

Differentiation, inequalities and social inclusion and exclusion in rural communities

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Introduction

The twenty communities we have studied have undergone rapid change and transformations over the past twenty years leading to overall increased differentiation, greater inequalities and, despite pro-poor social policies, limitations on social inclusion and persistence of certain forms of marginalisation and cultural exclusions. Differences in assets and lifestyle between rich and poor households have been increasing; while poor households seemed no poorer than in the past, the 'rich' category were becoming richer and there was a small emerging category of 'very rich', some turning into elites. There was a nascent 'middle class' and differentiation among 'the poor' into poor, very poor and destitute.

However, the rapid economic changes and the consequences on social relations have not affected all communities, types of household and individuals in the same ways, as this chapter will seek to demonstrate. While gender inequalities have decreased in many ways, generational differences have become more pronounced.

In a context of growth and transformation there has been an increasing concern internationally and within Ethiopia with promoting inclusive growth, and a policy discourse has developed about 'leaving no one behind', reflected in the SDGs concerns with addressing inequalities. Following on from the experience of the Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP), Ethiopia has prepared an ambitious Social Protection Policy (MoLSA 2012) which was approved by the Council of Ministers in 2014, and is in the early stages of being implemented. By focusing mainly on the poor, marginalised and potentially excluded, this chapter engages with these debates and complements the chapters on urbanisation, successful individuals and women's economic participation.

This chapter comprises six sections. I start by outlining the conceptualisation used in an earlier paper. The second section considers community level changes, notably the economic drivers of changes leading to differentiation and increased inequalities, and the effects of weather and production shocks. In the third section I focus on household level differences, starting by outlining the characteristics of rich households and the formation of elites, and contrasting these with the livelihoods and constraints facing poor households, their means of survival and their relations with extension services. I then consider relations between the rich and the poor and the evidence for a decline in inter-household cooperation. This is followed by a discussion of female headed households and the constraints facing poor women. In the fourth section I turn to individual differences starting with the contrasting categories of young men and young women. This is followed by a review of gender and generation issues. The fifth section concerns vulnerable categories, and considers the evidence for persisting forms of exclusions and the types of support they rely on. Finally, in the conclusions the potential role of interventions in increasing or alleviating inequalities and exclusions is discussed, and possible policy implications and suggestions are outlined.

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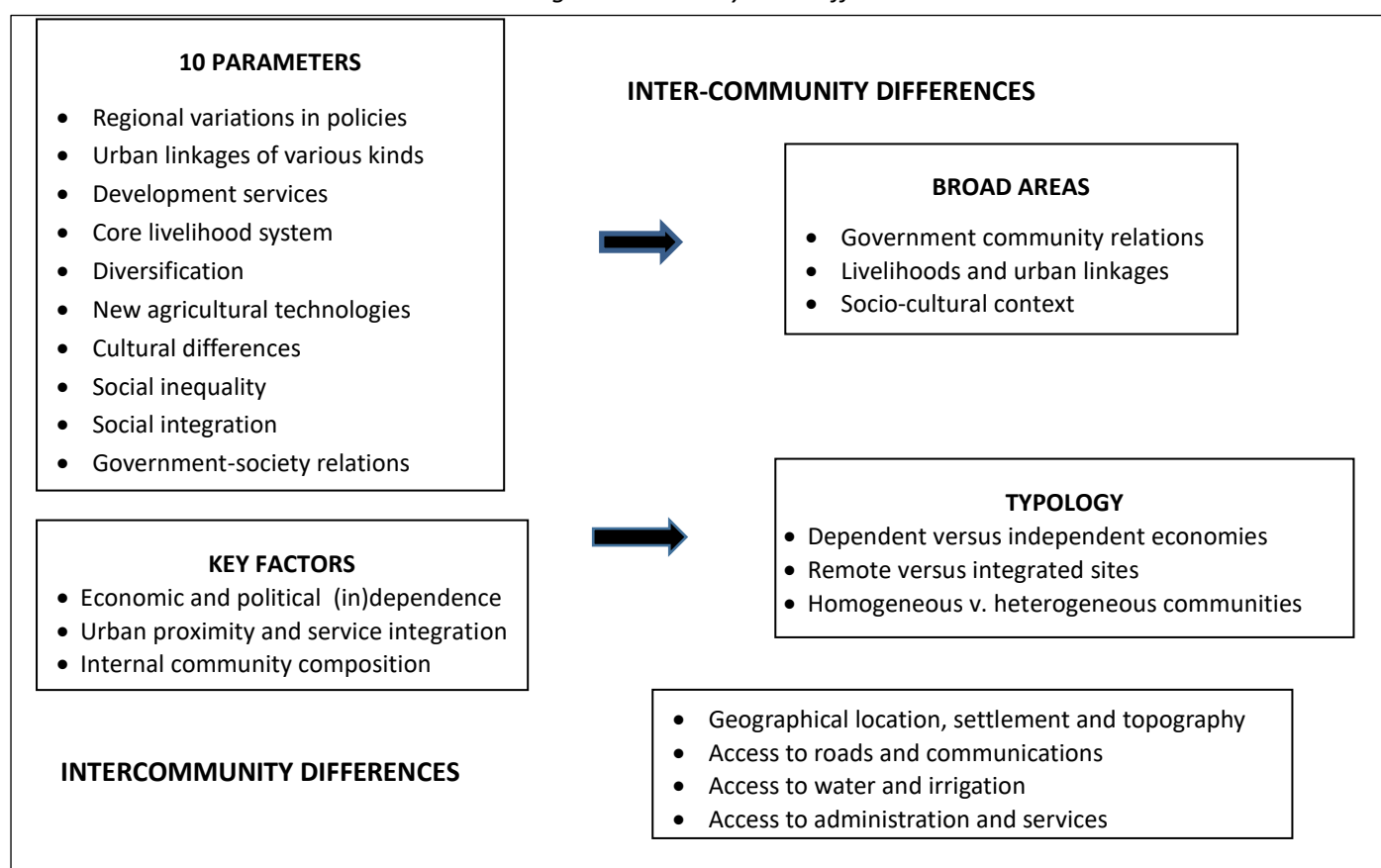
Conceptualising differentiation, inequalities and social inclusion and exclusion

Much of the general lack of awareness about differential impacts of interventions stems from limited appreciation of how differences in types of communities, households and persons affect the ways in which services are accessed and who benefits, and how different forms of exclusion affect various categories of household and persons, discussed earlier in the WIDE brief on Equitable Service Delivery.²

This chapter considers differentiation, inequalities, and inclusions and exclusions at community, household and individuals levels. I make partial use of the framework I developed in an earlier paper based on an analysis of the 2010 WIDE 3 stage 1 data in which I considered four levels of inequalities, four underlying factors, and four dimensions of exclusions, all of which interact (Pankhurst 2011).³ I suggested that inequalities in rural Ethiopia may be considered at four interconnected levels: 1) inter-community, 2) intra-community, 3) inter-household, and 4) intra-household. Inequalities were conceived of as based on four major interrelated factors: 1) location, 2) gender-age, 3) wealth and poverty, and 4) other statuses.

Differences between communities were discussed in terms of ten issues: 1) Regional variations in policies and implementation, 2) Urban linkages; 3) Development services; 4) Core livelihood system; 5) Diversification; 6) New agricultural technologies; 7) Cultural differences; 8) Social inequality; 9) Social integration and 10) Government-society relations. These ten parameters were regrouped into three broad areas: 1) Government-community relations, 2) Livelihoods and urban linkages, and 3) Socio-cultural context.

Fig 1: Community level differences



² The brief suggested that poor people often contribute more than they benefit. (WIDE Discussion Brief No.4 of 5; http://ethiopiawide.net/wp-content/uploads/WIDE_DB4_Equitable_Service_Delivery.pdf).

³ http://ethiopiawide.net/wp-content/uploads/Differentials_Paper-.pdf

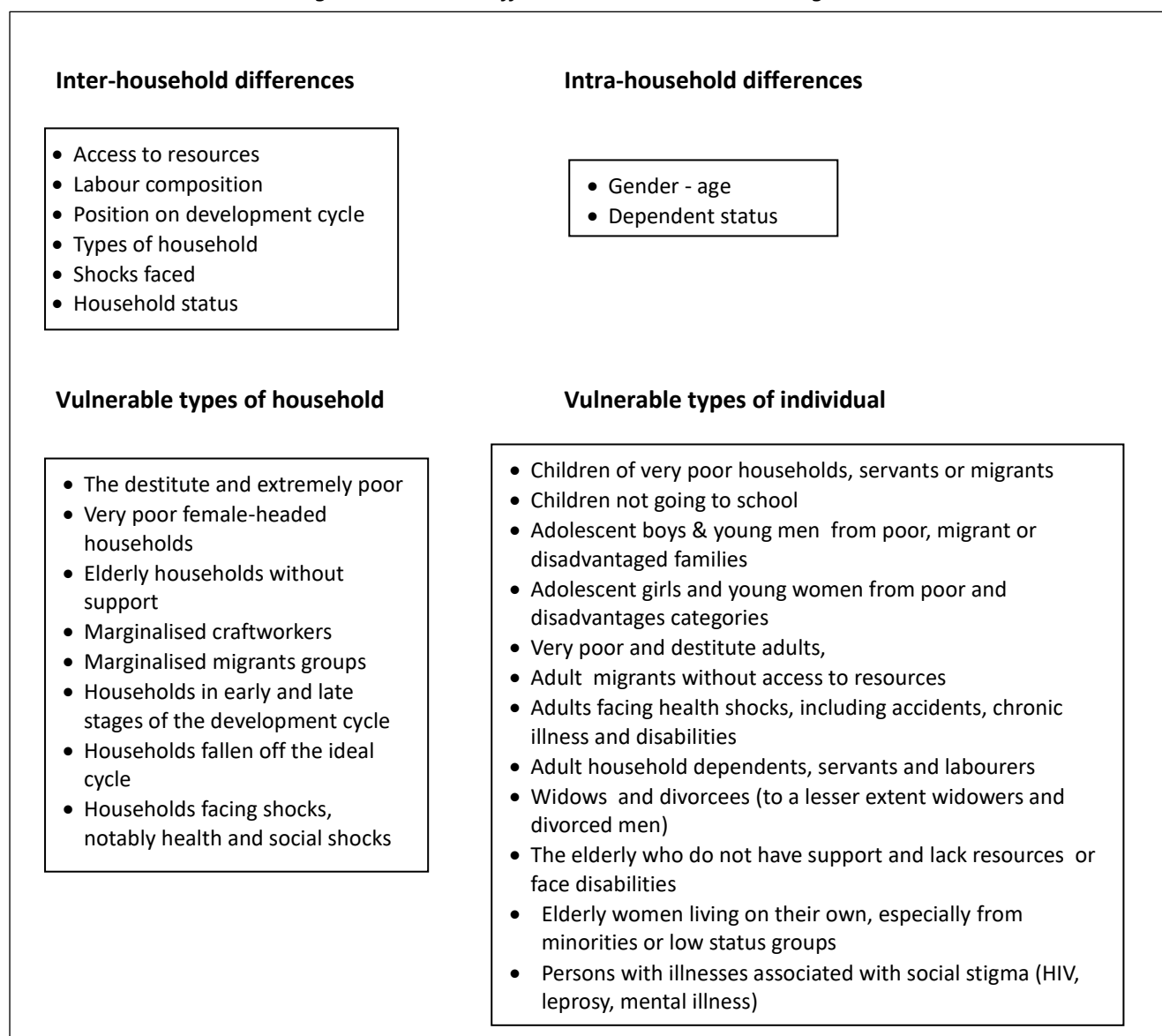
Regarding community types key distinctions related to: 1) relations with government and markets, 2) urban proximity and integration with services, and 3) the degree of homogeneity of the community. These led to a typology along these three variables with two types in each case: 1) dependent versus independent economies, 2) remote versus integrated sites, and 3) homogenous versus heterogeneous sites.

Differences within communities were related to: 1) geographical location, settlement and topography 2) access to roads and communications 3) access to water and irrigation, 4) access to administration and services.

Inequalities between households depended primarily on six factors: 1) access to resources, 2) labour composition, 3) position on the development cycles, 4) types of household, 5) shocks faced, and 6) the household's status.

Intra-Household Individual level inequalities based on gender and age were inextricably linked and related to intra-household power relations and inequalities, and key life stages in which gender issues are paramount. The difference between household heads and those with dependent status was also important.

Fig. 2: Household differences and vulnerable categories



The literature on *exclusion* has focused on social exclusion and derives from a western social science tradition but has been applied more broadly in developing and Third World contexts. Despite the emphasis on the social dimension, related cultural exclusions, deeper economic exclusions and more directly politically-related exclusions are equally if not more significant in some contexts and/or for certain groups or categories of persons.

In the 2011 paper I considered four inter-related dimensions of exclusion: 1) economic, 2) social, 3) cultural, and 4) political. These different forms of exclusion affect particular groups of people or specific types of household or defined categories of person in relation to their attributed statuses. These four dimensions are often interrelated and certain categories suffer from multiple forms of exclusion. Some forms of exclusion are more general throughout the sites and concern categories of person with specific statuses such as servants or adult dependents within households, though the status of later is largely mediated by gender and wealth.

Households vulnerable to exclusion were found to include the following eight categories:

1) the destitute and extremely poor; 2) Very poor female-headed households, 3) Elderly households without support; 4) Marginalised craftworkers; 5) Marginalised migrants groups, 6) Households in early and late stages of the development cycle; 7) Households that have fallen off the ideal cycle, and 8) Households facing shocks, notably health and social shock.

Individuals vulnerable to exclusion included the following twelve categories at different life stages:

1) Children of very poor households or of servants or migrants, 2) Children not going to school;⁴ 3) Adolescent boys and young men from poor, migrant or disadvantaged families;

4) Adolescent girls and young women from poor and disadvantages categories; 5) Very poor and destitute adults, 6) Adult migrants without access to resources; 7) Adults facing health shocks, including accidents, chronic illness and disabilities; 8) Adult household dependents, servants and labourers, 9) Widows and divorcees (and to a lesser extent widowers and divorced men); 10) the elderly who do not have support and lack resources or face disabilities; 11) Elderly women living on their own, especially from minorities or low status groups, 12) Persons with illnesses associated with social stigma (HIV/AIDS, leprosy, mental illness).

In the 2011 paper I also considered differentials and exclusions in the five domains or fields or action identified in the WIDE research: 1) human re/production, 2) livelihoods, 3) social reproduction, 4) cultural ideas, and 5) community governance (Pankhurst 2011).



Thirteen year old baby sitter, Somodo

⁴ In the 2011 paper I had noted boys being particularly at risk in primary school, though girls often face more constraints with continuing secondary school (see Dom's chapter on education in this volume).

Differentiation between and within communities

In this section I focus first on the factors promoting growth and resulting in differentiation. Within communities certain households are able to benefit more from the opportunities that emerged in a context of growth. I consider how and why this differs between communities, suggesting that there is greater differentiation and inequalities in the communities with independent surplus and cash crop communities that are more integrated with the market and have closer urban linkages. I then consider the implications of weather and production shocks, arguing that these affect poorer households to a greater extent and have more serious consequences in food insecure communities.

Opportunities for growth and resulting differentiation

All the WIDE sites experienced increasing differentiation over the past decade, particularly with wealthier households better able to take advantage of new opportunities for increased agricultural and livestock production, irrigation and new technologies, trade, better roads and transport, and involvement in non-farm activities (see chapters on urbanisation, economic success, and innovation). There was greater differentiation in the sites with more agricultural and cash crop potential, closer proximity and linkages to urban areas and diversified economies, resulting in widening gaps between the better off and the poor, and incipient elite formation. However, there were significant processes of differentiation even in the food insecure and agro-pastoralist sites.

In terms of agricultural production, irrigation, cash crops and livestock and dairy produce for the market were major drivers of changes. Irrigation enabled cash-crop production often with two harvests a year. These included mainly vegetables and some fruit, sugar cane, and pulses. In some sites major cash crops were coffee (Adado, Somodo), and/or *chat* (Girar, Somodo, Adele Keke). Irrigation was even more important in the drought prone sites given the risks of rain failure for rainfed cultivation. However, cash-crop production using rainfed agriculture was also important, mainly in the higher potential cereal growing sites, such as *teff* in Yetmen and Sirba. Hybrid cereals and fertiliser use also increased market linkages (e.g. Oda Dawata, Somodo, Gara Godo). Eucalyptus was an important cash crop in a number of sites (Kormargefia, Adado, Somodo, Girar). Proximity to agricultural research centres was a factor in promoting higher-yielding or drought-resistant varieties in a few sites (Adele Keke, Oda Dawata, Oda Haro and Sirba).

In the two agro-pastoralist sites transition to greater involvement in agriculture was important with irrigation in Gelcha and drainage canals in Luqa, and the production of sesame as a cash crop in the latter. However, the production base remained strongly linked to pastoralist livelihoods and some trade in livestock developed and a few traders became wealthy. Livestock fattening and dairy production were important sources of differentiation in several sites, especially those with good linkages to nearby towns (Kormargefia, Sirba, Turufe).

Trade in cash crops was a major driver of differentiation particularly in sites with good agricultural potential, market linkages and road networks. However, it is important to note that many successful traders diversified out of agriculture, and became involved in other opportunities for investment, such as purchasing means of transport including trucks and minibuses, setting up grinding mills and shops, groceries, bars and hotels, notably in Adele Keke, Somodo, Sirba, and Yetmen (for details see the chapter on economic success).

The building of new roads or upgrading of existing ones had a profound influence on the rural economies, with the effects more apparent in roadside areas of communities (see chapter on urbanisation). Even in the two agro-pastoralist sites the impacts were significant as a major highway passes beside Gelcha and a new road in South Omo brought rapid changes along the roadside which bisects Luqa. The expansion of means of transport such as *bajaj* three-wheeler mototaxis and motorbikes (particularly in sites in SNNP) improved connectivity and offered possibilities for employment and for entrepreneurs to invest in the transport sector. They also provided new more

flexible arrangements easing transport of people and produce; along with the provision of ambulances they also enabled better options for addressing medical emergencies.

The expansion of cities (Shashemene for Turufe, Bishoftu for Sirba, Jimma for Somodo, Debre Berhan for Kormargefia) or large towns (Durame for Aze Debo'a, Lalibela for Shumsheha, Haromaya for Adele Keke) was a significant stimulus for the growth of the rural economies, providing markets for agricultural and livestock produce, as well as jobs in services, construction and factories, leading to differentiation in many sites (for a detailed analysis see chapter on urbanisation). Moreover, wealthier households in rural areas invested in building houses in local towns or small urban settlements, even in fairly remote and food insecure communities such as Dinki.

Finally, remittances were a major source of improvements for households living in many rural communities, and for some poorer households provided a safety net. Remittances were sometimes invested in productive activities leading to a few households becoming significantly wealthier than most and sometimes investing in housing or productive activities in nearby towns. One of the most telling examples was of migrants to South Africa in Aze Debo'a being able to purchase trucks (See chapter on migration).

Implications of weather and production shocks on differentiation

Various weather and agricultural production shocks had a greater impact on drought prone sites and poorer households. In the drought prone sites a range of weather shocks resulted in setbacks for most households, but from which poorer households suffered disproportionately, resulting in hunger, asset sales, indebtedness and migration. This happened in years of drought due to shortage of rainfall (2002 and 2004-5 in Adele Keke and Gelcha, and especially 2008 in Adele Keke, Aze Debo'a, Do'oma, Geblen, Gara Godo, Harresaw, Luqa; 2010 in Gelcha, and 2011 in Do'oma, Gara Godo and Luqa). In some cases this led to considerable losses in livestock (Gelcha) (see chapter on mothers and infants). Production losses also occurred from unseasonal rains (Adele Keke 2005, Shumsheha 2010), flooding (Do'oma, Luqa), hail storms and frost (Shumsheha 2011).

Crop losses due to pests and weeds were also serious constraints in some years (Gara Godo in 2008, Shumsheha *teff* crops in 2011) affecting a range of crops (for instance crops diseases in Gara Godo were reported to have affected *enset*, *teff*, sweet potato and coffee since 2005). Animal diseases also resulted in loss of cattle, sheep and goats (Harresaw 2001, Gara Godo, Shumsheha 2009, Do'oma in 2011), and camels (Gelcha), sometimes reducing poor households to destitution.

Epidemics of malaria often linked to rainfall conditions were also serious problems in a number of sites (Adele Kele 2004, Luqa and Do'oma 2011), and 'Acute Watery Diarrhoea' was reported in some sites (Adele Keke, Turufe). Such health shocks often had a severe impact on poor households.

Although climatic and production shocks were undoubtedly more common and more severe in the drought prone and especially the lowland sites, there were also problems reported in the surplus and cash crop producing sites. The particular shocks and timings depended on site conditions but included unpredictability, reduction or late arrival of rains, increasing temperature, crop losses due to hail and crop diseases (e.g. affecting coffee and *enset* in Adado, '*kolera*' affecting red peppers in Oda Dawata), and livestock diseases affecting cattle and sheep, such as trypanosomiasis in Oda Haro.

While wealthier households were generally in a better position to withstand production and weather shocks, survive hunger seasons, rebuild their herds of livestock and bounce back after weather and production shocks, poorer households were less resilient and more prone to suffer during the ensuing hunger seasons, and often had to borrow and became indebted, leading to further impoverishment. Weather and production shocks sometimes also compounded health and social shocks further accentuating differentiation within communities (see Pankhurst and Bevan 2007).

Household level differences

Differences in assets and lifestyle between rich and poor households were stark and increasing; while many poor households seemed no poorer than in the past, the 'rich' category were richer and there was a small emerging category of 'very rich' some turning into elites. There was a nascent 'middle class' and differentiation among 'the poor' into poor, very poor and destitute.

In this section I first review the sources of differentiation. I then discuss the characteristics of richer households and the formation of elites. This is followed by a review of conditions of poor and destitute households, in terms of their livelihoods and shocks leading to impoverishment, and their relations with extension services and the forms of support they rely on. I then consider relations between the rich and the poor and the evidence for a decline in inter-household cooperation. Finally, I discuss the characteristics of women headed households and in particular the livelihoods of poorer women heading households and the constraints they face.

Sources of differentiation

There was a range of sources of differentiation explaining differences between households throughout WIDE sites. These included access to resources, notably land, and, in cases where there was irrigation, access to irrigated land, and livestock holdings, with implications for agriculture due to the need for plough oxen, and for trade including livestock fattening in a number of sites. Labour was also important especially in contexts where wealthier households were able to employ labourers on a daily basis or farm workers on a seasonal or annual basis.

The use of inputs notably fertiliser, improved seeds and breeds were important sources of differentiation, and in some sites new technologies (such as the broad-bed maker in Yetmen or manual threshers in Turufe) also made a difference. In two surplus producing sites, Sirba and Oda Dawata, richer farmers hire tractors and in the latter also rent combine harvesters. Poorer households were often risk averse due to fear of indebtedness and were therefore wary of purchasing inputs and when it came to adopting innovations, even when model and richer farmers has been successful.

Income from cash crops was another major area of differentiation explaining differences and inequalities between communities and within them between households, especially where there was irrigation potential. However, the type of cash crops differed depending on the site potential and markets, including cereals, vegetables, fruit, sugar cane, coffee, chat and eucalyptus.

Within *kebeles* proximity to roads and/or to *kebele* centres was also important to sell crops and also since some households were able to open shops or other services by the roadsides or in market or

administrative areas of *kebele* centres, whereas households living in remoter areas had less opportunities (see chapter on urbanisation).



Combine harvester, Oda Dawata, Arsi

Characteristics of rich households and the formation of elites

In productive terms richer households were generally characterised by more access to *land* and greater *livestock* holdings, notably oxen for cultivation and fattening, and the use of *modern inputs*, notably fertiliser and improved seeds and breeds. In sites with irrigation potential they were better able to profit from the sale of irrigated produce. Richer households often were able to increase their access to *labour* by employing wage labourers, and/or organising festive work parties (*debo*) rather than participating in reciprocal ones (*wenfel*). There were even cases where richer farmers sent farm labourers to work on their behalf in labour-pooling arrangements (e.g. Kormargefia, Oda Dawata), and cases, especially in the surplus producing and cash cropping sites, of some households hiring housemaids if they lacked female labour, sometimes in part so that girls could study.

However, there seemed to be more different sources of wealth and greater differences compared with the poor in food-secure, surplus-producing, and market-integrated sites, as can be seen in tables 1 and 2 below. In 1994 we asked respondents in the 15 sites to describe characteristics of rich households. The most important element was livestock. In terms of assets we suggested that “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.” (Bevan and Pankhurst 1996:83).



House of wealthy farmer, Kormargefia

Table 1: Rich households 1994: Independent economies in areas with adequate rain

Adado	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.
Girar (Imdibir)	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.
Kormargefia (Debre Berhan)	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.

Sirba	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; <i>elle</i> and <i>gombisa</i> to prepare <i>injera</i> ; 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.
Turufe	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.
Yetmen	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 <i>gotta</i> 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.

In these better-off sites there rich households were characterised as having more livestock, and a greater range of household assets including iron beds and more furniture and kitchen utensils, and consumer goods, including radios.

Table 2: Rich households: Drought-prone, regularly dependent on food/cash for work

Adele Keke	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; <i>mushama</i> (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.
Aze Debo'a	The wealthiest people in the community own 2 <i>timad</i> of oxen, many high quality cattle, sheep and goats, coffee, other trees, and <i>enset</i> . 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.
Dinki	There are no wealthy people in Dinki due to the terrain, shortage of rainfall, and successive failure of the <i>belg</i> rains
Do'oma	Those who are better off used to save in the form of livestock. The following assets are common in most families: bench, skins, table, chests, chairs, plates, a store, pots, <i>gaya</i> (traditional pipe), hoes, sickles, axes, and ploughs. Wealthy households also own radios and sometimes taperecorders and wooden beds. Richer households own more livestock and household assets. Former landlords still seem to be richer
Gara Godo	The wealthiest people in the community own up to 40 cattle. Sources of wealth include usury, speculation in <i>tef</i> , coffee, and maize, and sharecropping on other people's land.
Geblen	There are no wealthy people in the village. At present there are very few livestock in Geblen: most common are sheep and goats. Farmers sell them whenever they need cash

Harresaw	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.
Korodegaga	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.
Shumsheha	Saving in the form of cash is generally uncommon; 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.

In the food insecure sites there seems to be more of an emphasis on saving in livestock. In some sites it is claimed that everyone is poor, although several of the vulnerable sites clearly have wealthy households.

Ten years later in 2004 the rich were characterised as follows in two of the four sites in which we carried out in-depth studies (Pankhurst 2011).

Box 1: Characteristics of rich households

From Yetmen:

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

From Dinki:

The richer households may have a good house, more than ten camels, at least one donkey, more than two pairs of cows and oxen with other livestock such as goats, sheep, enough labour, and at least one male and female servant.

By 2010-13 richer households tended to be more linked to the market, selling cash crops which were particularly important as a source of enrichment and differentiation in the surplus and cash crop producing sites. Some richer households were also more able to *diversify* their source of income from agriculture as well as non-agricultural sources and some moved out of agriculture into business including trade, the service sector, and transport, as noted by Tefera and Dom in their chapter on successful individuals. Some richer households were also more able to take larger loans and some even became money lenders. Furthermore, richer households were often engaged in bigger *iqqub* and were often members of more than one *iddir*.

In terms of living conditions richer household tended to have *better housing* with corrugated roofs, better fenced compounds, more rooms, separate rooms or enclosures for livestock, separate kitchens and sometimes bathrooms. The differences were much more visible in the integrated sites close to urban areas. Increasingly in most sites a few of the richest households were able to build houses in local towns.



House of successful farmer, Oda Dawata, Arsi

Richer households often had a more nutritious *diet* that included animal products more regularly, and they tended to spend more on celebrations. For instance a successful businessman in Oda Dawata spent 60,000 birr on his daughter's wedding and a rich household in Adado 21,000 birr on their son's wedding.

In terms of access to services there was a clear trend of richer households making use of private health care in towns and sending children to private education including pre-school and college education (this was most noticeable in Oda Haro, Sirba, Somodo and Turufe).

In all communities, but more so in the surplus and/or cash crop producing sites, a category of 'very rich' farmers/traders/business people had emerged with various assets and lifestyle activities which distinguished them from the 'rich' as well as from everyone else.

Formation of elites

Already in the mid-2000s there was evidence that elites were becoming differentiated through better productive resources, quality and some luxury consumer goods, and improved use of health and education services including private services. In characterising elites based on the earlier WIDE research in four sites in 2003-4 we wrote:

Box 2: Characteristics of elites (2004)

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

In 2010 during the WIDE3 research in Stage 1 we noted that "Local elites include people who are rich, elders, educated, religious leaders, and leaders of informal and some government organisations" (Bevan et al. 2010). In the paper on inequalities based on the stage 1 sites I suggested the following (Pankhurst 2011):

Box 3: Characteristics of elites (2010)

Criteria for elite status include wealth, occupation of key community roles such as dispute settlement, leadership in local organisations, education, and religious office. Powerful men can mobilise collective 'power with' in kin, neighbour, friendship, and clan and/or ethnic networks. Mobilised status groups may use 'power against' other status groups in processes of exclusion which may lead to conflict.

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

I also suggested that we can distinguish between "traditional" and "modern" elites.

Box 4: Types of elites (2010)

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

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

In 2012 during the Stage 2 research on the drought affected sites we distinguished between cultural, economic and government elites (Bevan et al. 2013):

Box 5: Types of elites (2012)

- All communities had networks of cultural, economic and government elites with some overlapping memberships and family connections. Cultural elites held positions of authority as elders, clan leaders, and/or religious leaders or as a result of achievements such as being an educated opinion leader or in Harresaw an ex-TPLF-fighter. The economic elites included successful and wealthy farmers or pastoralists, traders, businessmen and brokers with some men mixing farming with other activities.
- Some people held elite positions in more than one area at the same time. For example, the previous tabia chairman in Harresaw, who occupied the position for thirteen years, was a priest, and a number of tabia officials were ex-TPLF-fighters. In Luqa there was some overlap of the traditional clan leadership and kebele leadership. In the agriculturalist communities cabinet members were often Model Farmers. Indeed, one of the recently-introduced criteria for becoming kebele chairman was economic success, although people complained that the demands of the job prevented them from doing the farm or business work required for success.
- Elites networked with each other in various ways, for example in Gelcha kebele officials, religious leaders, traditional elders and wealthy pastoralists were said to have better networks. Many had jobs as guards on the sugar estate and this interfered with their kebele work. There were also networks of family connections within and across the different type of elite group. Women involved in kebele structures were often relatives of male officials. For example a group of women in Gara Godo said that women 'without relations' were excluded.
- In some places cultural and economic elites kept a distance from the government. This was the case for clans in Aze Debo'a where also some wealthy businessmen did not attend government meetings

In 2013 during the Stage 3 research on the surplus producing sites we emphasised the strong linkages between different types of elites and their networks within the communities and extending to the *wereda* and their roles in dispute resolution (Bevan et al. 2014):

Box 6: Networks of elites (2013)

- Compared with 1995 networks of local elites had become more complex. There were strong links and overlaps among the different types of elite which included kebele leaders, elders, religious leaders, wealthy and successful farmers, iddir leaders, and clan and other traditional leaders where these existed. Very wealthy traders and other businesspeople had high status but they were less linked to the other types of elite.
- Networks extended to wereda levels. In Somodo, Oda Haro, Oda Dawata and Kormargefia wereda and wereda court officials were said to give preferential treatment to rich people, people connected with kebele leaders or with wereda officials, and people having strong relatives; this was especially the case when women were seeking justice.
- In addition to elders, conflict resolution was also carried out by clan and lineage leaders in Oda Dawata, leaders of gada structures in Adado and Oda Haro who dealt with disputes 'beyond elders' capacity', and religious leaders in Kormargefia who considered the most serious conflicts in church compounds. In Somodo and Kormargefia conflicts were first seen by elders attached to iddir

Eliteness involved not just greater wealth but also influence, notably through local informal and formal organisational positions. The networks of elites were often widespread enabling them to convert wealth into social and sometimes political capital. There were also very strong connections and linkages between people from different elite group, as noted for example in the community report on Harresaw, between elites leading the government formal structures, the religious leaders, and the wealthy persons as is clear from listing of the various elite groups in the box below (Dom 2013).

Box 7: Example of elites 2013)

The nine **community elders** are also model farmer (1), religious leader (1), organisers of the Meskel feast (2), members of the Council and knowledgeable people.

Among the six **priests** one is also an elder; another is one of the community leaders organising the Meskel feast; one used to be tabia leader for long years.

Among the 11 named **rich successful farmers** two are ex-soldiers, two are elders and one of them is also one of the leaders organising the Meskel feast.

None of the ten well known **traders, businesspeople and delala** is among the elders or community leaders, none of them is a Cabinet member, and they are not considered to be opinion leaders. One of them is social court judge. Several are members of the youth association.

Among the ten **educated opinion leaders** two are priests, and five are ex-army people. They have a religious education or had exposure to other places. Most are party members. They are networked with the tabia officials. One is also an elder; another is one of the organisers of the Meskel feast.

Among the **tabia Cabinet members** from the community, the tabia leader and the security official are both ex-army men and named among the educated opinion leaders. They are also among the local political activists and members of the tabia political 'basic structure' (meseretawi wudabe).

All members of the meseretawi wudabe except one are ex-army people.

Two of the **women's leaders** are also Cabinet members: one is the women affairs' representative, who is also a young woman opinion leader, a member of the tabia food security task force, a party and women's league member; the other is the finance official. Two other influential women are the WA leader and her deputy. These women have important roles in e.g. selecting PSNP beneficiaries, collaborating with the HEWs and volunteers, and raising women's awareness about their rights. They participate to the tabia Council.

Characteristics of poor and destitute households

The livelihoods of poorer households need to be understood in relation to the resources at their disposal and shocks leading to impoverishment, their relations with extension services, and the forms of support they rely on. Over time differences between the poor, very poor and destitute have been increasing and the contrast with the richer households has become more pronounced.

Livelihoods, poverty and shocks

Poor households were generally characterised by having less land and livestock and other assets, which constrained their involvement in agriculture as they had to rely on disadvantageous sharecropping institutions to gain access to land and/or livestock on unfavourable terms. This meant that some sharecropped others' land which is more often a strategy of richer land-short households,⁵ and/or some household members worked as daily labourers for better off households or for investors, or migrated for work in rural areas in agriculture or in urban areas in industry, construction and services. International migration mainly to Arab countries, also became significant particularly for young women, and remittances became important source of household income (See migration chapter).

In 1994 we found that “in poor households assets tend to include traditional beds, wooden plates, pottery vessels, mud seats” (Bevan and Pankhurst 1996:83). In some of the food insecure sites there was a reluctance to describe the poor with the suggestion that all were poor, or simply that the poor did not have livestock or were landless, or were vulnerable categories.



Family of young farmer, Dinki

⁵ For instance Holden et al. (2016) suggest that households renting in land tended to be richer than those renting out land.

Table 3: Poor households 1994: Drought-prone regularly dependent on food/cash for work

Adele Keke	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
Aze Debo'a	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.
Dinki	The village is poorer than the surrounding villages
Do'oma	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. 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	The poorest have no cattle, goats or chickens and do not cultivate their own land (give it for sharecropping).
Geblen	Nowadays everyone is poor because of earlier forced resettlement, unpredictable weather, infertile soil and erosion. Geblen is the poorest PA in the area.
Harresaw	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	In almost all households one would find beds made of cattle skin.
Shumsheha	The poor are those without livestock.

In some of the better off sites, in addition to the poor having limited land and livestock and less assets, or belonging to categories of sick, disabled, or elderly, widows, and prostitutes there was also a suggestion that the people were poor if they did not farm properly or were lazy.

Table 4: Poor households 1994: Independent economies in areas with adequate rain

Adado	People become poor if they are not saving, if they have sold their land, or if they are not cultivating their farm properly.
Girar (Imdibir)	The main characteristics of poor people are that they have a small amount of land and cattle and small amounts of fewer crops.
Kormargefia (Debre Berhan)	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.
Sirba	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; <i>elle</i> and <i>gombisa</i> ; tincans for drinking; grinding stones called <i>agga</i> ; old and corrugated trays and plates; a charcoal stove; a gas lamp; kitchen inside home; bottles and cans for storing.
Turufe	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 <i>injera</i> , and maybe a kerosene lamp.

Yetmen	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 <i>medeb</i> s (traditional mud seats), and other household goods made from reeds.
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In 2004 in three of the four sites the poor were characterised as lacking land, oxen or tools, or persons who were involved in wage labour, as well as categories such as widows, disabled, elderly, ex-soldiers, unemployed youth (Pankhurst 2011).

Box 8: Characteristics of poor households (2004)

From Yetmen:

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

From Turufe:

Poor households may have land but no tools or oxen preventing them from getting a good yield. Destitute work as domestic servants or as daily labour. Ex-soldiers, unemployed youths who have completed school, and peasants without land are underprivileged groups on the one hand, and farm wage labourers and traders on the other are evidence of incipient class formation in the kebele. Many of the destitute are leprosy victims who have no child or relatives to help them. Some of them have little or no farmland.

From Korodegaga:

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

Landlessness was already major constraint for the youth, very poor and migrant households in the detailed study of four WIDE communities in 2004.⁶ 14% of households in Turufe were reported as landless, compared with 9% in Dinki and 2% in both Yetmen and Korodegaga.

However, the 2004 sample did not include the landless young men who were unable to set up their own households. In the integrated communities very few households had landholdings of less than ¼ hectare.

⁶ For details of the data and tables see Pankhurst 2011.

Box 9: Characteristics of landless households (2004)

From Korodegaga:

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

From Dinki:

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

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

Differences within sites were particularly important by gender and age of household head. The gender of the household head affects access to land in all sites although inequalities vary across sites. Mean landholdings of women heading households were less than half those of men in Korodegaga, and Dinki, and almost half in Yetmen, whereas the difference was less pronounced in Turufe.⁷ In terms of landlessness too the proportion of landless female headed households was much larger in all sites except Yetmen. In the Amhara region sites differences in the average size of landholdings by male and female heads were notable: 1.3: 0.6 in Dinki and 1.8: 1.0 in Yetmen. The differences were no so great in the Oromia sites: 2.4: 2.2 in Korodegaga and 0.9: 0.7 in Turufe.

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

The age of male heads also affected access to land to some degree, particularly in Korodegaga, where the few males of 70 and over had the highest average landholding which is over twice that of males in their 20s, and in Turufe, where males over 50 had higher average holdings than those under 50. In Dinki men in their 40s on average had the most land, while in Yetmen this was true for men in their 50s. In the Oromo sites men in their 60s and older had the highest average size of landholdings; mean size decreases as household heads get younger. This is not the case in the Amhara sites where

⁷ For details and tables see Pankhurst 2011.

largest mean land sizes were held by men in their 40s and 50s and the smallest by those in their 20s.⁸

Lack of livestock often forced poorer households to sharecrop out land or borrow oxen to plough on unfavourable arrangements. Livestock are a major form of wealth and investment, often endowed with cultural value. Cattle tend to symbolise wealth and horses in the highlands or camels in the lowlands status. As surplus from agriculture tends to be converted into livestock assets, livestock are often a very good indicator of wealth even though there is often underreporting of livestock holdings. Oxen are a key productive resource in all sites as they are vital for ploughing and the ideal of independent wealth tends to be measured by having access to a pair of oxen. Those with only one ox need to enter relationships of ox-sharing, or oxen for labour or land with people who have oxen to spare, and those with no oxen have to obtain them for ploughing on unfavourable through exchanging labour or land.

In 2004 the proportion of female headed households without oxen and without livestock was higher in three of the four sites. The exception was Korodegaga, where the Oromo cultural traditions of polygyny and widow inheritance mean that some richer men were able to marry additional wives and provide them with livestock. The integrated sites had a higher proportion of male-headed households without livestock and oxen than the remote sites, which is partly related to cultural differences.

Once again the age effect is clearly seen in the Oromia sites particularly with regard to ownership of oxen with decreasing proportions lacking oxen. Young male-headed households in Yetmen had greater access to oxen than the other sites. This can be associated with differences in ideologies: in Amhara on marriage endowments are provided by both sets of parents, while among the Oromo bridewealth is provided by the parents of the groom to those of the bride.

Women in some of the poor households were involved in petty trade, selling fuelwood, or production of alcoholic drinks. Poorer households often needed to keep one or more children out of school to work for the household assisting with agriculture, petty trade, or were sent to become herders for richer households; others were engaged in wage labour or migrated (see Dom's chapters on education and migration). Poorer households often had smaller housing without corrugated iron roofs and owned less household assets.

There were emerging and widening differences between the poor and the very poor and destitute. The very poor were often landless, with few or no livestock, and tended to have to sell their labour. Some worked in rich peoples' houses such as a poor woman in Oda Dawata who baked *injera* and washed clothes for a salary of 70 birr per month. The destitute relied on help from neighbours, relatives, community and religious charity, and ultimately in extreme cases begging or migration (see Pankhurst and Bevan 2007, Bevan and Pankhurst 2008).

Understanding destitution and exclusion

Based on earlier work in 2004-5 we discussed views on destitution in four of the wide communities.

Box 10: Characteristics of the destitute (2004)

From Dinki:

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

⁸ For details and tables see Pankhurst 2011.

From Korodegaga:

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

From Turufe:

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

From Yetmen:

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

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

Whereas most terms have neutral or descriptive connotations, four have positive or respectful connotations: *Miskin Deha* evokes pity for the wretched; *Marure* pity for elderly women who have to beg at the harvest; *Yenebite*, evoking the idea that the speaker realises they could also become a beggar; and *Tewari-Qebari Yatu*, suggesting they should be pitied for not having someone to look after them in old age and bury them. Four terms with negative connotations were mentioned; three of these were from Yetmen, one referring to the extreme poor being dressed in rags, another suggesting that they won't escape poverty, and the third referring to the former class system, in which servants walked holding the reins of the horse on which their master rode. In Turufe the term *Debdu* refers to persons being socially sanctioned for not conforming to norms. Among the four sites Yetmen had the greatest range including terms that are neutral, positive and negative, with two terms associating poverty with the previous class system.

Comparing the terms with those recorded by the *Destitutions Study in the Eastern Highlands* in Wello, Amhara Region, five terms were noted that qualify the term *deha*, meaning poor, including two of those found in Dinki. Other terms included *chigirtegnä* 'those with problems', *tsom adari* 'those who spend the night fasting', i.e. go to bed hungry, and *wuha anfari* 'those who cook water'. The authors suggested that three elements: inability to meet basic needs, lack of assets and dependence on others recur frequently, that some terms imply being on the last or the bottom level of society and others suggest reaching the end of one's resources and habitual hunger. They also conclude that the destitute were seen as extremely poor rather than categorically different, and that there may be seen as being on the bottom of a sliding scale of poverty into which anyone may fall at some time⁹ (Sharp et al. 2003:11-2), a conclusion with which I concurred on the basis of a detailed analysis of the data from Dinki (Pankhurst 2010b).

Among the twenty terms only two in Dinki directly mentioned lacking (basic needs or assets) and one term in Yetmen referred to the ragged clothing of the destitute. Seven terms related to dependence, four directly through begging, of which three were in Yetmen and one in Turufe referring to food hunger of those who beg at the harvest. Two terms in Yetmen referred to class and the former social order relating the very poor to the social status of servants. Another term in Yetmen refers to the social lack of care in old age and someone to bury them evoking the cultural salience of burial. Apart from terms referring to the former class system in Yetmen, only one term suggests social exclusion: in Turufe *debdu* has the connotation of being sanctioned for not following norms. Only one term in Yetmen *Ayalfilish* suggests that the poor cannot escape poverty, whereas another term mentioned in Yetmen *Yenebite* suggests that anyone could become poor if unfortunate. Several terms suggest that the destitute deserve pity. This distinction between the 'deserving' and undeserving' poor is confirmed in the descriptions of destitute people provided by local informants. The quotations also reveal variation in attitudes between those who want the extremely poor to work for them and those who do not. In Yetmen there are signs of class formation reflected in the saying that 'they arrange marriage among themselves.'

As discussed further on in this chapter there was a strong overlap between poverty and genderage in agriculture with youth facing serious landlessness and un(der)employment, and women heading households often, though not always, among the poorer with less land, livestock, and facing constraints of access to male labour.

Differences in opportunities in different kinds of communities

While there were poor households in all the sites, there were four major differences between livelihoods of the poor in food secure and insecure sites and between those in more market integrated cash crop producing sites with independent economies and those that were more remote and had less involvement with the market and whose economies were dependent on aid. *First*, in the food insecure sites poor households relied heavily on PSNP and in some cases migration (see Bevan et al. 2013). This programme did ensure survival for most of the poor in these communities and for some less asset depletion, although it is less clear to what extent this led directly to livelihood improvements (Dessalegn Rahmato et al. 2013), and in to some extent it led to more substitute child labour (Yisak Tafere and Tassew Woldehanna 2013).

Second, in the food secure and especially the cash crop sites, there was often greater crop diversity, providing more options for poorer households. For instance a poor household in Somodo that relied on sharecropping produced maize, sorghum, *teff*, coffee, *chat*, and avocados. This can lead to better nutrition and more possibilities for selling a range of produce.

⁹ This may be behind the way in which beggars are sometimes referred to as *yené bit'é* literally 'someone like me' (Kane 1990:945).

Third, in some of the food secure and cash crop sites there were transformations towards *cash crop* or *dairy* production even among the poor, sometimes affecting the household gender and age division of labour. For instance in Oda Dawata a poor household shifted from reliance on producing cereals (barley and wheat) to a greater reliance on potatoes for the market. In Kormargefia a poor farmer went into production of milk leading to more control over milk production and income from sales by the male head of the household. In some food insecure sites with cash crop economies even poor households engaged in producing cash crops, such as *chat* in Adele Keke.

Fourth, in the food secure market integrated sites there was often more reliance on a range of off farm activities, commuting and migration by different household members. For instance in Turufe a poor man drove a cart and acted as a broker in addition to farming. In Oda Dawata a poor household produced some cash crops, the wife was engaged in petty trade in grain, coffee, sugar and cigarettes; two of the children were engaged in wage labour during the potato harvest and an older son sent remittances which were used to buy fertiliser.

Differentiation and inequalities were not simply a static function of wealth status as there was a strong relationship between shocks and poverty for three main reasons (See Pankhurst and Bevan 2007). *First*, poor households were sometimes formed as a result of social shocks, as is often the case for female-headed households through widowhood or divorce, and some child or youth headed households after the death, severe illness or disability of the household head. *Second*, the impoverished status of some households that were previously better off was often a result of shocks leading to downward spirals into poverty. This can happen as a result of illness of the head or other members, loss of livestock, especially oxen, crop failure due to drought or pests etc. *Third*, poor households were more vulnerable and at risk from the consequences of shocks, which can lead to further impoverishment and destitution.

The findings of this research therefore suggest that although differentiation and inequalities were greater in the food secure and cash crop producing sites that were more integrated with the market and thus had 'independent economies', poorer households had a wider range of opportunities than in sites that were more remote, food insecure and 'dependent', not just for survival but also for improving their livelihoods.

Food, credit, cooperation and assistance

Regarding *diet*, there was evidence from many sites that poorer households had a less nutritious diet notably consuming less meat, milk and eggs. They were also more vulnerable to seasonal food shortage and times of drought and famine (Bevan and Pankhurst 2004). Among the poorest, especially seasonally during the hunger period and when facing shocks, households often reduced the amount and/or frequency of consumption. For instance in Oda Haro a poor family reduced from three meals a day to two in the lean season; in Girar a family skipped the midday meal, and in Somodo it was reported by the poor household that '*any meal might be missed*'. Some reduced on purchased foods such as oil and vegetables (e.g. Do'oma). Other poor households changed the type of food they consumed, for instance from cereals to *enset* in Adado. In times of crisis some households even consumed food bought for petty trade, affecting their survival strategies (Adele Keke).

Poor households often relied on borrowing from MFIs and/or informal sources from relatives, neighbours, money lenders or local associations. In Girar the Catholic mission provided credit in coordination with *iddirs*. Credit from MFIs was often used for livestock purchases but was sometimes diverted especially in crises or for other priorities such as paying for medication (Adele Keke), children's education (Kormargefia), or to sponsor migration (Harresaw). Some credit was linked to the PSNP and in some food insecure sites the terms had apparently not been explained properly and some households assumed these were grants not loans and refused to repay (Shumsheha). There were also instance of poor households facing difficulties in obtaining formal credit due to access rules (Dinki). This led some to go to money lenders charging higher interest

rates (Harresaw). There was evidence of cases of poor households who were able to repay loans and take further loans (such as a woman in Oda Dawata who traded in vegetables). However, in other cases poor households found it very difficult to repay loans (such as a woman in Sirba whose sheep were stolen and who lost breed chicken to disease), or they needed to borrow from relatives to repay formal credit such as a poor man in Geblen who borrowed from his father-in-law. Poor households were therefore often wary of risks of indebtedness and tended to be unwilling to take formal credit.

Poor households often relied heavily on reciprocal labour sharing arrangements (*wenfel*) with neighbours and relatives particularly for harvesting, and many also participated in work groups (*debo*) sponsored by richer households in exchange for food; others were involved in agricultural daily labour (Shumsheha). Some poor households had to borrow oxen from relatives or from a neighbour in exchange for ploughing their land (Sirba).

Almost all poor households were members of *iddirs*, which have become an important source of social support spreading from urban to almost all rural areas (Pankhurst 2008). However, some poor households complained that funeral expenses were much higher than what was provided by the *iddirs* (e.g. Oda Haro, Oda Dawata). There were traditions of *iddirs* providing payments for loss of livestock and in Kormargefia an 'oxen *iddir*' was set up.¹⁰ *Iddirs* in a few sites also provided loans to members (Turufe, Do'oma), and in Girar a Catholic NGO teamed up with an *iddir* to provide loans.

However, in some cases very poor households were unable to be part of this kind of community social protection. For instance one poor woman in Dinki was too poor to afford the monthly *iddir* contribution and relied on food aid, charity from neighbours and assistance from her son. Some poor households depended heavily on remittances from children living abroad in Arab countries (Geblen), America (Oda Haro) or within Ethiopia, who sent money or visited for holidays bringing gifts (such as Meskel in Girar).

Poor households relied heavily on relatives and neighbours in cases of food shortage. For instance a poor household in Gelcha obtained a sack of maize from relatives to survive the hunger period; a poor household in Somodo received an *enset* plant from each of three neighbours, and a poor household in Adele Keke received a loan of a milk cow from his brother. Some households borrowed grain from neighbours and repaid after the harvest (Sirba). There were also livestock sharing arrangements where a poor household would borrow an ox or look after a cow and use the milk (Oda Haro).

Assistance from relatives and neighbours was also crucial in times of illness. A poor woman in Somodo got help with food and cash from neighbours and relatives when she was hospitalised. The head of a poor household in Yetmen was assisted by relatives who covered the costs of transportation and accommodation when he went for holy water treatment. In some sites churches and religious charities also helped, as with a poor woman in Adado, who was given 70 birr to recover from illness.

Regarding assistance to poor households in the food insecure sites the PSNP provided an important buffer for poor households enabling them to overcome food shortage and to some extent avoid selling key assets, especially oxen. However, there were differences between communities, and the success of the PSNP depended to a larger extent on whether there were other opportunities in the local economy (See Bevan et al. 2013). Moreover, as a result there was a suggestion that people were less willing to engage in community work that was not remunerated (Shumsheha).

Assistance from NGOs for poor households included a few cases of loans, such as for a woman in Aze Debo'a who got a loan of 150 birr, and provision of stationery for children from poor households

¹⁰ Oxen *iddir* are a form of customary insurance institution through which members of a community assist someone who loses an ox.

(Oda Dawata, Yetmen). Provision of livestock loans for poor households were mentioned in four sites: a goat loan scheme in Girar run by the Catholic mission, some breed cows and sheep in Yetmen provided by World Vision, and livestock in Korodegaga for poor farmers who were considered “active”. Likewise in Kormargefia the NGO Food for Children provided sheep and oxen to poor families. There were also cases of poor households being exempted from community contributions and taxes (Adele Keke, Gelcha). In Gelcha a few poor households were allowed free access to clean water.

Agricultural extension services

Some poor households benefitted from extension services, although sometimes poor households complained that Development Agents (DAs) favoured richer or model households (Dinki, Sirba, Adado). There was also limited learning from model farmers, as noted in the WIDE brief on equitable service delivery (Jones 2014), so that the extension services to some extent reinforced and accentuated inequalities, as they enabled richer farmers to profit from opportunities for increasing their production and shifting to cash crops. In Girar there was also the suggestion that DAs did not want to work with the potter community as they wrongly believed they were not interested in agriculture, and they expressed the feeling that they were being excluded.

Some poor households did purchase inputs particularly fertiliser and improved seeds, and in some sites many argued that this was inevitable since dependence on fertiliser has increased due to decline in soil fertility. However, in many sites poor households complained about the price of fertiliser, that was in some cases their largest expenditure (Oda Haro). Moreover, in several sites some poor households said they could no longer afford fertiliser (Adele Keke, Gara Godo, Somodo, Oda Dawata). In some sites where fertiliser was provided through service cooperatives there were households that preferred to buy it from the marketing part as they could obtain it in smaller quantities. In other cases fertiliser provision was linked to the PSNP and households were obliged to take it (Geblen, Harresaw). In Do’oma a household which was unable to use it gave it to another in exchange for a share of the harvest and in Geblen one woman who could not use it on her own gave it to her father.

The cost of improved seeds also became unaffordable for some poor households (Aze Debo’a); in some sites poorer farmers said they could afford fertiliser but not improved seeds and pesticides (Oda Dawata). In a few sites some poor households were able to purchase breed livestock notably sheep in Kormargefia, although there were complaints that they were not drought and disease resistant. A poor farmer in Kormargefia said he did not use the Broad Bed Maker technology as it was too heavy for the oxen. However, constraints on adopting this technology may be related to the expectation that farmers take up the entire extension package including seeds and fertiliser with reluctance arising due to risks of indebtedness in case of crop failure (Pankhurst 2000).

Relations between rich and poor

The links between rich and poor involved a wide range of relations and transactions including employment, share-cropping and share-rearing, credit and loans and charity. There were a number of sites where rich households employed poorer ones as labourers (Adado, Gelcha). This could involve one household member or even the couple (Shumsheha).

Sharecropping land out was a very common livelihood option for poor households who did not have oxen to plough with or lacked labour, often due to illness or old age. However, some land-short poor farmers who had enough labour sharecropped in extra land, which could be a means out of impoverishment, although this depended on the agreements which often tended to favour the landowner. Share-rearing of livestock, especially cows, was not uncommon when rich households had excess livestock but not enough labour to herd them and when poorer ones needed the milk for their children.

There were also examples of rich households providing poorer households with a loan of an ox, or even cash, although this was often at exorbitant rates. In one case in Oda Haro a successful farmer was lending money at 50 percent interest to be paid back in six months, while he himself was also taking credit from an MFI at 12 percent interest. Another arrangement was that of a rich household providing land to a poor household to build a house in exchange for the poor household's assistance with farming activities.

Relations between the rich and the poor were characterised in the Stage 3 report in terms of nascent class relations mitigated by cross-cutting cultural and economic linkages. Many arrangements between rich and poor households were to some mutual benefit. However, there was often a greater advantage for richer households that obtained land or labour at cheap rates, and the institutions can therefore also be seen as exploitative. There were also cases of poorer farmers with less land who did not want to get advice from rich landed ones as mentioned in Kormargefia.

Box 11: Relationships between the rich and the poor

There were emerging class relationships between rich landed households hiring labour and the poor landless and land-poor people who often provided it. Class relationships were also shaped by processes of land accumulation by richer farmers - rental and share-cropping. This pattern was already present in 2003 in Sirba and Oda Dawata.

Relationships between rich and poor people were complex. Strong clan linkages and obligations crossed wealth categories in Oda Dawata and there was said to be mutual respect between rich and poor in Adado. In Somodo very rich people had employees but all wealth groups mixed socially. (Bevan et al. 2013).

Nonetheless, there were also instances reported of rich households being charitable and assisting poorer ones when facing problems notably with food shortage. For instance the poor household interviewed in Somodo received gifts of *enset* from a richer household to overcome the hunger season. A poor woman heading a household in Oda Dawata mentioned receiving assistance with funeral expenses from a successful businessman.

Decline in inter-household cooperation and cases of exclusion

In a few sites it was suggested that cooperation was declining with richer households focusing on their own production (Somodo), hiring labourers (Sirba), or due to recurrent drought conditions (Harresaw). In Kormargefia increased prices of milk and livestock were said to have led to less willingness to share-rear cows, exchange oxen for labour and even pair oxen. Housebuilding, which used to be an area where households living in an area cooperated, was in some sites changing with better off households hiring skilled professional builders (Sirba).

In two sites cooperation was said to have declined due to religious differences becoming more pronounced. In Somodo there was a Muslim majority but Protestant and Orthodox minorities had increased through conversions. In Oda Dawata there had previously been more cooperation and even intermarriages between Muslims and Christians involving conversions; however, mistrust had increased recently and *iddirs* were now based on religion and ethnicity so that Muslim Oromo and Christian Amhara formed separate *iddirs*. In both these communities tensions were also apparent within the Muslim community itself, notably between Wahabi and Sufi followers.

There were cases in three sites of exclusion from cooperation, notably in labour sharing institutions, affecting categories whose membership and integration in the community was questioned. In two sites this involved migrants (Gelcha, Korodegaga) and in the other returnees from resettlement (Shumsheha). In some sites poor households mentioned being involved in the new one-to-five

networks¹¹ organised by the *kebele* (Luqa, Harresaw), with the suggestion that there was emerging competition between traditional and new forms of cooperation. There were also instances of women facing limited cooperation after the death of their husbands, as mentioned by a widow in Adele Keke.

Female-headed households

Although women heading household are often assumed to be extremely vulnerable, they were not a uniform category and were certainly not all poor or destitute, although they usually shared certain characteristics and constraints. Generally female headed households lacked access to male labour unless they had adult sons or until their sons became old enough, or if they had a daughter who reached the age to attract a son-in-law (Sirba, Somodo). Given the agricultural division of labour they often had to sharecrop out land (Oda Haro), borrow oxen or hire labourers if they could afford it (Sirba). In some sites they were unable to be part of labour sharing arrangements such as *debo* along with male farmers (Sirba).

Households headed by women tended to be formed through widowhood or divorce. The death of the husband often led to a decline in the household's wealth. Many widows complained that the illness of their husband and eventual death were drains on the household resources for medication and funeral costs, leading to impoverishment (Adele Keke, Adado, Do'oma, Gara Godo, Somodo, Harresaw). For instance a widow in Adele Keke sold seven livestock to cover medical expenses for her dying husband and borrowed 2000 birr and had to rent out her land to repay the debt. A widow in Geblen said the household status had gradually deteriorated from being among the richest to the poorest.

However, some successful female headed household inherited land or obtained it after divorce, and were able to use agricultural extension advice (Adado, Somodo), inputs (Adado), hire labourers (Adado, Sirba), and obtained credit (Oda Dawata). Others were involved in selling drink (Adado), or cattle fattening (Adado, Oda Dawata). A few owned a town house (Oda Dawata) or benefitted from or relied on remittances (Somodo, Oda Dawata) (see chapter on women's economic participation)

Poor women heading households

The poor female household heads interviewed faced problems with land, labour and/or oxen. They had a range of survival strategies. Some sharecropped out their land (Oda Haro); others were landless and relied on doing daily labour (Adado, Aze Debo'a, Dinki, Oda Dawata). Some depended on a son (Korodegaga, Yetmen), or a son-in-law (Sirba); others borrowed oxen from relatives (Sirba) or were able to hire a labourer (Adele Keke). In some sites they relied on remittances from daughters in Saudi Arabia (Oda Dawata, Harresaw) or Sudan (Somodo). Many relied on petty trade (Oda Dawata, Korodegaga), produced food for sale, notably baking *injera* (Shumsheha) or alcoholic drinks (Luqa), or spun cotton to earn a small amount of money (Dinki).

The survival options for the extremely poor women heading households were limited. These often involved working for richer households. For instance one very poor woman washed clothes and transported water to earn income (Shumsheha). Others collected wood or dung for sale (Yetmen, Kormargefia), which was a very low status occupation which was looked down on.

In the food insecure sites most poor women heading households relied on support from the PSNP or food aid which was "*crucial to fill the food gap for several months*" (Korodegaga). In some cases poor female headed households relied on combining a range of coping strategies. For instance the household of a poor woman in Gara Godo depended on farming and PSNP work, daily labour, petty trade, migration of some household members, picking cotton and producing charcoal. Likewise, a

¹¹ '*And-le-amist*': organisational unit of five people under one leader reporting to the Development Team (DT).

poor woman in Luqa grew crops and reared livestock, received food aid, but also produced local drink and worked as a daily labourer. The multiplicity of hand-to-mouth low-return activities undertaken by poor women, in contrast with wealthier ones who could invest in something more profitable, is discussed further by Loveday in the chapter on women's economic participation.

It was often said that women and the poor were neglected by the extension services. However, there were a few cases of women heading households who got advice from DAs and used inputs (Harresaw) although sometimes with poor results (Somodo). Others said they did not get advice (Aze Debo'a, Sirba). Some women used fertiliser bought on the market but not improved seeds (Aze Debo'a). But others said they could not afford any agricultural inputs (Gara Godo). Whereas some got credit (Oda Dawata, Harresaw), others did not want to take inputs once the credit was repaid (Sirba). Several faced production shocks such as loosing crops to hail (Kormargefia) or cattle to diseases (Kormargefia, Oda Haro, Sirba, Turufe).

A few of the women headed households were clearly extremely poor, relied on charity and faced shocks. One woman in Adado had a house only covered with *enset* leaves, spent some nights without eating, only sent one child to school and received assistance from the Protestant Church. Likewise, the household of a very poor woman in Do'oma lived in a very small house which was not well made, ate less *enset* as the price went up and became impoverished to cover her husband's funeral and son's wedding costs. Many poor women heading households had reduced consumption in quantity and quality and some suffered from hunger such as a poor woman in Gara Godo whose household decreased its consumption during the lean season, some days not eating at all. A few did not even own the house they lived in and had to pay rent which they found hard to afford (Dinki, Shumsheha). Some had children who had to drop out of school to help with work (Gelcha). Many relied heavily on *iddirs*, some even belonging to both 'household *iddir*' and a 'female' *iddir* (Korodegaga), although a few said they could not afford to be members (Dinki).

Some very poor women heading households received assistance from NGOs (Aze Debo'a, Korodegaga) including credit (Gelcha). Others, particularly among the poorest, relied on charity and assistance from neighbours with food, and labour (Dinki). Some elderly women heading households got help from a granddaughter with fetching water and cooking (Dinki, Geblen). A few were exempted from certain activities, such as work in the PSNP (Geblen, due to old age), or from mandatory community contributions (Girar, due to poverty).

Individual level differences

In this section I consider individual level differences comparing the categories of young men and young women and generational and gender relations. Opportunities for young men and young women and the constraints they face differ considerably in all the sites. However, factors such as the extent of land shortage, local opportunities for wage labour and cultural practice affecting young men and women result in notable differences between communities (see also chapter on youth transitions).

Young men

Young men were facing increasing problems in gaining access to land in all sites as we have already seen, and youth un(der)employment and dependency on the older generation was a common concern. Young men from wealthier households were able to get plots from parents but poorer households often simply did not have enough land to share. In some cases young men sharecropped in land or entered land contracts (Oda Dawata, Kormargefia, Do'oma).

With very few exceptions there had not been recent land redistributions to young people on an individual level for farming. However, in a few sites the *kebele* had allocated land to youth on a group basis, though as we shall see, this sometimes this led to conflict with the older generation. For instance in Kormargefia the *kebele* leased land for youth to keep livestock and produce seedlings, and in Luqa youth groups were given forest land to protect and exploit forest products.

Some young men, particularly those having benefited from some education, no longer wanted to farm or did not have the required skills and would have preferred to find salaried jobs (see chapter on education). Young men failing to pass the Grade 10 exams often remained at home helping their parents and were often discontented (Do'oma). However, a few young men found jobs even in the remote or agro-pastoralist sites for instance as DAs (Gelcha). However, finding formal employment generally required migrating and job opportunities were scarce even for those who had completed secondary school, and in some cases even for those who had completed some post-grade 12 studies (Aze Debo'a) (see Dom's chapters on education and on migration).

Other young men became involved in trade in livestock or agricultural produce or petty trade (Aze Debo'a, Do'oma), although many, especially those from poorer households, faced problems with lack of start-up capital and access to credit or loans (Aze Debo'a Oda Dawata). However, there were increasing opportunities for young men to find employment, sometimes in close proximity to the sites in which they lived, in agricultural wage labour, in coffee harvesting, or further away in plantations, in towns in construction and factories. In some cases wage labour opportunities had improved so that young men did not have to migrate so far (Harresaw).

There were also opportunities in some sites for young men to find work in loading and unloading, guarding produce, or working as brokers (Aze Debo'a, Gelcha, Turufe, Korodegaga). Particularly in sites closer to towns there were also occasional jobs in the transport sector with carts and motorbikes and shops and businesses, such as satellite TV rental (Gara Godo). In some sites there were opportunities for work in daily labour which can avoid having to migrate (Kormargefia). However, migration to towns and internationally to Sudan, the Gulf countries and South Africa were options for a few, though job opportunities were often more readily available in Arab countries for women (see chapter on migration).

There were some attempts to organise young men into youth cooperatives in several sites. However, most of the agricultural cooperatives had not been successful for a range of reasons, although some youth involved in irrigation groups did fairly well in a few sites (Kormargefia, Gelcha). More successful were the cooperatives for sand and stone construction (Sirba, Gelcha) and some for forest protection and forest products extraction (Oda Dawata, Luqa). In some sites youth were able to get credit or were assisted with income-generating activities from NGOs. For instance in Aze Debo'a youth obtained a machine for making blocks from an NGO; however, they returned it as they could not get credit from the *wereda* (see chapter on youth transitions).

Young women

Young women generally were not able to gain access to land directly since, following gender norms, parents tended to favour young men. Women's rights to land on divorce were decreed in principle through the land certification process. In practice, however, there were constraints on women gaining and using land on divorce, including prejudice of elders and sometimes the *kebele* leadership about women's rights and abilities to exploit land, and the fact that, given cultural marriage residence rules, they were generally living in their husband's community and lacked male labour and oxen to plough with. However, there were some exceptional cases where women were able to obtain a fair share of the land upon divorce and some were able to sharecrop out or hire labourers.

Young women were not culturally able to form a household on their own and opportunities for them to pursue independent livelihoods outside marriage were limited. Whether living in their natal or spousal household most of their work ended up being in the domestic sphere. Despite increasing girls' enrolment and some continuing to secondary education, opportunities for them to obtain formal employment on the basis of their qualifications were often almost non-existent. However, a few were able to become Health Extension Workers (HEWs), teachers, and exceptionally DAs or vets (Adado, Luqa), micro-credit officers (Luqa), and one worked in the *wereda* water office in Somodo.

Nonetheless, there were significant changes in employment opportunities for women resulting from the growth in the economy in communities with greater market integration or investment nearby. In some of these sites young women, especially from poorer households, were able to find work opportunities in wage labour (Oda Dawata), in flower farms (Aze Debo'a, Sirba), coffee processing (Aze Debo'a), factories (Kormargefia, Sirba), or wage work in research centres (Kormargefia) (see chapter on women's economic participation).

Furthermore, most importantly young women in large numbers were able to work and were actively involved in income generating activities in most sites. They worked in petty trade of commodities such as sugar, salt and oil (Adado, Adele Keke, Do'oma, Oda Dawata, Sirba), selling livestock products, especially butter, milk and eggs and engaged in livestock fattening, sale of livestock fodder (Adele Keke, Gelcha), produced and sold food and alcoholic drinks (*tella* and *areqe*), sold cash crops such as coffee and fruit (Aze Debo'a) or *chat* (Adele Keke), or set up or worked in tea houses or restaurants (Geblen, Harresaw, Oda Dawata, Sirba). However, young women in some sites suggested that lack of access to credit was a constraint on their ability to expand their trading and other income-generating activities to become successful (Aze Debo'a).

As noted for women generally and described in the chapter by Dom, migration by young women to towns to work largely in the service sector and especially abroad to Arab countries as domestic workers was a major strategy in several sites and more important for young women than young men in most sites. Successful migrants were able to send remittances and returned with some capital to invest in a range of activities which improved their livelihood options and status. Despite the risks and the policies discouraging migration many young women in several sites continued to aspire to migrate abroad (see chapter on migration).

Generation and gender relations

Over time, with decreasing land availability and smaller holdings tensions have escalated between the older generation and the youth wishing to get married, set up their own household and establish independent livelihoods. There was an emerging and growing distinction between the older generation controlling land and other resources and the landless youth. Land policies, as noted earlier, may be leading to the consolidation of a "class" of older landed mainly male-headed households (Bevan et al. 2010). Though this process happened in all sites, in the wealthier more integrated sites the elites were better placed to intensify and diversify production and obtain income from a range of sources (see chapter on youth transitions).

As land holdings became increasingly concentrated in households controlled by the older generation, youth sometimes expressed frustration at working for their parents. In some cases these tensions spilled over into relations between households and with the *kebele* administration. For instance in Kormargefia a landowner who had leased land to a rich farmer wanted it back for his son to use resulting in conflict. In Somodo there was tension with the *kebele* which decided to give land to investors while youth were landless.

Regarding gender relations there have been some positive changes. In all sites there was a decrease in gender inequalities largely associated with interventions. These included measures relating to women's land rights, promotion of girls education, women and child centred health packages and interventions, measures to counter violence against women and harmful traditional practices, although these provoked some resistance from men (see chapter on youth transitions and young women's health and wellbeing).

Women's land rights on divorce improved, although actual division of property sometimes depended on political relations and the role of elders who often mediated against women. Moreover, in some instances where land was redistributed women had not been included as the *kebele* argued that women were '*not strong enough to plough*' (Kormargefia), although in the Tigray sites there was a policy in principle of prioritising female headed households should redistribution

take place. One change has been that elders are now more wary of becoming involved in divorce cases and there are examples of women successfully taking their cases to courts.

However, there have also been tensions between young women and their parents over decision-making surrounding marriage, especially over choice of partner and when to get married. Parents often sought to arrange their marriages and wished to marry off their daughters early to secure their future and in some societies in Oromia and the South to obtain bridewealth. In contrast young women wanted to choose their own marriage partners and often wished to resist early marriage decided by their parents. There were signs that with education, media campaigns, and the role of church groups in many sites young women were becoming more able to make their own choices (see chapter on youth transitions).¹²

Opportunities for wage labour, gaining an income from international migration and generally the fact that some women were being seen as successful in economic activities has to some extent improved women's bargaining power (e.g. Adado, Kormargefia). In some sites young women were increasingly becoming engaged in activities previously considered as 'men's work', including daily and contract labour and trade, for instance in Harresaw (see chapter on women's economic participation).

However, in some cases changes in the economy led to men taking over areas that were customarily women's domains, such as the sale of dairy products. For instance in Kormargefia and Turufe, with the introduction of cross-bred cows, and greater income from milk sales, men took control over the production and income. However, women became more involved in crop production, and some men also reported women demanding more say in how household income was spent (Kormargefia). There were also some minor changes in the role of men in the domestic sphere with some instances of men fetching water and fuelwood, and even cleaning and cooking (Sirba, Oda Dawata).

Vulnerable categories, community and external support, inclusion and exclusion

In general, most vulnerable categories of individuals depended largely on community support from neighbours, relatives and friends, and customary and religious institutions, as well as assistance from richer members of the community as noted earlier. In the food insecure sites direct food aid notably the PSNP was vital, particularly for elderly people, some of whom said it was their only income.

For mourning and illnesses the *iddirs* were the main source of support. However, among poorer households and female headed households this often did not cover all the costs or enable the household to recover, and, as we have seen, costs of illness and funeral expenses often led to impoverishment. Charity from religious organisations and missions, and in the Orthodox tradition, especially on saints' days, and among all the religions on holidays was an important form of support for the destitute and disabled (Pankhurst and Bevan 2007).

In all sites there were a few people with *physical disabilities* and *illnesses* (blindness, deafness, epilepsy were those most frequently mentioned). *HIV/AIDS* and *mental illness* were less frequently raised and in some sites these were not openly discussed or considered a taboo subject. People with mental illness were often taken by their families for holy water treatment (Yetmen). In a few sites there were cases of people living with disabilities whose social relations were restricted and instances where they faced some discrimination (Gelcha, Harresaw). In the case of People Living with HIV/AIDs (PLWHAs) there was some evidence of them being stigmatised when their status was known and instances of discrimination including refusal to rent out houses to them (Luqa, Harresaw, Sirba, Shumsheha). However, in a few sites religious institutions provided them with support (Gara Godo, Gelcha).¹³

¹² For changes in young women's agency and early marriage see also Pankhurst et al. 2016.

¹³ For an overview of early involvement of community institutions with HIV/AIDS see Kloos and Pankhurst 2000.

Orphans and the elderly were the categories obtaining support that were most often mentioned. However, institutional support was only available for orphans and only in a few sites. Support for orphans included stationary provided in Oda Dawata by an NGO and in Adado by the Women and Children's Affairs Bureau, and by an NGO through an *iddir* in Gelcha. Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVCs) were organised for income generating activities in Adele Keke, and there were some instances of institutionalised or community based adoption. However, there were a few suggestions of some forms of discrimination or abuse of orphans (Shumsheha, Do'oma), and reports of orphan girls who were made to marry early by their guardians (Harresaw, Oda Dawata, Oda Haro).

In contrast to orphans, the elderly relied largely on immediate relatives and neighbours, and, in the food insecure sites on the PSNP, and were exempted from involvement in public works. Poor and elderly households were also sometime exempted from community contributions. However, in Girar they were not exempted from the telethon fund raising. The needs of the elderly were sometimes identified without support being provided. For instance in Harresaw the *tabia* reported that there were 215 older people needing support but there had not been any government intervention. There was mention of the youth association in Girar and Geblen and the women's association in Girar building latrines for the elderly on a campaign basis. Exceptionally NGOs and faith-based organisations also provided some older people with occasional support. For instance an elderly woman in Girar was given some oil and nutritional food mix by an NGO.

Domestic labourers were another disadvantaged category, who were employed by richer households as servants to fill labour gaps. Richer households in all the sites, though more commonly in the surplus producing and market integrated cash crops sites, were able to hire agricultural and household labourers for a season or continuously under a number of different arrangements. Male labourers were involved mainly in agricultural work and females largely in domestic work. Children, some being children of poorer relatives were also hired, boys involved in herding and girls in housework. In some cases this was helpful to their parents who could not afford to look after them, though there were also cases where they were not treated well, and often they did not go to school (see Pankhurst et al. 2016; Yisak Tafere and Pankhurst 2015).

In some cases an employer became a patron and sponsored a labourer to establish himself, marry and become independent. However, many labourers were mistreated and were unable to escape the status of labourer, and these inequalities were sometime reproduced with their children becoming labourers. Female domestic workers were also at risk of rape by their employers or their sons, and some instances were reported (see chapter on young women's health and wellbeing). More generally, daily labour was usually performed by community members who were landless and/or destitute or were peasants with small landholdings. However, in many sites young people did daily labour to raise cash. In some sites migrants came as daily labourers (e.g. Korodegaga, Turufe), though in Turufe there was a period when the authorities tried to prevent in-migrants from coming to work in the area (Pankhurst 2010a).

Occupational craftworkers (potters, tanners and smiths) were traditionally despised and ostracised and faced discrimination in many sites, and could not intermarry with farmers (Pankhurst 2003). Though these inequalities, which were more pronounced in southern Ethiopia, were considerably reduced, some traces remained, social relations were often constrained and intermarriage between craftworker households and farmers was still resisted. Although there were few craftworkers in most of the sites, potters in Girar known as Fuga, and those in Turufe who were migrants from Wolayta suffered from discrimination, and there were cases mentioned of exclusion from institutions.

There were even apparent cases of abuse: In one instance in Girar a public works supervisor allegedly struck a potter woman and broke her hand for dirtying an attendance sheet. In some cases craftworkers were barred from attending religious ceremonies (Shumsheha). However, there was also some evidence of resistance and external support. In Shumsheha the craftworkers appealed

against discrimination to the government. In Aze Debo'a the Protestant Church played a role in improving the status of craftworkers.¹⁴

Immigrants were another group that were disadvantaged and excluded in certain contexts. Nonetheless, it is important to note in some situations immigrant groups brought innovation and prospered (e.g. the Amhara in Do'oma and immigrant groups in Turufe; see chapter on innovations), although their success sometimes fuelled resentment, leading to conflicts in Turufe. However, in other contexts particularly in three sites immigrant groups had faced some discrimination.

In Turufe, which is within Oromia but close the border with the Southern Region and the multiethnic town of Shashemene, only native Oromo were able to obtain positions of authority in the local administration. The migrants often sought to develop networks with other migrants and some successful migrants particularly those from the North, pursued a strategy of sending their children to live in towns. Most of the Kambata who were perceived to have been associated with the Derg regime, were expelled after the EPRDF victory. Most of the migrants who remained in Turufe and became established there were able to consolidate claims to land through the registration and certification process.¹⁵ However, recent migrants formed an underclass that were often exploited by their employers. Nonetheless, there were some cases of employers acting as patrons, ensuring migrants obtained identity cards, and some earlier migrants sponsored new migrants to come from their home areas, sometimes helping them to establish themselves in their own right. In Korodegaga migrant workers who came to work for the irrigation lived in poor conditions and tended to be excluded from services on the grounds of not being residents, were often branded as troublemakers and were sometimes subject to abuse and victimisation in cases of disputes. In Gelcha, the Karrayu site, some immigrant Oromo and Somali groups were allegedly not allowed to obtain PSNP support to the same extent as the rest of the population.

Conclusions and policy considerations

Alongside growth and transformation there has been increasing rural differentiation over the past couple of decades with the wealthiest households forming elites, improvements among middle wealth households but poorer households benefitting less, except in the case of PSNP, and destitutes barely surviving from charity and food aid. Sources of differentiation include increased agricultural and livestock production, irrigation and new technologies, trade, better roads and transport and involvement in non-farm activities and remittances. There have been greater changes and more differentiation in the sites with more agricultural potential, cash crops, irrigation, diversified economies, and proximity to towns, leading to greater gaps between the rich and poor. However, it is also in these sites that poorer household have more opportunities for diversified survival options. In contrast a range of climate related and production shocks have had more adverse effects on the drought prone sites and poorer households who in all sites are also more vulnerable to processes of impoverishment.

In this chapter I considered inequalities in WIDE communities at community, household and individual levels and suggested that they are based mainly on combinations of gender, age, wealth and status. Processes of differentiation have led to the emergence of elites whose control of land, livestock and labour, and involvement in trade, non-farm investments and urban linkages led to their livelihoods and lifestyles becoming clearly distinguished from the rest of their communities. There were also signs of richer households becoming richer through involvement in irrigation and cash crop production enabling them to have better nutrition and housing, more productive and consumer assets and access to private education and health services.

¹⁴ For a review of how the status of craftworkers has been changing see Pankhurst and Freeman 2003.

¹⁵ For a discussion of this case see Lavers 2014.

The focus of the chapter has been largely on the poor, disadvantaged female-headed households, youth and vulnerable and marginalised groups and categories within the communities, since other chapters in this book have addressed the issues of successful individuals, innovation and women's economic participation.

Poorer households were shown to rely on various coping strategies that often required selling their labour, or involvement in non-farm and off-farm activities and petty trade. They were also more vulnerable to shocks, especially drought, crop and livestock losses as well as illnesses and death, often leading to impoverishment and sometimes destitution. They depended heavily on assistance from neighbours and relatives and support from customary institutions, notably *iddir* funeral associations, for coping with bereavement.

Interactions between the rich and the poor involved a wide range of relations including employment, share-cropping, share-rearing, credit, loans and charity, often with mutual benefit but greater advantages for the rich. There is evidence in some communities of declining cooperation, due to drought and inflation, and signs of richer households focusing on their own production, as well as increasing internal divisions within a few of the ethnically and religiously heterogeneous communities.

Ethiopia has designed and approved a Social Protection Policy at the end of 2014, which is in the process of being implemented. Given the challenges facing poorer and destitute households, tailoring social protection programmes to their needs should involve various stakeholders at a local community level as has been piloted in the Community Care Coalitions.¹⁶ It will also be important to seek to build linkages between new expansion and extension of social protection and customary institutions that have been responsible for much of the informal social protection to date in order to ensure better collaboration and avoid overlaps and contradictions (Pankhurst and Dessalegn 2013).

Many poor households faced difficulties covering costs of inputs notably fertilizer leading to indebtedness, and they were therefore often less willing to engage with extension packages. This suggests that livelihoods of the poor could be improved by policies and programmes that are more flexible to their needs, especially by promoting non-agricultural activities, extension, credit service and grants tailored to their abilities. Given the risks facing the poor, insurance schemes, including for livestock losses and health care, should be further promoted and ways of including subsidies for the poor should be considered.

There have been some positive changes in gender relations over women's land rights, girls' education, women and child-centred health, and reducing harmful traditional practices. However, despite some changes in gender roles, girls and women still carried the bulk of the burden of domestic activities and were involved in production and trade. Female-headed households were not a uniform category but often faced constraints in agricultural labour; many were involved in trade, crafts and food processing, and while some were among economically successful people of their community, others were among the destitute.

Given the constraints facing women heading households, better access to relevant extension services and credit that address their capacities and recognise their involvement in non-farm, off farm, food processing and trading activities, could enhance the opportunities for women to improve their livelihoods. Furthermore, promotion of women's income-generating activities through women's associations, cooperatives, and supporting women entrepreneurs could stimulate growth as well as leading to improvement in gender roles (See chapter on women's economic participation).

There has been a transformation in inter-generational relations with land being increasingly controlled by the older generation, and some powerful male household heads being able to become wealthy by sharecropping more land and hiring labourers. At the same time decreasing land access

¹⁶ See Guush Berhane et al. 2015.

and un(der)employment have led many youth to become landless, unable to form new households and remaining dependent on parental households leading to some inter-generational tensions. Limited success of cooperatives has led to disillusionment of some youth, and expansion of education has raised expectations resulting in changing and often unfulfilled aspirations, sometimes stimulating migration (see Dom's chapters on education and on migration).

However, many of the youth were involved in a wide range of entrepreneurial activities, particularly in non-agricultural work, especially in the sites with more diversified economies and greater market integration, although access to start-up capital and credit was a constraint for poorer young men and women. Greater emphasis on job-creation programmes for rural youth, including young women, and easier access to credit and training could improve youth livelihoods. Furthermore, learning from successful cooperatives, particularly in non-agricultural activities and enhancing youth enterprise might provide alternatives to aspirations to migrate (see chapter on youth transitions to adulthood).

Pro-poor assistance has been largely related to the PSNP, that has provided a buffer for poor households in the food insecure sites, enabling them to survive without selling key assets. In a few sites provisions for poor households involved livestock and credit provided by NGOs. Vulnerable groups and categories were largely supported by communities, apart from some interventions for orphans and to a lesser extent the elderly. Some categories with disabilities and certain illnesses such as HIV/AIDS and mental illness were stigmatized, and certain groups such as labourers, craftworkers and, in certain communities in-migrants, were sometimes subject to discrimination.

In the implementation of the Social Protection Strategy the protection of vulnerable groups including orphans and elderly, the disabled, destitute, and stigmatized and excluded categories will require the training and deployment of a cadre of social workers at the community level. Moreover, there is a need to improve relations between service providers and local people and to promote greater empathy and consideration of the needs of the poor and vulnerable categories by government extension workers in agriculture and health and local officials at the *kebele* level.¹⁷ To ensure that growth becomes more inclusive and to avoid the poorest being left behind, social protection should involve greater collaboration between stakeholders including local government, the private sector, civil society groups, NGOs, community leaders and local customary institutions.

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¹⁷ See Jones, 2014 on Equitable Service Delivery and Dom 2011 on the role of 'go-betweens'.

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