments though the government is reluctant to see a return to private ownership. What land policy should the central and regional governments adopt?

2. Summary from the village studies

Adele Keke

There was forced villagization In 1976 2 hectares of land given per head on basis of count of family members. There are no landless; sons apportioned land from parents' holding; Other access to land: sharecropping and unacknowledged backdoor leasing; cannot be bought and sold. Among women only widows have access to land. Land is rented for 1 season by a considerable number of villagers (started in 1990). A shortage of land is going to be a problem because of growth in population People want no return to cooperatives; leave land allocation as it is. One said if land is reallocated there will be bloodshed because they have chat growing.

Sirba and Godeti

There was forced villagization: more than 20 households have returned to old homes and more would like to. Largest landholding 10 *kartha* and smallest 7 *kartha*; most range from 1 - 2 hectares. Most people have adequate land; oxen are scarcer than land. Leadership in PA has been important in getting access to better and more land. More than 100 persons are landless in the village (returned soldiers; those who didn't pay land tax during the Derg). Women can own and inherit land

Yetmen

Those who were not in the Producers' Cooperative and had no land before the recent land redistribution still have no land. Land has never been sold in Yetmen. The major problem in the area is shortage of land: currently problems are being partially resolved by redistribution of already cultivable land (it is taken from the old) and (insignificant) using some communal grazing land. An increasing number of landless and those with surplus labour are renting and sharecropping land.

Turufe Kechema

There was involuntary villagization (around 15 households have now returned) Limited cash rental of land practised. Smallest landholding around 1 *timad* (1/4 hectare) and the largest 2 hectares. About 50 landless households. Access to land is gained by exchanging for labour, oxen and cash; loans by parents/relatives; inheritance; occasional secret selling; land exchange for convenience; go to other *weredas* looking for sharecropping and contract farming. Loss of land: failure to pay land tax. Few land disputes now. Widowed and divorced women can own land and hire labour of landless. Size of land decreasing. Fertility of soil decreasing. Acute shortage of land. Some want it redistributed, others don't (one said if it were everyone would have just 1 *timad*)

Debre Berhan

Now government takes land from those cannot use it (eg the very old) and those who cannot pay tax and gives it to newly married and landless. Becoming impossible to give land to all farmers establishing families - have to share parents' land or sharecrop. How to get land is a critical problem for those living in area - there are a large number of landless. Women have equal rights to inherit or own land; large number of female heads of household (give land for sharecropping or relatives plough). No land rental (practised legally) - done under cover of sharecropping

Adado

The average size of landholding in 1920 was around 10ha; now it is very small; today all the following ways of getting access to land are in operation: - inheritance, renting, purchasing, and sharecropping. There is not enough land for all sons leading to wage labour and migration. At one time everyone had equal plots - now there is uneven distribution. 21 women own plots of land and pay land tax - all are widows.

Aze Debo'a

Land size is small with an average of 0.83ha and a minimum holding of 1 *timad* (about 0.25 ha). Land allocation took place in 1978 but the rule of inheritance was not disrupted; landless received land from grazing and forested. Size of holdings is decreasing at unprecedented rate - some have less than 0.25 ha.; a lot of landless (about 230 of whom 200 have managed to find a host family - about 30 totally landless). Landless include soldiers, people from Gojjam and Illubabor settlements; people returned as a result of ethnic conflict. Land is not sold (although a price of 4000 *birr* for 1ha was suggested) but it is rented (100

birr for 1 *timad* for 1 year) and sharecropped. About 60 women in PA head households and have land (widows, divorcees on father's land; daughters with no brothers). No villagization because of permanent crops. Land disputes are common.

Imdibir Haya Gasha

Land is a scarce resource; most only have an *enset* field and a small amount of grazing land; a small group with more may cultivate cereals. Average size of land is 1.56 *wodero* (0.5ha) - the largest is 3 *wodero* and the smallest about 1/8 *wodero*. Theoretically all sons have equal rights to a share of the land but it is not enough to be divided. Land disputes occasionally lead to murder; PA was not villagised; some land was recently taken by municipality of Imdibir. No sharecropping between households (there is within households) and no land rental. Some women own land; divorcees, widows or inherited it. Some who lost land in 1975 reform are requesting return of their land on the argument it is "clan land". They agree to pay compensation for crops on the land.

Harresaw

There are about 150 landless families which include returned resettlers, and demobilized soldiers (they make a living receiving aid and food for work because priority is given to them). Young men who want to marry register for land with *baito*; if land becomes available there is a draw. Otherwise they get land from father. There is no sale of land. Women can own land.

Korodegaga

At land reform each household was given a plot whether head was male or female. Forced cooperativization (1980) and villagization (1986) led to devastating economic consequences. Best farmland not privatised and redistributed until 1990. Now each household has a plot of land which sons can inherit. No-one sells land but leasing is not uncommon (1ha for 100 *birr* a year).

Shumsheha

Before the Revolution *rist* system prevailed; about 3/4 were landlords. After Revolution average landholding 5 to 6 hectares; now it is between 1 and 2 hectare per household. In Mengistu's time only household heads got land; now it owned by the government and anyone can get it in theory, including women. There is not enough land for returned demobilized soldiers and resettlers. Everyone feels the landholding is too small. The government has taken land for the airport for Lalibela. There are complaints about injustice and corruption in land allocation on part of PA officials. When children come of age have theoretical claim to land but have to wait until land is available (from death of PA member without inheritors or someone leaving area). Women or others without labour contract their land out to a man with oxen. Land rental for cash not practised; some cases of land contracted to government. Disputes go first to village elders, then PA, then *woreda*, whose decision is final.

Geblen

Neither villagization or the 1975 land reform were carried out in Tigray because of the civil war; the TPLF later carried out a land reform law. The land was equally redistributed between farmers; it was not regularly redistributed. The landless include displaced persons and those not present at the time of land allocation; women can own land. Sharecropping is practised.

Dinki

At the land reform each individual was given not less than 5 *timad*; land was redistributed in 1978 and it was given to newcomers recently from land that used to be farmed cooperatively. Landless people are those who married recently and those who were unable to pay taxes and levies. Land rental for cash is probably practised.

Do'oma

Access to land was through membership of PA but since 1991 through MoA; land is abundant but only land near river with working irrigation channels is used effectively. The amount of land allocated depends on capacity to sustain farm which depends particularly on the number of oxen

Gara Godo

The average landholding since the 1910s has been about ½ ha; since 1974 the largest size has been 1ha and access to land is obtained via inheritance, purchase, renting (50 *birr* for 1 *timad*) and sharecropping. The problem of land shortage is exacerbated by high fertility rates.

3. Conclusions

- In all sites except Do'oma people suggested that shortage of land (average size usually less than 2 hectares) is about to become a considerable problem because of population growth (an average of 6 children per woman in all sites)
- In all sites informal institutions for the reallocation of land use have developed including sharecropping, "unacknowledged backdoor leasing", renting, selling in some sites, paying with labour on other land, redistribution of communal land and in one case land taken from the old. In all sites land can now be inherited.
- Widows in some sites have access to land and daughters with no brothers can inherit land in some sites.
- In some sites it is important to have access to particular pieces of land (eg those near the river or under irrigation)
- The principles by which land should be allocated are as much a political as an economic issue. People at the sites hold a range of views which partly depend on how much land they currently hold but are also influenced by their historical experiences. In the absence of markets in credit and labour economists seem to agree that share-cropping can be efficient. The question of investment must wait on analysis of the survey data.

6. Agricultural production

1. Issues

The main issue is how farmers can be helped to produce more of the crops they are currently growing or more productive crops using the resources they currently have.

2. Summary from the village studies

Adele Keke

In 1989 this site was suffering from famine and receiving aid. Now it is probably the richest of our sites due to the expansion of *chat* production for export. The farmers are used to practising diversified crop production and inter-cropping (more than 90% of land) but production of maize and sorghum is decreasing as *chat* production increases. Barley, wheat and potatoes (mainly for sale) are grown in the *belg* season. This is a minor season: this year there was not enough rain and there was no *belg* harvest. A few farmers with good land dig terraces so *chat* trees produce in the dry season when prices are higher.

Crops are affected by a variety of diseases (stalk borer, blights, *ouyiz*, *deima*). Frost which can occur in October can affect all crops.

Ploughing for men takes place between January and March (incl). In April and a bit of May seeds for the *meher* harvest are sown and weeding begins. *Chat* is planted in June. Harvesting takes place between October and December and is followed by threshing. Men are less busy in July and August. Women help with harvesting of field peas, fenugreek, lentils, potatoes, cowpeas, *chat*, millet and sweet

potatoes and with weeding. For onions and maize they do not participate. Some women grow cucumbers.

Sirba and Godeti

The area is a food surplus one. People grow *tef*, wheat, beans, chickpeas, barley, millet, maize and sorghum. Annual crop rotation is often practised (*ikkir*) but there are reports that some farmers are not willing to practise this for 3 consecutive years because they are expecting redistribution of land because of which they will lose their *ikkir*. They assume land will be allocated in a draw. There has been some intercropping but the growing importance of *tef* as a cash crop may cause a decline.

Crop diseases include rust and smut and there are aphids, grasshoppers, African bollworm, cut worm, stockborer and beetles. Last year yields of wheat, beans and peas were lower because pesticides and chemicals were not delivered to the extension agent.

Yetmen

This is also a food surplus area. Farmers grow *tef* (much of which is sold), wheat, chickpeas, *guaya*, and maize. In Gojjam land is ploughed at any time of year but towards the beginning of the light rains (April and May) ploughing activity increases. The time of planting major crops varies depending on altitude, drainage, the crop, and yearly variations in the beginning of the rains: in Yetmen planting usually takes place in September. Most crops are grown during the *meher* season. Women help with seed supply of chickpeas and *guaya* in July September and wheat in September. They weed *tef* in October and maize in May. They help with the threshing of *tef* in December and January and the harvesting of *guaya* and maize in November.

Turufe Kechema

There are two agricultural seasons *meher* and *belg*. They grow wheat, *tef*, barley, maize, *dagusa*, millet, *enset*, potatoes, chat, linseed, and a little coffee. The farmers use the same land for 2 harvests. For example they cultivate maize from March to June and then potatoes from September to November. There are two villages in the PA and the *belg* harvest varies from village to village. In village 1 this year's *belg* harvest was greater than the average harvest, while in village 2 it was average.

Women help with harvesting, threshing, soil preparation, planting, and weeding. They grow onions and vegetables alone.

Debre Berhan

Farmers grow barley, horsebeans, linseed, wheat and peas. The most important are barley and beans. Most production is for consumption; very little is sold (although farmers do not want to reveal their income from the sale of crops). The *belg* rains are highly unreliable; good yields can be harvested in some years while in others there is no harvest at all. The main problem faced in the *meher* season is frost. Women help with the harvesting of all crops.

Adado

Traditionally the Gedeo are settled agriculturalists growing mainly *enset*. Coffee is the main cash crop of the area. In Adado they have been growing coffee, barley, and beans, since at least the 1920s. Maize, *chat* and sugarcane have been grown since the 1960s. Eucalyptus is also grown.

Enset is planted in March, April and May, and harvested between November and January. Coffee ripens during November, December and January and some is picked then. Some is left in the field to dry and picked in May. Maize is the only *belg* crop and is grown by intercropping with *enset*. It is sown in February or March (depending on the rains) while barley is sowed in late April/May. *Tef* is grown in the big rainy season (June-August).

Women are involved in *enset* harvesting, coffee picking and harvesting.

Coffee is sometimes struck by coffee berry disease. There are 2 *enset* plant diseases in the area: *woello* and *tette*. There are also diseases which strike wheat, barley and maize.

Aze Debo'a

There are 2 production seasons: *belg* and *meher*. Crops grown include coffee, wheat, *tef*, barley, *enset*, potatoes, sweet potatoes, *chat*, *gesho*, *guderie*, and sugarcane. Intercropping is common: eg maize with

beans, sorghum with maize, etc.

Farmers sell eucalyptus trees, *gesho*, *chat*, *kocho*, and coffee beans for additional income. Maize, wheat and other crops are sold at times to cover minor expenses. They also grow avocados and bananas and someone is trying out a mango tree.

Women have started to participate in those agricultural activities such as harvesting, threshing, weeding etc which were supposed to be men's tasks. The traditional tasks of women include *enset* scraping and coffee picking. They are solely responsible for harvesting and processing sugarcane. They grow *gommen*.

Various crop diseases affect the area - smut, rust, bacterial wilt, aphids, ladybirds etc. The major problem the farmers report is frost.

Imdibir Haya Gasha

Because no fertilizers or pesticides are used harvests hardly meet consumption needs and in most cases there is little to sell. To meet their requirements people have to engage in off-farm activity. The principle crop is *enset*. Other crops grown by some include coffee, *chat*, *gesho*, oranges, bananas, green peppers, *gommen*, tomatoes, tobacco, sugarcane, eucalyptus, potatoes and maize. In the *belg* people often intercrop annual crops eg peppers, tomatoes etc) with young *enset* or coffee. *Tef* is grown in some homesteads and *tef* fields are sometimes fenced by *enset* and *chat* plants. *Enset* and coffee are not usually sold but *chat* is mostly sold.

Enset grows easily with minimum care although a long dry spell could have serious consequences. Severe rains do not damage it. Its main enemies are *furteya* (worm disease), beetles, insects, pigs and porcupines. Coffee can be affected by coffee berry disease. Eucalyptus is used for fuel and construction and sometimes sold.

Women are involved applying manure and mulching and in harvesting many crops.

Harresaw

Farmers mainly grow barley, wheat, lentils and peas if there is enough rain. There are not many men of working age in Harresaw at the moment and women are involved in planting, weeding and harvesting. Almost all the crops are used for consumption and there is no cash crop. All crops are cultivated during the *kiremt* (main rainy) season and are affected if there is not enough rain.

Peasants do not usually inter-crop apart from sometimes growing cabbage and maize together. This year there was no *belg* rain and last year's *meher* was not sufficient. There have been serious crop disasters during several years in the last ten years: there was recurrent drought between 1980 and 1984 and a serious famine in 1984-5 which inflicted heavy damage on people and animals. Epidemics broke out and because of famine and disease about 150 people in Harresaw died. In 1988 heavy damage was caused by floods leading to communication problems. Between 1989 and 1993 there was recurrent drought but no heavy damage because of effective government aid which prevented deaths due to famine. 1987 and 1989 were good years.

Crops can be affected by rust, smut, late blight, early blight, untimely rain, frost, African bull worm, cut worm, stock borer, rats and locusts.

Korodegaga

The main crops grown include maize, sorghum, *tef*, wheat, and haricot beans. Chickling peas, barley, and millet are also grown. There is no cash crop in the area and no inter-cropping. The area has no *belg* rains. The main reason for crop failure is drought while the main crop threat is aphids which attack crops during the shortage of rain. There have been no good years in the last ten.

Women are involved in soil preparation, weeding, harvesting, and preparing the threshing area.

Shumsheha

Meher, the major harvesting season, extends from August to October when *tef*, sorghum, barley, chickpeas, lentils, and linseed are harvested. If enough rain falls during the *belg* they will plant sorghum early. Some women grow *gommen* and cucumbers. An insignificant amount of produce is sold at the market. Because of frequent rain failure the site is a serious food deficit area. The 1994 *meher* harvest was the worst in five years, mainly because of the failure of the rains and prevalence of pests and weeds; the sorghum harvest would have been good but it was totally destroyed by a weed called *akenchira*. There has been famine for

the last ten years. Women are involved in soil preparation for chickpeas, and weeding and harvesting for all crops

Geblen

The main crops grown are barley and maize. A very little *tef* is grown. Farmers cannot produce enough food to feed their families. Planting starts with the rains that generally begin in early to mid-June and harvesting takes place between October and December. Most crops have a very short optimal period after which each day of delay in planting increases the risk that the crop will fail due to lack of water. People eat *beles* (fruit from a wild cactus) when their grain has run out and buy wheat and other grain if they have money. They have received aid when needed. Women who live near rivers in the lowland area grow potatoes and tomatoes for home consumption and sale. Some households also earn a little income from selling oranges.

Women cultivate, weed and collect the harvested crop.

Dinki

Crops grown include *tef*, sorghum, maize and bananas. There are some people who earn money from trees.

Women are involved in land preparation, planting, weeding, harvesting and threshing.

Do'oma

The principal crops grown include maize, *tef*, and sweet potatoes. Maize is the staple food. *Enset* is also planted although not successfully - the altitude is too low. *Tef*, sugarcane and bananas are mainly cash crops. Cotton is also grown. *Shiferaw* (cabbage tree), coffee and *goderie* are also grown.

The unreliability and unpredictability of the rainfall has caused successive crop failures. The irrigation scheme does not work very well. The major crop pest is army worm but the most serious problem affecting the farm economy is the baboon problem. They require strong manpower to keep them away from the field and even so they damage most of the harvest (The Ministry of Natural Resources and Environmental Protection is vigilant about expeditions waged against the baboons).

People in Do'oma experienced a food crisis of varying severity between 1983 and 1990 with 2 peak crisis periods: 1984-6 and 1988-90. Many people resorted to hunting small game and collecting wild foods when the entire community faced severe food shortage during the worst months of 1985/6.

Gara Godo

Men grow soybeans, maize, *tef*, coffee, *chat*, *enset*, bananas, *gesho*, grass, eucalyptus, sugarcane, yams, oranges, cassava, sweet potatoes, cabbage, and pumpkins. The importance of banana production is increasing and it is widely planted: it is useful for large families in times of hunger. The importance of cassava and coffee has declined. The importance of pumpkin has declined because it takes a lot of room and is prone to pests. *Gesho* has declined due to religion. *Tef* and pulses are often marketed. In general root crops are preferred since they require less labour, can grow under a variety of environmental conditions and give a higher yield per unit of land than most grain crops. Farmland is worked intensively all year round. Cereals are often rotated with root crops, and occasionally with pulses.

Women are involved in the planting and harvesting of maize, sweet potatoes, *tef*, cassava, coffee, *enset*, potatoes, yams, oranges and soybeans. Women grow onions, garlic, bishop's weeds and cumin, pumpkins, *dimbilal*, *tena adam*, *tej sar*, *beso bila*, and pepper.

3. Conclusions

- The example of Adele Keke shows how the introduction of a cash crop with a growing demand (*chat*) can alter the living standards of a village. However, the farmers are vulnerable to anything affecting the market for or production of *chat*. They could become more wealthy if they invested in irrigation.
- All sites report attacks by a range of pests and crop diseases: harvests could be improved and made more reliable if cheap ways of controlling the pests and diseases are made available on a

regular basis.

- Five sites report problems with frost
- Many sites reported that the rising price of fertiliser was resulting in reduced use
- Willingness to experiment with new crops was found in a number of sites
- In all sites women are involved in agricultural activities. In some their participation is increasing
- Some sites have had no or few good harvests in the last 10 years

7. Livestock

1. Issues

Livestock provide a number of uses and products including ploughing, transporting, food, wool, skins, saving/investment, and status. They depend on the availability of grazing and /or fodder and labour. They are vulnerable to disease and drought and after heavy losses it takes some time to build a herd back up. Ethiopia is supposed to have the largest number of cattle in Africa but makes very little income out of them.

2. Summary of the village studies

Adele Keke

Cattle are the most common livestock; sheep and goats are also kept. Donkeys are bred for transport to a lesser extent; no horses or mules. Animals are mainly bred for traction and sale (savings and investment) apart from milk (used in *hojja*). Due to shortage of feed and grazing land people cannot keep as many animals as desired and the total animal population is dwindling. Most have 2 or more animals; about _ have none. A few have 6. Many households keep chickens. In 1985 and 1994 people had to sell their animals because of drought. Epizootics occasionally break out which the *woreda* Agricultural office tries to meet with vaccination, sometime successfully. There is cross-breeding of cattle through artificial dissemination.

Sirba and Godeti

Due to scarcity of grazing land the number of livestock is steadily declining. Sheep are owned in the largest number, but oxen and cattle are also owned. Oxen are used for traction and fattened for sale. Fodder includes own straw and fodder from the flour factory in Debre Zeit. Milk of local cows (2-3 litres a day) is consumed by the household and/or sold. Sheep, goats and chickens are kept for home consumption and sale when necessary. Donkeys are used as pack animals. The importance of horses and mules has been declining due to shortages of grazing land and the spread of vehicles. Campaigns of vaccination against anthrax were carried out in 1990. People can pay 2 *birr* for successful fertilization of cows to produce cross-breeds (which can produce 10-12 litres of milk a day). But only 3 peasants have used this due to the cross-breed's vulnerability to local diseases and high requirements for fodder.

Yetmen

Principal livestock reared are cattle (short-horned zebu-type are most respected), mules, donkeys, horses, chickens, sheep, goats and bees. They are used for food, hides and skins, sheep's wool is woven, transport, and traction. Herds are usually small. An ordinary man who has 2 pairs of oxen and 3 or 4 cows is considered wealthy. The total livestock population is very small compared with 15-20 years ago because an amount of communal grazing land has been taken for cultivation. Other problems are shortage of feed,

drought and animal diseases. Vaccination services are provided every year by the MoA. Cross-breeding is not practised.

Turufe Kechemma

Households keep cattle, goats, sheep, chickens and pack animals (donkeys, horses and mules). There have been epizootics which the MoA helped to stop. Under the Derg the MoA came to the PA every year and vaccinated cattle. Under the TG peasants have to take their cattle to the MoA office. Farmers have access to cross-bred cattle if they pay MoA 10 *birr* for artificial insemination. Most do not because cross-breeds need too much feed and have no resistance to disease. People normally do not sell livestock even if it is profitable.

Debre Berhan

The main livestock include oxen (ploughing), and cows (milk and replenishing ox stock), sheep and goats (cash), and donkeys, mules and horses (transportation). People get income from sale of livestock and animal products including milk, butter and dungcakes. The size of individual livestock holdings has been decreasing over the past decade, mainly due to disease (*wodoma*) and the decrease in the size of grazing area. The MoA medicine is too expensive. If there were sufficient grazing land raising livestock would be the most lucrative trade in the area. Prices of stock, skins and hides have risen considerably in the last 10 years.

Adado

The use of plough cultivation for grain crops is relatively recent. 92% of farmers have no oxen. For *enset* cultivation the hoe is used. Livestock (mainly cattle and sheep) are not so important for Gedeo as for the neighbouring Guji, but still they are an important economic asset. The Guji are an important source of cattle which are exchanged for *enset*. Sheep are favoured above cattle because they can easily be restocked and sold for cash needs. A few household heads fatten livestock for sale.

Aze Debo'a

The PA has about 2,900 cattle, 500 sheep, 150 goats, 30 donkeys, 5 horses, 15 mules and 2000 chickens. No epizootic has attacked livestock in the PA; when individual cattle are attacked there are veterinary services and traditional treatments. At times the MoA provides vaccination. There is access to cross-bred livestock from the *Mekane Yesus* church in the area. Farmers sell eggs, butter and cheese but not milk for additional income. Dung is used to fertilize the ground.

Imdibir Haya Gasha

The main domestic animals are cattle, mostly cows. Agriculture is based on the hoe so there are few oxen; most bulls are sold or eaten before becoming oxen. The cultivation of *enset* and cattle are mutually interdependent; manure is continuously applied to the *enset* and cattle are fed on *enset* leaves. During summer manure is applied 2 or 3 times a week, and once a week in winter. Due to population pressure the small amount of grazing land has limited the size of herds. Sheep, donkeys and horses are reared for cash income and transport. The average livestock held now is 6 and they are kept mainly for the manure. This is more than there used to be but they are physically weak; most cows provide little milk because of lack of grazing land and feed. Cross-breeding is not known.

Harresaw

The livestock of the area are oxen (ploughing) and cows (breeding and milk), donkeys, mules, and horses (transporting people and goods), and sheep and goats. The manure of the cattle is used as fertilizer for crops. Due to population pressure and the limited size of the grazing land the number of livestock in the area is small. There is one cross-bred ox in the PA given by the government for cross-breeding. Before the serious drought period (1979-83) there were farmers with 14 mules, some with 4 oxen, and some with 150 sheep. By 1985 almost all livestock had been destroyed by the drought. There are peasants now who do not have a single animal. There have been vaccination programmes carried out irregularly when the vaccine is available.

Korodegaga

The common livestock are cattle, goats, sheep and donkeys. The cattle are kept for milk, meat, ploughing, manure and cash; goats and sheep for cash and meat; donkeys for transport and cash. Many complain that the size of their stock has decreased due to lack of pasture (resulting from long dry seasons) and animal diseases. Vaccination against some diseases is provided but extension workers come after it is too late.

Shumsheha

Livestock are the major form of household investment. The ideal number of oxen has gone down from 10-12 in 1928EC to 4 today. This change mainly occurred after the 1970s EC as the amount of grazing land and fodder availability decreased. Now in the *woreda* half of farmers own no oxen. Generally there is a serious shortage of grazing land and fodder (hay and crop residue). There are a number of livestock diseases. When drought visits the area it kills the cattle or the farmers are forced to sell or eat them. The vaccination of livestock began in 1973EC. Animal products are not generally sold although if farmers need cash they will sell eggs and occasionally butter.

Geblen

The main livestock raised in the Geblen area are oxen, cows, donkeys, mules, horses, sheep and goats. At present there are very few animals in Geblen: most common are goats and sheep. There is not much communal grazing land (only land not suitable for cultivation); each household mostly uses his own field for grazing. Livestock are kept all year in stone enclosures and fed on crop residue and *beles* (cactus). Almost all who have livestock collect the manure and put it on their fields. Households keep poultry for meat and eggs. No substantial income is gained from livestock but honey and eggs are sold to a small extent. Livestock holdings have become smaller and smaller; the 1984/5 famine caused heavy loss of livestock due to death and forced sale. Since 1992 livestock have become very profitable due to a rise in prices. The zonal department of Agriculture has recently started an artificial insemination programme to improve the quality of locally-bred cattle.

Dinki

Cattle are the main livestock reared. They are kept to ensure the replacement of oxen rather than for benefits such as milk, meat, or hides. Almost all keep sheep and goats but they do not contribute much to the farm economy due to their high mortality rate. In Dinki animal husbandry is not widely practised. Given the hilly topography there is lack of grazing land and in view of the vulnerability of the site to drought and famine the use of livestock is limited to farm activities and household consumption. According to local tradition milk is never sold, although butter and eggs are. Livestock graze on communal land and farmers also practice grazing and cut-and-carry (haymaking) on their private plots.

Do'oma

Cattle are almost the only form of livestock although there are some goats. Cattle are used for ploughing and milk and butter. The cattle are milked twice a day. The livestock population is small and most have been donated by UNICEF. There are very few horses and mules used for transport and above all as status symbols. The ox-sharing strategy is common. Livestock diseases, especially *gendi*, cost the lives of many cattle. This is correlated with crop failures; they become weak from lack of food and then succumb to *gendi*. People regularly have to sell or consume their livestock because of famine. Most people ate or sold the cattle obtained from UNICEF. In 1993 most people also sold their cattle to cope with the latest famine.

Gara Godo

The main livestock in the region are cattle, sheep, goats, mules, horses and donkeys. Livestock are a source of draught power, manure for fertilizer, food and cash income. Bull fattening and marketing is common in the area. Very often the responsibility of keeping livestock falls on women; it involves keeping them in the house for safe keeping, shelter and protection from flies, provision of shade in grazing areas, good quality feed such as crop residues and grass, mineral licks and careful human attention. Livestock ownership is very unevenly distributed. Most are poor while a few have more than a dozen heads of cattle. Poor households acquire cattle for use by joint-rearing and share-rearing. Cattle and sheep are owned by about half the households. Donkeys, mules and horses are owned by few people; mules and horses are status symbols. Diseases and shortages of feed and water are serious constraints on livestock ownership. There are fewer livestock than there were 20-30 years ago because of the shortage of grazing land and the

increase in poverty and animal disease. Almost all households have chickens. Households with livestock earn income from selling animal products but this is not on a significant scale.

3. Conclusions

- Almost all sites report reduction in average holdings over the past generation and even the last decade
- The seasonal dimensions of livestock holding and complementarity and conflicts with other activities need exploration
- Improved availability of vaccination and veterinary services would reduce livestock deaths
- The relative efficiency of using dung as a fuel rather than fertiliser should be explored
- In a number of sites during droughts people have had to sell (at very low prices) or eat bulls and oxen (some of them donated) leaving them with no draught animals for the next harvest.

8. Off-farm economic activities

1. Issues

The wealthiest and least vulnerable communities in our sample are those which have diversified, although it is not clear which comes first. With rising population rates and developing land shortage people will have increasingly to look for off-farm income opportunities.

2. Summary of the village studies

Adele Keke

Crop and animal production are not well-supplemented by off-farm activities. Some sell their labour to those who can pay. About 8 households in the community are shopkeepers as well as farmers. There are very few blacksmiths in the PA and no other craftsmen or women. Members of the new Service Cooperative are supplementing their income by renting out flour mill and tractor services. Men build their houses and make furniture. A few migrate to Alemaya for wage labour in July and August. In the sale of *chat* people do not use brokers but take their harvest to market in Dire Dawa or Awaday. Women are involved in this trading, particularly between April and June.

Sirba and Godeti

Off-farm activities include trade, roofmaking and stone torsion. No-one migrates for temporary work apart for a few days in Debre Zeyt or Addis Ababa in relation to trade or social networks. Some men sell wood either brought from faraway places or cut from their own trees. A few men prepare charcoal for sale. Others participate in trade ranging from grain to smaller items such as fresh beans. There are 3 traders who buy and grain in small quantities from farmers and stock it to supply markets in Addis Ababa. Women sell eggs, dung-cakes, straw, smaller quantities of grain etc. If women want to spend the income on themselves they will consult their husbands; otherwise they spend if for household consumption.

In the village there is a man who makes granaries from wood and mud and dung, a carpenter, two mud-plasterers, two tree cutters, a number of *tella* and *areqi* houses and 1 *tej* house, 1 person employed to keep the water pumps, 10 men working at the Gafat Ammunition Factory and Highway Camp, 3 men hired to carry grain to Ato Maru's house and a number of teachers and civil servants living in the village. A few people have established permanent residence in Debre Zeyt but often visit relatives in their home village.

Yetmen

Men go to market to trade in grain on market days. They particularly trade in grain in March and April. Almost all the peasants in the village construct their own houses and make fences. Women are involved in distilling *areki* particularly between March and June (inclusive) and sell other home-made drinks including *tella*, *birz*, and *tej*. They spend the profit on household needs but their husbands might instruct them how to spend it. While most people are peasants in Yetmen town there are other occupations: trader, blacksmith, house-builder, weaver, mason, potter, tanner, diesel engine operator for electricity generation, flour mill operator, agricultural extension agent, elementary and junior high school teacher. Women's occupations are limited to teaching and pottery; out of 23 teachers 9 are female. There is occasional migration to Addis Ababa and other major towns involving both sexes. Some people from the PA may go to other places for seasonal wage labour.

Turufe Kechema

There are specific occupations such as weaving, carpentry and house construction. Men also are involved in thatching, charcoal burning, and trade. Renting out donkey and cart is a business activity. There is a shop in the village. There is a person who knows how to treat sick cattle. Women are involved in crafts (spinning, basket-making, traditional hairdressing), brewing and food-selling. There are traditional birth attendants. Women who earn money can spend it themselves without giving it to their husbands. There is no migration for seasonal labour although a few leave for education, marriage or employment and there is a slight increase in departures between March and September to rear cattle in other areas.

Debre Berhan

For both men and women the major off-farm activity is selling dungcakes. Other economic activities include sewing clothes, spinning, selling local brews, weaving, tanning, pottery, trading in agricultural products, ecclesiastical services in church, selling woodwork (mainly furniture) and trees in the form of wood, charcoal, construction poles, doors etc. Both men and women use the income from the sale of dungcakes to buy things they need. Many women earn a good deal of income by selling local brews. As a barley growing region its *tella* and *areqi* is famous throughout Ethiopia and some women transport *areqi* to Addis Ababa, Dessie etc.

Trading in agricultural products is one of the most lucrative businesses in the area. A few peasants transport wheat, barley and beans from grain surplus highlands to small weekly markets in food deficit areas. Others bring sorghum, maize, *tef* and *gesho* from remote lowland areas to highland plateau Shewa. Many farmers also take sheep and goats from the area to Debre Berhan and Ankober towns for sale at higher prices. Communities around Debre Berhan, especially in the lowlands, are very famous for their pottery. In some areas pottery is no longer a despised job. Migration to other areas is not common although a few people migrate to Addis Ababa or other towns to work as a day-labourer. They usually go in April and May and sometimes stay until mid-June.

Adado

Men are involved in off-farm activities between October and April. These include trading and building houses. Trading involves bringing manufactured products and taking farm produce to and from the neighbouring towns. There are blacksmiths. Some migrate to the goldmines at Shakiso between April and September. Women have recently begun to engage in off-farm activities to help support their families when farmland became scarce. They are involved in trading, food-selling and brewing. After the trading period those with land go back to their main activity which is farming while those who have no land migrate to Shakiso for goldmining. Others have migrated to Goji to look for uncleared land to cultivate.

Aze Debo'a

Activities include trade and pottery. Trade is done by richer men who trade in local markets and surrounding marketplaces. Pottery is usually done by a clan called Fuga who are despised. Men migrate for seasonal work to the Methara and Wonga sugar factory, and the Awasa state farm for weeding and harvesting. Women trade in *enset*, butter and coffee. They used to brew more but now some people do not drink for religious reasons. People also trade in clothes, and sell firewood. Others engage in carpentry and hairdressing. Women are free to some extent to spend the money in any way they like. However, they have to consult their husbands on matters of bigger expenses even though it is their own money. Occupations include masonry, traditional handicrafts such as carpet making, basketmaking, selling *injera*, teaching,

driving, building, health service, and extension agent.

Imdibir Haya Gasha

Income from *enset* is not enough and besides supplementing it by selling crops such as coffee, oranges etc people often have to supplement their income through remittances from out-migrant family members and other off-farm activities. Men engage in wage labour and carpentry between February and May (inclusive) and weaving between February and August (incl). Long distance trade has been an important way of coping for a long time. Men trade all year round. Women sell *injera*, *tella*, and *areqi* and engage in spinning and trade all year round.

Wage labour is one of the major off-farm activities for men in the community. House construction, woodworking and weaving are men's activities undertaken particularly by men from outcast groups. Since 1974 many women have started to engage in pottery since attitudes towards it changed. Women still spin. Gurages have migrated as an important part of risk management for a long time. Activities range from owning big hotels and factories to shoe-shining and selling lottery tickets and magazines. Migration for temporary work is recent and was expanding until the regionalization programme led to ethnic conflicts in some places.

Harresaw

Income from agricultural production is not sufficient because of recurrent drought and the subsequent decline in productivity. Off-farm activities include the salt trade (going to Reged - Arho - to fetch it) and migration for labour including migration to Saudi Arabia. Some members of the community are involved in weaving, spinning, carpentry, foodselling, trade and wage labour within the PA. There is a blacksmith who makes and mends ploughs, 10 weavers, 10 hairdressers for women, 1 carpenter, about 20 masons and 2 plasterers. A few women are involved in basketry and pottery. Usually women use the money they earn for themselves with the agreement of the husband or buy goods for the family as a whole.

Migration is an important means of risk management: each year on average about 150 men and women leave to be hired in most cases as daily labourers or hired at hotels or as house servants. Most go to Eritrea (2 years), while a few go to Adigrat and about 6 to Jizan in Saudi Arabia, while some go to Afar areas (2 months) to be hired as wage labourers ploughing, building houses and fences. Most earnings are used to buy cattle if the income is good and for clothing, to pay debts, and mostly for marriage and other social obligations.

Korodegaga

The principle non-farm source of income is fuelwood marketing. Men are involved in selling firewood and charcoal all year round although mostly between April and September (inclusive). Women collect firewood for home use and for sale, particularly between June and August (inclusive). Boys also collect firewood to sell at this time while girls collect firewood for use at home. The carrying of wood bundles to the nearby towns of Dheera, Sodere, and Awash Malkaasa is a daily chore for a good number of women. Whatever women earn is spent by women "but quite naturally they spend for family expenses."

There is no seasonal migration.

Shumsheha

Income-supplementing activities are very few and limited. Trade is derogated while blacksmithing, pottery, and tannery are despised occupations left to the Falasha. Spinning and basketry by women are positively valued but only recently have become a source of supplementary income. The most common income-generating activities are selling *tella* and *araki* and collecting and selling firewood. Migration is traditionally an important means of risk management resulting from the failure of agricultural productivity and the shortage of land. Farmers (and sometimes the whole family) migrate to neighbouring regions of Gondar, Rayana Kobo, and sometimes to Setit and Humera for agricultural wage labour. It is reported often the women and children engage in begging. The other sources of non-farm income are food for work and food aid.

Geblen

Men are employed in casual labour in the town between November and February (inclusive). Some migrate to Eritrea and other parts of Tigray during the same period.

Women make baskets at any time but mostly during holidays and the marriage month.

Dinki

Weaving is the second most important economic activity in the area. It is done by people who come from Argoba. Women's off-farm activities include spinning and yarn-making - there is no specific season; they do them "only when we take rest" and brewing.

People never migrate in search of seasonal work.

Do'oma

Off-farm activities for men include trading, weaving and woodwork. Migrant workers come to Do'oma do the weaving. They come from neighbouring Dorze and Ditta regions - there is no definite time they come - when it is convenient. The weavers weave the cloth and sell it at the nearest market or sometimes they make clothes. The woodworkers make furniture, doors and windows for local houses. Selling firewood and charcoal is another activity. Women are involved in trading (they buy coffee, onions and salt from the cheapest market and sell to the nearest more expensive one), preparing and selling food and drink, and spinning. The *Manna* women make pots for sale. Children are also involved in trading - they sell beverages which they bring from far-off regions like Gofa to sell in Wacha markets. Whoever makes money contributes to the sustenance of the family. If it is used personally it is for clothes and jewellery. Usually it is used for family expenses.

Gara Godo

Men are involved in trading (grain, poultry, baskets, animal feed and licks, firewood, dairy products, coffee and spices, and small and large animals), pottery, blacksmithing, carpentry and food for work. Women trade butter, coffee, grain, vegetables, poultry, firewood, cotton, spices, small animals, commodities, *areqi*, *karebo*, *borde*, *tella*, and sell food. The lower the resource base of the household the more women are involved in these activities. They also spin, and make baskets and pots. Pottery and blacksmithing are despised and left to "outcast" groups. Young men migrate to towns. Men also migrate between April and June to the Awash valley to harvest cotton and maize. The pay is 1.90 *birr* a day and the chance of getting employment very high.

3. Conclusions

- In food surplus areas the division of labour is growing more complex. There are traders, skilled artisans, professionals (teachers and health workers), wage labourers, service providers
- In the food-deficit *enset* areas and Adele Keke there is reliance either on cash crops (coffee, *chat*, potatoes) or migration for trade, business or wage labour
- In all these sites women are getting increasingly active in off-farm activities. In addition to traditional activities such as spinning and basketmaking they are involved in making and selling local drinks and food, in selling eggs, milk, butter, etc, and in trade.
- It is included elsewhere in the report that there are people making money out of money-lending
- Artisanal activities such as weaving, tanning, pottery and blacksmithing have traditionally been looked down on and in most sites still are. In 2 sites it has been suggested that it is now "all right" for women to make and sell pots.
- In some vulnerable sites there tends to be less off-farm activity and there tends to be reliance on 1 particular activity such as selling dungcakes or wood. In other vulnerable sites rather than seeing an increasing division of labour there is diversification on the part of individuals as a coping strategy

9. Labour and time use

1. Issues

There are a range of institutions and organizations involved in the allocation and coordination of labour including the household, kin and friendship networks and institutions, the Peasant Association, wage labour, inter-linkages, working groups, and food for work. Seasonality of demand for and supply of labour is an important issue.

2. Summary from village studies

Adele Keke

Individuals in households are assigned tasks according to sex and age. Men are responsible for agricultural work, house construction, mending fences, digging water wells and pit granaries. Cooking and childcare are women's responsibilities. Since almost 20 years ago women have helped husbands in light farm activities: this is a change in the role of women. In general sons help fathers and daughters help mothers. Both can serve as shepherds. Boys are reported as more likely to go to school. If not at school they help with weeding, harvesting, and livestock herding. Girls look after livestock, fetch water, go to the mills, do housework and help with harvesting.

More than half the labour in the PA is supplied by family labour, the rest is provided by wage labour. This has been practised in the community for more than a century. It is accepted that selling one's labour is a sign of extreme impoverishment but it is not looked down on. Widows chiefly depend on wage labour. Pay for 1 days' work (about 7 hours) is up to 10 *birr*.

There are 3 forms of work group: *gammame* is light reciprocal agricultural activities performed usually by a group of youths in the morning; *maro* is similar but lasts all day; and *guza* is a non-reciprocal workgroup where the caller provides food, *chat* and *hojja* (tea). There is also a tradition of *dimisha* (bride labour) whereby the prospective husband mobilizes labour for the parents of the bride - the groom requests the free labour of his friends to serve his in-laws. Though it is not reciprocal it produces a feeling of indebtedness in the caller and he will respond positively to other people's requests.

Sirba and Godeti

During most of the year the farmer is self-sufficient in labour. During ploughing and the harvesting period other members of the household help. An estimated 30% of extra labour is provided by workgroups. 26% of labour is contributed by children under 15. Men plough, sow, spray, weed-kill, harvest, load and transport grains, fence, housebuild, cut trees, dig small wells to store dung, and bring fodder from Debre Zeyt after harvest. Boys are mostly at school but help with soil preparation, weeding, collecting straw, and keeping cattle. Women do lighter agricultural activities, look after garden vegetables and crops, milk and tend cows, fetch water and straw, store dung in wells in the summer, prepare duncakes in the dry season, brew beer, make *areqi* and *tej*, and manage the routine tasks of the household. Girls help them with water and wood collection, housework and weeding and soil preparation.

Employing hired labour is very common (immigrants and villagers). Boys of the poor are frequently employed for herding. Most immigrant labourers have sons or others to look after their home plots. In the village there are 34 households who employ labour on a yearly basis, 20 on a monthly basis, and 2 on both. 34 of the households have 4 or more oxen and 17 of them are moneylenders. There are different contracts depending on the length of the agreement. Payment may be in cash, kind, or the right to use a plot of land. There are women who take contracts to weed a certain plot - they usually mobilise a work party. Poor and landless women are employed to prepare food for wage labourers during harvest. There is scarcity of labour during weeding and harvesting. Rates for 0.25 hectare: ploughing 25-50 *birr*; weeding 18 *birr*; harvesting 30-37 *birr*.

Working parties are common: *wonfel* involves people in a group working for 1 member for a day (food and drink provided). Reciprocation is expected. These are declining because of wage labour. There are several variations; *qabo* - 6-22 persons - for weeding, harvesting, loading grain - organized on the basis

of hard work, neighbourhood, age, sex, kinship - mainly formed by boys and girls not involved in ploughing - facilitates the division of labour in the household and reduces expenses in the hungry period - no feast; *jigi* is practised for ploughing, harvesting, loading and transporting grain - feasts - organized according to kinship and neighbourhood; *dabo* -rare now - feasts are expensive and labourers may get drunk; smaller groups - 4 to 5 - no name - pool oxen and labour - not paid back rapidly - generalized reciprocity.

Local people celebrate religious holidays and do not work on the 12th, 19th, 21st and 27th and 29th of each month.

Yetmen

The main task of men is ploughing and leading the daily activities of the household. Women do household activities like cooking and rearing children and help husbands in fields, especially weeding. Boys over 15 plough with their fathers and those below often herd livestock. Girls help mothers with housework water and fuel collection and if strong join weeding.

There is a traditional form of wage labour (*yeakalate arash*) described under interlinkages.

There are work groups: *debo* (*jige*) involves the labour of many people on the land of an individual villager usually for ploughing and harvesting; *wonfel* is usually performed by relations. In both food and drink are provided.

Turufe Kechemma

Farmers are involved in farmwork, house and fence building and repairing, cattle keeping including cutting fodder, and making new farm implements. Boys are involved in farmwork, wood and water collection, childcare and crafts. Girls do housework, childcare, farmwork, livestock care, craftwork, and beer brewing and fetch water and wood.

Since 1991 anyone can hire labour as he needs but this is rare although some households employ casual agricultural labourers and pay them cash. Wage labourers are the landless or land-short in the PA or come from outside.

Most labour is done by the household but there are still traditional work-sharing practices usually during weeding and harvesting periods. *Debo* involves preparation of food and drinks and there is no definite obligation to reciprocate although people expect that this will be the case. *Gesso* (*wonfel*) is an arrangement whereby 2 or more farmers make a contractual agreement to help each other in certain kinds of tasks. For example, 5 people may work for 3 hours and be provided with bread and *tella* and this will be the same for each person. It is unethical and prohibited not to reciprocate; such a person will be socially ostracized.

Debre Berhan

Male labour is employed in weeding, fencing, harvesting, threshing, ploughing, and digging steep slopes with the hoe. Female labour is largely restricted to indoor activities such as food preparation, storage, looking after children, entertaining guests etc. Women are responsible for fetching water and wood (children and a few generous husbands help with wood). Women also make dungcakes. Selling grain and dungcakes in the market, livestock herding and taking grain to the mill are done by both sexes.

The 2 main labour exchange arrangements are *wonfel* and *debo*. In both cases the caller prepares food and beer. These parties are on the decrease since many people cannot afford the food and drink. Others hire labour on a daily basis for weeding, harvesting and collecting. Over the last 3 years there has been a shortage of labour as people no longer come from Menz as they did, due to political instability. People do not hire domestic servants. Females are only hired as herders. Girls do housework and fetch water; boys do herding and harvesting.

People do not do farmwork on 1st, 5th, 12th, 19th, 21st, 23rd and 27th days since they go to church. If they find a person working on these religious holidays some selected elders will first advise him not to. If he persists he will be outcast from the community so no-one breaks the rules.

Adado

Earlier farm labour was provided by household members and if more was needed they would prepare *tella* for a group to assist (*kora*). Now it is replaced by *gollo* - the man calling it mobilizes a small number of people for farming, housebuilding etc. The household prepares coffee and bread and there is reciprocation.

Recently a few people have employed wage labourers. *Dabo* used to be more common, especially for clearing new areas of land. Now there is less. The father plants and takes care of coffee, *enset*, and cereals and pulses with the help of his sons. The mother, with the help of her daughters, is responsible for the processing and preparation of *enset* which is the major staple food. Men are not allowed to participate in this (it is taboo). Gathering wood and fetching water is done by women. When boys are small they fetch water and when they are grown-up they participate in farmwork and herding. Girls do housework, assist in *enset* harvesting and coffee collecting and are involved in general trade between November and February.

Aze Debo'a

Men are involved in food production, collecting firewood, and taking care of children. Boys help their fathers with all these and in addition take care of cattle. Women work at food processing, fetching water, taking care of children, taking care of cattle and cleaning the house. Their daughters help with all these.

Wage labour is not common in the area: when it is practised the rich employ the poor. A hired person does not have enough land and is of low status: though it is not despised outright, people do not appreciate working for somebody in their neighbourhood. They would prefer to go somewhere else.

There are various forms of labour sharing and exchange:

- (1) *dawa (debo)* - 20 or more people - good feast - neighbours invited - unless requested not obliged to work for those who came - declining - too expensive and growth of individualism.
- (2) *irfino kacho* - farmer gives responsibility for gathering people to his son-in-law - declining for same reasons
- (3) *gerima* - 6-10 people - reciprocity is a necessity - work for each person each day - still exists
- (4) *bora wata* - pairing of oxen - strongly practised
- (5) *kabita* - sharecropping
- (6) *koda* - sharing of a milking cow.

All arrangements are based on neighbourhood, mutual understanding and trust. People talk of changes in these arrangements towards more individualism.

Imdibir Haya Gasha

Men are responsible for clearing land, tilling soil, planting crops and transplanting *enset*. Women participate in herding and milking cattle but not slaughtering. They also weed, manure, harvest and prepare and store *enset* and other crops. All the able adult males and boys are expected to co-operate in transplanting *enset*. All Gurage men working away from home are meant to return to help with transplanting. Traditional labour parties are common among men and women. Between 60-70% is provided by workgroups, 10-15% by family labour, and the remainder by hiring labour. The daily wage is 4 *birr* for men and 1.5 *birr* for women. The type of work done includes ploughing, weeding, harvesting, building work, food for work, thatching and carpentry. Where 2 or more homesteads are related by close kin ties (more often than not the rule in the PA) they commonly assist each other working as one large extended family.

Every girl of more than 8 is usually involved in domestic work such as fetching water, taking out manure, and sometimes herding cattle. After 12 they do everything their mothers do. Boys collect firewood, fetch grass, fodder or cut *enset* leaves for the livestock, and herd livestock. Those who are more than 14 or 15 are mostly involved in all the activities their fathers do.

Harresaw

The farming household's activities occur in 4 areas: tasks involved in agriculture itself, tasks involved in herding, off-farm activities, and the activities mainly performed by women at home. Men perform the traditional agricultural activities and build houses, put up fences etc. Women fetch water and wood and do housework and participate more and more in farmwork. They used to be prohibited from harvesting because it was believed this would reduce the size of the harvest but these beliefs are withering away and women are doing more. In some parts of Tigray women are said to do ploughing. Boys herd cattle, help with agricultural activities and fetch water for their mothers. Girls help their mothers in all their activities.

Before 1974 about half of the labour requirement was provided by workgroups. These do not exist any more. There was theoretically no wage labour up to the collapse of the Derg. Now it is recognised. Payment is in cash and the wage-labourers are neighbours and relatives in the PA. Usually it is women without husbands who employ wage labour. Men are paid 8 *birr* and women 5 *birr*. Since hirer and

labourer are similar in economic and social status the labourer is not looked down on.

Korodegaga

All the able-bodied men and grown boys work on farming, weeding and harvesting. Small boys tend livestock. Girls help their mothers in domestic chores, including fetching water and wood, and making dungcakes. It is unusual for them to look after livestock. They look after babies and collect and sell firewood. It is rare that they go to school (there are only 8 girls out of 41 students in the school). Only rarely (for weeding) does one find wage labour - they come from inside and outside the PA - they work on a contractual basis and are not looked down on.

Traditional labour parties are common: both *wonfel* (providing labour in return) and *jijigi* (not reciprocal but requiring food and drink) are practised.

Shumsheha

Traditionally labour tasks are divided on the bases of gender, age and social status. Farming is the predominant occupation for men. Women play a significant role: *gulgualo* during ploughing, weeding, carrying during harvest-time (if the family has no donkeys). Boys and girls are involved in herding activity.

There are workparties (*wabara*) of 10 to 15 people, usually used for harvesting, ploughing or house or fence building, which involve the provision of food and drink, and a one-to-one exchange between farmers called *debayat*. A significant number of households, especially labour-constrained and woman-headed households use casual agricultural labour (6 *birr* a day). Working for other households in the PA is looked down on.

Geblen

The division of labour is structured along lines of gender and age and used to be very rigid. Now women can be involved in many productive tasks but men do not participate in domestic activities. Women cannot participate in ploughing, sowing and threshing because it is believed their participation in these activities would result in a low yield. Boys begin to help with herding and learn to plough after the "age of reason" (7). Daughters help the mother with domestic activities. Animal husbandry, milking and barn-cleaning are more women's tasks. Younger boys make substantial contributions in water and fuel collection. Women make beehives and men harvest the honey and store it. Housebuilding and repair are mainly done by men but women repair leaky roofs and daub and paint the walls of the house. Both men and women participate in marketing, although women specialize in small-scaled exchanges and low-priced products.

People do not use casual labour; rather they migrate to surplus food-producing areas to hire out their own labour. There is currently a food-for-work programme which started in January. The hours are 6 per day and the pay is 4-6 *birr* a day. 45 people are employed. People sometimes go to work as daily labour in the nearby towns where the rate is 7 *birr* a day.

Wefera (like *debo*) is rare these days because household plots have become smaller and are not beyond the capacity of an average household, and people do not have the resources to prepare the necessary feast.

Dinki

The main activities performed by men are land preparation, planting, weeding, harvesting and threshing. Women are responsible for child care, cooking, wood collection, water fetching, beer brewing, spinning and yammaking.

There are 3 labour-sharing arrangements in the village:

- (1) *debo* - food and drink supplied and it is paid back
- (2) *gisso* - this is not paid back - it is done by invitation and involves food and drink; fencing is done using this.
- (3) *wonfel* - this does not include food and drink and it involves specific exchange.

Households use casual labour for wages in kind and cash. Men and women both do weeding and harvesting (4 *birr* a *timad* regardless of sex). Men can earn 5 *birr* a *timad* ploughing.

For cattle-herding a household never employs anyone: a child from each household participates in 1 compound as a group; households do herding turn by turn.

Christians do not work on Sundays and there are days like the 1st May and the 12th, 19th, 21st, and 29th of every month when people do not work. The Moslems work all year except their usual holidays.

Do'oma

The *Aba Wera* (head of the family) is responsible for farming activities. Men rise early and farm until mid-day when it becomes too hot. The women are not directly involved in the production process since farming is believed to be manly among the Gamo. If there are no sons someone will be hired rather than allow women to work in the fields. The women do the daily cooking and milk the cows twice a day. They spin and trade and do housework. They fetch water and collect fodder for the livestock. Children between 5 and 10 help their parents with domestic work. Boys of 11-16 help fathers with farming and start actual farming at the age of 18. Girls are involved in trading and help with housework, harvesting and spinning.

There are workgroups known as *jiggie* - it is a small group usually not more than 5 people who help a farmer on request. He provides food and drink - it is not a permanent group.

There is no tradition of wage labour since it is looked down on by the people, especially if it is performed by a person from the area. People prefer to leave for wage labour. The nearest thing to wage labour is an *aro* (domestic servant) a job which the poorest resort to.

Gara Godo

Women's involvement in agricultural labour is very limited. In exceptional cases widows or unmarried women may help out in weeding or other light work. Many women are active in gardening around the house - they plant medicinal herbs and coffee spices and flavoured plants which they use for processing milk. They fetch wood and water. Their most important contribution is in livestock breeding. They are more responsible than men for taking care of cattle as well as managing dairy produce and the income from it.

Boys tend livestock, fetch wood and help with planting, harvesting, and hoeing. Girls do housework, tend livestock, fetch wood and water, look after babies, and help with planting, harvesting, and *enset* processing.

Wage labour has never been a common practice (not more than 1%) since working for someone is considered a taboo. Recently because of the drought people have been doing wage labour. Theoretically men can earn 15 *birr* for weeding or harvesting 1 *timad* or 10 *birr* as a farm servant (women do not work as labourers) but only 2% of households employed anyone in these tasks in the last year.

About 20% of labour is provided in workgroups. *Debo* involves a large group of people for whom food and drinks are provided. In the case of *wonfel* there are usually 10 permanent members who work together on everyone's land until all are satisfied. The respondent said this was not operational at the moment. *Limena* involves a few people being asked to work on a small plot of land. Drinks and food will be served but not much.

3. Conclusions

- Heads of household are responsible for assigning tasks. These are usually male. Tasks are usually assigned on the basis of sex and age
- In most sites there are a number of different forms of work groups. In all cases there is one arrangement whereby people are invited to work and provided with food and drink (often called *debo*). This is often said to be reciprocal, in that if someone has responded to your invitation you should respond to theirs, but it is not binding. The second arrangement, often called *wonfel*, is much more specific and is contractually binding. In some sites it is said that working in groups is declining, but even so quite a lot of work is still done in groups
- There is wage labour in some communities and not in others. It is more common in those near larger towns. In some sites people are unwilling to work as wage labourers in their own communities as it is looked down on.
- Gathering wood and fetching water in nearly all sites is almost exclusively done by women and girls, although in some cases boys are involved and in 1 site wood collection is the

responsibility of men. Women and girls spend more time working than men and boys.

- In Orthodox Christian areas people will not work on 5 or so days of the month (in addition to Sundays and sometimes Saturdays) for religious reasons. Ability to work may also be affected by religious fasting rules followed both by Orthodox Christians and Moslems.
- In sites where the men migrate for long periods their wives take responsibility for farm management
- In most sites from the age of about 5 children start to be useful in terms of providing labour. By the time they are 8 they are involved in helping mothers (girls and boys with water) or fathers (boys). Girls after about 12 and boys after about 14 or 15 are usually doing all the activities their respective parents do.
- As discussed below people will help people by providing labour services in times of need (old age, after a crisis such as a house burning down, illness, etc)

10. Inter-linkages

1. Issues

Most of these economies do not use cash much and there are institutionalised exchanges and sharing involving land, labour, livestock and inputs.

2. Summary from the village studies

Adele Keke

Land can be exchanged for labour without any fixed rule except that partners reach agreement amongst themselves: the old, weak, widowed will allocate some or part of their landholdings to one who can cultivate; there are no local terms for this. Labour is sometimes exchanged for oxen - cooperation rather than a businesslike transaction - usually between kin, friends, or neighbours. The man who has no oxen asks for help from one who does; they cultivate the land in turn (*id'ama* = "additional"). This is rare. Some poor farmers exchange labour for crops when there is an acute food shortage - this seldom occurs. In a share-cropping arrangement the one who is not the owner of the land is responsible for providing seeds; in the end they share the harvest equally. Such practices have become more frequent due to shortages of land and plough oxen. Kin or lineage are members preferred but not essential.

Sirba and Godeti

People involved in interlinkages are tied by kinship, neighbourhood and networks of relation and intimacy. *Mindi* = exchange of ox for plot (1 ox for 1 *qarti* of farmland for a year) or crop (1 ox for 3 quintals of white *tef* or 6 quintals of mixed grain for a year). The ox remains at the house of the person who provides land or crop. The fieldworker found 9: 1 *kallu* exchanges 4 oxen, 1 person 2 oxen, and the rest 1 ox. Four of the persons loaned to are in other PAs. The deal is mostly, but not always, formalized by a signing before 2 or 3 elders.

Arso-arash is more flexible, no signing, can stop easily. A farmer with no or 1 ox gets ox/en in exchange for labour - works in his field for 3 days then the field of the owner for 2 (no of oxen makes no difference). Each is responsible for seed, fertilizer and other inputs on his farmland. Stays with owner; 8 arrangements found by fieldworker.

Sisso: farmer provides labour, oxen and inputs and gets $\frac{1}{2}$ of the yield. Signing depends on social distance. 17 instances found - in nearly all cases farmers have no or insufficient oxen.

There is a growing preference for *mind*i and land renting because the rental income is better than the benefits from *sisso-arash*. Renting is preferred to *arso-arash* by landowners as they do not have to afford

expenses of investing in their farmland.

Yetmen

Abel or yeikul ihil: people who have a plot but no implements and oxen lend it to people who have who also cover input expenses. Harvest shared half each.

Arata - labour for oxen: a landholder works for one with land and implements in exchange for a pair of oxen to cultivate his holding. Along with this he enters into an agreement called *arata* in which he borrows seed, grain for his own consumption and money. He has to pay in grain (not more than 1 quintal of *tef*). In 1993 1 quintal of *tef* was worth 147 *birr* but maximum *arata* payment was 70 *birr*. Now 1 q is worth 220 *birr* and maximum debt is 90 *birr*.

Labour for crop arrangements take three forms:

1. *bale-kurt*: landowner hires a tiller who lives with him, is looked down and has to do tasks customarily reserved for women like fetching water. He receives 300-400kg of grain per annum

2. *bale-siso*: hired tiller performs all activities; yield divided 1:3 in favour of landlord.

3. *karat and*: person is hired to do all tasks of tilling, sowing, weeding, and harvesting. He takes $\frac{1}{4}$.

Due to the fear of disputes interlinkages are not based on lineage and kinship relations. The employer has to supply the necessary materials.

Turufe Kecheme

Sometimes there are temporary exchanges of labour for land for 1 harvest (no Oromiffa name). The landowner lends a portion of land to a person in exchange for that person's annual labour service on his farm. Both cover respective costs of seed etc. Usually landowner gives 1 *timad* and 200 *birr* pa. The labourer is considered to be a servant and lives with the landowner.

A piece of land can be exchanged for oxen; the man with oxen provides them and his labour for the whole farming period (*lafa duda gurguracha*); frequently practised in the PA.

There is also exchange between a person with land and oxen with a person who has no oxen; the latter works 2 days on ox-owner's land in exchange for 1 day's use of oxen on his own land. *Kotta*: a man with oxen and seeds and the cash for inputs enters into an agreement with a person who has land but no seeds or cash. He does everything and they share the harvest equally.

Sello - 2 persons with 1 ox bring them together and plough alternately

Debre Berhan

There are 4 types of crop-sharing arrangement where landowner and tenant divide the produce: *yakul* (landowner takes half - land well-prepared), *siso* (landowner takes one-third - land not well prepared), *erbo* (he takes one quarter - not ploughed before), and *asrat* (cultivator pays an additional 10% to cover land tax). The cultivator covers input costs.

There are 3 exchange agreements:

moyatagna: exchange of labour for money and lodging

egni: exchange of labour for oxen - usually 2 *egni* for 1 days use of a pair of oxen.

ribbi: livestock-rich household gives his livestock to a household with little livestock but with labour and access to grazing land in return for an equal share in offspring

Adado

Rich people buy stock and entrust them to others to fatten; when they are sold the profit is divided between the 2. Those with several plots of land exchange with those with fewer. The richer provide seed and land, the poorer their labour. They share the harvest equally. These arrangements are not necessarily between kin and lineage.

Aze Debo'a

There are a number of arrangements addressed by a number of terms meaning exchange. For example 2 people may contribute some amount of money each and trade together. All are based on neighbourhood, mutual understanding and trust, kinship or lineage (which may not be mutually exclusive)

Imdibir Haya Gasha

none mentioned

Harresaw

Siso badim is the same as *egni* described. This kind of arrangement is now rare since those who have 2 oxen are very rare (2% of population). *Lifinti* is the same as *sello* described above. *Lifinti* also works for exchanging wage labour (eg one helps the other with winnowing and vice versa). There is sharecropping: at harvest the rich man takes some amount of grain for seed and they share the remainder equally (*mehelaw*). If the poor person uses his own land and seed and only the oxen of the rich person the poor one gives a small part of his land (called *kets'o*) to the rich one to plough and plant for himself.

Korodegaga

Oxen-sharing is common since all households do not have at least 2. There is sharecropping and exchange of oxen for labour.

Shumsheha

Share-cropping (*megazo*) is common at the site. There are 3 types of arrangement: *ekuleta* (equal sharing); *siso* (sharetenant covers all seed costs - gets 2/3 of harvest); *erbo* and *arat* (sharetenant covers all seed and labour costs and gets 3/4 of harvest). The arrangements may vary according to land quality. The duration of the agreement is usually only 1 cropping season. There is a tradition of much mutual assistance and sharing. *Mekanajo* involves pairing of oxen. *Yesis berie* is an arrangement where a farmer with 1 ox rents an additional ox from another farmer and ploughs 1 day for himself and 2 for the other ox-owner.

Geblen

The most prevalent exchange institution is *lifinti*: two peasants exchange human labour and/or draught power. *Tiwfirti* is an arrangement by which someone unable to farm his holding contracts out some or all of his plots to another for an agreed share of the harvest. The reasons may be physical disability due to old age, poor health, being a woman, and lack of draught power. *Tiwfirti* is also used for sharing oxen. A peasant contracts out his ox or oxen for a fixed season and is paid in grain in return. In these arrangements both parties contribute seed equally and the harvest and crop residue is simply divided between the two. *Melhi* is an arrangement where the landowner supplies all the seeds and the partner brings the oxen. They share the harvest equally but the landowner keeps the crop residues. Under *rebah* the landowner (usually female) only supplies labour, while the partner supplies all of the seeds and the oxen to plough the land. The owner is legally entitled to a quarter of the harvest but may often get less (this being at the discretion of the cultivator).

Traditionally the sharecropping arrangements were based on mutual trust and made verbally. This has changed since the introduction of the *baito* system. At present all share-cropping must be made in writing and approved by the *baito* court or they will not have the force of law. Crop-sharing arrangements are very common in the community. A person would prefer to enter into such an agreement with a friend or neighbour rather than with a stranger.

There is another arrangement for renting draught oxen: the peasant renting the oxen offers the ox-owner all the crop residues on his plots for the use of the oxen after harvest. Another variant is that the owner lends his oxen to another in exchange for the grass on the edge of the latter's plots for his animals to feed on.

Dinki

There is sharecropping: one provides land with oxen and the other labourpower. The landowner covers the cost of the seed and fertiliser and the seed cast is returned to him from the final product. The landowner decides whether it will be a long-term or *ad hoc* arrangement.

Do'oma

There is a tradition of much sharing and borrowing of assets, particularly oxen and ploughs. *Kotsa* is the same as *sello* (see above). Under *ye kollo* agreements a person rents an ox for a full season with an agreement to share the harvest with the owner on mutually acceptable terms. With the depletion of livestock population owing to diseases there has developed a tradition called *hadera* (returnable gift). It is

a kind of redistributive mechanism whereby the relatively rich lend cattle to the deprived to sustain their lives. The person who receives it should look after it and return it or a calf, or milk and butter. If it dies there is no obligation to pay compensation. It is based on friendship and conscience, not utilitarianism. It is based on the notion of *hashe* - fear of a similar fate in the future.

Gara Godo

Sharecropping is practised in the area and is called *kota gosha*. Under this arrangement inputs and outputs are shared equally. Other arrangements are specified by agreement.

3. Conclusions

- Interlinkages are most frequently found in grain-producing areas where the ox-plough is used.
- Some sharecropping arrangements existed in the time of Haile Selassie: there are local names associated with particular rules for inputs and sharing the output. In Ethiopia people sharecropping land *in* are usually the rich ones: they are rich as they have oxen. Sharecropping has become more frequent due to shortages of land and plough oxen.
- In one site oxen are lent for a period in exchange for a plot of land
- There are also less formal arrangements where the partners reach agreement among themselves about who does what and gets what. The exact terms depend on the relationship.
- Labour is sometimes exchanged for oxen: the person usually works some days in the oxen owner's fields and then some in his own
- Labour is exchanged for crops
- People with 1 ox will join with another person with 1 ox and they will plough alternately
- In most places people involved in interlinkages are tied by kinship, neighbourhood, and networks of relation and intimacy. In some people prefer not to exchange with kin and friends for fear of disputes. If the social distance is large a contract may be signed in the presence of witnesses.
- In sites where cattle are kept more for dairy products and meat there are arrangements whereby people buy stock and entrust them to others to fatten, and arrangements whereby a richer person lends a cow to a poorer one who looks after it and uses the products and may keep a calf if the animal produces.

11. Technology and innovation

1. Issues

Increased productivity will depend on changes in technology and the adoption of innovations

2. Summary of the village studies

Adele Keke

Farmers use ox-ploughs, sickles, hand shovels, axes. A small number dig wells to irrigate their *chat*

orchards manually. Farmers can hire a tractor for 70 *birr* for 1 hour (the new Service co-operative has 1 which non-members can hire and there are privately-owned ones. Crops are stored in pits dug in the yard of the homestead. The pit is made by digging a conical hole 6-7 feet deep and 5-7 feet in diameter at the base, 2.5-3 feet at the top. Up to 20% of the stored crop is believed to become damaged or lost to weevils. Grain is carried by people and donkeys; virtually nothing is lost. Fuel and wood are transported by people or donkeys; to urban centres passenger vehicles can be hired.

Innovations: The following innovations were considered important: short wheat variety (MoA 1970s); big potato variety (from neighbouring villages, 1970s) - requires enough rain; fertilizer (MoA, 1971ish) - many cannot afford it now; white maize (MoA 1973) - high yield, more vulnerable to weevils, bread tastes nasty - about 80 people still use; tractors were introduced in 1964 by private farmers, then confiscated for State farms, now - see above; modern terracing (MoA, 1972) - food for work (many did not work properly in order to work longer and get more money) - many adopted but not in marshy areas (constructed drainage ditches) - in areas beyond FfW programme farmers constructed terraces themselves.

Sirba and Godeti

Dominant technology: plough, draught-oxen, family and group labour. This PA has been a "showpiece village" being near the main road and in easy travelling distance of Addis Ababa which explains why some of the following technology is used in the village: biogas fuel production, solar water pump, handpumps, fertilizers, ploughs, tractors (MoA - 200 *birr*/hectare, Ude Service Co-operative - 180 *birr*/hectare -only used by rich - about 12 people last year - 9 moneylenders, a grain merchant and 2 farmers) and a threshing machine (MoA - 150 *birr* for 20 quintals of *tef*). Ude SC sold sprayers in 1988 (at least 10 now have) and they are hired out (weedkillers and pesticides). Transport of grain to market is mostly done by donkeys (1 *birr* per quintal for 1 day's service); there is considerable borrowing of donkeys between neighbours and kin. Two types of storage containers for grain: locally-made by 1 man - made of wood and plastered with mud and dung - cost 20 *birr*); cement - used by rich - special compartment in 1 of their rooms- 1.5mx3mx1 to 2.5m - about 100 *birr*). In many houses grain is stored in sacks (estimated loss 2.5%). Estimated loss between field and store - about 5%. Wood is carried by people or donkeys. There are no carts. Vehicle transport to Debre Zeit - 1 *birr*)

Innovations: biogas was introduced by FAO in 1985EC due to shortage of fuelwood: not very efficient so not adopted by others; MoA introduced fertilizers in 1969EC - very successful; tractors (1979EC) - seen as great possible benefit but not economical; solar pump (MoA 1981EC) - highly complex needing special material so impossible to copy.

Yetmen

Male farmers use the ox-plough, sickles, forks and spades. The threshing ground is an earthen floor usually polished with cowdung. Men cut the grain plants with sickles while women and children carry it to the threshing-ground. Threshing is done by beating with sticks or livestock. Winnowing is done by tossing grain in air using a pitchfork. Grain is stored in a *gotera* (kept outside livingroom, made of mud and dung, big); *dibignit* and *gota* (similar to *gotera* but smaller and kept in livingroom - *dibignit* made of mud only); *gudquad* (a pit dug underground). Grain is transported in sacks - sometimes they have holes leading to loss of grain.

Wood is transported by donkeys - there are many in the community and some horses; mules are very rare. There are no carts. An allweather road links the PA to Bichena (15 kms) - 2 *birr* by car.

Innovations: a new variety of *tef* (1975EC - MoA) - copied by all; *guaya* (as a substitute for horse beans - MoA - 1984EC) - not successful - only half copied - low prices - not very good harvest; fertilizer (MoA 1969) - not successful then - now gives good yield to richer farmers; trade - farmers started less than 10 years ago when most land taken by PC and landholdings became small - was profitable until more got involved - rich and poor do not participate - it is good since profit can be used for household expenditure rather than using stock; metallic *mensh* (3-pronged fork) - introduced 1975EC - MoA - about 1/4 copied - good for pulses.

Turufe Kechema

Before 1928 people used sticks; then hoe; 1928 - plough and saw; 1962 - tractors. Food crops are stored in grain stores or sacks (none is lost). Food crops are transported to storage in a cart pulled by a donkey. About 30 farmers have a cart (about 7000 *birr*). between one-eighth and one-quarter of a kilo lost in

transport - more if the rain falls suddenly while harvesting or threshing. From 50 quintals of potatoes produced during *belg* about 8 quintals can become useless when stored for a month (it is wet); loss of *meher* harvest is about half of that of *belg*. Fuel such as kerosene and wood are transported by donkey and cart if the loads are great, or people if not. There are many donkeys and horses but few mules. Horses are mostly used for pulling carts carrying goods and people to towns. Mules and some horses are used for riding. There are trolleys made with a big iron wheel and pushed by people to transport goods and crops. There was a watermill before land reform (1967EC) but since then no-one was responsible for its maintenance as the former owners (*bale rist*) were.

Innovations: new crops introduced (1945) - finger millet, *tef*, wheat, coffee - by the Tigreans (before that only maize) - almost everyone copied; ditchdigging (missionaries - 1946) - not very successful because most lacked finance - about a quarter did it and long-run effects good; soil conservation (Derg) - most did - successful; tractors (missionaries - 1962) - saved time and improved quantity and quality of production - taken over by Derg - ordinary people could not afford; water mill - was good - no electricity so no electric mill; villagization - 1985 - proposed by Derg - not adopted by those who were far from farms - good for schooling, marketing and milling - bad for farming - theft.

Debre Berhan

Farmers use oxen, ploughs, hoes, sickles, etc - tools have not changed much since before the 1920s. Animals such as donkeys, mules, and horses are used to transport almost everything including firewood and straw from field to home and home to market. The only modern input they use is fertilizer: they prefer DAP and use UREA only for grass and *gerima* (oats).

Innovations: the following were said to be most useful: *gerima* (*sinar*- oats) - eaten by humans (mixed with barley) and livestock - ILCA introduced in 1985 as animal feed - not welcomed at first but became popular after some people tried eating it - not many grow it; potato - ILCA introduced it and model farmers tried it - not adopted by many since porcupines ate it; cross-bred cattle - ILCA - 1975 - copied by most who could afford it - advantages produce more milk and are stronger for traction - disadvantages - require more fodder and more vulnerable to diseases; vaccination was introduced by MoA in 1974 - major livestock diseases are under control.

Adado

The tools used are the iron hoe, the digging stick and machete for weeding. The plough is used for land planted with grain. Farmers with several plots of land store crops in a granary (*kercho*) usually used for cereals. A granary called *shakile* is meant for storing coffee. Those with small plots store grain and coffee in sacks. Crops are carried from the fields by humans while they are sometimes taken to market on horseback. Only a few households own horses and mules.

Innovations: the most important was the iron hoe during the Italian occupation - soon afterwards local blacksmiths began making them and all use; at same time the idea of planting in rows was introduced - at first some did not want to change but advantages for easy weeding and harvesting were soon seen and all adopted; in the past people believed ancestors looked after trees and if people planted new ones they would go blind - in the 1960s EC they began to plant trees because there were so few left; *dabo* (working in groups) was introduced after the Italian Occupation when their *enset* plants started to diminish and they faced famine. The elders consulted and advised the community to farm collectively to survive the coming famine which they did; sugarcane and *chat* were introduced after 1966EC Revolution (switch because soil fertility was declining and people not allowed to sell coffee as they wished) - they require more water and some fear a long-run threat to *enset*.

Aze Debo'a

The main implements that have been in use since at least the late 1910s have been the plough and hoe. Some changes introduced since then include sowing in rows, and fertilisers. Storage methods are also traditional: *gotera* are made of wood and there are ministores in homes like big pots. The crops are transported from the fields by people, donkeys and mules; because the crop is so valuable great care is taken not to lose any. People, donkeys and mules are also used to carry fuel and wood. Wood is sometimes carried from the PA to town in cars. Carts are not common in the PA.

Innovations: the 6 most important suggested by an informant were: avocado - introduced about 12 years ago by a farmer in the PA and has been copied - bodybuilder, medicine, marketable; mango - a woman in

Abonsa (9km from PA) gave it to her relatives 2 years ago - not yet fruited - everyone is watching; planting to conserve soil started because of the heavy rainfall - successful in reducing erosion - copied by 200 people (nearly all who live in the hilly parts); banana - brought from Wendo Genet 6 years ago - high yielder and preferred by consumers - copied by about 10 farmers who are always ready to do such things - most have not copied since could not afford the seedlings; new ways of farming hilly farms - introduced by MoA in 1978EC to prevent soil erosion - copied by about 100; sweet potato - new early maturing variety - MoA 1985 - very successful - ready for consumption in 2 and a half months - copied by the lucky few who were there when MoA distributed seedlings.

Imdibir Haya Gasha

In the early 1930s the only items used by the community were the plough and the sickle. Since then there have been changes in both shape and weight to increase efficiency. Now the most widely used tools are: hoe, sickle, spade, *geso* (axe), and plough (rare because of limited arable land). Transport to Wolkite is expensive: the Gurage Road Association only charges 3.90 *birr* but private landrovers charge as much as 6-8 *birr* and carry as many as 20 people.

Innovations: a respondent suggested the following 6 most useful innovations: dyke formation and planting trees (MoA and Catholic Relief Services - since 1984) - food for work - though there is still erosion the dykes have reduced it and the farmers have learned how to do the work themselves; eucalyptus - introduced around 1944 - grown at an increasing rate - construction, fuel and now for sale - fear it reduces soil fertility and competes with grazing land; mulching - introduced between 15 and 20 years ago - introduced by individuals and copied by all; *chat* - introduced about 50 years ago - almost all now grow and sell and chew (stimulates and reduces appetite); fruit - oranges and bananas introduced about 30 years ago (missionaries planted them at Atat hospital - 17km from site) - almost everyone has now copied if they have land - they eat them and sell them.

Harresaw

The community have used ploughs and sickles for a long time: ploughs have interchangeable tips and a variety of shaft lengths to accommodate different soil consistencies and cut to different depths. Recently the MoA introduced a plough to be pulled by 1 ox but it is not commonly used probably because the MoA did not provide the necessary training. Food crops are usually stored in a special place inside the house; some also use a *godo* (made of wood and dung and placed inside house). Crops are exposed to waste - up to 20% of beans, about 5% of barley. 5% of wheat is lost to pests, Crops are transported by human and donkey labour. Wood for fuel is mostly bought in the market and transported by people or donkeys. Horses, mules and donkeys are used for transporting people and goods. There are no carts.

Innovations: the following innovations are valued by the community: barley (c 1914); new varieties of wheat (c1994) - red with small kernel size - good for resisting drought - all planted it - grew well but later damaged by frost; bunding - 1974 by government - everyone tried - it is very useful if done properly - everyone still does; planting to conserve soil (c1974) proposed and demonstrated by government - successful and still being used - all copied; dung - an innovation acquired from ancestors - gives a higher yield if applied in wet season.

Korodegaga

The farming technology is based on the oxplough. The PA is only 2km from Sodere but requires crossing the Awash on a manually-operated raft. The boat is described further under common property resources. There is an electric mill which uses electric power by installing a transformer to the main line which passes near the PA. The PA gets a monthly income of 100 *birr* which is used to pay the PA per diems when called to meetings at *wereda* or regional offices and for the consumption of electricity. The mill stopped service from September 1987EC because the PA have no money to pay the electricity bill (300 *birr* from June-August 1986EC).

Innovations: fertiliser and improved seed are the only modern inputs (introduced 1984EC by MoA - about half of farmers used them the first year - successful only if there is enough rain - can buy improved seed in the market - almost everyone has used these inputs except the very poor - but expensive and a new type of weed came with the fertiliser - decreased maize output because it is difficult to remove and spreads over a large amount of land in a season.

Shumsheha

Farmers use the single-tine ox-drawn plough. The traditional way of production has been unchanged for centuries. The ploughs, saws, axes, and hoes are the same as those used in 1928EC. Lastans appear to be slow to adopt new ways of life. For example they refuse to use fertilisers and resist the attempts of MoA extension workers to educate them in methods of soil and water conservation. Despite the extreme shortage of firewood they still use open fire hearths that are uneconomical.

Innovations: only 1 innovation was reported in the community - the vaccination of livestock. This started in 1973EC as a result of animal diseases in the area. It reduced the death rate by 40% and now farmers are well aware of the advantages of vaccination.

Geblen

The traditional ox-plough breaks open the soil but goes no deeper than 6 cms since Tigray agriculture is particularly prone to shortage of water. Farm tools have not changed over the years - tractors are not used. In Geblen they have been constructing terraces for a long time but the territory is bad and erosion has not been controlled.

Evidence from the rapid assessment exercise suggests there have been no innovations that anyone can remember.

Dinki

Farmers use the traditional ploughing technology. Some were trained to make and use a plough for one ox. Those chosen were given 400 *birr* to buy an ox but the attempt soon failed, perhaps because of the problem of training oxen used to working in a pair, to plough alone. Ploughing with 1 ox on a slope was impossible because he kept falling over. Some people with land near the river use irrigation.

Innovations: papaya (introduced by Lutheran World Federation) is grown on irrigated fertile land - it was successful and copied by people with access to irrigation; bananas are grown under irrigation on fertile sandy soil (introduced 40 years ago) - many people now grow them and only those without access to irrigation water have not copied; tomatoes (also grown under irrigation) were introduced about 20 years ago - they are eaten daily and grown by people with access to irrigation; potatoes are also grown under irrigation; farmers have been shown how to grow carrots and other vegetables at the development centre.

Do'oma

The main attraction of Do'oma as a settlement area is the irrigation potential of the 2 rivers Zage and Masta. UNICEF constructed the irrigation schemes, but it is not as productive as it was designed to be - rudimentary technology - no pipelines and the curving is not good which has kept the volume of water to a minimum. While all the farmers were given access the mechanism was inadequate to meet the demand. Predominant technology is plough agriculture (a new technology for the settler who were used to hoes) - there was a lot of trial and error and reliance on the few settlers familiar with plough technology. The traditional storage house (*shale*) is a miniature of the living house - made of wood and grass - floor cemented with cow dung - despite its elaborateness the grain is damaged by rats and weevils (loss about 10%) - they use smoking and malatin to prevent pests. Transport of harvest to home involves great difficulties - amount lost depends on amount of labour used - there are only a few farmers who use donkeys and mules. Wood is carried to the houses by women.

Innovations: the most useful are new crop varieties (maize 1991 and *tef* 1992) - can be harvested in 3 months instead of 5-6 - can produce twice a year - and ditch-digging (UNICEF 1989) - everybody now knows how to make ditches and now the farmers can produce even when there is insufficient rainfall. New maize varieties from the MoA with high yields are currently being experimented with on special fields.

Gara Godo

Plough, spade, and axe are widely used today.

Innovations: the WADU project introduced a number of innovations, notably: fertilizers and oxen; red beans; and the *yeferenje* sweet potato. The last has since been replaced by the Kenya sweet potato which multiplies highly.

3. Conclusions

- In most sites technology has changed very little in living memory. The dominant tools are oxplough, sickles, hand shovels and hoes
- Over the years people have stopped growing some crops and introduced others which seemed more useful under the circumstances. The communities seem to be open to innovations which work.
- In many sites a (not negligible) proportion of harvest is lost while it is being transported to the homestead or in storage. One reason for this is that the sacks they use sometimes have holes in them.
- While donkeys are quite common for transport it is rare to find carts, either those pulled by livestock or people.
- Tractors are available for hire in 3 sites and 1 definitely has access to other farm machinery
- A number of the richer sites are adjacent to all-weather roads with access to towns in passenger vehicles. The poorer sites are further from towns and are not connected by all-weather roads. Walking is the most frequent form of travel.
- More sophisticated technology has not proved sustainable in poorer sites due to lack of ability to maintain and the lack of organizational structures that can ensure, for example, that the electricity bill for the electric mill is paid.

4. The village economies: reproduction

1. Introduction: the invisibility of much reproductive activity

Conventional economics has largely ignored the unpaid economic activities (which are chiefly undertaken by women) through which people (the labourforce) are produced, socialized and maintained. When the focus is on the household seen as a unit, it is the production activities that seem to be glamorous and interesting. This bias is particularly acute in Ethiopia where women are traditionally inferior and there does not seem to be a very active women's movement. Neither the economics department nor the anthropology section of the sociology department has a woman academic. All the site managers of the household survey were men and all the graduate anthropologists who did the fieldwork were men. At each site there was usually 1 woman enumerator whose job chiefly was to interview the woman-headed households (who are in the samples in all the sites). Despite these difficulties we tried to pursue questions relating to the tasks, strategies, use of time, relationships, relevant institutions and problems of women whether they were wives, or women heading households themselves. In our future analytical work we hope to develop a model of the household as an organization, with an internal division of labour, a development cycle which may get interrupted, changing membership, with conflicts of interest as well as shared ones. In this model reproductive activities would be regarded as important as productive ones and future research at household level would explore both.

2. Household management

1. Issues

Who makes decisions and how? Should woman-headed households be regarded as a homogenous group? What is involved in doing the housework? It should be remembered that the summary from the village studies is based on reports made by young men most of whom who ignored a number of the questions they were asked to put. A notable features was that there were hardly any reports about childcare or childrearing, or caring for the sick and old.

2. Summary from the village studies

Adele Keke

Organizing tasks, cleaning, washing, cooking, fetching water, collecting firewood and selling agricultural produce are the main tasks involved in house management. The time spent on them is difficult to calculate.

The question of budgeting is one from of house management. The wife has the right to spend as much as 20 *birr* without consulting her husband. For expenses involving more than this she has to consult the man.

Sirba and Godeti

The main tasks of women include

- keeping rooms clean and tidy and organizing domestic tasks
- collecting, preparing and storing of dungcakes
- cleaning activities
- fetching water
- chopping wood if men are not at home
- controlling daily consumption of wood
- milking cows
- looking after calves and cows in the homestead
- taking care of garden crops and vegetation
- grinding grain with grind-stones
- going to the mill
- shopping in nearby weekly markets and so

Carrying out these tasks women are engaged the whole day. In an average household this is estimated to take 10-12 hours a day.

Yetmen

no information

Turufe Kechemma

The main tasks involved in housemanagement are organizing, cleaning, washing, cooking, fetching water, preparing food, making clothes, and controlling the activities of children. "In the average household within a day cleaning may take about 15 minutes, fetching water about 30 minutes, collecting and preparing wood 2 hours, and eating food 25 minutes".

Debre Berhan

According to the ideal division of labour house management is allocated to women. The wife usually cleans the floor, washes the clothes of the household members and cooks the daily food. She receives assistance from the children, particularly daughters. Fetching water from the river is the task of the wife and daughters except at times of child delivery and confinement. In such situations if there is not a daughter the husband may participate in fetching water and pounding grain.

Food preparation is extremely laborious involving hand processing barley to make it into flour. A woman has to be busy for the largest part of the day to prepare the food required for a medium-sized household.

Adado

nothing

Aze Debo'a

As stated by the household heads the main tasks involved in household management are co-ordinating agricultural work, giving proper instruction ("job descriptions") to family members and supervising their execution, taking care and protecting the family, and controlling the family resources. These are the responsibilities of the household head.

A wife has to wake between 6 and 6.30, then:

- prepare breakfast roughly 1-2 hour
- cut grass ½ hour
- milk the cow (if any) 20 minutes
- clean the house 5-10 minutes
- prepare lunch 2½ hours
- carry dung outside ½ hour
- cut grass again ½ hour
- collect dinner 1-2 hours
- go to market 1-2 hours
- prepare dinner 2 hours
- wash children 20-30 minutes
- milk the cow 20-30 minutes

This is a rough list of major activities of women: in any case a wife will be busy from 14-18 hours a day starting from 6.00 to 6.30 and ending at midnight.

The husband usually wakes between 7 and 8. Then he gives instruction to all concerned family members. He starts working on the farm after breakfast (sometimes earlier). He may stop around 4 or 5 in the evening. As compared to women men spend fewer hours working. However, one woman noticed a change these days saying that husbands have become understanding and cooperative and share much of the wife's workload.

Imdibir Haya Gasha

nothing

Harresaw

A husband usually leads the house management and washes his own clothes while the wife bakes *injera*, cooks *tsebhi* and carries out other types of domestic activities as well. However, a husband and wife help each other in most agricultural and non-agricultural activities (eg housebuilding, strengthening a fence, and the like). On average they spend about half a day performing their house management.

Korodegaga

House management is the duty of women.

Shumsheha

Women and girls are responsible for household activities such as milling, food preparation and cooking, buying household items from the market, and fetching fuel (wood and dungcakes) and water.

Geblen

Household management tasks involve the entire range of activities associated with the daily maintenance of the household. The fieldworker reported that women perform more than a day's work every day. In a typical day the peasant woman wakes up when the cocks crow at daybreak to grind grain, milk animals, fetch water and prepare breakfast and the woman spends the whole day performing the other household tasks until late in the evening. She is the first to wake and the last to go to bed. Women are so burdened by their domestic work that they do not have time for rest and they are completely exhausted by the time they go to bed.

Dinki

House management is exclusively carried out by women. Among the Moslems of the area all external household supplies are procured by the man and the woman is in charge of cooking and other household activities. The responsibility for the health of the family rests with the man. Among Orthodox Christians the supply of food items from outside is assured by the woman. Both men and women cooperate in safeguarding the health of the family.

Do'oma

The main tasks involved in house management are organizing tasks, cleaning, washing, cooking, fetching water and the collection of firewood. Cooking consumes much of the time of women. The rest of the tasks are mostly done jointly. The men even fetch water when the need arises.

Gara Godo

Decisionmaking in the household rests equally between husband and wife. The pressure to make common decisions is generated by the social and economic crisis and environmental threats which have endangered the society for decades.

A summary on hierarchy in the household: Authority is usually vested in men. In all cases the household head is jurally responsible for the household and represents its members in affairs of the community. Decision making and control of income is largely made by the household head (predominantly male), although some consultation of spouses is reported and sometimes an older father is asked for advice (Debre Berhan), in matters relating to disposal of assets, purchases etc. Women seem to have little say in property especially in terms of sale, except for livestock products and items they produce such as handicrafts and alcohol. In some cases there are intra-household conflicts over resources such as dung where women wish to use it as fuel and men as fertiliser (Debre Berhan). However, in one case increasing wives' participation is claimed (Harresaw).

Women's activities in production and reproduction; overall summary: Women in all cases are responsible for domestic management, collecting wood or dung and water, food preparation and child care. In terms of agriculture they are sometimes responsible for garden plots, and do a lot of the weeding, some harvesting and prepare the threshing ground with dung. In some cases they are involved in winnowing (Sirba), and even preparing the ground (Korodegaga). In enset areas they manure, decorticate, harvest and store the enset. (Imdibir) They also often help with harvesting cash crops such as fruit, coffee and vegetables (Imdibir). In some kinds of crops they play an important role in harvesting (maize and beans in Korodegaga). In Debre Berhan they also help with fencing and burning earth to restore fertility (*gay*). Women are sometimes employed as herders (Debre Berhan). However, when they are involved in wage labour they earn far less than men (in Imdibir men get 4 *birr* and women only 1.50). Women who take contracts to weed get 10-15 *birr /kert of tef* and 8-12 *birr* for wheat (Sirba). Poor landless women are hired to prepare food for wage-labourers for 15 *birr* a month (Sirba).

There are exceptions where women are not involved in agriculture (Do'oma). There are cases where women's involvement in agriculture has increased. In Harresaw it was believed that women should not approach the threshing ground as this would lead to a poor harvest. Now though they bring crops to the threshing ground. In Adele Keke women have been helping husbands in light agricultural tasks and transporting crops to the threshing ground for the last two decades.

Ploughing is a male domain and women were not to approach the plough in Northern Ethiopia. However, in Tigray women began to plough during the war in the absence of men but this does not seem to have continued much.

Women in many sites also do a lot of the work in livestock rearing. Girls often herd alongside boys (Adele Keke). Women do the milking (Do'oma; Aze Deboa; Sirba). They also fetch straw (Sirba). Women are responsible for storing dung, making dung cakes (Sirba).

In terms of off farm activities women are much engaged in marketing, which can be seasonal (Adado). In *enset* areas they sell *enset*, butter, oil, and salt (Imdibir). They sell eggs in a number of sites (Sirba). When they sell grain it is in small amounts (Sirba). There is some selling of dung cakes (Debre

Berhan; Sirba) firewood (Aze Deboa, Korodegaga) and straw (Sirba).

Another very important area is producing alcohol, brewing *tella* or distilling *areqe*, which is sometimes traded in towns (Debre Berhan), and even *tej* (one house in Sirba). There seems to have been an expansion. In Turufe Kecheme brewing was introduced in 1955 by Amhara and Tigreans. However, religion can act as a disincentive to brewing (Aze Deboa). Sale of beverages and food is recent in many areas (Adado). Sale of food began in Turufe Kecheme in 1936.

In terms of crafts women are potters, an occupation often looked down on and sometimes performed by what have been described as occupational endogenous "castes" (*Mana* in Do'oma; *Watta* in Adado). This is no longer the case in Imdibir and many women have recently taken up pottery. Seasonally women make baskets and spin cotton (apparently introduced in Turufe Kecheme in 1943) - "in their spare time". Another source of income is hairdressing (Harresaw; Turufe Kecheme).

In professions Yetmen reports 9 out of 23 teachers as women.

In terms of the use of income from things they produce many sites suggest women can decide as they like so long as purchases are for households. These usually include salt, coffee, spices, and in Adado meat. If it is for herself or larger expenses she must consult her husband (Sirba)

3. Conclusions

- In most sites women are not regarded as equal partners in household decisionmaking and management although this seems more likely in the vulnerable sites
- Women do all the tasks usually considered as housework and in addition are responsible for fetching water and usually wood. They do tasks like chopping wood if the men are not at home. Men help a little: in one site the man washes his own clothes and in some men will do domestic tasks when a wife is in childbirth or confinement if there are no daughters or other women to help
- Women work much longer hours than men although in 1 site women say men are getting more helpful

3. Domestic technology and innovation

1. Issues

If women are to be more involved in agricultural and off-farm activities, which seems to be the trend, they may be greatly helped by some rather simple time-saving technological advances such as electric mills, improved stoves which use less fuel (and pollute the house less), and piped water.

2. Summary from the village studies

Adele Keke

Women use traditional hearths for cooking and mortars to pound grain. Home-made improved hearths are used by some (it saves labour and fuel and is healthier because it has a chimney which removes smoke). Everything cooked is served immediately and not stored.

Sirba and Godeti

Women use a circular flat tray made of grass (*gundo*) to separate grains from husks and dust. They use a large pestle and mortar to separate chaff from wheat and barley grain and grind spices. They use grinding stones and there is a mill. Kerosene and charcoal stoves are in use; wood and dung-cakes are also used. Milking is done by hand. Water is carried in a big pot which can hold about 15 litres. Women look after

garden crops and vegetation: they use pickaxes to soften the soil. *Tef* flour is stored in a big pot or barrel for household consumption. Grain is stored in a sack, or barrel-shaped container made of mud and dung. They spin cotton or make baskets in their spare time. They chop wood with an axe if men are not home. They make shelf-shaped fitments for storing household goods and chairs (both of wood, plastered with mud and dung).

Innovations: in 1992 MoA organized 2 groups of women to look after chickens donated to groups - 18 improved species - project did not work since women did not keep to their shifts - chickens distributed to individuals and can be seen.

Yetmen

Women produce edible oil and bake *injera* and prepare *wot*. They are also known for their basket-weaving (producing different ones for different purposes) and spin cotton.

Turufe Kechemba

Women use iron, pottery and wooden pans and plates for food preparation. They use 3-stone hearths over a wood fire.

Debre Berhan

Food preparation involves processing barley, which is extremely laborious (much harder than *tef* and sorghum). A woman has to be busy for most of the day to prepare the food required for a medium-sized household.

Adado

Different locally-made tools are used for *enset*-processing: *sissa* (sharp-edged metal tool for scraping); *metta* (plank of wood as a support); *chekko* (iron-tipped tool to crush root). It is baked on a clay or metal oven (*mesha*).

Aze Debo'a

Women usually use pottery artifacts which are slow-cooking. There is now a tendency to use iron saucepans and other aluminium implements. Iron cooking utensils save time, energy and wood. Women have also learned how to build ovens which makes cooking much easier than the traditional *midija*. They used to grind grains manually using stones especially made for this; now the introduction of mills has helped women considerably in grinding flour.

Imdibir Haya Gasha

Women decorticate *enset* with an axe and cook food with utensils made of clay. *Enset* is stored underground and it is claimed that protein is lost in storage.

Harresaw

The type of stove used by the women wastes large amounts of wood and the smoke creates a problem. Recently a new stove was introduced (small amount of wood; smoke out through separate opening; and can cook *wot* and *injera* at the same time) - most women are using it. The modern mobile charcoal saving stove is not much used but there is a new mobile stove made of mud.

Korodegaga

Cooking technology is traditional: grain is ground and cooked at home using locally made pots.

Shumsheha

Cooking is still done over open hearth fires, water is fetched from rivers, and the nearest grain mill is 12 kms (Lalibela). All cooking utensils are locally made.

Do'oma

Women use the products of traditional technology such as knives, containers, and home-made hearths.

3. Conclusions

- Some women have access to mills but many have to grind the grain themselves. Grinding barley is particularly time-consuming
- In a few sites women have started to use improved stoves
- When the community groups were asked about useful innovations only one aimed at women was mentioned.

4. Marriage and divorce

1. Issues

Costs of marriage (bridewealth, dowry and ceremonial expenses); rights of women after marriage; frequency of divorce and rights of women after divorce; polygyny. It is probable that what people reported as happening was the ideal rather than actual: for example in many sites oxen are so few that most marriages must take place without any being given to the groom.

2. Summary from the village studies

Marriage:

Adele Keke

Households are mainly monogamous but there is about 10% polygyny. Girls marry between 15-18 and boys between 18-21. Gifts include 300 *birr* to the bride for clothing. The groom's mother gives 100 *birr* to bride's mother. There are gifts of food and 100 *birr* on the wedding day to the bride's parents

Sirba and Godeti

The son should receive a pair of oxen and the daughter clothes and a cow or ox slaughtered for the wedding. Polygamy is on the decrease and the couple's choice of partners has increased. Bridewealth has dropped, divorce has increased, and women get a greater share on divorce. A few rich farmers still practise polygyny.

Yetmen

There is no polygyny. *Ballekul*, *tilosh* jewellery, dress, shoes, parents' endowments of livestock, money. For a good start *kibibil*. Age 14 (girl) :17 (boy).

Turufe Kecheme

Bridewealth: *metaya* Amhara-Tigrean 100-200 *birr*; *gabara* Oromo 3,000 *birr*. *Murti* - even children born to another man after divorce belong to the first husband. No blood compensation for a wife killed but paid for! Muslim Oromo polygamous 100-1000 *birr* for Oromo girls to family.

Debre Berhan

Groom's family give oxen, cow, and other livestock. Bride's side gives smaller gifts of clothes, shoes and scarves to the bride (for a first marriage only). *Kotera* involves the counting of gifts in turn: eg the groom's family gives an ox, then the bride's family gives a cow: GF gives grain 5 quintals, BF gives 2 quintals etc. The utensils for cooking etc belong to the women.

Adado

There is clan exogamy. Polygyny is reduced for reasons of economy and Christianity. Groom received implements. Bridewealth formerly was iron and silver plus a cloth belt. Then it was cotton garment for the father and mother of bride. Now cash amounting to 90 *birr* is given to the father of bride.

Aze Debo'a

Marriage is seldom arranged. Gifts of clothes are given by the groom to the bride and a blanket and honey given to her parents. Conjugal fund implements are given by the bride's family; a *gabi* and overcoat are given to the bride's father; a dress to bride's mother, and sheep, butter, and bread; 50-100 *birr* to her relatives. In return the groom receives clothes.

Imdibir Haya Gasha

There is some polygyny. Bride payment was 500-1000 *birr* in the past plus clothes and mats. Now there is no payment following a decision by *yejoka* (the local Gurage council).

Harresaw

Previously all marriages were religious but now they are mostly civil and approved by the *baito*. Previously there was *gezmi*: the groom gives a cow and the bride's family two cows. Now it is one. The groom has to buy a dress, shoes, *netsela*, earrings, ring, and a necklace. He gives wood, sheep and labour help, but no money. The bride's family offers an ox for betrothal and on the wedding day 150-200 *birr* to 300-600 *gezmi*. The man is

18 and the girl 15 or sometimes below if physically mature. Polygyny is not common but there are about 50 cases at the site.

Korodegaga

In the past the groom's family should give 5-120 cattle bridewealth. It was said that bridewealth (*gabara*) of 1,000-2,000 *birr* is paid by poor households and 5,000 *birr* by the rich. Dowry *geegawo* may be 3-5 cattle, 5 quintals of *tef*, butter and from the bride's family 20-30 cattle and household equipment. Polygyny is widespread.

Shumsheha

Marriage is an extremely flexible institution. Some people report being married between 20 and 30 times. The first marriage is arranged by parents (although these days there are cases of refusals to marry parentally chosen spouses). Boys may be as young as 14/15 and girls between 6 and 8. They will live at the husband's parents' house until old enough to live alone. Marriage is of a contractual nature and subject to negotiation; there is a written document. Parents provide livestock and grain for daughters and sons (if they can afford to) and clothes for the spouse. Polygyny is not practised but it is common to have mistresses and promiscuity is common. There is no intermarriage with Moslems or members of caste groups. Wives are regarded as inferior and beating and mistreatment are naturally ordained. Adultery is more blameworthy in a woman.

Do'oma

There is exogamous polygyny. Now marriage tends to be by consent rather than by arrangement. Bridewealth may involve the payment of an ox to the bride's father and clothes to her mother. Parents provide livestock and equipment to a son; a daughter is given clothes. There is a gift by the parents of the groom of jewellery, 200 *birr*, clothes, and a watch. 150-500 *birr* may given to the bride's father and clothes to the bride.

Divorce:

Adele Keke

People divorce very seldom and marriage is respected. Infertility does not lead to divorce but rather to a second wife. A divorced woman is given one cow or ox (her *mahri*) and 200 *birr* (*nafaka*) and the property given to her by parents or relatives.

Sirba and Godeti

The marriage gifts are divided. Divorce seemed less frequent in the past. Then a divorced woman was only given a cow. Now the property is divided although land remains with the husband as does the house usually.

Yetmen

Divorce is rare and the divorced woman is despised (called a *galemota*). She is given a share of the property. An infertile woman is blamed and called a *beklo* (mule).

Turufe Kecheme

Marriage is stable and divorce rare. If it happens the woman gets half of the assets only among Tigreans and Amharas. Oromo divorcing wives get no assets, only clothes and gifts she received at marriage (furniture and cows). She has no right to property after marriage.

Debre Berhan

Divorce is infrequent but when it happens they divide the wealth equally. Father keeps children over 3 (stepfathers are regarded as bad). The wife takes her counted property plus a share of the wealth *habtish habte*; in reality women take from the moveable assets which are livestock and grain.

Adado

Divorce is undesirable but easily accepted. The wife gets no share of property and leaves her children going empty handed. A widow remarries or lives with children who have inherited.

Aze Debo'a

Marriage is very stable and divorce rare: this is partly due to the influence of the missions. It can happen if the wife is infertile or has only girls.

Imdibir

Divorce is rare and condemned; marriages are stable. It can happen for barrenness and laziness. If the husband claims for divorce the wife can ask for a share of the property.

In the past husbands even kept the wife's old dresses (and gave them to the next one).

Harresaw

The divorce rate is high. All is divided equally including the land apart from the house which the man gets while she only gets monetary compensation.

Korodegaga

There is rarely divorce due to Arssi Oromo customs plus Islam beliefs. Very rarely desertion is reported. Divorce occasionally happens by agreement if she is ill, barren or old and needing a rest. She lives near in a house built by her husband; the children can live with either of the 2 except those who are breastfeeding. After the separation he gives some livestock and part of his land to this former family. He can marry again but she cannot. If she tries to leave without an agreement she gets nothing; she can take the children she needs to live with.

Shumsheha

Marriage is easily and frequently dissolved. Some respondents claimed to have been married between 20 and 30 times. The partners are entitled to take what they brought into the marriage and they share what they have accumulated during it. Only children who are less than 3 have to go with the mother: the others can choose. Widows can get remarried unless they are too old. She can keep her husband's property; if it is land she can sharecrop it out.

Do'oma

The divorce rate is low not because of the need to return bridewealth, but because of moral code *gome*. An infertile wife may be divorced; she takes her share of property except for land. She also takes her dowry and 1/3 or 1/4 of the wealth if there are no children; if there are children she takes 1/5 to 1/6

Summary

There is some polygyny in several sites. In some cases it was reported that it was on the decrease due to the influence of Christianity and economic impoverishment. We need to distinguish three basic marriage transactions: bridewealth, dowry (gifts by the bride's family directly to her), and indirect dowry (gifts by the parents of the groom directly to him). Although in some cases we have all three (Do'oma). Sometimes there are gifts in both directions. Small gifts of clothing and honey are given to the bride's parents and these are complemented by gifts to the groom's parents of clothing and livestock. Gifts for the bride are usually only for first marriages and a premium is placed on the bride's virginity. Arranged marriages prevail but this is changing. In terms of age of marriage we see a discrepancy with women invariably marrying younger, perhaps more so in the north.

In the south divorce is rare and marriages stable and divorce is condemned. However Adado is the exception; although undesirable it is easily accepted. In the north there it seems to be more frequent though Yetmen and Debre Berhan report that it is rare. It is suggested that divorce has increased in Sirba. In the event of divorce women seem to have little share of the property except what they brought in the form of endowments. Where women do take property, although there is sometimes an ideal of equal division, usually they take movable property especially livestock and grain and not land and often this is only so long as the fault is seen as the husband's. In some sites a woman can be divorced for infertility or, in 1 site, having only girls. However, women's rights seem to have improved in some cases, in part through external intervention. Even where women's rights are defended by the village (baitos) men retain the house and women only get some money in compensation (Harresaw). In Sirba a woman used only to get a cow; now the property (except land) is divided.

3. Conclusions

- Women's rights in and after marriage are less than in some other parts of Africa
- There are changes taking place in some sites: marriage are less costly; partners able to choose in some places; less polygyny; more divorce

5. Fertility

1. Issues

Frequent births lead to population increase. Despite the pressure on land people seem reluctant to control fertility. "Children are wealth". They are needed for farm and household labour. Close births affect farming activity and the wellbeing of mothers.

2. Summary from the village studies

Adele Keke

Fertility is said to be high. Information on family planning is available; unlikely that they use it. Some male informants said that while men are interested in reducing childbirth, women have negative attitudes. Husbands can marry a second wife if the first is infertile. Infertility in men can be detected through government hospitals - the wife can abandon or divorce him. Infertility in either can be treated through modern medication or traditional herbs. Male children are preferred.

Sirba and Godeti

Guddifacha adoption for infertile women is practised. Infertility is usually treated through the *ayana* cult. A few women in the village use the family planning clinic in Debre Zeyt.

Yetmen

Fertility is high; there is no use of contraceptives except by prostitutes. Infertile women are despised as they are said to be cursed. There is no identified infertile man in the community. The popular treatment for infertility is *tsebel* (holy water).

Turufe Kecheme

The *kalicha* is consulted for infertility. An infertile wife is not divorced but a second wife is taken. There is no way of handling the infertility of men; their wives cannot marry another husband just to have offspring. Some women used to take contraceptives with the agreement of their husbands and abandoned them also with their agreement, feeling sick, weak and thin. Some women take contraceptives secretly without telling their husbands leading to quarrels with the husbands who suspect that it gives them the opportunity to have secret sexual intercourse with other men.

Debre Berhan

Both men and women have access to family planning but there is little interest and no use. Fertility is attributed to the will of God; fertile women are more highly valued than barren ones but an infertile women may not be divorced for this reason alone.

Adado

Gedeo attach great importance to fertility: family planning services are available but there is little interest. Even those women who start stop. In cases of infertility in women elders call for prayers (*Kayo*). If these fail the man can remarry - the first wife can stay with her husband or marry someone else. If the man is infertile he can keep marrying different wives. Boys and girls equally welcomed.

Aze Debo'a

Fertility is high and probably increasing; people resist family planning due to religion. One informant thought this might be changing because of famine, land shortage and other problems, and the efforts of the family planning clinic. Men complain that women do not follow the advice they have been given. Some women do use contraception. There is a strong preference for male children. Infertility is believed to be in women only and can lead to divorce. The only treatment is religious prayer.

Imdibir

Garage culture favours high fertility. Marriage is early and there are rituals to honour high fertility (after the birth of 8th and 10th child). The problem of infertility in men is not considered as unfortunate as that in women. Family planning is not widely known in Imdibir.

Harresaw

The average number of children a woman has is 8. Infertile women are vulnerable to divorce. They spend a lot of money trying to cure it: going to holy places, to spirit-possessed individuals, and making sacrifices. Women now have access to family planning but do not consider birth control a good practice. They are not used to taking pills. 95% of men do not believe in family planning - "children are wealth". Families prefer male children: girls leave taking their labour with them, while boys bring more labour when married; boys can defend their families; family has to provide dowry for a girl at marriage.

Korodegaga

There is no divorce because of infertility; polygyny instead. Infertility is always the women's problem. Children are regarded as the manifestation of the blessing of God and the use of artificial contraceptives is regarded as going against God's will. Many people, especially the young, know about family planning but it is not practised.

Shumsheha

The fertility rate in the PA is one of the highest in the region; children are considered as gifts of God and the belief that they are assets is deep-rooted. They are important as labourers and for security in old age. Family planning methods are propagated by public health workers but not accepted by the people.

Infertility is usually attributed only to women and seen as the result of a curse or the wrath of God. Infertile women usually go to *balewuqabi* to do away with the curse.

Dinki

The division of labour in the household affects the number of children a household has: there is a need for more children as sources of labour. Children are a burden only until the age of 5 or 6. Husbands prefer to have boys to help in the field. It is believed that God gives children and whether one wants more depends on his will. Abortion is said to be practised in cases of unwanted pregnancy (juice from a plant). A fruit and prolonged breast-feeding are used to prevent conception.

Do'oma

Infertility is recognised for both men and women; if the love is strong enough one of them lets the other bear a child from outside - otherwise divorce. Usually infertile women are married as a second wife; an infertile man lives either with his family, marries a second wife or a widow. Infertility is explained in terms of fate and there is no treatment. The rudimentary family planning services provided by the Dera-Malo clinic are used by no-one. Having children is God's mandate and children, especially sons, are needed for labour.

Gara Godo

Having as many children as possible is highly valued by Wolayitta for children are considered as a form of security for old age.

Summary

All sites report that fertility is high, and in Aze Deboa there is the suggestion that it is increasing. In Imdibir this is related to early marriage and rituals that reinforce the importance of fertility.

Infertility in couples is generally attributed to women. Women are pitied and sometimes despised. In some cases it can lead to divorce but more usually to the man marrying a second wife. In many cases women go to holy springs or holy places or spiritual leaders. Elders may be called to hold prayers. In Sirba infertile women can adopt children. In Korodegaga it cannot lead to divorce. Contraceptives even where available are not used except by prostitutes. .

3. Conclusions

- All sites have high fertility rates and high fertility is regarded by most as desirable
- In most sites it is claimed that family planning advice is available but it is rarely used
- There are a few men who claim that they would like their wives to use contraception and a few women who are doing it without their husband's permission
- In most sites infertility is seen as caused by the woman. There is variation in the way infertile women are treated

6. Childbirth and childcare

1. Issues

Women's health can be damaged if they undertake heavy work during later pregnancy and soon after childbirth. Their babies' health will partly depend on their mother's diet before and after giving birth as well as the food fed to babies. We know very little about how babies and young children are cared for and fed. Is there a gender bias?

2. Summary from the village studies

Adele Keke

People are fond of children and value them as permanent assets. Males are preferred because they add to the total population of the lineage. There is no special care provided either in pregnancy or after birth. Women are expected to perform all household activities 2 weeks after childbirth. Those with helpers can rest for up to 2 months. During childbirth women are helped by traditional midwives; where they cannot help they are taken to Alemaya clinic or the government hospital in Harar.

Sirba and Godeti

A woman is expected to stay at home, abandoning heavier tasks, including agricultural activities, 5 months after conception. After delivery women can rest for 1 month; they receive gifts from kin and neighbours. Women usually give birth at home helped by traditional birth attendants. The degree of aftercare depends on the economic status of the household. The care provided to women in pregnancy and childbirth is ensured by the institution of gifts which dictate reciprocal exchange of food among households linked by networks of kinship, friendship and neighbourhood.

Yetmen

Most pregnant women work until they give birth. Maternity leave is 40 days: it is believed that evil spirits may harm the woman and baby if they go out of the home before 40 days have passed.

Turufe Kechema

Pregnant women used to be given vaccinations during the Derg: now the MoH workers prefer going to Shashemene where they can get per diems. Pregnant women eat better if they are wealthy and women in childbirth receive milk, butter, grain and flour and sometimes sheep and goats from their parents, relatives and friends. In Orthodox Christian families women are not supposed to resume work until after baptism (40 days for a boy and 80 for a girl). In Moslem households women resume work on the 15th day (if she has no help) or the 60th (if she does).

There is a belief, especially among Orthodox Christians, that it is better to give birth to boys (in this case a sheep might be killed). Babies (male and female) are circumcised after the 7th day.

Debre Birhan

Pregnant women continue their usual work until they give birth although towards the end they only do lighter work. Usually confinement lasts for 1 month, although it depends on socioeconomic status. The husband is expected to slaughter smallstock so she will be well-fed.

Adado

Among the Gedeo the births of both male and female babies are welcomed equally. The informant claimed that a woman passes a period of confinement for 6 months or up to 1 year in some cases, during which time she is relieved of all tasks and nourished with the best food the family can afford. All the household chores are managed by the father. When she leaves the house for the first time she goes about decorated with new clothes and treated like a bride.

Aze Debo'a

Pregnant women are cared for as much as possible (though some women say the care is not sufficient). During pregnancy and at times of childbirth they have to perform certain household tasks (fetching water and heavier work). There is a considerable difference between rich and poor - one rich wife said that she did no heavy work for the first 6 months of pregnancy for fear of miscarriage. A rich man's wife may not resume work until 2 months after delivery: for a poor woman it is 15 days. There are many possibilities in between - the husband is despised if he does not give the expected care to his wife after childbirth.

Having a male child is more appreciated than having a female (this is shown in the number of *ililta* with which the women greet the birth - 8 for a boy, 4 for a girl).

Harresaw

Women do not receive special care during pregnancy and may receive little care in childbirth. They resume work 15 days after delivery - they even fetch wood and water and participate in weeding.

Korodegaga

Pregnant women, especially during the last couple of months, perform only domestic activities rather than farm-work. After delivery they stay at home between 2 and 4 weeks (the number of weeks depends whether she has grown-up daughters at home).

Shumsheha

Pregnant women hardly get any supplementary food or leisure time. In most cases women are expected to resume usual activities within 12 days of birth. There is no trained birth attendant in the PA; if labour is complicated the woman must be carried 12 kms to Lalibela.

Do'oma

During pregnancy women do less activity than normally: daughters assume the bulk of the work. Usually a month after delivery women resume work: if they had a difficult birth or the family is rich they may take more time.

Gara Godo

Most households in Wolayitta are overcrowded making disease (especially that of children) quite serious. However, the special custom of giving priority to children makes children in Wolayitta less vulnerable than they are in other parts of the country.

3. Conclusions

- In some places women work very close to the birth and start again very soon after. Moslem women seem less fortunate in this regard than others, as do the poor in many sites.
- In a number of sites husbands are expected to provide special food and/or relatives, neighbours and friends provide gifts of special food
- In sites where it is mentioned there is a preference for boy babies

7. Health

1. Issues

What are the chief disease problems in the villages? How do people try to prevent and cure them? What kinds of health treatment do they have access to?

2. Summary from the village studies

See Figure 3

Site	Diseases (reported from village)	Traditional treatment sought	Non-traditional facilities available
Adele Keke	<p>women: "lung cancer", diarrhoea, malaria, liver, inability of giving birth</p> <p>men: malaria, "lung cancer", gastritis, amoeba, coughing, colds, diarrhoea</p> <p>children: meningitis, <i>tiktik</i>, measles, diarrhoea, TB, polio, anaemia, amoeba</p>	Traditional herbalists and traditional midwives in PA; bonesetters in near PAs; sheiks and <i>kabiras</i> (religious with lower status than sheiks) who can heal sick and harm others through magic spells.	Health centre: typical visit costs 10 <i>birr</i> ; drugs at time of visit - chloroquine, promethazine. preventive programmes: latrine construction.
Sirba and Godeti	<p>women: malaria, influenza, eye diseases, "emergency", gastritis, pneumonia, measles</p> <p>men: malaria, pneumonia, <i>moyale</i>, influenza, measles</p> <p>children: diarrhoea, vomiting, malaria, pneumonia, measles</p>	Traditional prevention and treatment included eating black <i>tef</i> pancakes with oil (diarrhoea), cut herb leaves and juice applied to the body and taken internally (pneumonia), and other unspecified traditional treatment.	Malaria, diarrhoea, vomiting, and pneumonia are treated at the hospital
Yetmen	<p>women: TB, breast cancer, haemorrhoids, typhus, FUO, VD, trachoma, arthritis, gastritis, rabies, anthrax, leprosy</p> <p>men: typhus, TB, haemorrhoids, rubella, FUO, VD, gastritis, anthrax, meningitis, diarrhoea, trachoma, arthritis, elephantiasis, leprosy</p> <p>children: diarrhoea, rubella, <i>wosfat</i>, amoeba, GIG, FUO, typhus, trachoma</p>	Overwhelming majority use traditional medicines. Traditional remedies include drinks and eardrops made from herbs, creams for rubbing on the body made of herbs, and eating bat's flesh cooked in <i>wat</i> (for hepatitis). <i>Tsebel</i> (holy water) is also used.	Some used to get modern drugs from a shop owned by a retired health assistant but closed down because he had no licence. As last resorts they use health clinics and hospitals.
Turufe Kecheme	<p>Women: gastric stomach, kidney, leprosy, asthma, gynaecology, TB, colds, malaria, headache, eye problems</p> <p>Men: liver, TB, kidney, gastric, leprosy, eye problems, malaria, colds, headache, gonorrhoea</p> <p>Children: measles, throat infections, coughing, diarrhoea, persistent itching, body-swelling disease, fever, bronchitis, pneumonia, meningitis, dry cough, eye sickness</p>	Traditional treatments include drugs made from local herbs, and burning swelling with hot iron. Self-treatment include bleeding the joints of an arm by slightly pricking the blood vessel with a blade. People also keep houses clean.	Shashemene General Hospital is about 2.5km from the PA; it provides general health services, a leprosy centre and eye clinic.

Site	Diseases (reported from village)	Traditional treatment sought	Non-traditional facilities available
Debre Birhan	<p>women: flu, stomachache, <i>mitch</i>, kerato conjunctivitis, meningitis</p> <p>men: kerato conjunctivitis, flu, stomachache. <i>mitch</i>, meningitis</p> <p>children: flu, stomachache, <i>mitch.</i>, kerato conjunctivitis, meningitis</p>	A respondent said farmers prefer witchcraft; hospitals are places where people die. Another said disappearance of forest makes it hard to find herbs.	Nearest clinic to Fagy in Debre Birhan (10km); clinic at site is closed most of the time. Hospital in Debre Birhan: most frequent illnesses: TB, broncho-pneumonia; AIDS patients recorded 1986EC 60 male, 40 female.
Adado	<p>women: <i>butan</i> (a local form of sorcery), diarrhoea, <i>banko</i>, <i>chineha</i>, <i>kerssa</i>, <i>arshu</i>, <i>sida sirbu</i></p> <p>men: typhoid, relapsing fever, TB, arthritis, cancer (<i>luta</i>), gonorrhoea, <i>ruga (aba koda)</i>, diarrhoea</p> <p>children: measles, diarrhoea, typhoid, <i>nehessa</i>, <i>keleto</i>, <i>sulla</i>, <i>chenicha</i></p>	All the diseases listed by women had some connection with sorcery, magic, or social impropriety. There are traditional practitioners in the community.	Health clinic (typical visit costs 3 <i>birr</i>) provides EPI, family planning, public health and medical treatment (the community only identified the last). They have in store antibiotics, antihelmints, analgesics, antiasthmatics, first aid, antiseptic, antifungal drugs.
Aze Debo'a	<p>women: cancer, kidney, malaria ascaris, colds, amoeba</p> <p>men: cancer, ascaris, kidney, amoeba, gastric, typhoid, yellow fever, asthma, headache, tapeworm, eyesight, tooth disease</p> <p>children: amoeba, ascaris, tooth disease, common cold</p>	People try traditional treatment before going to the clinic. Home treatment includes garlic, salt, lemons, and some herbs.	Health centre is planned for the community; now go to Durame (4km). The nearest hospital is 70km.
Imdibir Haya Gasha	<p>women: toothache, backpain, eye disease, earache, gastritis, "sharp pain", amoebic dysentery, heartburn, abdominal pain, severe headache</p> <p>men: gonorrhoea, gastritis, toothache, amoebic dysentery, severe headache, pneumonia, eye disease, liver, TB, mental illness</p> <p>children: dysentery, vomiting, <i>tiktik</i>, measles, <i>gudif</i>, coughing, fever, eye disease</p>	Self-medication includes the root of a special <i>enset</i> plant. There are 2 types of traditional medicine: ritual (a spiritual healer called <i>Yeway demam</i>) and non-ritual (bonesetters and herbalists).	The health facility most frequently used is Imdibir clinic (4 dressers, not enough drugs, take prescriptions to private drug shop) Vaccination programme v TB, tetanus, polio, measles. Typical visit costs 3-5 <i>birr</i> . There is a nurse at GM clinic (5 km). Most frequent illnesses seen at clinics: trachoma, malaria, intestinal parasites, other respiratory illnesses.

Site	Diseases (reported from village)	Traditional treatment sought	Non-traditional facilities available
Harresaw	women: coldness, coughing, fever men: cough, fever, measles, childbirth, backpain children: measles, cough, fever	Traditional treatment includes cutting the ill parts with a blade to make it bleed, going to holy water, smoking the leaves and roots of plants.	Many go to health centres and even hospitals. There have been epidemics of typhoid (1984 - 112 deaths and 87 - 127 deaths) and polio (1991 - 80 children died). Local health clinic only provides first aid (typical visit costs 0.50 cents)
Korodegaga	women: malaria, TB, gastric, amoeba, headache, eye problem, teeth problem men: malaria, amoeba, diarrhoea, TB, gastric, eye problems children: malaria, stomach problems, colds The Awash river brings a lot of waste from factories and hotels which is in the drinking water.	The only traditional treatment mentioned was cutting the tonsils of children but there are traditional practitioners and sheiks.	A dresser can give first aid, tablets and injections and buys drugs etc from the nearest Red Cross shop. Drugs at the clinic include chloroquine, anti bacterium, tetracycline, measles drugs, and ORS. A typical visit costs 5 <i>birr</i> . The malaria control centre is 25km - too far for residents (you have to wait there 2 days)
Shumsheha	women: diarrhoea, malaria, conjunctivitis, whooping cough men: malaria; typhoid; diarrhoea, meningitis, toothache, conjunctivitis children: diarrhoea, marasmus, conjunctivitis, whooping cough	There are many <i>wogeshas</i> (bonesetters), <i>kalicha</i> , and <i>bale wukabi</i> . <i>Tenquay</i> are most revered.	There is a non-professional, inexperienced person who randomly prescribes medicine. There is no clinic in the PA: the nearest is 12 kms (2 doctors, 6 nurses, 13 health assistants, 1 pharmacist - free for those who cannot pay (75%). Nearest hospital 110kms.
Geblen	women: pain on pelvic bone, headache, gastritis, trachoma men: typhoid fever, flu, malaria children: malaria, dental pain, headache/anaemia, gastrics	The nearest traditional doctor is 1/2 km from the village; the initial fee is a cup of coffee. Children's teeth are harmed by eating cactus; teeth are pulled by people in the village (the fear contamination by HIV at clinic). There is healing water near the village (45 minutes on foot).	The nearest pharmacy is 22km. The nearest clinics and pharmacies are 22 km and the nearest hospital 25km; they have to travel on foot (4 hours).

Site	Diseases (reported from village)	Traditional treatment sought	Non-traditional facilities available
Dinki	<p>women: malaria, typhoid, <i>mogne bagegne</i>, measles and false measles, mumps, fever</p> <p>men: malaria, typhoid, <i>mogne bagegne</i>, headache, fever, waterborne diseases, joint pains, trachoma, flu, false measles and measles, elephantiasis, haemorrhoids</p>	There are traditional practitioners in the village.	There is no health clinic in the village; the nearest is 10kms (no doctor, no nurse, irregular supply of drugs, course of malaria drugs costs 3 <i>birr</i>); nearest assumed hospital 66km; nearest pharmacy 70 kms.
Do'oma	<p>women: malaria, <i>alta</i>, arthritis, abdominal ache, elephantiasis, tropical ulcer</p> <p>men: malaria, <i>alta</i>, arthritis, diarrhoea, eye disease, elephantiasis, abdominal ache, tropical ulcer, breathing problems</p> <p>children: malaria, fever, headache, tropical ulcer, diarrhoea, pneumonia, common cold</p>	The people use extensive traditional medicine including <i>aste</i> (heating with wood), bird's waste mixed with water, shell worn to protect from evil eye, bleeding, and herbs.	The nearest clinic is in Wacha; the hospitals in Arba Minch and Sodo. The Wacha clinic has 3 nurses, 7 dressers and 10 health assistants; it gives vaccinations, health education and family planning guidance at Do'oma once a month. The "top" diseases in the clinic are malaria, anaemia, intestinal worms, and lung sickness.
Gara Godo	<p>women: yellow fever, rheumatism, malaria, <i>gergeda</i>, eye problems, toothache, diarrhoea, headache, cough, <i>wugat</i>, amoeba, asthma, anaemia</p> <p>men: yellow fever, diarrhoea, TB, eye problems, toothache, malaria, cold, gastritis, cough, hepatitis, amoeba, asthma, anaemia</p> <p>children: tonsillitis, gum, eye problems, stomachache, fever, <i>yewof</i>, cough, tetanus</p>	Traditional treatment includes herbs, cutting the tonsils, avoiding taboo food, and bone manipulation.	The health clinic in the PA has no doctor or nurse. It has a regular supply of drugs and vaccines; a course of antibiotics costs 10 <i>birr</i> . The nearest maternity clinic, doctor, nurse, and pharmacy are 13km. The nearest hospital is 43km.

3. Conclusions

- There are a number of diseases frequently found including malaria, TB, hepatitis, respiratory infections, amoebic dysentery, measles, typhoid fever, elephantiasis and gonorrhoea/VD. Children's diseases frequently mentioned include diarrhoea, vomiting, measles, and malaria
- It seems likely, particularly in the poor vulnerable sites, that most treatment is self medication or traditional
- Typical visits to health clinics seem to cost between 3 and 10 *birr* (including drugs)
- The number of AIDS cases reported to Debre Berhan hospital in 1986EC was 60 male and 40 female

8. Socialization and informal education

1. Issues

Very little attention has been paid by economists to the development of "human capital" outside the formal classroom situation (measured in terms of "years of schooling"). Most of what children in rural areas learn and the ways they learn to think and react are taught by parents, relatives, and neighbours. Far more research should be done in this area.

2. Summary from the village studies

Adele Keke

Child socialization and non-school education is shared among parents, siblings, close relatives and friends. Children are expected to behave strictly according to the community's code of behaviour which includes respecting elders, and their wishes, accepting their advice, respecting parents, abstaining from juvenile delinquency, theft and the like. Violation can lead to punishments of various kinds.

Local skills that are learned include terracing, making farm implements, housebuilding, the use of fertilizer, and mid-wifery. They are learned through apprenticeship with parents and neighbours.

Qualities desirable in women include hospitality, hard work, kindness, cleverness and dexterity. People can be born with these qualities or they can learn them. Lying and quarrelling are undesirable in women. Desirable skills include living economically, being good with her hands, and helping with farmwork.

Qualities desirable in men are patience, courtesy and kindness. People are born with these: they cannot learn them. They can avoid bad characters and improve with learning. Not accepting advice from elders or respecting them are undesirable in boys. Offending others and ignorance are undesirable in men and boys.

The local conception of intelligence involves good memory, quick understanding, and grasping of new events, skilful handling of agricultural performance, finding solutions to problems and good oratory.

Modern education is regarded as a source of intelligence but on the whole they do not have a constructive attitude to education. It disturbs identity and the traditional way of life by introducing alien concepts and practices. Knowledge of the Koran is also considered a good criterion of intelligence.

Sirba and Godeti

Men who are admired in the community are brave, hardworking, skilled in argument, good with their hands, independent and obedient. The best way to teach these is through good example. Men who are good organizers or who help to settle disputes are well respected. Thieving, drunkenness and gossiping are undesirable in men.

Qualities admired in women are good behaviour and hard work. To develop these traits in girls you must ensure they have almost no connection with boys, teach them housework, give them advice and if ready for school, then control them. It is important to restrict the places they go. Wives should be willing to try businesses to fulfil the household needs. Women's technical skills that are most respected are basketmaking, spinning and knitting.

The local conception of intelligence gives a high priority to memory. This includes remembering the names of people who are frequently met, memorizing stories, the way to places, and instructions from parents to be carried out after 2 days or more.

Yetmen

Children are socialized to be hard workers, honest, heroes etc. Everyone is expected to respect elders. Since guests are highly respected sons and daughters have the moral obligation to wash their feet. A son or daughter who did not behave properly would be cursed. This would create future misfortune.

Men should be able to resolve disputes through the local council of elders and participate in *idir* and *equb*. A successful farmer is a hard worker. Education could also help to be successful. The most respected technical skills are carpentry, tailoring, building, blacksmithing, and weaving. Undesirable qualities in men include drunkenness, scolding, backbiting, stealing, lying, cheating, being self-centred, and lacking respect for elders. The skills most respected are oratory and being a lawyer.

Qualities desirable in women include to be good with their hands, a hard worker, good at house management, respect their husbands by engaging in income-earning activities, decent, cleverness, kindness, obedience, sociability, agreeableness, loving her husband, home and children. Girls have to learn all the skills needed to be a good wife; adolescents who fail to fulfil these duties may not get married and would be given the nickname *geltu*. Qualities not desirable in women include fornication, backbiting, quarrelling with neighbours, and not respecting her husband or work.

Turufe Kechemma

Parents are responsible for socialization and non-school education. Children are expected to behave well and are taught all methods of farming. They are expected to help their parents.

Undesirable traits in men are cheating, stealing, drinking, laziness, disrespectfulness, and adultery. A successful farmer has all the necessary implements and knows when and what should be done at particular times, who uses his land efficiently and improves his activities by learning from his mistakes and getting knowledge of best practice from other farmers. He should be able to treat his animals when sick and be able to invent a system of water use for his farm like by mulching tree crops, making ditches etc. A good farmer has good products every season, can feed his family satisfactorily throughout, has milking cows, attractive garden crops and enough pack animals.

Undesirable traits in women include adultery, not respecting their husbands and not doing what he has commanded, not having good households, not finishing domestic work on time, and for girls playing and joking with men and giving birth before marriage. A successful farmer's wife is satisfied with what she has rather than living a dreaming life. It is useful for women to be able to read, write and do sums since it helps them to send messages which may be secret, to make notes of things to be remembered, to calculate incomes and expenses, and being able to read widens and improves the perceptive powers of the readers about the world, life, nature and the like.

Generally the life of farmers is from hand to mouth which leads them to get older faster due to their miserable life connected with soil and weather conditions. Off-farm activities are better and it is easier to enter such activities if you have been to school.

The local conception of intelligence for both males and females involves clever performance in formal schools, persistence and effectiveness at the job in hand, curiosity, inquisitiveness, creativity, language ability, the ability to resolve disputes and alertness in socialization.

Debre Berhan

According to a group of men qualities desirable in men include strength and working harder than anyone else, honesty, having enough stock from year to year, being good with his hands, training children, being brave and good at negotiating. A group of women said qualities desirable in men were to be a diligent farmer, to have good behaviour and social relations, not to want other people's property, to respect others and to have a sense of humour and kindness. Both groups thought it useful to be able to read and write but

the number of years of schooling do not matter and education does not make it easier to earn off-farm income. The most respected social skill is to be a good elder which means being capable of settling disputes among households. Youngsters are generally expected to respect their elders and grownups are expected to provide much attention to their younger siblings.

Adado

Qualities highly valued in men are self-sufficiency, ability to manage land effectively, and the ability to solve family and community problems peacefully. Men must also display respect to elders and be humble. Desirable qualities in women are shyness, respectfulness, skill in women's duties such as scraping and processing *enset*, and proper handling of her husband's wealth and resources.

Both men and women thought it useful to be literate and numerate. Men said that while academic subjects learned at school might help you to become a better farmer they would not help you to earn off-farm income. The group of women said that schooling would help you be a better farmer's wife but would not help in earning off-farm income as there are no job opportunities in the community.

Aze Debo'a

Local experts include those who have consulted with the MoA and know how to conserve soil, those who have good relations with the church, and those who know what to do during emergencies. Qualities desirable in men include being clever even without having been to school and good leadership qualities. Women should be neat, good at crafts, and good cooks. A successful farmer's wife is economical and not extravagant and agrees with what he says. A particular skill is getting permission from her husband for whatever she wants to do. The most respected technical skill is being a good farmer and the most respected social skill is being a good bargainer.

The local concept of intelligence is expressed in terms of personality traits such as hard work, physical strength, bargaining skill, mediation ability, and sincerity. A man who wins anything like fighting is highly appreciated. For children obeying the rules of parents and these days school results are considered in evaluating intelligence.

Imdibir Haya Gasha

A successful farmer is hardworking and performs each activity in its due time. He improves soil fertility, conserves soil through planting trees or other plants and introduces new crop varieties or already known varieties in a better way. He engages in cattle breeding. Education is useful for being a better farmer irrespective of the size of landholding. Depending on the type of work schooling can help earn off-farm income. It makes a difference how many years of schooling a farmer has had. There are a lot of drop-outs from primary and secondary school who are farmers at present and one can see the difference from the way and types of crops they grow. Respected social skills include mediating between people who have quarrelled and organizing *idir*, *equb*, and other types of *mehber*.

Undesirable traits in children include drinking *areqi*, chewing *chat*, being disobedient to parents and elders, naughtiness, lack of interest in work, and smoking cigarettes.

A successful farmer's wife can represent her husband in controlling and supervising farmwork and is an efficient housewife. Education is useful as acquiring such knowledge enables a woman to socialize easily with people in a better way than the others, to control and supervise farmwork representing her husband, and to perform any farm or off-farm work in a better way. A person is called intelligent if he or she is economically independent, and sociable and has industrious children.

Harresaw

Desirable qualities in men include hard work, kindness, cleverness and being good at arguing. Undesirable qualities include quarrelling without sufficient reason and not learning from past mistakes. It is important to be literate and numerate since it helps to learn things faster. School enables people to seek and get information. The number of years at school

A group of women listed desirable qualities as good leadership skills, willingness to work hard, and obedience. The family, and especially mothers, play a leading role in the socialization of their children; society is also responsible for some aspects. It is important for children to become literate and numerate because it leads to specific fields of study which they can use to help themselves and their country. An educated wife can support her husband in all aspects including trading.

Korodegaga

Qualities desirable in women are good speech, politeness, good knowledge of household work, respect and obedience towards the husband. Undesirable traits are laziness, to have more interest in men for sexual intercourse, and to be talkative. It is useful to be literate and numerate as then she can participate in local organizations like *idir* and women's associations. At primary school girls learn household work, sanitation, to read, write and do sums. Education is helpful for farmer's wives as they can prepare food cleanly and keep their children clean. It also helps in earning off-farm income since educated girls have an interest in wearing good clothes to make themselves unique. So they need more money and implement off-farm activities. Since they are educated they can run the business more easily. For education to be effective they must at least have completed primary school.

Shumsheha

Desirable qualities in men include being conscientious and performing farming activities on time, intelligence, courtesy, kindness and to be good at arguing. Courage is respected: a man must avenge his relatives if they are murdered. Undesirable qualities include bullying, drunkenness, being lazy, dishonesty, adultery, wife-beating and lies. *Chat* chewing and smoking are extremely condemned. Having a church education and being good at *semina* work (poetry of the wax and gold type) are respected. A successful farmer is one who spends almost all his time on farming activity. He has no particular skills and there are no technical skills which are particularly respected. Desirable qualities in a woman include being a good cook, able to prepare good *tella* and *araki* and being good at spinning and basketry. A good wife can represent her husband in controlling and supervising the farm in his absence, handles consumption items properly and economically, takes care of the children, trains girls for marriage, and is good at all household and farming tasks. Reading and writing are given high consideration and are necessary to become a PA official. Loyalty to the community and respecting the rights of others are important local values.

Geblen

The family is responsible for childhood socialization; peer-group learning and church education also play an important role. In the family children are taught the basic skills, the society's value system, and the family value system. As soon as they are 7 boys are taught to plough and other productive activities. Girls are trained in domestic work. Through their relationships with each other family members are come to have certain expectations about how they should behave to each other; these are associated with feelings of rightness and wrongness. Intrahousehold relationships are vertical; elders have authority over youngsters and men have authority over women. Children are punished for misbehaviour. The frequency of children living with people other than their own parents is very high in Tigray.

The main quality considered desirable in men by a group of men is good leadership quality; thinking of improving the poor village. A women's group said men should be hardworking, successful in any affair, even in war, and concerned about his wife, children and family. Undesirable qualities in men are being quarrelsome, aggressive, and not agreeing with elders. In the case of women and children, prostitution, gambling and theft or other lawbreaking are undesirable. A successful farmer owns good implements, starts work early and finishes late, and removes the weeds from his crop. A successful wife is good at cooking, preparing *tella*, is clean, manages the money and grains she is given and is good at taking care of house matters. The most respected technical skills are building stone houses and carpentry. Both men and women's groups said being able to read and write is very important to be successful. The most respected social skills in men are to be a good bargainer, to be convincing, being a priest, a *sheik* or a trader. For a woman to be socially accepted she has to participate in social affairs such as visiting those who are ill and attending funerals and marriages at any cost. Otherwise she will be treated like an outcast.

Dinki

A successful farmer is hardworking, humble, has a good farm area and good farm implements. There is variation between a good farmer and a good man. A good man is obedient, strong, independent and never relies on somebody's shoulder, and is kind enough to help people.

Non-school education children gain from their parents and the community is gender-specific. Boys are taught by their fathers and are supposed to take on their manners. Girls are taught house management by their mothers. Moral lessons are given informally and is further enforced by making

children eat from a different plate from the one shared by their parents while the food served usually includes leftovers from the parents. The most important social skills are not intruding, never going back on promises, and being capable of keeping secrets.

The women's groups said it was not important to be literate and numerate for if she knows those things she will walk away from her husband. She will always think of the social responsibilities outside her home. Schooling does not contribute to being a better farmer or farmer's wife. Once a person starts going to school he will not be a better farmer. Quran schooling makes it easier to earn an off-farm income - he becomes an excellent bargainer because he does not drink. Formal schooling does not make it easier to earn off-farm income.

Do'oma

The most desirable qualities in men are those that make him a good farmer and the most important skill is managing timing; hard work and patience are also required. For women cooking, spinning and other related household skills are required. Some men keep mistresses for their cooking skills.

Undesirable qualities are subsumed within the Gamo ethics under the name of *gome* which includes adultery, theft, lies, disobedience, etc - the "do nots" in the Gamo social discourse. Misfortune in the family or personal difficulties are usually explained by *gome* and cleansing is sacrificial.

Two middle-aged farmers listed the following as desirable qualities in men: good at arguing, intelligence, courtesy, independence, bravery, and the ability to manage more than 1 household. It is useful to be literate and numerate since it gives people opportunity for additional jobs. Going to school makes it easier to earn off-farm income and the number of years matters.

The qualities desirable in women are cleanliness, good housekeeping abilities, and good behaviour. A successful farmer's wife can spin, keep her husband in a good manner and treats everyone in the community well. If she is educated she can manage her family better. Literate and numerate women can think things over better.

Gara Godo

Some of the valued traits in man are: hard work, helping family in farmwork, trading, making farm equipment rather than buying it, and being self-sufficient, honest, brave and serious. A successful farmer owns a larger farm, grazing land, oxen and equipment. He is a hard worker and engages in mixed farming. He ploughs and harvests at the right time, practices crop rotation, uses modern inputs like fertilizers and improved seeds, and uses different ploughs for different crops.

It is important to be literate and numerate - then one can serve as the cashier for *idir*, *equb* and other organizations. They will also be entrusted with money by friends who are illiterate. Many who cannot read and write blame their parents for not sending them to school. The most respected social skills are ability to mediate and truthfulness. Most of those with these abilities are elected as administrators and secretaries of *idir* and *kebeles*.

Boys learn agricultural theory and practice at school which will help them be better farmers. It might also lead to earnings from off-farm work such as writing applications for illiterate people and preparing contracts. The length of time spent at school may have a negative impact in that a child who stays longer turns away from farmwork and becomes lazier.

Desirable qualities in women include respecting parents, being good at cooking and well-trained in knitting and making baskets. A successful farmer's wife is respectful to her husband and his friends, prepares food in time, provides food for the cattle, and is hospitable to her friends and her husbands. She engages in trade and buys her family food and clothing. In her spare time she does spinning, knitting, and makes baskets. She is good at brewing local drinks. Literacy and numeracy are important in order to be able to join the church choir, to be elected as secretary of women's *idir* to receive messages, to read and write letters, and to trade. Respected qualities include being a persuasive speaker and a leader in funeral songs (crying). Schooling is useful as she will keep herself, children and surroundings clean and is useful for earning off-farm income as she can become a waitress, a shop assistant, or teacher. For girls the longer she stays the better.

3. Conclusions

- Children are brought up strictly to respect and obey adults
- Local skills are learned by apprenticeship to parents, neighbours etc
- Local conceptions of intelligence often include having a good memory, good oratory, being good at solving disputes
- One view of modern education is that it disturbs identity and the traditional way of life. Young people stop respecting their elders so much
- Another view is that it helps men and women to farm and manage their homes better and to earn off-farm income
- Undesirable qualities in women tend to include flirting with men, fornication and adultery, not obeying husbands, quarrelling with neighbours and not keeping the house properly
- Undesirable qualities in men include drinking, stealing, lying, quarrelling, laziness, lack of respect for elders, not learning from mistakes, and (in 1 place) adultery.

9. Formal education

1. Issues

Education can be viewed from a number of perspectives. Why do some communities have schools and not others? Does it follow the development of infrastructure? Education may be seen as a passport to better job by local people/outside. To what extent is it? Economists have recently started investigating whether formal education leads to greater productivity among farmers. Do local people believe this is the case? Education may have a value for civic proficiency. Does the education provided (in terms of curriculum, organization, and values) to rural realities?

2. Summary of village studies

Types of schools:

Kindergarten

There is only one site with a kindergarten: Imdibir, capacity 200 children (annual fee 25 birr)

Priest/church schools (*yekes timirtbet*)

These exist in three sites (Aze Deboa, Yetmen and Imdibir (run by a nunnery with 80 students of whom 56 F, 29M))

Kor'anic schools

These exist in three sites: Adele Keke with 7 schools of 15 students each, teaching Arabic alphabet, mathematics and spiritual songs); Korodegaga two schools with a total of 20 students, with 5 sections to be completed in 10 years; Adado (established by the Muslim community in 1968 E.C).

Elementary schools

These exist in or fairly near all the sites but to different levels (Adele Keke, (grades 1-5), Aze Deboa (1-6), Korodegaga (1-4), Harresaw (1-5), Gara Godo (1-6), Turufe Kecheme (1-6); Sirba & Godeti (1-8);

Do'oma (1-3); Debre Birhan (1-6); there is no information on grades for Adado; Dinki; Imdibir; Geblen and Yetmen.

Secondary schools

Five of the sites have students going to secondary schools, often several kilometres away. The nearest seems to be Imbidir at 2 kms, followed by Turufe Kecheme (10 Kms); Gara Godo (13 kms) and Korodegaga (28 kms); the nearest school for students from Aze Deboa is in Durame (distance not stated).

Value of education: The parents decide which child or children in the family should attend school. Those not considered bright may stay at home (Adele Keke); If there are more than three children it is more likely that one will be sent to school (Debre Berhan). The eldest child may be sent to school while younger children are kept at home to tend cattle. However, if a child is physically weak and cannot do much work at home s/he may be given a chance to go to school; boys are given priority over girls (Harresaw). However, the first born may be kept to work at home (Do'oma). Girls of marriageable age are seldom allowed to go to school and physically strong boys are preferred for working at home, while younger and especially weak children are sent to school; priority is given to children who perform well (Aze Deboa). Children who do not perform well may be kept at home (Yetmen). Older boys and girls stay at home to help parents, while younger children are sent to school (Turufe Kecheme). Education is not highly valued for girls. In rich families almost all children are sent to school while the contrary applies for poor households (Sirba & Godeti).

In many cases the community places a high value on education. The ability to read, write and do sums is appreciated (Adele Keke). However, education may be appreciated to improve farming but not to earn off-farm income and school attendance is low (Adado). School attendance is higher among males than females (Korodegaga). Education can be highly valued (in Gara Godo 22 percent of children go to school; higher than the national average for rural Ethiopia). Adults can also take an interest in literacy (Aze Deboa). Any farmer who can afford school fees, stationery etc sends children to school (Turufe Kecheme). However, in some cases there is a poor attitude towards education and very few children are encouraged to go beyond elementary education (Adele Keke). Unusually in Debre Berhan girls' attendance is higher than that of boys. It seems that in this case the Oromo send their girls to school unlike the Amhara.

Constraints on education: Distance to school is a big constraint of over 10 kms and in some cases they have to cross big rivers e.g. the Awash, or require using expensive public transport or staying in town (Korodegaga, Turufe Kecheme). In some cases lack of job opportunities for school leavers is a disincentive, and there are many secondary school drop-outs who have returned to agricultural activities.

In secondary schools the drop out rate rises. Five children who completed junior high school have become farmers, and there are many drops outs between 7-10th grade (Korodegaga). The annual high school fee of 650 *birr* is a constraint (Imdibir). The school fee (6 *birr*) and the need for child labour on farm is a constraint (Harresaw). In addition to the distance between the school and the village, and the need for child labour on the farm, In Dinki there is the additional constraint of the new curriculum which has been extended to July when the rivers are full.

Another constraint is poor school facilities. There is a shortage of stationery and books (Imdibir). For instance there are only 30 chairs and 15 tables for 1,671 students (Gara Godo). There is only nine blackboards for 13 classrooms, and there is a shortage of water supply (Sirba & Godeti).

In some cases the number of children attending school decreases over the academic year, due to the need for children to work on the farm, the distance, and marriage of girls. The school was set up during villagisation when the school was central but as farmers moved back to their former holdings the distance increased, and there are now too many teachers (17 when 6 are needed) (Debre Berhan).

Opportunities for school leavers: The numbers of students going on to colleges or universities is generally low and employment opportunities are usually restricted (Imdibir). Some who complete 12th grade are working in Zonal administration offices, but only one person graduated with a diploma and is working as a representative of a *woreda* health office (Adado). In some cases there are no college graduates (Korodegaga). Only one student completed 12th grade and is working in Wukro (Harresaw). School leavers may remain idle (Aze Deboa). There are 60 unemployed school leavers; only 1 person attended university and 6 attended colleges and are now employed (Turufe Kecheme). In Yetmen out of 27 high-school leavers only one is employed in the government while two are involved in farming activities. There are 4 university graduates who are government employees, and four others are currently attending university. Of 5 graduates of Teachers' Training Institutes 3 are employed as teachers (Yetmen). One individual completed 12th grade and works for the Government (Do'oma). There are six school leavers, three of whom live with their parents while the other three live in towns with relatives. (Debre Berhan)

3. Conclusions

- Children in all sites have access to primary schools but it is not clear how many attend and if they do so regularly.
- Only 5 of the sites have children going to secondary schools
- Constraints on education include distance, poor school facilities, costs, children needed for seasonal labour, and declining opportunities for school leavers

5. Change, survival and development

1. *The importance of time and space*

When variables are measured and static models are used, as is often the case in the analysis of economic household surveys, two very important variables tend to be ignored or stylised, namely time and space. This section of the report uses the qualitative data from the community research to raise some of the issues which may then be ignored.

With respect to time it is important always to be aware of the seasonality of agricultural activities: this affects demand for labour at different times of year which in turn affects possibilities of off-farm activity including migration and education. Other aspects of rural life affected by seasonality include livestock sales, consumption (type and amount of food), credit needs, fuel and water availability, and diseases in both humans and animals, which in turn affects productive activity. To cope with seasonal changes and consumption changes during the year, assets are accumulated later to be sold, credit is given and taken and later repaid, and more food is eaten at some times of year than others. (It should be said that the household survey was designed to take account of these problems and a main focus of analytic attention will be household dynamics.) The community research suggests two features of particular importance: (1) the importance of exploring the dynamic interactions between productive activity, reproductive activity, labour availability, consumption, asset accumulation, and credit, and the consequences for the welfare of different households, and (2) the importance of looking at the diversity of seasonal effects to be found in the different villages as well as searching for generalities.

A slightly longer-term view focuses on what might be called "annuality". If a community has a bad year the repercussions will be felt for some years after. Loss of livestock means there will be fewer oxen for ploughing. Reduced consumption will affect health and labour productivity. Inability to repay loans taken for fertilizer because the crop has failed or is small may mean no more loans, which means

unfertilized land, which means reduced crop. Similarly a good year allows people to recoup and save for the future. Some of the sites in our sample have not had many good years recently, while others appear to have done well.

An even longer-term view explores long-term changes in the local and surrounding economies, societies and polities. Of particular interest here are (1) changes within the villages, such as population growth, new crops and farming techniques, and changes in networks, forms of organization and relationships, (2) new relationships with the outside world on the one hand, and the effects of government policies and international factors on the other.

Spatial effects of importance for these local economies include location in relation to roads, markets and towns and those factors which help to determine whether the village is food surplus, self-sufficient, or food-deficit (climate, terrain, soil fertility, etc). Also relevant are government policies which have had the effect of imposing spatial constraints (regionalization) and related questions of redistribution between rich and poor areas.

This section begins by looking at aspects of household well-being: consumption; assets wealth and poverty; savings, credit and investment, and seasonality. Following a discussion of inheritance in the communities the next sections explore lifecycle changes and social mobility. The focus then moves from household to community with an examination of: long-term changes to the community; community vulnerability and coping strategies; relationships with other communities; the effects of some government policies on the communities; and some views from the community of government and NGO activities. Finally we look at some of the local organizations which are involved in the management of these communities, which must be understood by bodies contemplating intervention from outside.

1. Seasonality

1. Issues

Rural life based on agriculture is governed by the seasons. The weather dictates the time for planting, the time for harvesting etc. It also governs the incidence of diseases, the amount and kind of work (agricultural and domestic), migration, what and how much is eaten at different times, the need for credit, the timing of marriages and other festivals, and the sale of livestock. Farm and household management decisions throughout the year are governed by an awareness of seasonal constraints and opportunities. Survey researchers and policymakers who are unaware of the importance of this dimension of life are likely to come up with unrepresentative results and inadequate policies.

2. Summary from the village profiles

Adele Keke

The major rainy season, called *ganna*, extends from mid-June to mid-October. *Bad'eisa* is the local term given to the minor rainfall (*belg*) season which occurs from February to May. In some years *bad'eisa* rains do not come. For instance, there were no *belg* rains in the last season. The dry season lasts from November through February. When there are heavy rains with resulting floods, communication between villages and thus travel to urban centres is hampered for a brief time; seldom does the barrier last all day long.

The temperature relatively speaking, starts to become cold about the time of the end of the major rainy season. The area becomes cold from October up to December. October is the coldest month of the year. Frost (*hamaday*) occurs during this month. This can affect all sorts of vegetation except eucalyptus and barley. All the months of the dry season are hot with temperatures of varying degrees. The heat does not cause problems either for human habitation or vegetation. Harvests are collected before the advent of this season. Of course, the harvest of *chat* which is a perennial crop, drastically decreases at this season. There is no distinction of land as that of the *belg* and *meher* seasons. Of course, land that can retain water longer is preferred for *belg* cultivation. Otherwise, the same land is used twice a year.

Notable features are that the busiest harvesting month is October, when it is coldest; people eat rice and pasta in September, October and November (the months of weddings); people eat meat and

chicken during the month of *Ramadan* which can be any month since it rotates; the hungry season is during June, July and August; women borrow from shopkeepers in June and July; men borrow from moneylenders in July and August; people get malaria in September and October.

Sirba and Godeti

There is no *belg* harvest at the site, only a *meher* harvest. Part of the village is vulnerable to flooding during the rainy season but there are no serious incidents of flooding in Sirba and Godeti which disrupt the normal activities of life. Since the area generally falls within the climatic zone called *Woina Dega*, it does not get very cold. However it may get relatively colder in October and November as compared to other months of the year. Once in four years or so there is frost. Men are involved in off-farm activities in December, January February, and March. Women need credit in August and September; men need it in June, July, August and September. Sheep and goats are sold in June, July, August and September. Oxen are sold in May and June and in September.

Yetmen

The warm months, March through May, come before the big rainy season which starts from June and continues through the end of September. There is actually one long rainy season, from March to mid-September, with maximum precipitation between June and August. In Yetmen there are scanty rains that occasionally fall from January up to April. The rains reach their peak between early June and mid-September; a period locally known as *Kiremt*. According to the rainfall records of 1993, the minimum and maximum rainfalls range between 11.2 - 39.0 mm respectively. The coldest season ranges between early October and early December. Since wheat is sown in early August, and since it is periodically cold in September, this crop is rarely affected by frost. In general, there is no significant problem in the village that is caused by heat or cold.

The importance of credit is not much recognised. Nonetheless, some people who have no farming equipment tend to borrow money around late April and May in order to be able to buy the necessary items for cultivating the land in June. This is the duty of men. There is no specific time for breeding livestock. Around late August and September, pests sometimes appear. The agricultural extension agents usually give the necessary advice as to how to use agricultural inputs such as fertilizers, herbicides and pesticide. Thus, pests usually do not present a major problem. More fuel is needed during June, July, August and October since these are the coldest months. The commonly used fuel is *kubet*, animal manure, with small amounts of fire wood.

Turufe Kechemma

The *meher* rains fall between June and the middle of September. This rain is useful to grow *meher* crops which are produced in December and January. The *belg* rain falls from March to the end of April and is useful to grow the *belg* crop which is produced in June, July and sometimes August. The coldest time in the PA is in July and August and sometimes in October but it has not been less than 19°C (daily temperature?) according to reports of the records at the Adventist's college located 10 kms from the PA. The hotter time is from January (29°C) to May (31°C). During the rainy season the PA is not cut off from the nearest towns (Kuyara and Shashemene). There are no problems caused by heat but some respondents remember crops, especially wheat, sometimes being destroyed by cold which reduced the quantity of the harvest.

Men work, within a day, not more than two hours in *Meskerem* and *T'qimt*; 8 hours in *Hedar* and *Tahsas*; 4 hour in *T'ir*; 8 hours from *Megabit* to *Hamle*, and 3 hours in *Nehase*. Women work, within a day, 3 hours in *Meskerem* and *T'qimt*; 12 hours from *Hidar* up to *Hamle*; and 6 hours in *Nehase*. The life of the people is dominated by the agricultural tasks of soil preparation, planting, weeding, harvesting and processing. People grow a range of crops in two seasons and there does not seem to be a "slack" period. The busiest time for men and boys seems to be between December and February. Women are more busy between November and February because they spend more time on brewing and craftwork. May is the most important month for men's off-farm activities.

Debre Berhan

The region has 2 rainy seasons: (*meher*) long - June to September and (*belg*) short - between January and April. The latter often fails. The hungry season is between July and October. Women need credit at this

time; men also need it in May and June.

Adado

The region has 2 rainy seasons: *meher* from June to October is also cold; *belg* stretches from February to April (it is not cold) - the *belg* crop is maize. There are fewer agricultural activities between April and September and some men then migrate temporarily to the Shakiso goldfields. It is harder to get fuel between June and October because of the rain. The hungry season is in September. From October through April people eat cowpeas, horsebeans, barley, maize and meat (if available) in addition to *enset* and cabbage. From May through September they eat only *enset* and cabbage. Men need to borrow in May and June.

Aze Debo'a

The rainy season is between January and September. The temperature varies from a high of 26° to a low of 18° (in June). During the rainy season problems of soil erosion and floods are caused by the rain. People also suffer from a shortage of firewood. Men migrate for work to the sugar factories in Awasa in October, to Awasa for weeding maize in May and June, and to other places at different times. There is a hungry season when there is only *enset* between January and May. Men need credit in February and September and women between June and September. More time is spent fetching water in December and January, and June.

Imdibir Haya Gasha

There is a single principal rainy season between mid-June and September. From September to May is a hot dry season. October and November are the coldest months. Men are less busy on the farm from February through May and most busy October through January. Women are especially busy in October, November and December when *enset* is harvested. They start suffering from backache in November and are sicker in November, December and January. The hungry season is from April through August and this is the time when the women need credit. men need credit from February to September.

Harresaw

There are theoretically 2 cropping seasons, *belg* (February to May/June) and *meher* (June to September) but the *belg* has failed since 1984 (apart from 1992). The intensity of the rain is high in July and becomes low in August. Internal travel is suspended. The cold season is from September to December. Frost is a big problem; it damages the skin of the residents and the grain. The area is highland and there is no problem of heat. From the beginning of September the area becomes dry and communication and social relations increase. Children get coughs in the during the cold season and women need credit at this time.

Korodegaga

The rainy months are in June, July and August (it usually falls for 2 to 2½ months). At other times the area is very hot making it very difficult for people to subsist given their low food intake. When the rains stop the heat dries the crops. From November to January the temperature is very high. The night is very cold as the day is hot. Men take credit in April and May mainly to buy seeds for sowing time. From June to October most residents borrow money to buy food. Credit taken in October and November is usually in the form of food because some farmers have already produced crops which they lend to others. Women need more credit from October to December even though it is harvest time. This is because almost everyone suffers from malaria and need money to go for treatment. Animals are more frequently sold for cash to buy seed in May and June, and food from May to September. There is seasonal variation in animal diseases.

The most useful crop is maize; people start to eat it fresh in September and it is harvested in October and November. After it is threshed in December women get it from their stock and the quantity consumed reaches maximum point until February. In December, January and February women sell some of the maize to buy coffee, salt, etc. In March and April the amount of maize in stock decreases and the next four months are hazardous for most of the households except for those who have produced enough and saved it. Most farmers begin to buy maize. Men start to sell sheep and goats and women sell firewood to buy food. *Tef* is the most important cash crop and is consumed for only 3 months. Farmers have to pay tax, fertiliser and other loans, school fees and other payments during harvest time. Haricot beans are also sold; women store a small amount to be used in October and November. They cannot afford to buy them. From

June to September it is summer and the grass is growing while from September to December there is enough waste on the farm to feed the stock. The cows give a lot of milk and the farmers consume a lot of milk and butter during these months (it is culturally undesirable to sell milk or butter).

Shumsheha

The area is situated in a drought-prone area; *belg* rain falls in April/May (if it does not fail) and *meher* rain in July/August. During the last 3 decades the rain has become increasingly unpredictable. January and February are the seasons of relative leisure during which people enjoy all sorts of feasts, especially weddings. During these months the peasants build and repair houses and fences. Land preparation begins in April and is followed by the cycle of planting, weeding, harvesting and processing which lasts until December. Men and whole families migrate between February and the end of June.

People eat *tef* from December through February and sorghum between December and May. The hungry season is from June through September and they eat wheat (bought or provided as food aid) between June and December. They need credit in July, August and September. Malaria occurs in September and October and in June.

Geblen

Rainfall is erratic and inadequate. The short rains come between March and May (if they come) and it is hot and windy at the same time. At this time long-cycle crops are planted (maize, red sorghum and *tef*). In June, July and August the main rains (*kremti*) fall and it is mild. Short-cycle crops are planted (barley, lentils and linseed). Most crops have a very short optimal period after which every day of delay in planting increases the risk that the crop will fail because of insufficient amounts of water. Weeding takes place in July. Harvesting takes place in September, October and November which are dry, cold and windy. Sometimes the cold damages vegetable flowers so they do not produce crops. December, January and February are dry, hot and windy. Farmers are involved in seedbed preparation. This season is less busy and peasants are also engaged in off-farm activities such as casual wage-labour and trading. Malaria occurs during June, July, August and September. "Equb" (a kind of flu) strikes in the dry season, particularly in December and February.

Dinki

There are theoretically 2 cropping seasons: *meher* (from April, when ploughing begins, to December) and *belg* (from January to May). However, since most *belg* rains fail the area is mainly dependent on the *meher* cropping season. The rain mostly comes in July and August.

Tef is eaten between November and May, sorghum between December and April, and maize between November and July. Banana and sugarcane are eaten all year. The hungry season occurs in July, August and September. Women say they need credit between April and November. In September they all weed and no other work overlaps. During their slack period they construct terraces for themselves (they used to do this under a food for work project which has now stopped).

Do'oma

Do'oma is located in a semi-arid area; although the rainy season has become increasingly unpredictable the area obtains most of its rain in May. However, there is also some rain during July and August and a small amount in March. The *meher* (*tef* and root crops) calendar is as follows: December and January for clearing; half of February for tillage; the second half of February and March for sowing; April, May, and June for weeding; July and August for harvesting. The *belg* crop is irrigation-fed and only possible for those with access to irrigated land. The irrigation-fed season begins with sowing in August, and is followed by weeding in September and October, and harvesting in December. The main crop is maize with some root crops.

In the last 2 years the rainy season has fluctuated contributing to crop failures. The rainy season causes difficulties: it cuts the PA off from neighbouring regions so prices of root crops from the highlands rise and men who are guarding their crops from baboons on the other side of the river have to stay there until the river subsides.

Gara Godo

There is some rain throughout the year apart from February and March. Above medium rain falls in April

and May and September, October and November. A little rain falls in December and January.

3. Conclusions

- Apart from Do'oma and Gara Godo, all the sites have their main rain between June and September
- Only 4 sites have usually reliable *belg* rains; in 6 sites it usually fails; in 3 sites it is not mentioned as important
- In the highland sites it gets colder between October and December; some sites suffer from frost at this time
- Hungry seasons do not happen at the same time in the year in the sites

3. Consumption

1. Issues

Intra-household allocation of food; seasonality - hungry season; fasting; festivals; differences between households; famine foods; famines, aid.

2. Summary from the village profiles

Adele Keke

Under normal conditions people eat the same kind of food. The husband eats before the others; children will follow and the wife eats after she has fed the family. People eat *injera*, porridge, *nifro*, and *kita* all year round. In September, October and November they also eat rice, spaghetti and macaroni - because these are the months of weddings. Milk is drunk from September to December (inclusive) and eggs are eaten in October to December (incl) and February to June (incl). Sweet potatoes are eaten all the year except February and March. The hungry season is in June, July and August. Sweet potatoes bought from the market and wheat flour are used as emergency food. The fruits and berries of wild foods such as cactus, *tat'aisa*, *gora*, etc are also eaten during severe famine. People celebrate *id alado id alfater* and *mawllid* in September, and festivals of 1 day, 1 month and 1 day which rotate.

Sirba and Godeti

Due to differences in economic standing all villagers do not eat the same kind of food. Meat, eggs, and milk are more often eaten by rich farmers. *Injera* and *wot* are the basic diet. In different houses different eating habits are practised: in some husband and wife eat first and then the children; in others all except small children eat from the same plate. Chicken *wot* is served first to the parents in most households - children get the leftovers. At times of peak agricultural activity food might be sent to the field. If there are guests parents eat with them while children eat from a separate plate. Famine has never occurred within living memory except for the crop failure of 1955EC. There are no emergency foods and there is no wild food since almost all forest land has been cleared and made into farmland. People celebrate festivals in January, April and June.

Yetmen

People eat *injera* all the year. They eat meat, milk products and eggs in September and October. They also eat eggs in January and meat in January and February and May, June and July. They eat maize in October. The hungry season is in August and September. Almost all the people eat at the same time except on fasting days. Elders, youngsters and children eat together with their age groups. There are no emergency crops as such but the least valued pulse, the chickling pea, was eaten during the drought of 1985 by some

individuals. This drought affected the community to a minor extent compared with other parts of the country. People celebrate festivals as follows: 1 day in September, 1 day in January, 5 days in April, 7 days in May, and 6 days in August.

Turufe Kechemma

People produce and eat a wide range of foods: *tef*, *dagusa*, millet, barley, maize, wheat, horsebeans, sorghum, potatoes, *enset*, vegetables, coffee, milk, butter, eggs, hens, and meat. Almost everyone in the community eats the same kind of food but they can choose according to the availability of the different crops. Usually grown-up children eat food from the same plate as the parents, while small children are offered food on another plate. Red *tef* (which can be harvested within two and a half months) and potatoes are emergency crops in the area. The only famines which people remember took place about 150 and 40 years ago. There are wild foods which are sometimes brought by herders and hunters. People celebrate festivals in September and March.

Debre Berhan

Horse beans are eaten all year while the main staple, barley, sometimes mixed with wheat and sorghum is plentiful between December and June (inclusive). Women usually bake *injera* and cook pea sauce for lunch and supper. In the afternoon people eat roasted cereals known as *mekses*. Sometimes, during holidays and religious festivals they eat meat, chickens and eggs. Married couples often eat their meal from the same plate. Children of similar ages eat together. Small children and those who tend livestock eat first. In consuming milk and milk products priority is given to children. The hungry season is between July and November. They did not provide full information about festivals but mentioned *Adbar*.

Adado

People eat *enset* and cabbage all year. Between October and April (inclusive) they eat cow beans, horse beans, barley, maize and meat. Husband and wife eat from the same plate while children have their meals separately. The hungry season is in September. Compared to barley and peas, beans are considered to be emergency crops because they ripen fast in 4 months and can be eaten fresh. *Enset*, better known as *kocho*, is the chief emergency staple food. A major famine struck the area in 1983 which made even *enset* scarce. This plant is usually drought resistant and available when other crops are in scarce supply. The only edible wild food is a fruit known as *odea* which ripens once a year and is a favourite with children. They celebrate New Year, *Ketela* (1 week in January and 1 week in July), and Easter.

Aze Debo'a

People eat *enset* and eggs all year. They also eat at different times: bread, *gommen*, *guderie*, sweet potatoes, potatoes, sugarcane, butter, milk, meat, chickens, *boyna*, *anchotie*, red root, tomatoes, avocados, horse beans, wheat, peas, barley, sorghum and *tef*. The hungry season is between January and May (inclusive) when crops become expensive and there is only *enset* - people become weak. Two serious famines occurred in the last 10 years - in 1985 and 1994. In these years there was prolonged drought as a result of which the price of crops became inflated and people suffered a lot. Although there is no exact figure people died of hunger and related causes in both years. They celebrate New Year (2 days), Christmas (1 day), and Easter (3 days).

Imdibir Haya Gasha

People eat *enset* all the year. Preferably it is eaten with meat, butter, vegetables or lentils. They eat *injera* and potatoes between June and August (incl) and maize between July and September (incl). They eat *gommen* in April and May, milk and butter in September and chicken, eggs and meat between September and January (incl). All household members eat the same kind of food but in the presence of guests the wife and children eat separately. The festivals are held at New Year (*Meskerem* 10-21), *Chist* (or *Nipuar*) celebrated in this region only (*Ter* 21-27), and St Mary's Day. The hungry season is from April to August (incl). There are no emergency crops; the Gurage have never experienced crop failure due to reliance on *enset*.

Harresaw

When times are good people eat *tuffulo*, lentils and peas all year. They eat barley and wheat in all months

except September and April; they drink milk between June and November (incl), and eat meat, eggs and chickens between December and August (incl). They eat *atmit* between July and November. At present people eat the same kind of food. Since nearly all members of the community receive aid - wheat - they all eat wheat (prepared in different ways). Previously people ate different kinds of food depending on their wealth. In most cases all members of the family eat from the same plate except when there are guests when children eat from a different plate. Festivals celebrated include the New Year (September); Michael and Mariam (November); Christmas and Gabriel (December/January); Timket and Mariam (January); Easter (April); and Ashenda (August). The people of the area have considerable experience of crop failure and have suffered a lot from recurrent droughts and subsequent famines. There is an emergency crop known as *sa'esa'a* - a type of barley. The people also eat wild fruits and roots of different types of local plants such as *beles*, *tebeb*, *hamle* (local cabbage), *egam* etc. There were serious famines in 1984 and 1987 which caused death and migration. Since then there has been no famine, although there was drought.

Korodegaga

Food eaten includes maize (the most important), barley and wheat. The widely consumed food is porridge with milk. *Tef* is eaten in January. People also eat haricot beans, millet, horsebeans, cowpeas and vetch. Butter and milk are eaten except between March and May (incl). Chicken and eggs are eaten a little in April and between June and August. The size of the family determines whether they all eat together or not. There are no emergency crops and no wild food is eaten. Famine has been with them since the early 1980s.

Shumsheha

Food shortage is almost always prevalent. Most people eat home-grown food for 6 months: *tef* for about 3 months of these and sorghum for 6 months. During the remaining 6 months they eat (imported) wheat. Traditionally households do not eat off separate plates: in most households parents are served first and children eat the leftovers with some more added to it. The only festivals they celebrate are national holidays (1 day). They would like to celebrate many religious holidays but are too poor.

Geblen

People eat barley (from own production) between September and January (inclusive) and maize from own production in September and October. They eat some *tef* in October. For the rest of the year if they get money they purchase barley and maize. Otherwise they eat wild food (*beles* - cactus and *kuunttee* - like peas) between May and September (inclusive) and buy wheat when they run out of other food. During droughts there is no wild food. Those who have eat milk, butter, eggs and chicken between September and January (incl). The very hungry season is between February and May - they used to get aid but not nowadays. People celebrate the New year, Christmas and the marriage month is January. They also celebrate Easter.

Dinki

People eat banana and sugarcane all the year. They eat *tef* between November and May (inclusive), sorghum between December and April (incl), and maize between December and July (incl). They eat onions between November and June (incl) and *berbere* between November and March. The hungry season is between July and September (inclusive).

They celebrate Ethiopian Christmas (early January), St George's day (February) and Easter (April).

Do'oma

Maize is the main cereal consumed (in various forms). They eat maize, sweet potatoes, *goderie*, and *tef* injera throughout the year. Sweet potatoes, *enset* and milk are eaten frequently. *Shiferaw* is used as part of the diet, especially with the maize-meal *kurkufa* it is much consumed in times of food shortage. They eat bananas, milk, butter, eggs, chicken and meat during all months except March and April. They eat *kore* (wild fruit) between September and January and *agam* between June and October. The hungry season is from March to July. (All time periods are inclusive). The difference in diet between the poor and the well-to-do lies in variety: meals are served 3 times a day in most households, except the poorest. Parents and grown-up children share the same plate while food for small children is served on separate plates. The community has a habit of smoking traditional tobacco called *gaya* (*pipa*). People celebrate the New Year, Christmas, and Epiphany.

Gara Godo

People consume a range of items at different times of the year including *kocho*, cassava, yams, sweet potatoes, potatoes, soya beans, horsebeans, chickpeas, cowpeas, cheese, bananas, meat, milk, butter, eggs, coffee, oranges, chickens, *kita* (maize), porridge (*tef*), *injera*, barley porridge, and sorghum. The hungry season is between February and May. It is worst in March and it was reported that many people die. They eat famine foods - both plant and animal. Some of these have disappeared. They celebrate New Year and the Holy Cross in September, Christmas, St Gabriel and St Michael in January, Easter in April and Revolution Day in May.

3. Conclusions

- In most sites all members of the family seem to eat the same kind of food: parents (and sometime grownup children) share a plate while small children eat separately. Some special food is reserved for parents or children get the leftovers. In some sites milk products are given to children first
- In most sites there are some foods which are available all year and others which are seasonal
- The times of hungry seasons as reported varies between sites: June-August; August and September; July-November; September; January-May; April-August; July-September; March-July; February - May
- Eight of the sites have suffered severe famine within the last ten years, in most cases involving deaths: some of these have access to wild foods and some do not
- In all sites consumption varies between richer and poorer households

4. Assets, wealth and poverty

1. Issues

What assets do people invest in? What other functions do they fulfil? What assets are held by the wealthy (defined locally) and what by the poor?

2. Summary from the village studies

Adele Keke

In addition to their other functions livestock are used as assets (for saving and investment). Due to lack of grazing and other feed households cannot keep as many as they wish (most have at least 2 animals). Epidemics have killed livestock but now the MoA has a vaccination programme. Many people sold animals because of drought in 1985 and this year (because they do not have enough food in stock).

The wealthiest people are those with *chat* plantations, a good number of livestock, or traders. In a wealthy home one would find: a wooden or iron bed; trays; *mushama* (a decorated cloth); cups; tape recorder; beehives; radio set; bags and boxes; mattress; modern plates; kerosene lamp; various objects of decoration; water barrel; thermos flask; plastic containers. The poorest are those without land, or only a little. They are often widows, have many children and/or sick and/or old. In a poor home one would find: skin mats; wooden plates; kettle; gourds; cooking pans.

Sirba and Godeti

Due to scarcity of grazing land the number of livestock is steadily declining. Oxen are fattened for sale. Sheep, goats and chickens are sold when required.

Wealth is based on possession of land and oxen and hard work. In a wealthy home one finds: a radio and tape recorders; chairs, stools, tables and benches; beds made of iron or wood and mattresses, sheets and blankets; several vessels made of pottery and iron; a storage bin of cement and big granary of wood and mud; *elle* and *gombisa* to prepare *injera*; tincans, bottles, glasses, bigger pots, jerrycans, buckets; grinding stones and different sizes of pestles and mortars; trays and plates made of iron and plastic; a gas lamp; a kerosene and charcoal stove; a pot to boil coffee, a kettle and several pots; a cupboard and boxes.

The poor are those with little land and no oxen. In a poor home one finds a traditional bed with skins or sacks; platform for chair; vessels of pottery; *elle* and *gombisa*; tincans for drinking; grinding stones called *agga*; old and corrugated trays and plates; a charcoal stove; a gas lamp; kitchen inside home; bottles and cans for storing.

Yetmen

People rear cattle, mules; donkeys; horses; chickens; sheep; goats; and bees. Livestock are sold to overcome financial hardship.

The wealthiest people in the community are the owners, traders, moneylenders and those with special skills such as weavers, potters, blacksmiths, tailors, carpenters and masons (especially those who also own farmland). They have become wealthy through hard work, inheritance, craftsmanship, and good fortune. They have large amounts of livestock and more than one *gotta* of grain in store. In a wealthy house one sees: 2 big tables; 2 smaller tables; 6 big chairs; 2 dishes made of clay; 3 tin dishes; 11 glasses; 4 plastic plates; 3 tin plates; 3 big trays; and various baskets.

Poor people are those who are hired to work for others for a daily wage. People with small numbers of livestock are regarded as relatively poor. They may be landless, widows, prostitutes, those who collect and sell dungcakes and firewood, those who brew drinks, those who are disabled and unable to work. In a poor house one finds a dish made of clay; 2 or 3 *medebs* (traditional mud seats), and other household goods made from reeds.

Turufe Kechemma

People keep cattle, goats, sheep, chickens, pack animals and bees. People do not normally sell livestock even if this is profitable.

The basis for accumulating wealth is primarily agriculture, although a few have done so through trade. Assets in a wealthy home might include 3 wooden beds, a cupboard, table, chairs, bench, mattresses, sheets, carpets, glasses, plates, cups, a tray, all types of kitchen equipment, tape recorder, radio cassette, a lantern.

The main constraints on the poor are lack of oxen and agricultural implements. They may be sick, or old. In a poor home the assets are: skins, home-made stools, coffee pot and cups, materials for preparing *wat* and *injera*, and maybe a kerosene lamp.

Debre Berhan

Livestock include oxen, cows, sheep, goats, donkeys, mules and horses. Households depend on small stock for generating cash. The most common form of saving is investing in livestock, especially small ones. At times of good harvest farmers try to sell part of produce and invest in livestock and fertiliser.

The wealthiest people have 3 or 4 pairs of oxen, more than 5 cows, at least 2 horses, and 2 mules, 10 sheep and are ready to do any kind of work. In a wealthy household one can find: an iron bed; a hand gun; a radio; kitchen utensils.

The poor includes those who do not have oxen and land and who are lazy. They may be widows, war victims, old etc. If a person has good social relations and is poor some farmers give him land to cultivate and share the harvest. In a poor household one finds a wooden bed and kitchen utensils.

Adado

Livestock kept are mainly cattle and sheep; they are raised as important sources of income. Sheep are preferred as they can easily be restocked, and can easily be sold in the local market to serve cash needs.

The sources of wealth in the community are trade in agricultural products, farming and land. The rich buy coffee and other crops to sell when the price increases. People become poor if they are not saving, if they have sold their land, or if they are not cultivating their farm properly.

Aze Debo'a

Cattle, goats, sheep and poultry are used as sources of cash. On average people keep 3-4 livestock.

The wealthiest people in the community own 2 *timad* of oxen, many high quality cattle, sheep and goats, coffee, other trees, and *enset*. Equipment found in the house of a wealthy man includes: table, chairs, clay pots, cups, glasses, an axe, tape recorder, wooden bed, metal bed, knife, sieve, ladder, hoes, plough, tray, box, cupboard, forks, bottles, traditional carpet, bottles, sickle, stools, griddle, etc.

The poorest households have small plots of infertile land, or are landless (demobilised soldiers and returned resettlers and migrants) have few animals and/or do not work hard. A poor man would own a stool, clay pot, cup, pot, glass, axe, sickle, mortar and pestle, wooden bed, mat, hoe, griddle and a few other things.

Imdibir Haya Gasha

Sheep are raised for income.

Former landlords are better off but traders are not necessarily wealthy. The wealthy have more land and cattle and grow cash crops. They hire in labour. Some migrate for trade, are engaged in business activities and/or receive remittances from their children. People with a wide range of crops may be wealthy. In wealthy houses one expects to find iron beds, a radio and other modern furniture.

The main characteristics of poor people are that they have a small amount of land and cattle and small amounts of fewer crops.

Harresaw

People keep mainly sheep and some goats for cash purposes.

The very wealthy are those with more than 2 oxen and those with relatives working in Saudi Arabia. A wealthy household owns: a radio; iron beds; a big box; cupboard; large number of drinking vessels and glasses; carpets; high quality blankets; 2 or 3 chairs; big pots for preparing local drinks; a barrel and pitcher.

The poor have no oxen and some have no livestock at all. The assets of a poor household include a traditional skin mat; lower quality blankets; and pottery cups.

Korodegaga

Savings take the form of investing in livestock production. Cattle, goats and sheep are kept for cash (in addition to other products). It is common for people to sell their cattle to buy food, although the main source of cash for food is firewood. Oxen attract high prices between August and October since they are fat.

Wealth is determined by the number of livestock (the richest may own camels). The richest man in the PA has 30 cattle including 4 oxen and 50 goats and sheep. A man who plough 5 to 6 hectares of land will be rich. The main sources of wealth are via marriage, inheritance, hard work, and economising.

Very few households own a radio or tape player. Some villagers have watches of different qualities. In almost all households one would find beds made of cattle skin.

Shumsheha

Saving in the form of cash is generally uncommon: most live in extreme poverty and have nothing to save, and the few who are relatively better-off invest whatever surplus they get in livestock.

The demarcation between wealthy and poor is thin and blurred. There are only 6 tin-roofed houses, and only a few households (not more than 30) own radios, and only 1 person, a retired soldier, owns a wooden bed (with a fairly good mattress). All kitchen utensils, pots, kettles, water jars, and drinking items are locally produced. The wealthiest people are those with 2 pairs of oxen, cows, goats, sheep and donkeys. The poor are those without livestock.

Geblen

At present there are very few livestock in Geblen: most common are sheep and goats. Farmers sell them whenever they need cash.

There are no wealthy people in the village. Nowadays everyone is poor because of forced

resettlement, unpredictable weather, infertile soil and erosion. Geblen is the poorest PA in the area.

Dinki

Sheep and goats are kept for cash but there is a high mortality rate. The village is poorer than the surrounding villages. There are no wealthy people in Dinki due to the terrain, shortage of rainfall, and successive failure of the *belg* rains .

Do'oma

The level of cash savings is low; those who are better off used to save in the form of livestock. Cattle are almost the only form of livestock. There were times when most people had to sell or consume their livestock, especially in the early years of settlement when successive famines struck the area. Most people either ate or sold the cattle provided by UNICEF. In 1993 most people sold their cattle to cope with the famine. The price went down to 60 *birr*. In 1990 the price of cattle went up owing to an epizootic which killed many cattle. Now people are reluctant to put their savings into livestock. Some have begun to save any surplus in the form of consumer goods; particularly radios and tape recorders. Only a few households save through *equbs*: the amount is very low (5-20 *birr* a month).

The following assets are common in most families: bench, skins, table, chests, chairs, plates, a store, pots, *gaya* (traditional pipe), hoes, sickles, axes, and ploughs. Wealthy households also own radios and sometimes taperecorders and wooden beds. Poor families only own some of the assets described for the average.

Most people are poor: they were poor when they settled and they have experienced a series of drought, crop failures, pests, and livestock diseases. Richer households own more livestock and household assets. Former landlords still seem to be richer; woman-headed households are poorer, particularly during times of food crisis. The poorest have no oxen and cannot plough; they may have lost them from disease or come from a poor family.

Gara Godo

Cattle, goats and sheep are used (partly) as a form of saving.

The wealthiest people in the community own up to 40 cattle. Sources of wealth include usury, speculation in *tef*, coffee, and maize, and sharecropping on other people's land. The poorest have no cattle, goats or chickens and do not cultivate their own land (give it for sharecropping).

3. Conclusions

- In all sites livestock are a very important asset
- The household assets accumulated by the wealthy are similar across the villages and include radios and tape recorders, modern furniture, larger and more food stores, in some areas a gun, and a range of cooking implements and utensils.
- In poor households assets tend to include traditional beds, wooden plates, pottery vessels, mud seats
- In some sites it is claimed that everyone is poor but two of the vulnerable sites clearly have wealthy households

5. Savings, Credit, Investment

1. Issues

Definition of assets: land, livestock, wives, children, farm implements, off-farm capital, houses,

household assets, personal assets, cash, *equbs*, banks, social networks, group membership. The importance of social and cultural investment. The investment of time may be more important than the investment of cash. An individual or household may acquire surplus cash or surplus in kind by saving or borrowing. Time and effort can also be invested. There are a range of ways in which the individual or household may choose to invest a surplus or loan. These can be considered under the headings of productive investment (in agriculture or business), investment in trade, investment in "human capital", investment in social capital, investment in cultural capital, and investment in political capital.

2. Summary from the village studies

Adele Keke

Most people lead a subsistence life and savings and substantial investments are not affordable. People invest in livestock and *chat* orchards. *Equb*, though not frequent, are a minor form of saving. The main source of credit is neighbours who are richer and who lend with interest (eg you borrow 50 *birr* you repay a quintal of sorghum which may cost 150 *birr*. Men do not lend to friends or relatives. Women borrow from shopkeepers and amongst themselves.

Close kin have easy access to the labour and property of one another. Neighbours also help each other in times of need: both happiness and sorrow. They may also lend each other petty cash and other items to solve immediate problems.

People insure themselves and their households against ordinary crises through mutual help and co-operation. They help one another with labour and finance. If someone falls sick the community will fund him or her to go to a health centre if (s)he cannot afford it. If a house burns down they will rebuild it. When a peasant loses a farm animal the villagers help him buy another by contributing money. Kin of husband or wife will also help; they may not live in the PA.

The objectives of *idir* are mutual aid among members.

Sirba and Godeti

The motive for using smaller quantities of fertiliser is to save some for the next season. Many farmers also try to save seeds but most fail and borrow money or seed from local moneylenders. However, these days it is becoming very expensive so some give a downpayment and take fertilisers from the government agencies. Others use better-off farmers and a local *kallu* who charge interest of 100% for a year. The capacity of relatives is limited. There are 17 known moneylenders in the village and 61 heads of household are recognized as frequent borrowers. There are some *equb*.

There are 6 *idir* for males and 4 for females. There are 2 *equbs* that are organized and operational after harvest, and there are 3 *mehber* and 2 *senbete* for men and 1 for women. *Idir* are based on the ethnic of assistance and interdependence during times of disaster or mourning. They provide funeral benefits, some material help for those whose house is burnt, and visit and comfort relatives. Members are usually drawn from the same ethnic group.

In social, religious and economic affairs members of *mehber* are supposed to visit and help each other in times of happiness and misfortune. Members worship a particular saint to demonstrate their devotion. Other than for feasting the gathering of *senbete* (at the church rather than in people's houses as is the case for *mehber*) is to discuss problems and settle quarrels between people in the community. Sirba villagers tend to distribute their risks among different *idir* and *mehber*.

Rituals and feast are frequent in the village and are tied with traditional religion and Orthodox Christianity. They are important status symbols and can act as a redistributive mechanism because the rich are expected to make generous feasts.

Yetmen

Peasants in Yetmen save money and they invest most of it in buying agricultural inputs and other commodities; they keep a little in reserve.

There are seasonal needs for credit among men: in September/October for food; in April/May for weddings; in June for food, fertiliser and seed; and in August for food. Women need to borrow in August and September.

There are several *equb* in the village: one has 50 members who each contribute 200 *birr*; at the

other extreme there are a number whose members contribute less than 20 *birr*. Some wealthy people lend money to those facing hardship; generous ones do not charge interest if they trust the borrower. Interest charges is either 1 quintal of *tef* for 100 *birr* (it would cost 120 *birr*) or interest of 10 *birr* for a loan of 100 *birr*.

Customarily relatives help each other up to three degrees of blood relationship through both father's and mother's sides. Wealthier ones help those who are materially poor (eg with oxen, seeds, money etc). The recipients may repay if they can get sufficient amounts of products. Strong people help their relatives, particularly during ploughing, sowing, and harvesting seasons.

There are also fictive relationships created through baptism. Godparents are co-parents and blood-like relationships are created.

There are feasts involving sacrifices during major Orthodox Christian holidays. What triggers the decision to kill an animal is the desire to create happiness and joy. Everyone would be invited. During the major Christian holidays the rich invite the poor. Food is distributed to beggars at the Abo church.

Turufe Kechemma

There are people in the PA with savings in government banks but most hoard their money in their houses. Some lend their money for profit particularly during the rainy seasons. There are a few peasants who also invest their money in trade in cattle, potatoes, and any other item they think profitable. People borrow from anyone who will lend. The maximum they borrow is about 500 *birr*. The lender checks that the borrower has planted his field so he knows he will get repaid. Usually there is a signed contract stating how much will be returned in cash or kind after the harvest. An example is borrowing 80 *birr* and returning 130 *birr*. There are a number of *equbs* for economic security and saving and *mehber* whose members help each other during crises.

There are 7 *idirs* in the PA (4 for men) open to all. Women's *idir* collect butter for weddings. There are also *idirs* for each *balbala* of the Arssi Oromo.

Sarab is the local name for friendship contracts among the Arssi Oromo. *Sarab* is a group of individuals who come together as friends on the basis of their closeness in character and work tendencies. They create an unwritten contract according to which they help each other with money, goods, cattle or livestock during difficult situations such as marriage and mourning.

For the Arssi Oromo (the great majority in the PA) forms of collective action reciprocity and redistribution are practised through feasts at the birth of Mohammed, and Id Al Fatir of during *sadaqa* - a feast prepared by a wealthy man for the poor at any time.

Economic obligations associated with lineage include to help and cooperate for contribution of cattle or money during blood compensation for murder, fines, payment of bridewealth and debt. The obligations are to the corporate group.

Debre Berhan

People have established *idir*, *equb*, and *mehber* to help them in times of crisis. When the accident is a major one the person will be helped by people beyond the institution and from kin who live nearby. People believe whatever they share in the *mehber* they will get back after death. There are 3 *idirs* in Fagy; such organizations were unknown before the early 1980s.

Savings in the form of cash, jewellery etc is rarely practised. At times of good harvest farmers try to sell part of produce and invest in livestock and fertiliser. They also prepare marriage feasts and eat more in *mehber* etc.

Credit needs are seasonal: in May/June to buy seeds; from August to October for consumption; and some borrow between June and August. They seek credit from the relatively wealthy in the community, traders and moneylenders. Most of the time they do not pay interest. Moneylenders charge 10% interest a month until they repay. If they take credit in cash from grain traders they repay a fixed amount of grain when they have their harvest. It was reported that there are no *equbs* in Fagy.

All members of the village are welcome at feasts like *arba* and *serg* (part of the marriage ceremony). Depending on the type of feast people are expected to contribute. The community prepares a feast once a year in October (*Adbar*). They worship and thank God for what he has done and make conditions smooth for the coming season.

Adado

In the case of personal crises such as a housefire the community will help. The elders assess the damage and coordinate to raise funds for compensation.

Strategies for handling crises include the saving of cash, migration into Guji land and shifting cultivation between highland and lowland areas. People also sell fruit and *enset* at Guji markets. Inter-group lending and borrowing of *enset* and cattle are also encouraged during times of crisis.

There are *idirs*, *equbs*, and *mehbers* in the community.

There is only 1 major feast which happens every 8 years. It is the *Bule* ceremony which is associated with the *Gada* system. Bulls are slaughtered and the community feasts together for several days in succession. People in the community no longer keep the Orthodox Christian festivals.

Aze Debo'a

Kin and clan involve economic and social obligations. An individual is obliged to maintain a relationship with both father's and mother's kin. People who belong to the same clan have to help each other. A person in a crisis gets help as well from neighbours and *idir* if he is a member. There are religious *idir*, village *idir* and clan *idir*. They are useful for funerals and housebuilding. *Idir* with 30-40 members are most common; contributions are only made in times of distress. *Sera* is an obligation individuals enter into by being a member of a particular community. Members participate in many economic and social activities which are highly institutionalised. There is a code of laws and modes of behaviour. There are also *mehber*.

Most peasants borrow money during *Meskel* for celebrations. People also borrow or sell assets to pay for marriages. *Equb* are often differentiated according to wealth. A businessman's group may contribute more than 100 *birr* a month, while smallscale traders contribute 2-5 *birr*. There are 4 known moneylenders in the PA and the interest rate is about 10% a month. People also borrow money from friends and relatives; it is one of the essentials of the culture to help people even by lending them money.

There are a lot of festivals with elaborate feasting in the area, particularly during religious holidays, but the poor do not seem to be entertained by the rich.

Imdibir Haya Gasha

In times of personal crisis people get financial, material, labour or other help depending on the problem. If the house burns down they get wood and thatch, if cows or oxen die they get a replacement. Help comes from (paternal) kin who live in Imdibir or elsewhere. Friends, neighbours and *idirs* also help. Most people belong to more than 1 *idir* on the basis of clan and neighbourhood.

There are many *equbs* in the PA; contributions to *equb* are usually between 3 and 5 *birr* a week. There are rich and poor people's *equbs*. People also borrow from *idirs*; they often charge 10% interest per annum. People also borrow from moneylenders (typical loan up to 300 *birr*) and relatives and friends. There are special kinds of savings associations organized for particular festivals; the saved amount plus interest is returned a month before.

There are *mehbers*. There are women's groups help by CRS. On the basis of their skills they get loans and engage in business activities to earn income.

Gurda is an institutional form of bond-friendship made between distantly-related clansmen. It creates ritual ties and reciprocal obligations which span social and spatial distances. It is reinforced with supernatural sanctions and involves moral obligations of mutual assistance.

Clan citizenship (*ang*) ensures all Gurage security and protection.

Feasts are a form of redistributive mechanism. Rich and traditional authorities often sacrifice cattle with much butter which is required to confirm status. All members of the community are welcomed.

Harresaw

There is no *equb* and there are no moneylenders in the PA. People only borrow from close relatives and friends: in most cases it is not more than 50 *birr*.

In times of crisis people receive financial, material, labour and other help from kin and neighbours. One of the sub-tabias in Harresaw has an *idir*. There are also *mehbers* in Harresaw.

The kinship system is based on a bilateral kinship structure: children have equal membership in the kin groups of both father and mother. They participate equally in ceremonies (eg weddings and burials) on both sides and receive help from both sides.

Members of the community make big feasts where cattle are slaughtered for weddings, memorials for the dead, and big religious anniversaries. Close relatives of members of the community from nearby

PAs, priests and beggars come to eat and drink at the feasts. If the feast is big all members of the community are welcomed. If it is small only those who are invited are welcomed plus priests and beggars.

Poor members of the community have free schooling and access to health care and have been given long-term credit.

People feast during Orthodox Christian festivals and fast according to the church's rules. Some people go on pilgrimages.

Korodegaga

Savings take the form of investing in livestock production. *Equbs* play a very minor role; they are usually formed by women. There are 5 big *idirs* but no *mehber* since they are Moslems. Some people belong to 2 or more *idirs*. membership is not related to economic standing.

There are no moneylenders interested in the collection of interest but people do lend money to neighbours and relatives on expressed need without interest.

Economic and social obligations are more to the father's kin than to mother's since descent is reckoned through the father's line. Kin, wherever they are living give (this is not an obligation) cattle, furniture, money as their ability allows. Friends and neighbours do the same depending on the intensity of the relationship.

If a person loses property (eg house, money, furniture) all of the residents have an obligation to contribute money, crops etc and also to build a new house. If a little property is lost (eg an ox) only the members of his *idir* are responsible for replacing it. For an ox they pay 200 *birr* whether it is big or small. They also plough his land for a season when he loses his oxen.

Feasts involving sacrifices are *saddaqa*, weddings, *Ramadan*, and *Arafa*. At *saddaqa*, *Arafa* and *Ramadan* feasts the poor are given special attention; it is a religious requirement to feed the poor.

Shumsheha

Savings take the form of investing in livestock. *Equb* have been introduced only recently; there are 3 whose members are mostly households dependent on off-farm income (firewood and drinks sale). Everyone is a member of an *idir* unless very poor. Some people belong to *mehber*.

In times of personal crisis friends, neighbours and kin help each other. Sometimes kin come from a distant place. If the damage is serious they get help from the government or an NGO. Most of the population faces an acute shortage of food between July and September. People borrow cash and grain from well-to-do relatives and friends or the church (for interest) or moneylenders. If they cannot borrow they migrate.

Geblen

The RRC, REST, *Egre-mitkhal* and the Ministry of Agriculture have a credit programme to encourage investment in land and trade. More than 10% of households have taken loans.

If a house burns down relatives contribute a piece of wood each to rebuild the roof (the rest is of stone). When an oxen dies there is no assistance unless during its illness the owner invites others to share the meat. Usually it is split into 10 parts and each person pays 12 *birr*. Relatives and *idir* also help in times of crisis. However *idir* are not common in the village. *Mehber* is practised by some households.

There are no *equb* in the area. The RRC, REST, *Egre-mitkhal* and the MoA have a credit programme to help the poor. Loans are provided for seed and fertiliser for those who have land, oxen, donkeys and money for potential traders, chickens, sheep and goats for those who are old, and ploughing tools. Households have received loans of between 30 and 1500 *birr*. The repayment time depends on what the loan is for. REST charges no interest; otherwise the interest rate is 2% for the period. The basis for selection was age, landlessness, willingness and responsibility.

Dinki

All the people in the village are under obligation to help in case of crisis. People also give assistance to and get assistance from other villages, friends and relatives. When an oxen dies the price will be levied on the people and everyone contributes. If a house burns down people help by bringing different items to rebuild it - wood, grass, etc.

Dinki does not seem to have *idirs* or *equbs*. There are some *mehbers* among the Christians and *Tenkole Mowlid* in the Moslem society. People from other PAs can join the *mehbers*.

They are strict in their respective fasting times. Christians do not work Saturdays and Sundays nor on the 12th, 19th, 21st, 23rd and 29th of each month.

Do'oma

The level of cash savings is low; those who are better off used to save in the form of livestock. Now people are reluctant to put their savings into livestock. Some have begun to save any surplus in the form of consumer goods; particularly radios and tape recorders. Only a few households save through *equbs*: the amount is very low (5-20 *birr* a month). The most common form of saving is for the *Maskal* festival. People borrow cash and grain from relatives, friends and moneylenders. Interest rates vary from 0 to 100%.

Kin are involved in commitments such as contributing money for bridewealth and provision of material support in times of misfortune. Clan level obligations are mainly attending weddings and funerals. There are no obligations attached to the lineage.

There are *idirs* of various sizes to support the families of the dead during mourning. There are different kinds of *mehber* - religious groups associations based on the objective of mutual assistance to members who need the help of others. Leaders are elected democratically for an unlimited period.

There are different redistributive mechanisms: there is an institution called *huduga* in which wealth generates leadership. A wealthy person is one who gives the most: feasts and gifts. There are different *huduga* stages: to be one can lead to bankruptcy. To be a *huduga* is to be a "Big Man".

There is also the institution of *hadera*: the borrowing of cattle from the relatively wealthy by the poor. There are no fixed days for the return and no legal rights. If the cattle die the poor do not have to pay compensation. The ideology is sharing. The donor may receive 1 or 2 calves and milk and butter depending on the state he is in but these are not significant. Most of the people of Do'oma are sustained by *hadera*: they have linkages in the neighbouring PA and as far as Morka (3 hours walk). In Wo Mala most people are given cattle in the form of *hadera* by the rich man of the area who owns about 400 cattle (he is a *kalicha*).

Meskel is another redistributive instance: people commonly feed those who cannot afford to make a feast.

Gara Godo

There is a wide variety of voluntary organizations in Wolayita: there are mutual support networks without which no household would be viable. *Idir* is a traditional organization to which virtually all households belong. On the surface it is a burial society but its foremost function is mutual exchange of labour to help households meet their needs during heavy work schedules (eg housebuilding, land development etc). Members will also assist households who are unable to cultivate their land due to old age, widowhood, or physical disabilities. *Idir* members will cultivate it for a share of the harvest. *Idir* also provide members with credit services: needy households have access to small loans without interest. Members transport the sick to a health centre or traditional healer and pay for medical expenses if the patient cannot afford them.

If a person's house burns down the villagers build him a new one by contributing building materials. They also supply furniture; if he is self-supporting they only contribute labour. If his healthy oxen dies the villagers share the meat and give money to the owner. If it dies of disease or is stolen he does not get assistance from the villagers although they allow him to use their oxen on his land. They also get assistance from kin, friends, neighbours and local organizations.

There is a butter *equb* for women. The MoA provided credit of 78 *birr* for 75% of households in 1993 for production. The interest rate was 25 cents per month and collateral was needed. People borrow from moneylenders for production purposes: the typical amount is 90-180 *birr* usually to be paid back in a year - interest rate 100% and people need collateral.

In 1986EC 75% of households received a loan of 78 *birr* from the MoA for production purposes. The interest was 25 cents a month and collateral was needed. If someone wants credit for production they can approach a rich household; the typical amount is 90-180 *birr* usually to be paid back within a year. The interest rate would be 100% and the borrower would need collateral. Loans like this would not be made for consumption purposes.

Investment in tradition is a significant basis for status - the means by which the rich display human or intangible wealth. An individual's social standing is measured not only by his material assets but also by human assets - followers. Investment in tradition is a characteristic feature of Wolayitta society; it

is an attempt to deny poverty the ultimate victory - social humiliation.

3. Conclusions

- Most people lead a subsistence life and substantial investments are not affordable
- People save (mostly cash under the bed) more in some sites than others
- The major investment people make is in livestock (both cash and time)
- People also invest in crop production, trade and small business activities
- In most places there are richer neighbours who will lend for interest; this often is a seasonal activity for consumption - borrowing occurs just before harvesting begins and repayments are made as soon as the harvest is gathered. Moneylenders also lend for productive activities.
- In times of disaster (such as a house burning down) everyone (including people not in the PA) rallies round to help
- All sites have burial associations (*idir*)
- Many sites have *mehber* which are associations which combine religious, social and supportive functions
- People borrow from and save through *equbs* in most sites. They are more frequent and involve larger sums where there are people generating off-farm incomes (since usually cash is required, although there are butter *equbs* for women in the south)
- Close kin and neighbours have easy access to the labour and property of one another
- There are kin/clan obligations to help relatives (eg with oxen, seeds, money etc). The recipients may repay if all goes well. There are also kin and clan obligations to contribute to bridewealth, blood compensation for murder, fines and debt and to attend and contribute to the cost of marriages and funerals
- There are fictive relationships created to help spread risk including friendship contracts and godparenthood
- People make relatively large investments of cash, kind and time in social capital (reciprocal exchange, redistribution, and status) and cultural capital (making ritual commitments of time, effort, cash and kind)
- In many (but not all) sites large feasts are held on regular occasions by the relatively wealthy which have the effect of redistributing resources
- In one site poor members of the community have access to free schooling and health care
- A number of sites have received credit through government or NGO schemes

6. Inheritance

1. Issues

Inheritance is important for efficiency and welfare. The division of estates among offspring may affect both. Inheritance biased against women limits their choices.

2. Summary from the village studies

Adele Keke

There are no elaborate rules of inheritance. When a husband dies his property will not be apportioned. The eldest son will serve as a father, cultivating the land and feeding his mother and siblings. When he starts his own family he takes his share (it is equitable except daughters do not get anything when they are married off). His junior takes the position in his mother's house. When everybody is married the children will leave a certain amount to their mother and help her with cultivation until she dies provided she does not remarry. If a man with no children dies the property goes to the widow. The property of a man with no wife or children is inherited by parents, if none then siblings, paternal relatives, or clansmen (in that order).

Sirba and Godeti

The rule of inheritance is patrilineal entitling males in a household to property rights. Married women have no rights to claim from the deceased father. If widows do not remarry they can keep control of the household property including land. If they marry the administration of the land falls to the new husband unless she leaves the home. If there are children from the first marriage their rights will be recognised. In a household where parents are dead the eldest son is responsible for controlling and administering the property. When sons form their own households they have a right to a share of the land. If illegitimate children are introduced to their parent families before the death of the parents their right of inheritance will be recognised.

Children receive the inheritance depending on the age structure of the children. The eldest male will take a larger portion because he is considered the new head of the family. He would then be responsible for providing resources for the younger members of the family.

Yetmen

Inheritance is based on bilateral descent: an individual inherits from both his father's and mother's property. The house and livestock are inherited by sons and daughter equally - son's inherit father's goods and daughters inherit mother's jewels, cooking implements, and mill. If there is no son a daughter can inherit and vice versa.

Turufe Kecheme

During the pre-Islamic period only elder children inherited their father's wealth. After conversion to Islam inheritance was influenced by Shari'a law which allows every child a portion of wealth but the traditional rule is still predominant. An unmarried male son is a legitimate person to inherit from his parents. Married sons have taken their share on marriage. Females can inherit only when there is no son. The eldest son can inherit everything if both parents have died. The other children's inheritance depends on his willingness. There was no inheritance of land after the revolution and the PA officials could redistribute it how they wished. Now the family can use the land after the death of the head of household.

The wife of a dead man can be inherited by a younger brother.

Debre Berhan

The Amhara household in highland plateau Shewa starts with a certain endowment given to the couple by both parents or personally accumulated before the marriage. It is customary for household heads to allocate a certain amount of land and livestock at marriage. On the wedding date there is the customary practice of *kotara* (counting) - when the groom's father counts an ox the bride's father counts a cow - and so on.

The widow inherits all her husband's property. She can give it to the children and remarry elsewhere. Children inherit from parents according to a will. Those who have helped in farming and have

respect generally get a greater share. The dying parents give his last blessings to the good children and distributes his property in front of witnesses. Ideally both boys and girls have an equal right to inherit property but there is a discrepancy between the norm and day-to-day practice.

Adado

On the marriage of a son the father calculates the land to be given to him by dividing it by the total number of sons and himself. On his death the youngest son gets his land, if the rest has been allocated on marriage. Women can inherit if there are no sons. If the household has 2 or more wives the husband shares the land equally among the male children from all wives. Relatives and elders decide which property each child should inherit. The eldest son gets any guns, spears, shields unless he is deprived of that right and they go to a younger brother. The right to inherit will be removed from an undesirable character.

Aze Debo'a

There is no special rule of inheritance: it all happens through negotiations and agreements in the presence of elders. The father decides normally and apportions his property during the last days of his life. He allocates plots of land to his sons giving more to the eldest. He shares the livestock between all, male and female. The house is inherited by the eldest son but he only gets it when both parents have died. If a dead household head has no male heirs women inherit the land and decide who should plough. Daughters do not have rights in land but may receive a share of livestock.

Imdibir Haya Gasha

The system is strictly patrilineal: daughters are only used to intertwine different lineages and fathers favour the birth of sons. The main items of property are transmitted from father to son. Land is equally divided among sons except the eldest takes an extra share, including the house of the father, for his leadership. The remaining children choose their part in descending order under his supervision. Daughters can only inherit if they have no brothers.

Currently women can be considered as guards of homestead land, cattle and other property because of the absence of husbands. Father-son relations are distant from 1-4, close from 4-marriage, and distant after marriage. This is because of inheritance: the eldest son expects the major portion if he has been "ideal". There is conflict among brothers.

Harresaw

Descent is bilateral and children have equal rights to inherit the property of their father and mother wherever it may be. The eldest son takes the responsibility of leading the family when the father dies and performs all his prescribed roles. The greater the number of children the higher the probability of using it without dividing it among themselves. They will use it in common until it is distributed equally by the eldest son. The eldest has the right to take an extra share, including his father's house, because of the responsibility he bears. Illegitimate children have equal rights to inherit.

Korodegaga

Inheritance is done between parents and children and among brothers. If they are too old to farm the property is still theirs but it is controlled by the son who helps them. He cannot sell anything without their permission. When the father dies either the widow (and all the property) is inherited by a brother (a year after the death) or the property is under the control of the widow. The eldest son gets his ring and mule (if he has one) and the eldest daughter (if married before his death) gets a cow or heifer. If the head has more than 1 wife the senior wife has the right to decide on the type of cattle given to the remaining wives. All other property is owned by the eldest wife. Only male offspring can inherit: land is shared equally among the sons and the remaining property goes to unmarried sons since the married ones have already had their share. If there are no sons the family will adopt one.

Shumsheha

Women and men and illegitimate children have equal rights. Inheritance takes place only when both parents die. Parents make a will before they die saying who should inherit what. If only the father dies the mother is responsible for the children and the family wealth. If she remarries when the children come of age they have the right to claim their share of their father's wealth.

Geblen

A household may break up through death, divorce or economic collapse. A household's dissolution involves the division of property and the dispersal of its members. In Geblen when the head of household dies distribution is done on the basis of the will he left. The property will be divided into three and the children will get one third. A daughter is given portable things which could be taken to her spouse's place. The widow will get one third of the property and could go to stay with her share. The remaining third is used to cover the death rituals.

Dinki

Moslems: If the father dies before he has written a will his wealth will be divided so that the males get two-thirds and the females get one-third. If he has a will his property will be distributed according to his wishes.

Christians: when the husband dies a quarter of his wealth will be used for funeral arrangements and the subsequent ceremonies (40th day, 80th day, a year, etc). The rest will be given for the wife and children. The share a child gets depends on closeness to the parent. The closest gets more depending on the will.

Do'oma

Inheritance by children only takes if both parents die. The eldest son is the most privileged as he is supposed to support the family. The house goes to him and he has to share the land, assets, etc (or cash from their sale) equally among the other sons. When parents die the eldest son inherits the parents' house and his younger brother takes over his house and the next youngest takes his and so on until the youngest son without a house is reached.

Women cannot inherit anything unless they have no brothers. Then they can inherit land, livestock etc which they sell or rent. Women are given rewards when they get married as a form of conjugal fund.

Gara Godo

Women do not inherit land even now and a high value is placed on the birth of boys. In the old days female infanticide was practised and those who fathered only daughters were considered childless and their land was confiscated by the state at their death. Land is inherited by male children equally; if there is no male female children can now inherit. Women could get their share of land by going to court but face the ostracism of their families.

The parent's house, compound, father's clothes, furniture, and mother's jewellery are inherited by the eldest son if he does not have his own. If he has a house he can pass it to the youngest brother. If there are no boys the daughters will sell the property and share it equally. Livestock are inherited by sons but they may give a cow or heifer to their sisters if they are kind. Daughters can inherit mother's clothes and kitchen utensils. Married ones are required to bring maize and cash for the funeral ceremony.

3. Conclusions

- Amharas and Tigreans: an individual can inherit both father and mother's property; house and livestock are inherited by sons and daughters equally or according to the father's will
- For all other people the rule of inheritance is patrilineal
- In these cases when the father dies usually the eldest son takes responsibility for the family; he usually inherits his father's house
- Usually when widows remarry they lose any rights in the previous husband's property
- Land is usually divided more or less equally between sons (daughters can inherit if they have no brothers)

- Livestock may be left to daughters as well as sons
- Sons are usually given their share of the inheritance when they marry

7. Lifecycle changes and social mobility

1. Issues

Development cycles: individuals have life cycles and households have lifecycles. Ideally domestic cycles for women and men would be examined separately. Social mobility may be inter or intra generational. People may move in and out of wealth/poverty during their lives. Is this frequent? What are the factors determining movement?

2. Summary from the village studies

Adele Keke

By virtue of inheritance the children of wealthy people tend to be wealthy while those of the poor in most instances tend to be poor. A child of a poor farmer can become wealthy by trading in contraband goods or by saving cash earned through wage labour.

There is little intra-generational downward mobility: it only happens if farmers fail to invest and consume too much. The main reasons for becoming poor are having a smaller size of land, losing land through a dispute, bearing more and more children, failure to work hard, illness or death in the family. There has been upward mobility in the middle category since these farmers can give loans in June and July and make a profit. Households frequently move between the middle categories - frequently downward. The main reason for this is that men in this category tend to marry 2 or more wives which involves considerable expenses for wedding ceremonies, bridewealth, setting up a new household and supporting more children.

Sirba and Godeti

It is possible to become wealthier through hard work and trade in nearby towns. With hard work and thriftiness the children of the poor could become rich and the children of the rich could become poor by the opposite. A beautiful poor girl who is skilled in household tasks could marry a rich farmer. Hard work, office-holding in the bureaucracy and moneylending have been instrumental in social mobility in the village. A household that was a member of the PC has larger land than non-members. Interlinkages and land renting have also helped. Rich farmers support their children. Typical reasons for downward mobility include having a large family, rising costs of living, becoming careless, drinking, and laziness.

Yetmen

Wealthy farmers tend to be children of wealthy farmers and the poor tend to be children of the poor. A poor peasant may be upwardly mobile if he undertakes off-farm activities like trading. Parents try to help their sons and daughters who are becoming poor by providing the necessary materials for farming.

Intra-generational downward mobility from the wealthiest category is rare and may depend on such factors as: recurrent death of livestock, shortage of cultivable land, an increase in the price of fertiliser. Other reasons given for downward mobility include loss of land, recurrent ceremonies (especially weddings of children), old age, divorce, laziness, death of husband, illness, extravagance (eg drunkenness), lack of oxen, shortage of grazing land, little availability of other income sources, lack of labour in household. Households moving from poor to average tend to be recently married young households and the reasons for movement include good provision at marriage, very hard work, saving money, managing well, and the absence of requirements for ceremonial expenses. The middle wealth category contains households that are mostly middle-aged and then the problems to do with becoming physically older, large ceremonial expenses, and the loss of important labour and ploughing oxen through marriage can lead to downward mobility again. Generally people become wealthier through restricting family size (and

ceremonial expenditures), saving and lending money, sharecropping in as much land as possible, working very hard, inheritance, marrying into a rich family, good home management, having a good wife and cooperative children.

Turufe Kecheme

Nowadays there is no-one in the PA which can be considered as wealthy like the previous landlords. Parents do not have sufficient land, cattle or money to be shared among their children. Now wealthy farmers do not tend to be children of wealthy farmers and poverty is also not hereditary. A child of a poor farmer can be upwardly mobile through success in farming or trade if he is lucky. A person can also become poor through repeated crop failures, loss of cattle due to unexpected calamities, crisis in trade, and theft. Other factors include ceremonial expenses especially weddings when most farmers are forced to sell or give their oxen, death of male household head, increasing family size, marrying more than 1 wife, lack of male labour, and renting out land for cash.

People who can wait and observe market prices can benefit a lot.

Debre Berhan

In the past the wealthy tended to be the children of the wealthy and the poor of the poor. However today the chances of anyone being wealthy are relatively low. The gap between rich and poor has decreased. Scarcity of land, deterioration in soil fertility, rapid population increase, and an increase in the price of fertiliser has resulted in a lower overall production in agriculture.

Downward mobility is easy: if times are hard farmers start selling oxen to buy food; then they plough with someone with 1 ox in the next season; if there is a crop failure the next year they may have to sell the other ox to sustain their families - they cannot plough. Other reasons for downward mobility include age, marriage of sons, death of livestock, crop failure, inability to afford fertiliser. It was suggested that it was almost impossible to move out of the poorest category; it depends on good times. They become wealthier as they produce and sell more - they buy cows and sell milk and buy other livestock. But times are harder now. People must not depend only on crop income because of the regular destruction of crops by frost. Households are usually not financially in a position to invest in any sort of innovation or new method or activity (such as irrigation) and cannot get credit.

Adado

It takes about 5 years for downward mobility between wealth categories. Reasons include coffee berry disease and snow/frost damaging coffee bushes. People become poorer due to shortage of land. Other reasons for downward mobility include fluctuations in market prices, *enset* disease, sickness, old age, drink, small share of land, costs of funerals and weddings, selling land. All these factors are more acute for large families. People frequently move between the middle categories but tend to get stuck in them. The crucial factor is land.

Aze Debo'a

There are a number of wealthy people who were children of wealthy parents and poor people who were children of poor parents. Also there are a number of poor who were children of rich and vice versa. In general people concluded that more people change their wealth status across generations than maintain it.

Many people move between wealth and poverty several times in their lifetime. A rich man illustrated this by claiming he moved 4 times. There is a *Kembata* saying - "people become 7 times rich and 7 times poor". Children of a poor farmer can be upwardly mobile through hard work farming or trading. These days education and political involvement play significant roles. Parents usually subsidise the households of their children if they are better off.

Imdibir Haya Gasha

There is occasional but rare downward mobility from the wealthy group. This happens because of business bankruptcy without farm investment, death, illness, old age of head of household, crop diseases, and animal pests. People become poor and vulnerable to crisis if they do not work hard enough on the farm and give enough time for wage-earning, if they do not save enough, if they have too many young children, if their land is less fertile, if they have no additional source of income apart from the farm. Households move frequently between the middle categories of wealth.

Upward social mobility through the acquisition of land is becoming more difficult due to land shortage. Children of the poor can become rich if they can earn off-farm income and use the income to improve the farm. Without additional income and working on a small plot of land it is very hard to become rich.

Harresaw

Before the revolution it was easy for children of the wealthy to be wealthy and children of the poor to be poor. Now it is easy for the wealthy to become poor rapidly through death of oxen or a bad harvest. People become poor as a result of drought, when they get old, and when the head of household dies. People may be upwardly mobile as a result of a good harvest, through sharecropping, hard work, luck, through trade, or by migrating to work (if he is young).

The present generation is poorer than its predecessors. Earlier there were many farmers who had at least 2 oxen for farming. Now farmers who have oxen are very few. There is no chance to become rich in the village.

Korodegaga

Normally people born to a wealthy family have a greater chance of becoming wealthy themselves but it is not guaranteed. The management skill of the heir is also important. Children of the poor can become wealthy if they are creative and hardworking.

Shumsheha

It is believed that it is possible for the child of a poor person to become richer if he works hard; he can be hired in a rich farmer's house and save money or he can have relatives in Addis Ababa or some other town who helps the household financially. However, this never happens; there are no rich people in Shumsheha - only poor and very poor. People can move very rapidly from poor to very poor as a result of drought and famine which can kill livestock, including oxen, or force people to sell or eat it. The result is that they cannot plough in the following season. People also become poorer as a result of large family size, small plots of land, extravagance, and drunkenness.

Do'oma

It is very difficult for a child of a poor person to become rich. Either he has to be extraordinarily outstanding in his agricultural work or he must be sociable and loyal so that he can obtain loans and do good business. The notion of fatalism, especially on matters of occupation, discourages complementary economic activities. A farmer would not resort to pottery or smithing, for example.

Gara Godo

It is easy for the child of a poor person to become rich by looking after other people's cattle, engaging in trading, borrowing money from others on the basis of sharing the profit equally, using hired donkeys for commercial purposes, and by cultivating other people's land by sharecropping.

3. Conclusions

- By virtue of inheritance the children of the wealthy tend to be wealthy and the children of the poor tend to be poor
- However in most sites it is claimed that downward mobility from the wealthiest category is not unusual and upward mobility out of poverty is possible
- The main reasons for becoming poorer are having little land, marrying more than one wife, having many children (with attendant marriage expenses), illness or death in the family, old age, death of livestock, crop failure, laziness, drink.
- In most areas it is claimed that the son of a poor person can become rich through hard work,

usually earning off-farm income, though maybe sharecropping in other people's land (assuming someone who is poor has access to little land). It helps to have good social relations

- Office-holding in the bureaucracy and moneylending are cited as other sources of wealth
- In a number of sites it is claimed that the wealthy are no longer as rich as they used to be; everyone is poor now
- Many people move in and out of poverty during their lifetimes

8. Long-term changes to the communities

1. Issues

People in the communities have had to adapt to long-term changes which have disrupted their lives. These have resulted from natural, economic, social, cultural and political changes within the villages, and from the impact of outside events, both natural and economic, political, cultural and social.

2. Summary from the village studies

Adele Keke

The 1975 Land Proclamation was a big advantage to the peasant. Farmers were organized in Service and Producer Cooperatives, in some places against their will. Those who refused membership lost land to the PC. The SCs brought shops, mills and a workshop. Villagization led to material and labour loss since people had to build new houses. Epidemics broke out killing people and livestock. All have now abandoned the new villages. In 1979 the literacy campaign began. Soil and water conservation and treeplanting on mountains were introduced in 1980. In 1984 the school was started and the extension service reached farmers. About 1986 improved seed varieties were made available by the government. About 1990 a mill service was started. A new Service Cooperative was built last year by 20 voluntary farmers. The society is now employing its own language as a medium of instruction and official language.

Yetmen

The village was founded around 1968 around a Swedish-built elementary school. The Service Cooperative was established in 1977, fertilizer was introduced and the agricultural extension services were extended. In 1979 the Literacy Programme started and the following year veterinary services were provided. In 1985 the Producer Cooperative was formed and a new *tef* variety introduced. In 1991 a clinic was constructed and the centre of the village connected to electricity.

Turufe Kechema

The majority of people in Turufe Kechema belong to the Arssi Oromo. They have experienced inter-tribal fighting within the Arssi group and with Oromo groups such as the Jille and Karay, particularly over competition for grazing land. After the conquest by Menelik the Arssi Oromo became tenants of Amhara settlers. This ended their egalitarian *gada* political structure based on age grades. Traditional political institutions and occasions do not take place in the PA in the same way as they used to do. During the period of the Derg a secret organization was formed representing the different clans and lineages of the Arssi Oromo in the area. After the EPRDF came to power this secret organization was officially encouraged by members of OPDO even though it is not yet recognised as a legal entity.

The PA was affected by the major events and policies under the Derg: 8 people were shot during the Red Terror; conscription; villagization; Producers' Cooperative; and sale to marketing boards at low fixed prices. On the good side the Derg ended the "feudal mode of production" and redistributed land and

established a Service Cooperative. At the end of the Derg the PA leaders lost power to the elders but now the new PA has it back.

It has been suggested that within the last 30 years individuals have started to have a preference for their individual advantages over communal feelings. They give greater importance to education and wealth and developed a need for a peaceful life at individual and collective levels. Particularly during the last 20 years people have developed the feeling that everybody is equal as humans and nobody should oppress, despise or exploit others. The proliferation of religious sects (particularly within the Christian religion) has led to the conversion of some young people while the *Wehabiy* movement within the Islamic religion appeared in the area in the last 10 years.

Debre Birhan

In 1975 land was nationalized. There was a slight yield increase for barley because of the introduction of fertiliser. A Service Cooperative was established in 1978 and a mill was bought. The SC brought more disadvantages than advantages because of corruption in the system. There was a PC and almost all farmers were members. In 1977EC and 1984EC there was famine. Many people migrated to big towns to look for work. In 1988 the government started implementing the villagization programme; much time was spent on building houses and less on farming. The new village was far from the farms and people could not look after their crops. Since 1992 farmers have been returning to their old villages. The standard of living of the community as a whole is now lower than it once was.

Adado

Under the Derg regime the community suffered from high taxation, conscription, and a Producer Cooperative imposed by force. Those who refused to join had land taken and forest areas were reserved for the PC. PC members were highly favoured in terms of credit facilities, selected seeds, fertilizers etc. With the end of the Derg the PC is closed and favourable conditions for the payment of taxes have been established. For example, in 1995 taxes were not collected on time but the farmers settled their arrears on their own initiative so they could have land tenure security. During the Derg the PA controlled political activities while traditional community leaders and elders conducted ritual ceremonies, and settled disputes. Now traditional leaders are recognised and consulted by the PA officials.

The area has been affected by natural disasters: in 1967 coffee and *enset* were destroyed by severe frost. In 1968, 1974 and 1977 an epidemic caused great damage to coffee bushes; this continues to be a serious threat. Years before 1967 are referred to by elders as years of relative plenty and abundance.

Aze Debo'a

The Kembata were defeated by Menelik II in 1892 and the Amhara superstructure was imposed over the tribal organization but very little of the Kembata way of life was disturbed because there was little land. The site was affected by land reform, resettlement (to Illubabor and Gojjam - some willingly and some by force), the literacy campaign and military service. Since the land reform there has been reciprocal hostility between those who lost land and those who got it.

People suffered a lot in the 1985 famine: some had to sell cattle, some had to beg, and some died of starvation. In 1988 heavy rain destroyed many houses and farm crops. In 1993 similar rain destroyed the crops of 50 households and affected over 440 households. In 1994 another flood affected the crops of 50 households. In 1994 famine also affected the area and many people died of hunger and famine-related problems. A lot of people sold most of their cattle to buy food. Armyworm also affected the crops.

Imdibir Haya Gasha

Following defeat by Menelik II the Gurage became tenants. In 1976 the land reform gave people access to land. In 1977 the Red Terror affected the site. In 1984 there was no rain and the *enset* was affected by a disease (*chire*). During the famine the community received aid (insufficient) and some richer farmers helped the most affected households. More than 100 men were conscripted. About 20 have returned: aid to demobilized soldiers includes land and money to buy utensils etc. Recently the land of some rural households was annexed by the municipality of Imdibir.

Harresaw

The history of Tigray is full of war, drought and famine. Harresaw was affected by conscription: 50 in

1976 for a campaign in Eritrea (10 died, 1 wounded, the rest returned) and in 1977 (3 recruited - others defected and returned home). In 1978 the EPRP occupied the area. Then local robbers joined the EPRP and robbed property from the residents using the political organization as a cover. When the EPRP left the robbers remained. The Derg came and ordered a campaign against the robbers: they were eventually caught and executed.

In 1980 the TPLF occupied the area and after that the Derg's fighters made repeated attempts to recapture the area. The Derg's army executed many people in the area accusing them of being supporters of the TPLF. The people were forced to leave their houses whenever the Derg's army marched into the area. Many were taken prisoner, some executed and some had their property confiscated. The Derg soldiers slaughtered the livestock of the peasants and raped married women.

Since 1991 the people have led a peaceful life and the PA has received some benefits (credit, free ploughs, free chickens, a cross-bred ox, nursery, free farm implements).

Korodegaga

The downfall of Haile Selassie liberated them from tenancy. They were subject to villagisation, producers' cooperatives and a service cooperative. Most of the fertile land came under the control of the PC (85 farmers). UNICEF introduced irrigation for the PC by providing a generator. They grew bananas, papaya, oranges, tomatoes, sweet potatoes, onions and green peppers and shared the produce at harvest time; they sold it and were richer than other farmers. The PC was abolished in 1991; they hired someone to maintain the generator and shared the land to use individually until 1993 when the generator became useless due to flooding. Currently the people of Korodegaga have nothing in common except the Service Cooperative shop. A significant number have abandoned the new villages. For the last 10 years there has not been a good harvest.

People now have a strong identification with the local name Arssi, and then Oromo, and less with Ethiopia. They considered themselves as Ethiopian subjects until 1974.

Shumsheha

A group of older people could remember the invasion of Ethiopia by the Italians in 1928EC; people had to go to fight for Ethiopian independence. They had to stop farming and take their livestock with them. 5 years later the Italians were defeated and left Ethiopia. At this time the community was highly affected by drought. Between 1951 and 1967 there was surplus production and people often enjoyed feasts and celebrations. They could maintain a 2-year stock of grain. In 1975 the land was redistributed so no-one had more than 10 hectares. The government organized a Producers' Cooperative which killed the competitive spirit among farmers. These 2 factors led to a decline in production. The community was hit by the 1984 famine; many people and livestock died while thousands migrated to look for jobs and food. It was only after 3 years of starvation and the mobilization of massive national and international support that the disaster was overcome. In 1994 there was excessive rainfall which destroyed the crop.

There was no villagization nor resettlement but in 1978 and 1985 thousands of people in the area were forced by the government to leave their homes and taken for resettlement in Wollega and Bale regions. Beginning in 1991 these settlers have been returning (with no land or homes waiting).

Bugna *woreda* was an important centre of political events in the last 20 years. The western half was for long a strategic base for EPDM fighters from 1981. The eastern part of the *woreda* fell to the EPRDF forces in 1988.

Geblen

Tigray was devastated by 16 years of civil war. In 1975, a year after the Ethiopian Revolution, the TPLF began an armed resistance against the central government. The government acted with ferocity and launched 7 large military offensives in Tigray. From the start of the revolution Geblen was administered by three organizations: EPRP, TPLF and the Derg. During the war much of what little infrastructure existed, including schools, clinics, bridges and housing was destroyed. People and crops were also destroyed. Government soldiers were left to live off the land. Geblen was not directly affected by the war but it was indirectly due to the banning of movement to markets and for work. There was substantial conscription in the area by the TPLF. Many people below the age of 40 joined up and others left to seek for ways to survive. Most of them have not yet returned. People from the village were imprisoned, fined and banned from marketplaces during the Derg.

Tigray was hit by the 1984 famine. Nearly a quarter of Geblen residents were forcibly moved to the western part of the country in a resettlement scheme which left most of them worse off. They have not yet reached the economic status they had before they were moved. Displaced people who went to Eritrea have returned to the village as have 6 soldiers.

Dinki

The economic status of Dinki and the surrounding PAs is now such that they cannot sustain subsistence due to underproduction which has been explained by one respondent as a result of food aid and food for work programmes. There were crop failures in 1977 and 1986 and the area was affected by famine in 1985 and 1994. There was no villagisation and no producers' cooperative in the area. Two unknown Moslem fundamentalists came to the area and tried to persuade the Moslems not to interact with the Christians socially or in cooperative work. The Moslems refused to listen.

Do'oma

The first settlement in Do'oma started in 1982 when 50 settlers arrived. In 1985 another 200 households joined. It was hoped that the irrigation scheme developed by UNICEF would alleviate the lot of the people living in the highlands suffering recurrent drought and crop failures. UNICEF supplied oxen, hoes, and other means of production. The early harvests were not good owing to crop failures and UNICEF introduced a cash for food programme.

Gara Godo

The land reform of 1975 and subsequent policies of the military government profoundly exacerbated the vulnerability of the economy by striking at the root of the system of production, particularly periodic reallocation of land, producers' cooperatives and villagization. Added to these were the high rates of state exaction and grain requisitioning which had to be delivered by farmers whether or not they had a harvest.

By the close of 1985 there were violent acts of resistance against party and government agents. The years 1983-8 were traumatic for the people in the region since they were subjected to one unprecedented crisis after another in which between 3000 and 5000 died. A crop disease attacked the *enset* plant and then there was drought. In its history Wolayitta has suffered few famines but due to high population density and congested living space epidemics such as meningitis, malaria and cholera have occurred with great frequency.

3. Conclusions

- The 1975 Land Proclamation brought advantages to farmers in most areas
- In most cases villagization and Producers' Cooperatives were imposed against the will of many in the community; in some cases violence was used.
- In some places most farmers became members of the PC; in others only a proportion did. PC farmers were given the best land and inputs. In some this land was distributed among PC members when the PC was dissolved.
- In most sites that were villagized some or all people have returned to their old homesteads. The advantages of villagization included easier access to services such as schools, clinics etc. Disadvantages suggested were that crops were stolen or eaten by birds/animals as they were too far away to guard and epidemics of disease broke out among humans and livestock. Some complained the land they were given for homesteads was not enough.
- The Derg regime brought a number of valued innovations to most of the sites including the Literacy Campaign, Service Cooperatives, and agricultural extension.
- Nearly all sites have suffered from famine at some point during the last 15 years

- In some sites it is claimed that attitudes are beginning to change. There is a growth in individualism and a welcoming of the idea that all people are equal and have human rights
- In a number of sites it is claimed that the standard of living is now lower than it was
- The histories of the 2 sites in Tigray are different since they were in the thick of the civil war for more 16 years

9. Vulnerability and coping strategies: the communities

1. Issues

Economists tend to look at economic topics separately: eg assets, investment, land, labour, livestock etc. From the peasants point of view these are all things they have to make day-to-day inter-linked decisions about in an environment of uncertainty. It is useful to look at the ways in which individuals, households and communities try to survive and prosper in the particular conditions in which they find themselves. These strategies include social networking, organization, collective action (at factional or community level), and cultural and political activities as well as economic ones, though the focus here is on economic coping strategies.

The context for looking at the vulnerability is one of rapid population growth and increasing land shortage. In 1975 many of the households in the survey had access to about 10 hectares of land. Twenty years on the average is below 2 and the survey shows that on average women have been having approximately 6 children each. The next twenty years must see considerable changes in economic activity and its location

2. Summary from the village studies

Of the 14 sites in the sample 10 may be described as food deficit, 3 as food surplus and 1 as at occasional risk. The following table is in rough order of the wealth of the communities.

<i>Community</i>	<i>Food status</i>	<i>Economic coping strategies</i>	<i>Threats</i>	<i>Possible unintended consequences of coping strategies</i>
Adele Keke	deficit	selling <i>chat</i> and potatoes	crop disease, failure of <i>belg</i> , insecurity, reduced freedom of movement, possible action against <i>chat</i> export	drug addiction
Sirba and Godeti	surplus	grain selling and diversification	crop diseases, pests, cattle diseases	increasing inequality (?)
Yetmen	surplus	grain selling, diversification, migration	frost in October, reduced freedom of movement to other areas, insecurity	increasing inequality (?)

Turufe Kecheme	surplus	diversification	crop diseases, institutional failure - reliance on MoA for vaccination and pesticides	increasing inequality (?)
Debre Berhan	sometimes food surplus, risk of crop failure	selling dungcakes	cattle disease, rising prices of medicine and fertiliser, frost, failure of <i>belg</i>	dung not put on the soil
Adado	deficit	cash crop - coffee	coffee berry disease, fall in world coffee prices, <i>enset</i> disease, wheat and barley diseases	
Aze Debo'a	deficit, vulnerable to drought/floods	migration for wage labour	price of fertiliser, floods, frost, pests, crop diseases, reduced freedom of movement	<i>de facto</i> woman-headed households
Indibir	deficit	migration for trade and business, selling eucalyptus	reduced freedom of movement	eucalyptus affecting water table? <i>de facto</i> woman-headed households
<i>Community</i>	<i>Status</i>	<i>Economic coping strategies</i>	<i>Threats</i>	<i>Possible unintended consequences of coping strategies</i>
Harresaw	deficit (used to be rich)	migration to Eritrea and Saudi Arabia (illegal), aid	failure of <i>belg</i> and <i>meher</i> , frost, floods, livestock diseases, crop diseases and pests, shortage of grazing	<i>de facto</i> woman-headed households
Korodegaga	deficit (no good harvest in last 10 years)	selling firewood, in the past irrigation	drought, aphids, institutional failure including corruption which led to failure of irrigation scheme	deforestation?
Shumsheha	deficit (famine for the last 10 years)	migration, aid	drought, crop and livestock diseases, pests including baboons, shortage of grazing/trees, government building airport	dependency <i>de facto</i> woman-headed households
Geblen	deficit	migration to Eritrea, eating wild food (<i>beles</i>), and aid	erratic inadequate rainfall, short-termism, lack of communal grazing land	<i>de facto</i> woman-headed households, dependency, tooth and stomach problems from eating <i>beles</i>
Dinki	deficit	aid	aid fatigue	dependency

Do'oma	deficit	aid, irrigation	unreliable and unpredictable rain, human livestock diseases, insets, pests, baboons, aid fatigue	dependency
Gara Godo	deficit	trading, migration, aid	overpopulation, <i>enset</i> disease, aid fatigue, reduced freedom of movement	dependency

Conclusions

The different communities have adopted different strategies to fit their different circumstances. Diversification seems to be the most successful but seems to depend on being near a town. Many of these communities are vulnerable and look to NGOs or government to provide food security.

10. Relationships and interactions beyond the community

1. Issues

Segmentation of the economy; exchanges with other communities; rural violence: local and regional conflicts: migration; disruption of production activities.

2. Summary from the village studies

Adele Keke

Relationships with other communities are not based on lineage ties but on friendship, common understanding and common interest. The spatial distribution of households forms both scattered and dispersed villages. Generally there are 2 bases for settlement: cultivation and kinship.

The PA export *chat*, potatoes and sorghum to Dire Dawa and Alemaya and send *chat* to Awday. They bring back cash, vegetables and *berbere*. They also sell eggs, crops, hens, milk, and livestock in Alemaya and some people go there for labour. In Dire Dawa they buy pasta, rice, oil, clothes, farm equipment and commodities. They buy and sell livestock in Kersa and also buy fertiliser, pesticides and seed varieties. They are related to neighbouring PAs via marriage and in some they have access to farmland and some people go for labour. In Alemaya they get cash and buy clothes, crops, spades, kerosene, commodities, farm equipment, *berbere*, fertilizer, pesticides, seeds, onions, meat etc. People go to Harar to hospital and they buy clothes, commodities, salt and sugar.

Although people do not mention that they have traditional enemies and though they live peacefully with the Amharas in the PA they have the feeling they were incorporated into the Ethiopian empire by Menelik II. They also feel they were oppressed by the Amhara ruling class. However, they consider themselves Ethiopian and have a positive attitude to the country.

Sirba and Godeti

Networks between the community and other communities are formed through religious groupings, trade, affinity, kinship and friendship. Relations with the wider Ada'a are reinforced by annual rituals of *Irrecha* in Debre Zeyt.

The villagers visit Debre Zeyt for medical treatment, schooling, to sell their harvest market and to buy household items. The women sell most of their production in Debre Zeyt and the rest in Mojo. They also visit Mojo to sell harvest and for medical treatment. Occasionally merchant women go to Addis Ababa to sell or exchange what they have. There are 6 neighbouring PAs to which the villagers are related through kinship ties. They visit relatives and go to weddings in all 6. There was a problem of phosphorus in their water so they get drinking water from neighbouring PAs. They take their cattle to water at the Mojo

river and visit the ammunition factory to get wood.

Religious groupings of *Senbete* and *Mehber*, the rituals of *Ayana*, interlinkages and *Gada* festivals are interactions beyond the community of the village.

Yetmen

There are a lot of social interactions among members of the PA and neighbouring people. People from the surrounding PAs come to Yetmen for trade. They sell grain to the merchants and buy some commodities. People sell crops, livestock and *araq* in Bichena and Dejen (especially hens). In Dejen they buy sand, charcoal, fruits and merchandises and in Bichena they buy spices, pulses, chicken and livestock. They sell livestock and *guaya* in Debre Markos and buy merchandises. Crops, honey, butter, livestock (eg chickens) and *araq* are sold in Addis Ababa and people also migrate there to work.

There are relationships with 7 surrounding PAs involving marriage. People go to these PAs taking livestock for grazing and for sale, to collect dungcakes. People come to Yetmen for services and to sell eucalyptus. Merchandise and medicine are taken to these PAs.

The people of the PA have no traditional enemies; they consider themselves to be Ethiopian and their commitment to Ethiopia is very high.

Turufe Kechema

The relation between the Arssi Oromo in the PA with other communities is based on lineage ties. The relevant clans are widely spread throughout a number of *weredas* in the Oromiya region.

People from the PA send food and make visits to relatives in Addis Ababa. They bring back radios, tape-recorders, watches, household furniture and gifts. People go to Shashemene for schooling, to sell cereal crops, for marriage, to visit and to buy and sell livestock. They bring back fertiliser, seeds, pesticides, radios, tape-recorders, watches, farm and kitchen equipment, and consumer goods. They sell greenleaf vegetables in the market at Hamus Gebeya and buy lamps there. They have relationships based on marriage in a number of other rural areas. They take fertiliser and seed to sell in Kuyera PA and buy and sell crops there.

Debre Berhan

Farmers sell grain, (if there is surplus), dungcakes, firewood, and livestock in Debre Berhan and bring back merchandise. People go to the school and clinic. They go for medical treatment to Addis Ababa, migrate for work and sell milk and grain. They buy medicine and manufactured goods. People come to the PA to the clinic and for schooling from Koremargefia. There is a tradition of sharing with people in the Aloaret *kebele*.

Adado

The Gedeo have a special relationship with the Guji whereby they assist each other. The Gedeo supply *enset* while the Guji supply cattle. Nevertheless the 2 groups have had conflicts often caused by Gedeo encroachment on Guji land through migration. The Gedeo land has been expanded by 50% since 1895. There has been inter-marriage. With regionalization disputes over land between the Gedeo and Guji have become more prominent.

Men go to Shakiso to work in the gold mines. Coffee is sold at Bule and Dila and the local town. Coffee is brought to the PA (where the SC coffee-washing plant is) from the local town and another PA. Livestock are sold in the local town. Cloth and fabric is bought in Dila.

Local elites have a link with neighbouring peasant associations in coffee trading as well as politically.

The people as a whole would like to be recognised as an ethnic group and presented in the central government as an expression of being accepted as Ethiopians.

PA officials relate to wider Ethiopian political and administrative structures through the *wereda* officials.

Aze Debo'a

In general, whether based on clan, marriage, commerce or other factors there are a lot of interactions with neighbouring ethnic groups.

Some elders said that they had fought wars with the Hadiyas, Wolayitta, and some other ethnic

groups. But now there is no feeling of enmity among them although sometimes there are conflicts with Hadiyas which are not serious and settled promptly. Despite the current tendency to stress local identity Kembata are proud of being Ethiopian while they have complaints about former injustices.

Men have been going to Wongi, Metahara, Bezam Benana and Suki to work. People visit them there. The PA is linked by marriage to 4 other named PAs. Cattle are sent to Zato. Stones are sent to Shinishicho, while cattle, food, coffee and *tef* are brought from there. Cloth, stones and trees, handicrafts, cattle and crops are sold in Durame and people go there frequently. Food, clothes and commodities are bought there. People go to Hosaina to hospital and for visits. people come from Zato for church and people from the PA go to church in Benara. Coffee, *tef*, cattle and people go to Addis Ababa and radios and clothes are brought back.

Imdibir Haya Gasha

Village units are linked together in a network of social and economic relations known as *teb*.

People export skins, hand-sewn goods, thatch ornaments, *chat*, *enset*, wood, pottery, mats, and traditional clothes to Addis Ababa. People go there for school and work. They receive remittances and gifts (gold, radios, taperecorders, etc) and buy textiles and shoes. They sell traditional clothes in Hosaina and buy butter, tomatoes, maize, *tef* and berbere. They sell *chat*, *enset*, and wood in Wolkite and buy clothes and shoes. They are inter-related by marriage with Wolene and Ezya, Gumer, Geto, and Enemor. They sell *geshu*, livestock and coffee in Wolene and Ezya and buy hand-sewn goods, pottery and livestock. They get cowpeas, tomatoes, sheep, barley cabbages, brooms and hand-sewn decorations from Gumer. They take oranges and coffee to Geto and bring back brooms, mats, barley and sheep. They take mats, pottery and hand-sewn ornaments to Enemor and bring back butter, bananas, craft goods and consumer goods.

The Gurage regard the various Sidama, the Amhara and the Oromos as their traditional enemies.

Outmigrant Gurages have been affected by the recent ethnic conflicts; merchants have started returning to their villages due to ethnic cleansing politics in certain parts of the country.

Harresaw

People sell food crops in Atsbi and have relations by marriage who live there. Livestock is exchanged through marriage. They buy clothes. They go to Afar for salt and take food crops to sell. They have marriage relations with Barka PA and Agowo PA. They take livestock to Barka.

Shumsheha

People migrate for agricultural work to Gondar, Rayana Kobo, Setit, Humera, Keffa (for the coffee harvest) and occasionally to towns including Addis Ababa. They go to Lalibela to market. Kinship relations are obligatory down to the great-grandchildren of siblings. Though they count their lineage up to "seven houses" mutual cooperation is based on the attachment of individuals. Relatives in faraway places are obliged to shelter a kinsman if he commits murder. The concept of clan and tribe are alien to the Lastan peasant.

Korodegaga

People sell firewood and charcoal in Dera town and Sodere. From Sodere they bring food items and commodities. From Dera they bring livestock, clothes, food crops and food items. Food aid comes from Dera, while food aid for children comes from Awash Melkassa town. They go to this town for modern medical treatment, junior school and to use the electric mill. They go to Nazareth also for modern medical treatment and high school and they buy there clothes, commodities, radios and tape recorders. They sell and buy food crops and livestock in Bofa town and bring back food items and medical treatment. They follow the livestock for grazing in Sire *wereda* where they have marriage relations. They also have marriage relations in Eastern Shewa and Eteya.

The people have settled in 9 groups in the PA to make defence easy. They have been in conflict with Kereyu nomads and Jile Oromos living in the neighbouring area over rights to grazing land and access to drinking water. These conflicts have involved cattle and camel theft and fighting with machineguns and spears. However they have been resolved in the last 3 years because overall ethnic affiliation is emphasised rather than minor clan differences.

Geblen

People go to neighbouring PAs for school and to use the mill. They sell firewood and charcoal in Adigrat and buy furniture and consumer goods there. People go to work in Edaga Hamus town and send back remittances and gifts. They get oranges and bananas from other rural areas which they visit. They are linked with other PAs by marriage.

Dinki

People in the PA are linked by marriage to a number of other PAs which they visit and are visited from. They go to Aliyumba to sell crops and to the mosque. They go to Aygebire PA for church sermons. In Ankober and Dulecha they sell products and livestock. Relatives in Ankober make remittances and gifts. They get pottery from Harambana Kobo and go to school in Genda Weha PA.

Do'oma

The people are related with the neighbouring clans and tribes in different ways. Clans are exogamous, even if the person lives in another PA. Men of the same clan are expected to attend weddings and funerals. Of the neighbouring regions it is Zala which is most closely related, especially in marriage.

The nearest town of Wacha is 20 minutes walk. People go for medical treatment, to school, to visit and to sell crops. They buy manufactured goods. They go to Sodo town for fuel, clothes, soap etc, and to Gofa town, where they sell traditional clothes, for coffee, salt, *areqi*, onions, sugar and clothes. They go to a number of surrounding PAs for visits and funerals. They sell livestock in Delamber town and Maloezo PA. From the latter they bring *goderie*, *kocho*, *enset*, *gommen*, coffee, and *boye* and people visit each way. They send crops and livestock to Morka PA and bring ginger, clothes, coffee and salt. They get crops rootcrops and oranges from different PAs.

People feel both Gamo and Ethiopian. There is a love of Amharic songs and eagerness to learn Amharic. There is tolerance for other ethnic groups.

Gara Godo

People migrate temporarily to Arba Minch and Awasa for work bringing back money. They are related by marriage to a number of neighbouring PAs, and to Durame, Shishicho, Areka and Shone. They sell *tef*, maize, hens, oranges, lemons, bananas, soybeans, sweet potatoes, potatoes, coffee, pepper, butter, metals, planks and oxen in a range of PAs and towns. They import clothes, nails, corrugated iron sheets, coffee, soap, other commodities, farm equipment, soybeans, maize, cattle, sheep and goats, potatoes, horsebeans, barley cowpeas, wheat, *dagusa*, *kocho*, horses, donkeys, mules, *gommen*, kerosene, spices, salt, sugar, and fertiliser. They send money to Addis Ababa and Wonji and also get it sent to them.

3. Conclusions

- Not all these Peasant Associations are "communities": many contain a number of villages which have relationships with other communities beyond the PA and may not interact so much with each other
- Networks of relationship beyond the village are based on religious groupings, trade, affinity, kinship and friendship
- People in sites near towns are involved in much "importing" and "exporting" of goods
- In most sites the people have "traditional enemies" - often their neighbours. Some old conflicts are being revived as a result of the regionalization programme.
- In a number of sites men migrate to towns, State farms, or richer agricultural areas to work as wage labourers

11. The effects of some government policies

1. Issues

The fieldworkers were asked to explore the effects of economic policies on the community. They also made some observations about the effects of other policies.

2. Summary from the village studies

Adele Keke

The fieldworker found it hard to detect the effects of recent government policies) eg devaluation and ending marketing boards) on the economy of the local community. The people are not too willing to respond to such questions. There are some signs of price increases on some goods and services. While there has been economic growth there also has not been stability and peace in the region. However, there is no sign of ethnic division in the community. There was a suggestion that unemployment and poverty have increased along with lawlessness. It has been suggested that the government is putting influence on the representatives of local ethnic groups not to be organized: it imprisons them if they are found doing so. Some say the majority support the present regime and regionalization.

Sirba and Godeti

After liberalization of prices and the ending of marketing boards, prices of grain have increased. In general the produce of the villagers reaches the market freely. However, villagers are obliged to obtain more of their consumer goods from the market, except for fertiliser. Fertiliser prices have risen as follows: DAP 1990 - 87 *birr*, 1994 - 142 *birr*; UREA 1990 - 66 *birr*, 1994 - 122 *birr*.

The effect of the regionalization policy has been to increase the ethnic awareness of villagers. So far the traditional political system of the *Gada* (now merely a ritual performance) has not yet been reinstated. Otherwise there is not much change in the political, legal, social, and cultural practices of the village as a result of national policies. Since the regionalization policy political meetings and demonstrations seem only to be attended by Oromos, excluding non-Oromos. During the Derg both held power in bureaucratic structures. The highest tax rate now is 25 *birr* and the lowest 20 *birr*. There are people who complain they are paying the same amount of tax for a small size of land as those with larger holdings. The amount of tax is decided by higher authorities but assigning the level of rates to individual farmers and collecting taxes is the responsibility of the PA leaders. Assigning tax rates has often been used by PA leaders to attack opponents and benefit allies.

Yetmen

The current economic and social changes are affecting especially the poorest members of the community to a great extent. People are worse off because unemployment has risen and some people have no access to land. Ending marketing boards has helped those with grain to sell but is problematic for the poorest. Due to the effects of devaluation the poor ones can no longer buy day-to-day consumer goods. People who make their living through wage labour or selling drinks are suffering from this. Prices of food, inputs, crops etc have been increasing: the price of fertilizer from private merchants is much higher.

The dismissal of the party aristocracy is welcomed, as is the return of conscripted soldiers. The present worst problem is the shortage of land. One consequence is that a lot of people, especially the younger ones, want to migrate but they fear the other ethnic people. Some people expect that land will be reallocated in the near future. Government policing give most attention to the remnants of the Derg which has allowed the development of banditry, particularly cattle theft at night.

Taxes are paid to the government: all peasants are required to pay 20 *birr*. Traders pay taxes according to their income. People feel that the tax is not fair because it is too much. There is not a positive relationship between leaders of government institutions and traditional leaders. The PA electees were imprisoned along with some other commoners.

Turufe Kechemma

The effects of policies such as devaluation, the end of price-setting, marketing, infrastructure development

etc needs further research. Other PAs in the same zone have complained that peasants, who used to buy fertiliser through SCs on credit cannot afford to buy them for cash. Another reason they complain is that the current government will not give them credit since most were not able to repay the previous loans.

The prices of meals in restaurants and farm inputs have risen substantially. The wage of agricultural labourers has gone up from 2.5 to 5 *birr* (period not specified), the price of oxlabour has risen from 3 to 12 *birr* a day, and the price of crops has increased by more than 200%. The price of half a quintal of fertiliser has increased from 43 *birr* in 1990 to 73 *birr* in 1994. 1 kilo of sugar which used to be bought for 1.60 *birr* costs 3.50 in the cooperative but 7 *birr* in private shops.

The community is composed of different ethnic groups with different political views. There has been an increase in ethnic tension and misunderstanding and violence erupt here and there. Many youths are turning into gangsters and robbers. There is no law-abiding body to look into the grievances. Soldiers who were made redundant are still unemployed. However another view is that the community is now better off because of the end of conscription, increased prices, especially of potatoes, have offered an incentive to produce more, unemployed high school dropouts have started farming with their parents, some soldiers have been given land, and farmers no longer have to pay special contributions.

The Tigreans and the Oromo are more receptive to the regionalization policy than the Amharas, Wolaitas and Hadiyas in the community who feel that it is encouraging ethnic differences. Other ethnic groups than the Oromo have been at risk since 1991. The Oromos want the rest to leave the PA because they believe that all the farmland owned by these ethnic groups is their property.

There are 2 stories about taxes: it is based on the agricultural wealth of the individual peasant determined by the local branch of the MoA plus PA leaders; or everyone pays 20 *birr*. It may be that there is a process of change from the latter to the former as a result of regionalization. A third informant claimed that the basis was wealth measured by the size of land, the number of cattle owned and by estimating lifestyle.

Debre Berhan

For the last 3 years the price of agricultural products, like the other goods, is determined by supply and demand market principles. Since the prices of both agricultural and other goods are increasing people worry a lot about this issue. While this should benefit peasants who are sellers of grain it has not benefited people in the PAs due to poor harvests in the last 3 years. If you stand on the outskirts of Debre Berhan on market day and watch what peasant carry in and out you see them bring dungcakes, straw and firewood and buy cereals and other goods to eat. Some farmers would like the government to set the prices of products like the past regime.

Some farmers thought at the beginning the government would redistribute land again because the then members of the PC, who were given a large size of land for the PC, redistributed individually among themselves giving them a larger amount of land than other members of the PA.

Collecting taxes is the responsibility of the PA leaders. Unlike in the past this year each household irrespective of wealth paid an annual tax of 20 *birr*. However the fieldworker observed that PA leaders were instructed to assess and classify households according to their wealth for future taxes. The criteria they were using were number of oxen and livestock, and size of arable land owned.

Some people say there is no difference between the current regime and the Derg for the people of the community. The political system is still centralised and there is an impression of strong resistance to some of the government's regulations.

Adado

People are better off because the price of coffee has risen (2 *birr* in 1991 - now 17 *birr* for an unknown amount). There are no obligations and duties. However, the cost of living has risen. The community is politically worse off because of the ethnic conflict with the Guji. Some said they did not like regionalization since it stopped freedom of movement for labour.

The population often complain about land tax. After the Menelik conquest the land was not taken from the indigenous population by *neftegna*. Adado resisted and the land was kept by the Gedeo. Under Haile Selassie land tax depended on land size. Since the time of the Derg it has depended on number of plots and farmers claim it continues to be high given their income. There is a problem paying if they get no harvest.

Aze Debo'a

The following factors have made the community worse off: returning soldiers, displacement of resettled people, displacement from different regions, increase in population, intensified shortage of farmland, low credit facilities and access to inputs, clan conflicts leading to overpopulation in the community, a continuing increase in the numbers finishing school and unemployed, destruction of crops from pests, floods, shortage of rain.

The following factors have made the community better off: peace and stability, the free marketing policy, the end of AMC controlled prices, the end of unfair contributions and taxes, the end of military service.

Local experts said that devaluation had been good in that it resulted in an increase in the price of coffee. But it also produced a rise in the price of grain and since the area is crop deficit it has to buy grain. While this encourages production there are few surplus grain producers in the PA. Prices of agricultural inputs (fertilisers, pesticides and implements) and consumables, transport and clothes have all increased. Overall the experts thought the impact of devaluation was negative. The value of money has decreased.

The ending of marketing boards is good.

In view of the dense population in the area people are worried that something unplanned may happen if the density continues to increase and the regionalization hinders people's movement to other parts of the country.

Tax collection is complicated. Directives come from the Ministry of Finance office. They have national scales based on the incomes of individuals. The minimum a farmer should pay is 20 *birr*: 10 for land use and 10 for income tax. This applies to incomes of less than 600 *birr* per annum. For those above the national scale is elaborate and goes from 10-89% to be paid in tax. The scale is provided to the PA leaders and interpretation, estimation of income and collection are left to them. They estimate the future income when the crops are in the field. They also take account of off-farm income, quality of house and general condition. What they actually do is to roughly categorize people into 2 or 3 income groups.

As compared with the Derg's tax people feel 20 *birr* is not unfair, but they are worried the rate will not last long. When they compare themselves with people in other parts of the country who have more land they think 20 *birr* is too much.

Imdibir Haya Gasha

People seem to be both worse and better off as a result of government policies. They are better off because obligations, duties, conscription and contributions have been abolished and all in all things are peaceful. They like the idea of democracy giving human rights to all. Some are worse off because unemployment (especially for those who have completed high school) has increased, the cost of living has gone up and mobility has declined due to ethnic conflicts.

Taxes are collected by the village council and are the same for each household.

Harresaw

The people support the regionalization policy as it will facilitate the fast development of the region and avoid war since the rights of every citizen will be respected. Before 1991 the community had great problems due to shortage of rain, drought and security problems. Now they have human rights and can work and travel freely. The government is helping the community with an extension agent and encouraging NGO activities.

There has been no taxation for the last 15 years and no-one is responsible for collecting it at the moment. In the future it will be the *wereda* administration which assigns responsibility for tax collection.

Korodegaga

They appreciated the emphasis the Derg put on developing rural life. They disliked them only because of National Service (63 went and 35 have returned) and the villagisation policy.

They are happy at the end of marketing boards and hardly realize the effect of the devaluation policy.

The local tax is 20 *birr*; since the area is crop-deficient people feel it is too much. There are some recognised and respected elders in the PA to whom disputes are referred. The most respected are called *shenicha* and most of them are religious leaders. People prefer to use them since they deal with matters quickly and the amount of penalty or compensation is based on the ability to pay and not on laws and

regulations as is done by the PA.

Shumsheha

The community had a lot of problems with the Derg over resettlement and conscription. However, the aid was generous and there was no discrimination as there is with the present regime. They are glad with the end of the civil war at least in their area, that there is no conscription or Agricultural Marketing Board. On the other hand they do not see the advantage of the free market economy, particularly with regard to manufactured goods. The merchants raise prices high all the time while the *kebele* shops, which were cheap, are no longer active. Land distribution is unfair at present: they take fertile land from people and give them uncultivated land. The new regime is fair in tax collection: it is 20 *birr* (42 *birr* under the Derg) and if someone cannot pay at the time he can pay later. During the Derg immediately land would be taken from those who could not pay the tax.

Some people believe that the regionalization policy will affect migration and also rules out the possibility of resettlement in less-populated areas as one possible solution to the problem of shortage of land and environmental problems.

Do'oma

Most people live at subsistence level and are not much affected by government policies such as devaluation and the end of marketing boards. The abolition of the marketing boards is welcomed. With the passage of time and development of infrastructure government policies are more likely to affect people's lives. The regionalization policy has restored *wereda* status to the Dera-Malo zone inducing a budding urbanization in the capital Wacha (20 minutes from Do'oma) where the government offices are being opened. The markets are expanding.

The new policy is double-edged: it is creating an opportunity for the Gamo language to develop but it also means the revival of the rift from within. The notion of the so-called "pure" Gamo was discouraged by the Derg in the name of equality and its return is remarginalising the caste groups like potters.

Gara Godo

The elected officials are born and brought up by the present government and work in close relationship with the central government. The people strongly support the regionalization programme but their demands for a zone of their own have not been met: they have been lumped with Gofa, Gamo and Dawaro and the traditional administrative capital has been shifted from Sodo to Arba Minch.

People are better off now they are freed of the oppression and exploitation of the period up to 1991 but their living conditions show no significant improvement. Due to population increase they feel more overcrowded. Some people are worried about the article in the Constitution that says all land is State land: they are afraid their land will be taken away. Some are worried that the regionalization programme will cause age-old hostilities to flare up.

Farmers who grow coffee have benefitted from the increase in prices.

3. Conclusions

- In most sites it was hard to detect the effects of policies such as devaluation. In the more remote there seemed to be little impact. The ending of marketing boards and fixed prices for the buying of goods was universally welcomed. In most sites rising prices were reported for crops, inputs and consumer goods. This was not welcome in crop deficit areas
- In a number of sites it was claimed that the poor were worse off as a result of the economic policies
- Some sites reported a lack of stability and peace due either to political activity or banditry or other lawlessness. Policing of theft seems to be minimal.

- Unemployment has risen in some areas
- In many sites ethnic awareness has risen. This is seen as having good and bad sides. The flourishing of local languages and culture is welcomed but there is a fear of the conflicts that might be generated alongside this.
- In a number of sites where migration for work has been a traditional coping strategy it was reported that people had to return from some areas due to ethnic conflicts
- There seem to be variations in the way in which people are taxed. In most sites the standard rate of 20 *birr* applies regardless of wealth. In a few sites PA leaders are responsible for assigning farmers to different wealth categories for differential taxation. There are reports that past PA leaders sometimes used this power of decision to favour friends and punish rivals.
- There are some worries about the government's policy with regard to land. Particularly those with more land fear another redistribution.
- Farmers who grow coffee have benefitted from the increase in prices

12. Government and NGO activities in the community: past and future

1. Issues

Community groups were asked in what ways they had benefitted from government and NGO activities in the community in the past and what they would like to happen in the future.

2. Summary from the village studies

Adele Keke

They ranked the usefulness of government provision in the following order: health clinics; schools; waterpipes; mill; treeplanting; roads; fertilizer; credit for oxen; pesticides; improved seeds. The agricultural extension officers were vital in controlling the locusts last year.

They ranked NGO activities: soil and water conservation by FAO; food aid by UNICEF and others; water wells (SIDA); water wells (Human Appeal); Livestock resources and Development Project (World Bank).

They are worried about land shortage and security problems. Aid is not reaching the poor and the restriction of movement associated with the security problems affects them most. They would like more infrastructure, modern farm implements, and credit.

Sirbana Godeti

Rising prices have been good for those selling grain but other prices have also gone up so, particularly for the poor, it is hard to buy food, day-today consumer goods and fertilizer. After villagization more than 20 households have returned to their old homes and many of the rest would like to. They would like additional NGO help for their health centre.

Yetmen

They were worried about unemployment, landlessness and shortage of land, rising prices (good for *tef* sellers, bad for the poor), and the effects of regionalization on migration.

They would like credit, irrigation, afforestation, fertiliser at cheaper prices and available at the right time, off-farm income opportunities, and the poor need oxen. There are problems of cattle theft. A

group of men ranked government activity in order of usefulness as: agricultural extension advice; veterinary services; health services; teaching.

Turufe Kechemma

They too were worried about shortages of land and the fact that the poor cannot buy fertiliser or improved seeds. The poor would be helped by provision of oxen and seeds. They suggest help with bee-keeping, irrigation, more education and training, and modern farm technology. Women would benefit from organizations to teach them better childcare methods and help them participate in off-farm income earning activities. The community would like electricity; it could be transmitted from Shashemene General Hospital which is about 2.5km away. The most essential benefits the community gets from the government are health services, school, provision of fertilizers, insecticides and herbicides.

Debre Birhan

How to get land is a critical problem. They suggest irrigation. They would also like credit for fertiliser and seeds when crops have failed. They have a problem of owing debt to the government who will not give them any more credit until they have repaid. Following a bad harvest (often due to frost) they cannot repay. They would like there to be drugs at the clinic.

Adado

Farmers are better off because of the rise in coffee prices, but the cost of living has also risen. One said they would like a free coffee market. There is a land shortage leading to unemployment and day labouring. Ways of decreasing fertility might be considered. Regionalization has led to ethnic conflict with the Guji over land and reduced migration to Gujiland and to the goldfields. Unemployment and day labouring has consequently risen. They would like new technology for coffee production. They need clean water, a clinic, toilets, farm inputs, education, and transport. Policies to counteract poverty are required.

Aze Debo'a

Land shortage is a problem and the traditional solution - migration - has been affected by regionalization policies. They would like local employment opportunities, improved infrastructure and health and education services, a mill, irrigation, plough oxen, fertiliser and credit. A group ranked government activities in order of usefulness as: road construction; construction of bridges; provision of educational services.

Imdibir Haya Gasha

There is a problem of land shortage and people can no longer migrate to other places. In order to increase local production they need roads and bridges so they can carry the eucalyptus to sell beyond the PA; credit; research to cure *enset* and *chat* diseases; seedlings to grow vegetables; modern farm implements; improved livestock; factories; and improved health and education services. They would also like the restoration of freedom of movement. A group ranked government activities as follows: school; health clinic; police station; law court; telecommunications; veterinary services; literacy programmes; Coffee and Tea Development Office; the PA; forestry projects. They would like a clean water supply.

Harresaw

The major problem is shortage of land caused by the population increase and aggravated by the return of demobilised soldiers and people leaving the resettlement areas (partly due to the regionalization policy). They would like off-farm job opportunities and credit. They lack oxen, seed, fertiliser, herbicides, drought resistant crops, micro dams, agricultural extension and afforestation programmes. They would like better health and education services.

Korodegaga

They used to have an irrigation scheme but when the generator failed due to flooding there was no-one to mend it. A new irrigation scheme was not properly designed, and the people suspect; it did not work. The oxen they were given during the drought they had to sell for food. A group ranked NGO activities in order of usefulness as the generator; the oxen; maintenance of the dry weather road; construction of new

irrigation. They ranked government activities as: literacy programme; agricultural extension agent; veterinary service and clinic construction; elementary school; cooperatives; food aid; dry weather road construction.

Shumsheha

Government support in the economic sphere is generally insignificant: there is no bank or telecommunications even in the *woreda* town of Lalibela. The road to the zonal town, Woldia, is not all-weather. The regional town is so far away that the transport cost is unaffordable. The Ministry of Agriculture provides vaccination, insecticides and pesticides, but usually too late. The Ministry of Natural Resources has development agents doing conservation measures in the area and a nursery site in Shumsheha employing 20-30 farmers and providing seedlings to farmers. The RRC distributes relief: this year it distributed large amounts to all farmers in the *woreda*. A group ranked the government's activities in the area in order of usefulness as: airport (for Lalibela); school, peasant association; literacy programme; forestry project.

About 500 households in Shumsheha are helped by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church Development Unit: they provide targeted relief assistance to the poor and have a nursery. SNV provided the primary school with chairs and tables.

Geblen

The CRS, REST and the government are currently active. The MoA is providing loans, and advice on terracing and tree planting. Geblen is very poor due to the forced evacuation and resettlement of many of its residents (who lost everything), unpredictable weather, and the loss of the fertile topsoil.

Dinki

The economic status of the area is such that people cannot sustain subsistence. This is due to the terrain which is mountainous and produces soil erosion and to deforestation, shortage of rainfall, successive failures of the *belg*, and the development of dependency on handouts (according to one respondent). A group ranked government activities in order of usefulness as: literacy programme; Ministry of Education; Ministry of Agriculture. They ranked NGO activity as ILCA (oxen), LWF (food for work building a road), Mekane Yesus (aid during last drought).

Do'oma

The PA was formed in 1985 under the auspices of UNICEF to try to rehabilitate drought-affected people. They have struggled to survive ever since; the area is semi-arid and they rely on irrigation for the *belg* season. They also have trouble with pests, such as baboons. But the soil is fertile and there is no shortage and the nearby town is now expanding, providing market opportunities. An improved and expanded irrigation scheme combined with an allweather road and bridges over the river would enable the PA to survive. Their mill has broken and they would benefit from another. A group ranked UNICEF's activity in order of usefulness as: ditchdigging; distribution of oxen; mill; feeding camp; bee reproduction; distribution of food, distribution of clothing. They ranked government activities as follows: primary school; veterinary service; literacy programme; agricultural advice; agricultural tools.

Gara Godo

The land shortage in Gara Godo has been a problem for some time and can only get worse due to the large size of families. There are problems with bands of robbers who steal property and livestock at night and attack travellers. Many people cannot get fertiliser since they cannot afford it and they cannot get credit since they still owe the government. They would benefit from improved stability and peace. There is some ambivalence about aid since though it saves life it also discourages work.

A group ranked government activities as follows: a spring; roads; 5 nearby primary schools; fertilizers; pesticides; medical services during epidemics; feeder roads, food for work; food aid; forestry. They ranked NGO activities as: food for work; American Ottona Hospital; Dubbo Catholic Mission Clinical Services; DC Mission School; food aid; Admancho clinic; vaccination services; wells sunk and springs cleared; Balsa primary school; oxen or dairy cattle provided.

Proposals for the future included redistributing land; digging water wells to improve health; better health and education services; vocational training centre for unemployed; factories; upgrade footpaths;

provide credit; encourage saving; freedom of movement throughout Ethiopia; bigger marketplace; extend road; instruction in family planning; electricity.

3. Conclusions

- In some sites the activities of agricultural extensions officers and veterinary services have been particularly appreciated
- In most sites the provision of schools and then health services are high priorities
- In a number of sites there was concern that aid did not reach the poor
- Off-farm income activities and credit were requested in a number of sites
- In 3 sites instability and banditry (including cattle theft) were mentioned as problems needing solution
- In vulnerable sites food for work was generally appreciated more than food aid
- In sites reliant on migration there was a request for freedom of movement throughout Ethiopia

13. Local organizations

1. Issues

Economic and social change in the rural areas requires local organization and management and successful intervention in these communities requires an understanding of how they are managed and run. Recently donors have started to talk about using indigenous organizations for development. It is important to understand that indigenous organizations that work very well at what they do, because they have been created to meet a need and in an appropriate way, can be spoiled by insensitive interventions.

2. Summary from the village studies

Organizations are religious, economic, political and for labour.

Adele Keke

Community decisions (about marriages, land etc) are made by the PA, the *Sheik* (area chief) and elders, The elders have more power than the PA officials. Local law breakers are punished by the PA. Taxes are decided and collected by the PA.

Local organizations include the *aphacia* and the 3 forms of workgroup already described. Projects such as building houses and digging water wells are collectively done.

A group from the community ranked local organizations in order of usefulness as follows:

1. Peasant Association
2. *Idir*
3. *Equb*
4. Women's Association
5. Youth Association

In the markets there are no weights and measures laws except in the case of *chat*. Nobody polices the market and it is not worth complaining to anyone.

Lineages are important for marriage and the redressing of injuries. Lineage segments (*gosa*) are

interested in creating a friendly atmosphere among members - settles disputes and raises funds for members who are sick, lose property, and for funerals. The impact of lineage on local politics and the local legal system is not strong.

There are 8 shops in the PA. The agricultural extension officer visits 36 contact farmers in the PA twice a month. There are 30-35 follower farmers under 1 contact farmer. New technologies are first introduced and tried by contact farmers.

Sirba and Godeti

The Sirba community is not tightly-knit. There are factional groups in addition to the present rift of ethnic groups. There are a lot of social interactions both in smaller circles and beyond the community of Sirba. There are still some social activities that are handled by elders but in general important decisions are made by PA leaders, all of whom are currently Oromo.

The decisionmakers are the PA officials and the community elders on occasion (especially inter-household disputes). Decisions involving land distribution etc have been taken over by the PA. *Gada* leaders are relegated to rituals, marriage and other minor social aspects being excluded from matters of land or any other resources.

During the Derg regime the institution of *Kallu* was suppressed as a backward cultural practice. The ritual practices were obliged to be hidden and it was not openly exercised as it is today.

Yetmen

The community is tightly knit and orderly. People are highly associated with each other in activities such as *idir*, *equb*, *mehber*, and during the harvest season they work together in groups. There is also *wonfel*. A group in the community ranked local organizations in order of usefulness as follows:

- (1) *senbetie*
- (2) *mehber*
- (3) *tsigie*
- (4) *idir*
- (5) *equb*

In the market there are standardized and traditional measurements for grain and a traditional weight for selling cotton. Otherwise there are small and big modern weights. There is a sort of inspection of the market every 6 months by the Ministry of Internal Trade. There is no local controlling mechanism for the market.

There are 16 shops in the PA which normally stock various commodities. There is 1 extension agent for the PA. He often visits farms. There are 3 traditional birth attendants. There is also an out-of-service telecommunication station, a community-owned generator for electric light, elementary and junior high schools, 8 private fertilizer shops, and a police sub-station.

Kinship and descent are important aspects of life for marriage, blood feuds, and in the past access to land.

Disputes within households are usually resolved by neighbours. Otherwise the elders and the marriage committee will be brought in. Disputes between neighbours are considered by neighbours and relatives and then elders. *Shimgilina* is a traditional council of respected elders. *Fird shengo* is elected and settles disputes in accordance with traditional principles but also in compliance with government regulations. The police will be involved in cases the community does not want to handle especially when violence is involved.

Bewitching also has an important role to play. The victim reports the problem to the sorcerer (who may be male or female) and they both are summoned to the sorcerer. They are under oath to tell the truth and must do what the sorcerer decides. If they do not the witches, using their magic powers, will inflict a death penalty on him or his family. Usually the family is inflicted with diseases which cannot be cured and die one by one after unbearable suffering.

In the case of breaking of local rules the perpetrator will be fined and warned. If the rules are still broken he or she will be expelled from the community.

Grain and money are contributed to those who serve the church as salaries. Each Amhara household has obligations to the local church including contributing a certain amount of grain each year and supplying labour and materials as needed for the construction and repair of church buildings.

Turufe Kechemba

The community is tightly-knit and orderly. There is a lot of social interaction in the form of *idir*, *equb*, and *mehber*, as well as *gesso*, *debo* and other forms of labour contracts. However, the community is not wide; people mix in small circles.

Most of the decisions on community affairs are made by the elders, then the PA when people do not want the elders involved. The PA has 2 divisions: the administrative (implements government regulations like tax collection, implementation of political decisions, organization of farmers for group work like terracing, afforestation etc) and the court (3 people elected in the PA). The PA can arrest, decide penalties, and fix the amount of tax for each farmer (which differs according to standard of living).

A group in the community ranked local organizations as follows:

- (1) *Shengo* (PA court)
- (2) PA
- (3) *idir* and *setoch baltina*
- (4) SC
- (5) *senbete*
- (6) *mehber*
- (7) *debo, jigi*
- (8) *equb*
- (9) Women's Association
- (10) Youth Association

The existence of various clans and their lineages have impacts on the life of the PA particularly during elections. People tend to vote for their clan members and the majority clan can dominate the PA.

Debre Berhan

There are 4 main categories of organization: formal political structure (eg PA); informal political and social structure (eg elders, working parties); voluntary associations of farmers (eg *idirs*, etc); and the local churches.

Community decisions are made by the people after heated debate and discussion. The responsibility for calling the meeting lies with the PA. There are 3 groups who make decisions (the PA, elders elected by people from the PA, and elders elected by the village).

A community group ranked local organizations in order of usefulness as follows:

- (1) *mehber*
- (2) *idir*
- (3) peasant association
- (4) *equb*

The church performs ecclesiastical services on death, marriage, holidays and other rites of passage (eg christening) and of intensification (eg failure of rains, animal disease etc). Priests also serve as mediators when individuals quarrel.

Adado

Previously there was a community decisionmaking system called *Gada*. It makes decisions from simple disputes to complex questions. Since the introduction of state decisionmaking organizations there are several possibilities for dispute resolution depending on the wishes of those involved: some go to the hierarchy, some go to the PA, police etc.

A good number of people have become Christian and some are Moslems; both peacefully coexist with local traditional religious beliefs.

Aze Debo'a

Social interaction is fairly amicable. Elders feel people are becoming more individually-oriented but there are a lot of group activities; there are micro-groups and circles for cooperation and working together based on occupation, clan, village etc. In the political context there is a feeling of unity at the pan-Kembata level.

The Kembata kinship system is segmented at the clan level. Each clan has an internal structure that is maintained independently. Each clan organization has a set of authority figures who deal with the political, legal and social affairs of the members. These days clans have started to become corporate groups. They entail all the obligations and privileges of kinship including helping each other in need and

fighting if there is a quarrel between a member and outsider. People reported that some time ago lineages were more important than clans.

There are about 27 clans in the PA.

There are different religious groups within the PA. There are two political parties in the area: the Kembata People's Democratic Organization and the Kembata People's Congress. Their basic differences are on the issue of land, unity of the country and self-determination up to secession.

Since the end of the Derg PA officials have lost power to the elders who have been helped by a cultural revival.

Imdibir Haya Gasha

The household as a consumption and production unit is the lowest level of social organization. Kinship prevails in everyday life ramifying through economic, social and political organizations. Lineages are patrilineally organized and political power, authority and wealth are vested in lineages directly associated with the principal Gurage religious cults. The lineage is called *teb*: *teb*-related villages are dispersed through a number of *teb*-related districts which comprise the entire *teb* or clan territory. (Exceptionally there are a few households which have settled on different territory by buying land).

An *ager* is the highest level of social organization after the lineage. It is a settlement unit with its own church(es), common land, road, and public places for assembly. It is a spatial and political unit: there are 14 *ager* in Imdibir. Each has its own council of elders responsible for internal administration of affairs. These did not disappear during the Derg when PAs were imposed over the traditional social organizations of Ethiopia.

Headmen and elders often meet to make economic and political decisions. Economic assemblies are often called to discuss the formation of work parties, the distribution of market goods, and the sale of cash crops. Political assemblies are less frequent. They may be called by any adult male in the village. The village men participate in discussions and make decisions which are implemented by the elders. People like to debate for its own sake. Women meet rarely as a group. Since the end of the Derg the PAs have lost power and the elders have become more powerful.

Feuding involves the corporate group and individuals depend on the minimal lineage for protection. At times disputes may become widespread and people may exact compensation or seek vengeance and if mediation fails fights may ensue. Feuds are frequent often involving loss of life and blood vengeance. They often arise over debt reclamation.

Both the PA and (chosen) elders make decisions (about economic and social problems of the community) although most are made by elders. There is a family council for each household chosen at the time of marriage and an elders' council. There is a higher body - *ye joka* - which makes decisions for all Gurage. It is particularly concerned with murder, theft, and other crimes. Recently they changed the rules about bridewealth and marriage expenses which had become too much.

A community group ranked local organizations in order of usefulness as:

- (1) *idir*
- (2) *Sebat Bete* Gurage Road Construction Organization
- (3) *equb*
- (4) *Ye joka* meeting
- (5) *mehber*

Gurage markets have been established for many years and are part of inter-clan and inter-tribal relations. There is a market cycle. The clan chiefs act as market elders and act as policemen and judges supported by village headmen.

Harresaw

There are close kinship and economic ties of co-operation within villages at times of cultivation, using grazing lands, the loaning of oxen, grain and other food, the rendering of services after birth, mourning at death rituals and participation in village politics. Members of the community, especially relatives, neighbours and close friends, visit each other frequently and discuss recent events. The community is wide and there is no tendency for people to mix in small circles.

Both the PA and local elders make community decisions mostly about the economic and social problems of the community. Elders are chosen on the basis of their age and influence and mainly resolve disputes. The members of the *baito* (PA) are elected and serve without salary.

Leaders of the PA often meet to make political decisions. Economic assemblies are less frequent and are concerned with the construction of dams, afforestation activities, distribution of aid, use of fertiliser and selected seed. Political assemblies are frequent because during the civil war people developed the habit of discussing current affairs. Women actively participate in all discussions.

The main market is at Atsbi (10 kms). The market is controlled and supervised by the town council. They collect taxes and maintain peace.

The only religion is Orthodox Christian.

Korodegaga

There are 9 villages in the PA. Most of the settlers in one village are related either by birth or marriage but are different lineages. There are no local political organizations influential in the PA. The leaders are elected. Within the villages there are relationships of kinship, economic assistance and social activities. The interaction is strong at village level rather than being PA-wide.

Shumsheha

The Peasant Association and the Youth and Women's Associations were formed soon after the 1974 revolution. In 1989 the EPRDF placed Lasta under its control and these organizations were reformed in accordance with their principles. In 1990 the *woreda* was sub-divided into 32 administrative units - *Kebele Mestedadir*. The *Kebele* Council is formed of elected representatives (1 for every 30 households). The council elects a committee of 9 members to carry out administrative decisions. The *Kebele* is divided into lower-level community units (*got*) which were formed for land reallocation by EPRDF but now have become important administrative channels. The formal organizations are much stronger now than in the old days. However, the Women's and Youth Organizations are not as active as they were. Primary decisionmakers on any issue in the community are the elders: they are chosen for particular issues. The PA decides on government matters, regulations and directives; it serves as a bridge between people and government. There are *equb*, *idir*, and *mehber*. A group ranked the local organizations in order of usefulness as: *idir*, *mehber*, *equb*, and Peasant Association.

Geblen

There is no market in the PA: the nearest one is 22km (about 4 hours walk).

Community decisions are usually made by the PA (*baito*). In the case of disputes if the elders cannot solve them they go to the *baito*. If they cannot solve them they go to the *wereda* council.

Dinki

There is a PA council which has a representative of the *wereda* council to channel order from top down and pass information up.

The community has labour sharing arrangements. A community group suggested the 3 most useful organizations are: the government nursery (1987); development agents (1980); and the PA.

Do'oma

The community is tightly-knit and orderly since all inhabitants belong to the PA and share socio-cultural values. There are community-based festivals like *Meskel* and religious associations and labour sharing arrangements. 4 villages share irrigation water and 3 senior members from each form an irrigation committee to decide about water offtake. There is a village-based committee which decides which farmers should have access to water. (There is water-"stealing" at night).

The primary decisionmakers are the elders: there is a 5-man committee which can decide on claims and other issues relating to land, livestock and other property ownership. They can make people pay compensation and can divide plots between different people if there are competing claims. Their decisions may not be binding; some cases go to the PA and if they are serious to the police.

A groups ranked local organizations in order of usefulness as PA; *equb* , *idir*, youth and women's associations.

There are no factions in the community. The only political group active in the area is the GGPDF.

Gara Godo

A group ranked local organizations in order of usefulness as follows: *idir*; PA; *equb*, Women's savings and

credit schemes (initiated by Redd Barna); *mehber*; Youth Association; Women's Association; Producers' Cooperative.

The major churches in the area are Orthodox and Kale Hiwot Protestant. There is also the Catholic mission, Pentecost, and *Mulu Wengel*. Foreign-based churches have been spreading vigorously. It has been suggested that revivalism has more to do with the search for community and collective strength than religious belief and can be seen as an indicator of growing political awareness.

3. Conclusions

- In all sites decisionmaking is shared between PA officials and the elders. In some sites elders seem to be more powerful but not in others. Women seem to play very little decisionmaking role, except in Tigray
- Most sites have burial associations (*idir*) and rotating savings groups (*equbs*). Some have *mehbers* (religious social groups). Men and women are involved in these, usually separately but not always
- Clans and lineages are important corporate groups in some sites
- Local churches are important organizations
- In a few sites feuding and conflict seems to be part of life

6. Conclusion

This report has been written with policymakers in mind. In our future work we intend to explore these issues more academically, focusing on the empirical data presented here, and that available from the household economic survey, through a number of different theoretical lenses. While we will be using models from different disciplines in this exercise, we will be using them in a slightly unorthodox manner. One of our questions will be "how useful is this model for the circumstances we are studying and in what way is it useful". For example, the empirical evidence may show that the communities or households under study *differ* from the model in certain ways, and the reasons for this could be interesting. If the model does not seem to be useful one conclusion might be that it should not be used in relation to these rural economies and that new models need to be developed out of the empirical "reality" we have described. Underlying our general approach will be a number of assumptions learned from our initial reading of the profiles. This does not mean that we are hostile to models based on different assumptions. We believe that in this type of research models should be judged on their usefulness in relation to the questions and the contexts. The assumptions that we will be starting with are:

(1) Economic action in these rural areas is embedded in social relationships, culture and politics and most behaviour which has economic implications has other dimensions which in many cases dominate the economic. This is not to say that people do not have economic goals, or that they do not respond "rationally" to economic constraints and incentives. However, their rationality is "situated": there are other goals, constraints and incentives which also affect decisions with economic aspects and implications, and the way they define and value goals (including economic ones) is also situated. In our future work we will be exploring local definitions of goals, constraints and incentives in the different farming systems/cultures and using this comparative material to identify common mechanisms and diverse outcomes. We will use theoretical ideas from anthropology (particularly economic anthropology), sociology (particularly economic sociology), the "new institutional economics", and political economy as a starting point.

(2) While the household is an important local organization through which much reproduction, economic production, and consumption is coordinated we are concerned that analysis should not be restricted to this level and that the importance of intrahousehold relationships and networks and groups beyond the household are recognised. It is also important that the researcher does not construct "communities", "economies" etc which are given false boundaries, as has tended to happen with the economic analysis of the "household". We will use the household and community data to explore networks of relationship between individuals within and beyond the household, and the local institutions and organizations that develop out of these networks.

(3) The way these local economies work cannot be understood solely by looking at correlations between variables (such as land, labour, production, income, consumption, etc) although modelling the relationships between these can provide some insights. The other side of the "action" approach described under (1) is an analysis of the structure of the different local economies viewed again as socially, culturally and politically embedded, and their location in the wider economy, society and polity. So, for example, we need to look at how reproductive relationships interact with productive ones, how wealth, status and power are related, and how these relationships have changed and are still changing. This requires taking a longer-term view of the economies and their context. In addition to the theoretical sources described above we will also be looking at economic history (of African and non-African economies), and the broader sociological theory literature (including the "old masters") for ideas to explore the data.

(4) One variable that economists are not yet very good at handling and which is of vital importance is time. Rural livelihood strategies are planned and executed over time; they are path dependent and affected by seasonality, "annuality", life cycles, life events, other people's strategies, and wider economic, political and social change. Strategies are planned, and change can be analysed, at individual, household, group (eg lineage or faction), Peasant Association level, *woreda*, regional and national levels. Recent developments in scientific disciplines (evolutionary biology, "plectics"², computer science, neural networks, cosmology) may provide some metaphors of use for beginning to think in new ways about these rural economies. Recent literature on other African countries emphasises the importance of fluidity, negotiability, and diversification in African contexts is also of relevance here and we will explore these aspects of our villages.

(5) A second variable of importance is space. The importance of spatial effects will be explored (i) by locating our villages in the wider Ethiopian context using secondary data and (ii) using the local maps constructed by the site managers of the household survey which physically locate each of the households in the survey. The major source of ideas will be social geography.

(6) On completion of our sociology of rural Ethiopia we will draw some more general conclusions in debate with other studies of, and approaches to, rural African economies.

Bibliography

Ethiopian Village Studies (edited by Philippa Bevan and Alula Pankhurst)

Imdibir Haya Gasha
Turufe Kecheme

Bekalu Molla and Digafe Feleke
Getachew Fule and Mesfin Tadesse

²defined by Murray Gell-Mann as including the study of simplicity, complexity of various kinds, complex adaptive systems and complex non-adaptive systems

Adado	Ayalew Gebre, Abeje Berhanu and Amaha Kenenie
Do'oma	Dereje Feyissa, Gebre Yntiso, Girma Kebede and Mesfin Tadesse
Sirba and Godeti	Behailu Abebe, Solomon Tegegne and Abu Girma
Adele Keke	Mulugeta Gashaw and Minilik Tibebe Selassie
Harresaw	Assefa Tewodros and Yared Derbew
Yetmen	Tassew Shiferaw, Berihun Mebratie and Gebrie Bedada
Korodegaga	Assefa Tolera and Mesfin Tadesse
Debre Berhan PAs	Melese Getu, Teferi Abate and Million Tafesse
Aze Debo'a	Data Dea, Berihun Desta and Alemu Taffese
Dinki	Setargew Kenaw and Solomon Tegegne
Geblen	Kiros Gebre Egziabher and Solomon Tegegne
Gara Godo	Hailyesus Seba and Minilik Tibebe Selassie

All CSAE mimeos, June 1995

Glossary

aba wera is the head of the family

abarus (Gurage) = household

abel or *yeikul ihil* - people with a plot of land but no implements and oxen lend it to people who have them, who also cover input expenses; the harvest is shared half each

Adbar is a guardian spirit

agam are fruits similar to blueberries

ager (Gurage) is the highest level of social organization after the lineage

agga are grinding stones

akenchira a weed (*striga*) that affects the sorghum crop

alta is a disease affecting women

anchotie is a root crop

ang is clan citizenship among the Gurage

aphacia (Kottu Oromiffa) are local organizations

araba is a feast held 40 days after the death of a person

Arafa is a Moslem holiday

araki is a distilled spirit like arrack

arata is labour for oxen - a landholder works for one with land and implements in exchange for a pair of oxen to cultivate his holding. The landholder borrows seed, grain for his consumption and money.

aro (Gamo) is a domestic servant

arshu (Gedeo) is a disease

arso-arash is a linkage whereby a farmer with no ox/en gets ox/en in exchange for labour

asrat is a tenth of the agricultural product paid in cash or kind

aste is traditional treatment involving heating with wood or fire

atmit is thin porridge like horlicks

ayana is the name of a cult

Ayna is a ritual

bad'eisa (Kottu Oromiffa) for the minor rainy season (*belg*)

baito (Tigrigna) is a Peasant Association or village; it may refer to the committee that runs the village

balbala a group of Arssi Oromo clans

bale rist is a landowner

bale-kurt is a labour for crop arrangement where the landowner hires a tiller who lives with him; he may fetch water or do other work customarily done by women

bale-siso is an arrangement where the hired tiller performs all activities; the yield is divided 1:3 in favour of the

landlord

balewugabi is witchcraft or a protective spirit

ballekul means equal ownership

banko (Gedeo) is a disease

beklo is a mule

beles are prickly pears or fruit from wild cacti

belg is a short rainy season usually occurring during February/March/April; the harvest takes place in July/August

berbere = *capsicum* (red pepper)

beso bila is a spice

beteseb (Amharic) is the household; lit "house of people"

bhutan (Gedeo) is a form of sorcery causing disease

birr is the currency of Ethiopia (9 *birr* approximately = £1)

birz is unfermented non-alcoholic mead

bora wata is pairing of oxen

borde is non alcoholic *tella* (beer)

boye is a root crop

boyna is a root crop

bule is a ceremony associated with the *gada* system

chat (*catha edulis*) is a bushy plant whose leaves contain mild narcotics Its leaves are chewed by Moslems, Oromos and others

chekko is an iron-tipped tool to crush roots

chenicha is a disease which affects women and children

chineha (Gedeo) is a disease

chire is a disease that affects the *enset* plant

Chist or *Nipuar* is the Gurage celebration season (*T'ir* 21-27)

dagetama is steep land (sloping upwards)

dagusa is finger millet

dawa = *debo*

debayat is a one-to-one exchange of labour between farmers

debo is a working party using communal labour; food and drink are provided

dega is highland country (about 5000 ft and above)

dibignit/gota are similar to *gotera* but smaller in size and made of mud only

dimbilal is a spice

dimisha is bride-labour: the prospective husband mobilizes labour for the parents of the bride - the groom requests the free labour of his friends for his in-laws

egni is the exchange of labour for oxen - usually 2 *egni* for 1 day's use of a pair of oxen

ekulata is share-cropping involving equal sharing

elle is kitchenware for preparing *injera*

enset ("false banana") is a plant that resembles the banana; the root and inside the trunk and branches are eaten, often after being stored in the ground to allow for fermentation

equb is a rotating savings and credit association

erbo or *erat* - is sharecropping where the sharetenant covers all seed and labour costs and gets $\frac{3}{4}$ of the harvest

faki is a local name for a pest that affects tree plants

Fird Shengo is the Peasant Association court

furteya is a worm-pest that affects *enset* plants

gabara is bridewealth

gabi is a shawl-like garment made of a double layer of cloth

gada are age grades among the Arssi Oromo

galemota is a despised divorced woman

gammame is a work group involving light agricultural activities performed usually by a group of youths in the morning

ganna (Kottu Oromiffa) for the major rainy season (*meher*)

gay is the burning of earth to restore fertility

gaya (*pipa*) is a traditional pipe for tobacco smoking among the Gamo

gedelama is downward sloping land with ravines

geegawo is dowry/bridewealth in the form of cattle
geltu is an unskilful woman, especially around the kitchen
Genbot - May
gendi is a livestock disease
genfo tuffulo (or *tihello*) is food prepared from roasted and ground barley
gergeda is a disease that mostly affects women
gerima is a working group of 6-10 people; reciprocity is necessary
gerima = oats
gesho is a plant the leaves of which are used in making beer, like hops
geso is an axe
gesso is similar to *wonfel*; 2 or mor farmers make a contractual agreement to help each other in certain kinds of tasks
gesso is a labour contract
gezmi is dowry
gisso is a labour-sharing arrangement by invitation; it involves food and drink and is not paid back
godo is a special food crop container made of wood and dung and placed inside a house
gojjo mewtat is the process of setting up a new household following a marriage between couples
gollo is a small number of people assisting in farming, house-building, etc; the household prepares coffee and bread
 and there is reciprocation
gombisa is for preparing *injera*
gome is the Gamo moral code
gome are undesirable qualities/misfortune
gommen is a green vegetable crop
gosa are lineage segments
got are sub-divisions of a *kebele*
gotera is a container for grain made of mud and dung; they are large and kept outside
gotta is a container for storing grains
guaya is a legume crop used as a substitute for horsebeans as an intercropped species
guaya (*guara/guar*) is a legume crop
guddifacha (Oromiffa) is adoption, a term borrowed by other Ethiopian societies
guderie/goderie is a bean crop like haricot beans
gudguad is a pit dug underground for storing grain
gudif is a disease which affects children
gulgualo is the removal of debris from a ploughed field; dead weeds and roots are removed by hand
gundo is a circular flat tray made of grass used to separate grains from husks and dust
gurda is an institutional form of bond-friendship made between distantly-related Gurage clansmen
guza is a non-reciprocal work-group where the caller provides food, *chat* and *hojja* (tea)
habtiish habte is the wealth of a couple shared when divorced
hadera is the borrowing of cattle from the relatively wealthy by the poor; returnable
hamaday is frost
Hamle - July
hamli/gommen is local cabbage
hashe is the fear of deprivation of cattle
Hedar - November
hiza'eti are common property resources like water, forest etc
hojja (Kottu Oromiffa) is tea made of coffee husks
huduga is an institution in which wealth and its expenditure generates leadership
Id Alado is a Moslem holiday
Id Alfater is a Moslem holiday at the end of Ramadan
id'ama means "additional": it is a linkage involving 2 farmers, one with oxen and a second with land
idir is a burial society
ikkir (Oromiffa) is annual crop rotation
ililta is a loud clamour; particularly made in some parts to announce the birth of a boy (more) or a girl (less)
injera is fermented bread
irfino kacho (Gurage) is a working group where a farmer gives responsibility for gathering people to his son-in-law
irrecha are animal rituals

jigi is a working party for ploughing, harvesting, loading and transporting grain; it is not reciprocal but requires food and drink

kabira - religious man of lower status than a sheik

kabita is share-cropping

kalicha means witchcraft or a spiritual leader

kallu (Oromiffa) is an institution of ritual practice

karat (*erbo*) and is an arrangement where a person is hired to do all the tasks of tilling, sowing, weeding and harvesting and takes ¼ of the yield

karebo is a drink

kartha is a measure of land size (Oromiffa)

kayo are prayers to reverse infertility in a woman

kebele mestedadir is the village administration

kebele is a village; an association of villages is also a *kebele* eg a Peasant Association

keetta/ketta assa (Gara Godo, Do'oma) = household

keleto is a disease which affects children

kercho is a granary usually used for cereals

kerssa (Gedeo) is a disease

kert is a measure of grain

ketela celebration

kets'o involves a poor person using his own land and seed and only the oxen of the rich person. The farmer gives a small part of his land to the rich person to plough and plant for himself

kibibil is bridewealth

kiremt is the main rainy season (*meher*)

kita is a pancake

kocho is the harvest from the *enset* plant

kocho is emergency food from *enset*

koda is the sharing of a milking cow

kolla is lowland country

kora is a group of farmers who assist in farm labour where the caller only prepares *tella*

kore is a wild fruit

kota gosha is a sharecropping system where inputs and outputs are shared equally

kotara is "counting" - a customary practice on a wedding day where parents of the marrying couple announce their donations one after the other

kotsa is the same as *sello*

kotta is an arrangement where a many with oxen, seeds and cash for inputs enters an arrangement with a person with land but no seed or cash; the former does everything and they share the harvest equally

kubet is animal manure used as a source of heat

kurkufa is maize meal

kuuntee are the roots of a wild plant similar to radish

lafa duda gurguracha (Oromiffa) involves 2 farmers, one with land but no oxen and the second having oxen and sometimes no land; the latter contributes his oxen and labour

lem means fertile, rich productive soil

lifinti is the same as *sello*; it also works for wage labour

limena is begging people to work on a small plot of land; drinks and food will be served but not much

luta is cancer

maati (Sirbana Godeti) = household

mana is a caste whose occupation is pottery, blacksmithing etc

Mariam is St Mary's Day

maro is a work group involving light agricultural activities performed usually by a group of youths lasting all day

Mawllid is the birthday of the prophet Mohammed

medeb is a traditional mud seat

Megabit - March

megazo is share-cropping

mehber is a religious society which meets monthly on a Saint's day: each member takes a turn to host the group providing food and drink

mehelaw is sharecropping where the rich man takes some grain for seed and shares the remainder equally with the poor worker

meher is the rainy season, in most places from June to mid-September; crops sown during this period are harvested from October to December

mehri is a cow or an ox given to a woman when she is divorced

mekanajo involves the pairing of oxen; similar to *sello*

Mekane Yesus - a Protestant church

mekses is a snack, usually roasted grains

melhi is an arrangement where the landowner supplies all the seeds and the partner brings the oxen; they share the harvest equally but the landowner keeps the crop residue

mensh is a 3-pronged metallic fork

mesha is a clay or metal oven for baking *enset*

meskel = cross; the feast of Meskel (the Feast of the Cross) is celebrated on 27th September

Meskerem - September

metaya is bridewealth

metta is a plank of wood used for a support

midija is a traditional oven

mind is the exchange of ox for plot (1 ox for 1 *qarti* of farmland for a year) or crop (1 ox for 3 quintals of white *tef* or 6 quintals of mixed grain for a year)

minimana (Aze Deboa) = household

mitch is a sudden and violent illness believed to be caused by strong sunshine

Miyazya - April

mogne bagegne is a disease

moyale is infection of the foot by fleas

moyategna is the exchange of labour for money and lodging

Mulu Wengel foreign-based church

murti is bridewealth

mushama is decorated cloth

nafaka is money given to a woman when she is divorced

Nahase - August

neftegna is a gunman or rifleman; many of these became landlords in the south after the Emperor Menilik took it by conquest

nehessa is a disease which affects children

netsela (*netala*) is a shawl-like garment made of a single layer of cloth

nifro is boiled cereal grains

odea is a wild fruit

Pagume - 13th month

qabo a working party involving 6 - 22 people organized either by neighbourhood, age, sex, or kinship and formed by boys and girls to accomplish any agricultural activity except ploughing

qarti is a measurement of size of land (a plot)

qora is wild fruit

Ramadan is the Moslem fasting season

rebah is an arrangement where the landowner (usually female) only supplies labour while the partner supplies all of the seeds and oxen to plough the land; the owner is legally entitled to ¼ of the harvest

ribbi is when a livestock-rich household gives livestock to a household with little livestock but with labour and access to grazing land in return for an equal share in the offspring

rist is land the ownership of which is inheritable; *bale rist* is a landlord

ruga/aba koda is a skin disease

sa'esa'a is a type of barley

sadaqaa is a feast prepared by a wealthy man for the poor at any time

Sane - June

sarab is a friendship contract made by Arssi Oromo

Sebat Bete Gurage Gurage of the 7th House

sello is an arrangement where 2 people each with 1 ox bring them together and plough alternately on their respective plots of land

semina is poetry of the wax and gold type
senbete is a Sunday Association that meets at the grounds of the church; members take it in turns to provide refreshments
sera is an obligation individuals enter into through membership in a community among the Kembata
serg is part of the marriage ceremony
Setoch Baltina is a local organization
shakile is a granary for storing coffee beans
shale is a traditional storage house, a miniature of the living house is made of wood and grass and the floor is cemented with cow dung
sheik is an area chief; a Moslem clergy title
shenicha = recognised and respected elders who are religious leaders
shiferaw = "cabbage-tree"
Shimgilina is a traditional council of respected elders
sida sirbu is a disease
sidra/sidrabet (Tigrigna) is the household; lit "house of people"
sisso is a sharp-edged metal tool for scraping *enset*
sisso or *sisso-arash* - the farmer provides labour, oxen and inputs and gets _ of the yield
sisso badim is the same as *egni*
sisso is sharecropping where the sharetenant covers all seed costs and gets _ of the harvest
sulla is a disease which affects children
T'ir - January
T'qimt - October
taf is fallow land or land of poor quality
Tahsas - December
tat'aisa is wild fruit
teb is a network of social and economic relations among the Gurage
tebeb is a wild fruit
tef is a millet-like cereal
tej sar is a spice
tej is alcoholic mead which has been fermented
tella is home-made beer
tena adam is a spice
tenkole mowlid is a Moslem society similar to *mehber*
tenquay is a magician, wizard, witch-doctor
tette (Gedeogna?) is an *enset* plant disease in the Adado area
tiktik is a cough
tilosh is dowry
timad is a measure of land size of roughly ¼ hectare (the work of a pair of oxen in 1 day - 8 hours)
timket is baptism
tiwfirti is an arrangement whereby someone unable to farm his holding contracts out some or all of his plots to another for an agreed share of harvest; it is also used for sharing oxen
tsebel is holy water
tsebhi is a stew or curry (*wat* for dipping)
tsigie = a local organization
wabara are workparties of 10-15 people for harvesting, ploughing, house- or fence- building; it involves the provision of food and drinks
warra (Adele Keke, Korodegaga, Shumsheha, Turufe Kechemu) = household
watta is a caste whose occupation is pottery, blacksmithing etc
wefera (Tigrigna) is like *debo*
Wehaby is an Islamic religious movement
wereda is a district, made up of *kebeles*
wisti bet (Tigrigna) = household; lit "inside house"
wodero is a measure of land size
wodoma is a livestock disease in the Debre Berhan area
woello (Gedeogna?) is an *enset* plant disease in the Adado area

wogesha is a bone-setter

wonfel involves people in a group working for 1 member for 1 day (food and drink provided); reciprocation is expected

wosfat is hookworm

woyena dega is the temperate zone (at intermediate altitude)

wugat is a stabbing or piercing pain

Yakatit - February

ye kollo is an agreement whereby a person rents an ox for a full season and shares the harvest with the owner on mutually acceptable terms

yeakalate arash is a traditional form of wage labour

yeferenje is belonging to a white man

yejoka is the local Gurage council of elders

yekes timherbet is a church school

yenjeralij are stepchildren; lit "bread-children"

yesis berie is an arrangement whereby a farmer with 1 ox rents an additional ox from another farmer and ploughs 1 day for himself and 2 for the other ox-owner

yewat demam is a spiritual healer

yewof is a disease: lit "that of a bird"

Appendix

Summary of the Rapid Assessment Techniques

1. Photographs: Site managers were given a list of subjects for photographing (eg crops, rich man's house; poor man's house etc)
2. Three groups (men, women and children) were asked to draw a map of the site; a composite was constructed
3. A group of men and 1 of women were asked to make a map showing links with other communities; a composite was constructed; they were asked to describe water sources, distances from the centre of the village and show on a calendar when they were low.
4. Health: people were asked to list all common diseases, rank them, show when they occur on a seasonal calendar, explain the causes, how they can be prevented and local treatment; and show the relative use of each kind of treatment on a piechart. All of this was asked of a group of men, a group of women, and a group of women answering about children's diseases.
5. Local economic history: a group of old people were asked to identify important dates in the life of the community and then, starting from the earliest date remembered to record changes in crops grown, land size (average and biggest), tree cover, and soil fertility. They were asked to rank the 6 most important innovations and explain who introduced them, whether they were successful and how many and who copied and why, and why others didn't copy.
6. A group of men and a group of women were asked to complete seasonal calendars on crop activities, off-farm activities, migration, credit needs, livestock sales and diseases, rain, water and fuel availability, festivals, labour, and children's labour.
7. Questions were asked of a group of men and a group of women about socialising children, desirable and undesirable traits in men and women, practical intelligence and skills.
8. A group was asked to list activities in the area of government, NGOs and local organizations and to rank them in terms of usefulness to the community.
9. Three respondents did a wealth-ranking of the households included in the survey. They were asked to describe the characteristics of the groups they identified and a number of questions about upward and downward mobility.

Headings for the Village Profiles

1. Locating the Site in Time and Place
 - Geographical location and population
 - Climate
 - Production
 - Social structure
 - History
2. Seasonality
3. The Farm Economy

- Crops
- Livestock
- Land
- Labour
- Interlinkages
- Technology
- Innovations
- Common property resources
- Environment
- Saving and Investment
- 4. Off-farm Activities
 - Within the community
 - Occupational structure
 - Migration
- 5. Reproductive Activity
 - House management
 - Fuel and lighting
 - Water
 - Sanitation
 - Fertility
 - Childbirth and childcare
 - Socialization
 - Education
 - Training
 - Health
- 6. Consumption
 - Food and other day-to-day goods
 - Housing
 - Household assets
 - Local services
- 7. Local Institutions and Organizations
 - Households
 - Marriage
 - Divorce
 - Inheritance
 - Kinship
 - Lineages and clans
 - Age-grading, life-cycle changes and rites of passage
 - Friendship contracts
 - Markets
 - Credit and social security
 - Community decision-making
 - Local organizations
- 8. Beliefs and Values
 - Land
 - Religion
 - Explanations of misfortune and illness
 - Community values
 - Political beliefs and attitudes
- 9. The Community
 - Community organization

Social conflict
Poverty and wealth
Social mobility
Status
Social stratification
Dissent

10. Relationships with Other Communities and the Wider Society

Villages and regions
Relations with wider Ethiopia
Effects of government policies
Government activities in the community
NGO activities in the community
Future

Community questionnaires

These were designed by the economists and administered by the managers of the household survey. They contained questions on ethnicity, land, agriculture etc (many of which were also asked by the anthropologists providing a base for checking), the environment and natural resource base, relationships between households in the sample, wage labour, technology, health services, formal education, weather and events, a map of the households in the survey, a price questionnaire, and credit.

Enumerator questionnaires

These were sociological questionnaires administered at the end of the research exercise, when the enumerators had been applying the household questionnaires in the villages over a period of 9 months. They included questions about how each bit of the household questionnaires "worked" and particular problems encountered with particular questions, as well as questions on current events and attitudes at the site.

Household questionnaires

Within each Peasant Association a random sample of about 100 households was selected giving a total sample of 1453. Three rounds of household questionnaire were administered, in a number of visits within each round, to cover a year's activity.

Round 1: household roster; education; changes in household composition; asset ownership; credit; non-food expenditures; non-agricultural activities; vulnerability; land and its use; inputs; crop output and sales (*meher* and *belg*); recall on previous harvest; land rented to other households; livestock ownership; recall on livestock ownership; livestock expenditure and income; health status; illness and visits for treatment; breastfeeding; anthropometrics; consumption habits; food expenditure and consumption; energy; water and household consumables; female business activities.

Round 2: changes in household composition since last interview; education - parents and spouses; household assets; credit; non-food expenditure; off-farm income; business activities and remittances; non-farm business history; migration history and remittances; crop output and sales; labour input and other input expenditures; livestock changes since the last visit; livestock expenditure and income; innovation - crop adoption; improved livestock, use of modern inputs; networks; health status; illness and treatment in last 4 weeks; health history - 5 years; anthropometrics; consumption habits; food expenditure and consumption; household consumables; female business activities..

Round 3: changes in household composition; household assets; credit; non-food expenditure;

off-farm income; business activities and remittances; vulnerability during the last 10 years; present wealth and background; children's activities; attitudes towards health and education; land and its use; crop output and sales; labour inputs and other input expenditures; livestock changes since last visit; livestock expenditure and income; events during the last *kiremt* season; health status; illness and treatment; anthropometrics; hygienic practices; household consumables; consumption habits; food expenditure; female activities; marriage and fertility history; attitudes towards contraception and children; mobility and status; women's questionnaire (for wives)