

Addis Ababa University
School of Graduate Studies

**THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE
HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY: THE CASE OF
THE DORZE OF THE GAMO
HIGHLANDS**

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02770

July, 2004

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A thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of
Addis Ababa University in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the Degree of Master's of Arts in Social
Anthropology

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Key words: Dorze, migration, household economy, women's role

Abstract

This thesis deals with the household economy. It mainly focuses on Dorze households with particular reference to the role of women in the household economy. First, it presents the description of the socio-economic and geo-political context of the Gamo highland communities in general and that of the Dorze in particular. The Gamo highlanders had been relatively isolated from central and northern Ethiopia for centuries. However, they were incorporated into the Ethiopian empire in the last decade of the 19th century. The incorporation brought about various changes in the socio-economic life of the highland communities. The Dorze were the most affected people in this regard. Though they had the skill of weaving earlier, weaving has become an important source of income for the majority of Dorze households after the incorporation. This external factor encouraged Dorze weavers to migrate to urban centers where better market for woven clothes is available. The spatial mobility of the Dorze in turn affects the household structure and economic role of women at the household level.

Different theoretical models have been employed to explain household economic behavior. The thesis deals with the basic assumptions of two household models: the new household economics (NHE) and the model of 'continuous fragmentation' of household. The NHE is the model of pooled household economy. It assumes that household members pool income and economic resources which are controlled and redistributed by an altruistic household head. The model of 'continuous fragmentation' assumes that factors such as migration, divorce and polygyny continuously alter household structure. The change in household structure in turn affects the role and status of women.

The central purpose of this thesis is to explore whether the basic assumptions of the two models adequately explain the economic behavior of Dorze households and the role of women in the household economy. The majority of Dorze households have separate economic units. Household members generate income from different sources. Furthermore, they do not pool their income and they have no unified pattern of household expenditure. Moreover, factors such as migration, divorce and polygyny alter the structure and economic status of the household, which in turn affects the role and status of women in the household economy.

Accordingly, the thesis concludes that Dorze household features do not fit into the theoretical model of the NHE. However, the model of continuous fragmentation could adequately explain the behavior of Dorze households. Moreover, it emphasizes the analysis of women's role and status in the household economy. Thus, it could be used to explore the role of women and other members in the household economy. It also provides researchers with an alternative theoretical framework for the study of households that are continuously affected by factors such as migration, divorce and polygyny.

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Glossary

Local Terms

Ayle	Slave.
Buluko	A heavy hand-woven cloth made from hand-span cotton. It mainly serves as a blanket.
Dubusha	A place where people conduct meetings and perform rituals.
Dere	Small autonomous political units that survived until the incorporation of the Gamo High Lands into the Ethiopian empire.
Degala	Marginalized social group mainly engage themselves in tannery
Dere woga	Refers to the collection of traditional rules.
Embere	A small kitchen house built in the residential compound.
Gaya	Refers to local tobacco. People smoke <i>gaya</i> using a big local pipe.
Golie	The name that refers to the Dorze homestead that includes the residential compound and the <i>enset</i> grove located in the backyard area of the compound.
Gome	A taboo and an important system of social sanction in Gamo societies. It also refers to transgression of traditional rules or <i>woga</i> . The local people believe that <i>gome</i> would result in misfortunes and harms.
Getha	Junior as opposed to senior or <i>baira</i>
Hadara	An arrangement of cattle rising made between two individuals. One of the two provides the cattle while the other keeps them with an agreement of sharing the product.
kat'sa	Traditional food cooked from barely and butter; its Amharic equivalent is <i>qinche</i> .
Ket'sa	House.
Ka'o/kawo-	Head of the <i>dere</i> . The ka'o is a ritual leader who sacrifices for the wellbeing of the community of the <i>dere</i> .
Kumet's	Refers to fullness, wholeness, and newness of milk, grain, local beer etc.
Ket's baira	Household head.

Mana	Marginalized social group that mainly engage themselves in pottery.
Mala	The local people who are not tanners, potters and slaves.
Osha	Part of the <i>woga ket'sa</i> . Livestock are kept in this part of the <i>woga ket'sa</i> .
Penge	The door of the front room or the <i>zono</i> of the <i>woga ket'sa</i> .
Tsoylee	A two fingered local hoe.
Tus	A wooden pillar that supports the traditional house locally called <i>woga ket'sa</i> .
Sayo	A woman who are separated from her husband as a result of divorce.
Teli'ee	Traditional money lending system with ten percent interest per month.
Woga ket'sa	A big traditional house of the Dorze. The household head and his dependents live in the <i>woga ket'sa</i> . Ritual ceremonies are also carried out in this house.
Woga	Traditional rules.
Yusho	Labour pooling network or a work group organized to carry out labour intensive tasks such as hoeing, manuring, harvesting and spinning cotton thread.
Zono	The front room of the <i>woga ket'sa</i> . It serves to entertain guests and other people who are not allowed to enter into the main room of the <i>woga ket'sa</i> for cultural reasons.
Zoko	A type of cattle flesh which includes part of the body from the neck to the tale excluding part of the stomach and the four legs.

Amharic Terms

'Bank' ¹	It has nothing to do with modern banking system. It is a local institution by which people save money every week end and take 'back' the money in the New Year. The bank also provides its members with loan with interest.
Idir	A voluntary association in which members help each other when they lost their relatives as a result of death.

¹ 'Bank' is an English term.

- Iqub** A voluntary association of rotating credit. It also serves as a means of saving money and securing credit.
- Tej** A local alcoholic drink prepared from honey and/or sugar.
- Tibeb** A high quality hand-woven cloth which is colourfully decorated with threads of different colours. Skilful weavers produce *tibeb* mainly for market.

Acknowledgements

The completion of this thesis was made possible with the co-operation and assistance of several individuals and institutions. First, I would like to extend my thanks to the Graduate School of Addis Ababa University that provided me a research fund. I am also grateful to my colleagues in the Department of Geography and History, Unity University College (UUC) for their assistance and advice. I would like to express my thanks to the Academic Vice President Office of UUC for providing me an extensive leave that helped me to carry out my fieldwork.

Then, I would like to thank my advisor Dr. Melese Getu for his intellectual guidance and patience. Though he was so busy both in teaching and administrative duties, he devoted his time to help me and played an important role for the improvement of the thesis.

I am indebted to the community of Dorze Haizo *kebele* and Dorze/Bodo town because they were ready to assist me whenever I was in need of their help. I am especially grateful to Asres Zewge, a young and energetic man, who helped me through out the ups and downs of my fieldwork. I would like also to thank Ato Mulu Zaze, his wife and the entire family members who entertained me whenever I was in Haizo.

Finally, I would like to extend my thanks to my relatives who always encouraged me to work hard. I am especially grateful to my brother-Abera Mehari for his moral, material, and professional support through out the years of my post graduate studies.

Preface

This thesis is the study of household economy. It examines the role and status of Dorze women in the household economy. The thesis has five chapters. The first one is an introductory chapter. It deals with the statement of the problem, objective of the study, methodology and description of the study area and people.

The second chapter focuses on review of related literature and conceptual framework. It deals with definition of important concepts. It also provides a brief review of household theories.

The major concern of chapter three is the social organization of the society being studied. It presents a brief description of Dorze household structure and composition. Moreover, it deals with marriage and divorce.

Chapter four focuses on the analysis of Dorze household economic pattern. It discusses issues such as gender division of labour, labour networks, household production pattern and access to and control over resources. Besides, it deals with household income and expenditure pattern.

Chapter five examines the major factors that affect household structure and composition. It discusses the impact of marriage, divorce, polygyny, migration and the death of spouses on the household structure and the role and status of women in the household economy.

Chapter one: Introduction

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Olmstead (1974) stated that the Dorze exercise weaving and intensive sedentary agriculture. Based on the case of 'Haizo district' of Dorze 82 percent of Dorze men knew the skill of weaving and 78 percent of them were full-time weavers. While male dominated weaving, "a higher percentage of Dorze females" are engaged in agricultural work (Ibid: 72). In general terms she dealt with 'male-weaving,' 'female-farming' economic pattern of the Dorze. She did not, however, offer with detail analysis of gender roles in relation to both weaving and farming at the household level. One of the major objectives of the proposed research is to examine the role and status of women in economic activities at the household level. To this end the research will focus on exploring the role of women in the household economy in relation to production, access to resources, household income and expenditure pattern.

Women's contribution in generating household income varies from society to society. In India, for instance, women generate the major part, in some cases 75 percent to 95 percent, of household income among poorer families (Bhalfy, 1987:42). Similar trends have been recorded in Africa. Boserup stated that most of Yoruba women received very small portion of household food, clothing, and cash from their husband. Almost 20 percent of the Yoruba women "received nothing from their husbands and had to provide everything out of their own earning" (Boserup, 1970). Citing Kaberry, Boserup indicates that among the Bamenda, West African Cameroons, women

contributed 44 percent of the total income of the family (Ibid: 42-43). Examining the role of Dorze women in generating household income is one of the objectives of this study.

The household is often defined as a pooled economic unit under the control of a male head. However, scholars show that such definitions of 'household' are problematic. Dye (1981:111) states that the Mandinka households are non-pooled economic units. Men and women have separate plots and cultivate different crops. Spouses cultivate '*maruo*' crops (crops for household consumption) and '*kamanyango*' crops (crops belonging to each cultivator). Income earned from the sale of the latter is not pooled; rather each spouse controls it. Besides, Mandinka women and men have separate expenditure pattern (Ibid). Such non-pooled household economy also exists in societies such as the Tiv of Nigeria (Young, 1993) and the Ga of Ghana (Robertson, 1976).

Gender division of economic activities characterizes Dorze households. Men dominate weaving while women dominated farm activities and petty trading. Most men migrate to urban areas to gain more profit from their weaving products where as most women remain in the rural villages engaged in farm and income generating activities. The researcher has conducted a brief study on Dorze households in the capital and has found that the households are non-pooled economic units. Spouses have different income sources and separate expenditure patters. One of the objectives of this research is to study Dorze households in the rural context in order to identify where they are pooled or non-pooled economic units.

Research findings show the importance of a careful study of household structure and intra-household interaction associated with resources, production, household income, and expenditure pattern. Misconception about gender specific responsibilities and intra-household interaction has led to the failure of many development projects. The Gambia rice project is a case in point. A “Taiwanese Mission” launched the initial Gambian rice project. The Taiwanese assumed that the local production system was based on a household, which was a unified unit of production led and controlled by a male head. However, this was not the reality. In the Gambian societies households were non-pooled; spouses had access to different farm plots, cultivated different types of crops and had different income pattern. Unlike this fact, project managers put more emphasis on men and marginalized women (Dey, 1981: 117-118). The development planners made similar mistakes in Mwea (Kenya) irrigated rice project (Young, 1993:51). These findings indicate the fact that conducting detail study of household structure and interaction within the household is very important to promote local development program. One of the intension of this study is to examine the household structure and intra-household interaction among the Dorze.

Bhoola (1981) argues that the household is characterized by continuous ‘disintegration and breaking up’ at various phases of its development (1981:13). She argues that different circumstances and decision-making processes greatly change the household structure and composition. Somali men dominate decision-making regarding marriage, polygyny and divorce. These decisions that are culturally and economically determined lead to the breaking up of the household and aggravate the subordinate status of Somali women. Decisions of Somali women to migrate and to

engage in income earning activities also alter the household structure and give women autonomy and control over the fruits of their labor. Despite the influence of a cultural system that is in favor of men, Somali women “make constructive choices” in order to maintain the survival of the household (Ibid). Rural-urban migration, polygynous marriage, and divorce are common social phenomena among the Dorze (Olmstead, 1974). Moreover, Dorze women actively engage in income generating activities such as petty trading. The impact of such factors (marriage, divorce, polygyny and migration) on Dorze household structure in general and on women’s socio-economic status in particular did not receive the attention it deserves. Thus, one of the purposes of this research will be examining the impact of the above-mentioned factors on household structure and on the role and status of Dorze women in the household economy.

Nowadays planners and policy markers, governmental and non-governmental organizations alike have inclined to community development programs. Planners have started considering traditional values, local priorities, and gender specific responsibilities in planning development projects. For instance, the Ethiopian Government Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Project Document emphasizes household level development strategies. This Document states, “Tackling food insecurity at the household level is the most effective and direct way of poverty reduction.” (2002: xv). In relation to gender and development, the document says: “The inclusion of gender in any effort to alleviate poverty is non-negotiable” (Ibid). This trend shows the extra ordinary importance of gender sensitive household studies in Ethiopia.

In line with current development trends the research attempts to provide rural development planners and policy makers, NGOs and governmental organizations with basic data on gender role in the household economy taking the case of the Dorze of Gamo Highlands.

1.2. Significance of the Study

A thorough understanding of gender roles in the household economy is useful to mobilize women for development activities and to integrate their views and needs in planning development projects. However, there is lack of adequate research data on gender roles at the household level in Ethiopia. This is also true in the case of the Gamo highlands. Olmstead (1975) studied the economic role of Dorze men and women at the household level. However, she did not examine the issue in detail. Moreover, changes and trends after 1970s have not been studied. Thus, the proposed research will attempt to fill this gap.

Furthermore, the findings of this research would throw light on academic debates and controversies over household theories including the model of 'continuous fragmentation' of households (Bhoola, 1988) and the New Household Economics theory developed by Becker.

1.3. Objective of the Study

1.3.1 General Objectives

Generally the study is designed to examine and record the role of Dorze women in the household economy (associated with production, access to resources, household income and expenditure pattern) and identify the major factors that affect/change the household structure and explore how changes in household structure affect the socio-economic status of Dorze women.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of the study aim at:

1. Identifying the impact of factors such as migration, polygyny, and divorce on the household structure;
2. Exploring the impact of the change in household structure upon the socio-economic status of women;
3. Examining intra-household interaction in relation to:
 - a. Activities carried out by men, women, and children;
 - b. Pattern of access to and control over resources such as land, labor, and fruits of household labor.
4. Investigating women's role in income generating activities beyond their role in food production and domestic duties;
5. Identifying whether spouses have pooled household income and expenditure pattern. (This is aimed at identifying whether the basic assumptions of the New Household Economic model could be applied in the study of Dorze households).

1.4. Methodology

The researcher carried out fieldwork in Dorze Haizo *kebele* and at Bodo/Dorze market place/town from September 15, 2003 to January 28, 2004. The fieldwork was conducted in three phases. The first phase was carried out from September 15, 2003 to October 6, 2003. The second round fieldwork was conducted from November 1, 2003 to January 3, 2004 and the third from January 21 to 28, 2004.

1.4.1. Gathering Quantitative Data

Both qualitative and quantitative research techniques were employed to collect relevant field data. The first round fieldwork was a brief fieldwork, in which the researcher established rapport, and selected key informants, and gathered basic data through qualitative research.

The researcher collected quantitative data in the second round fieldwork. Two types of questionnaires had been prepared to collect quantitative data. The first one is a demographics survey questionnaire prepared to gather basic data on population number, sex, age and spatial distribution and occupational pattern of the community of Dorze Haizo *kebele*. It also aimed at identifying the number and types of households that existed in the research site. The second one was a household survey questionnaire.

Task Carried Out

The task of administrating of the demographic survey was started with the selection of enumerators. The researcher selected 3 female and 4 male ex-students who have

completed 12th grade. All of them were resident of Dorze Haizo *kebele* and speak both the local language and Amharic. The researcher offered a daylong orientation on November 3, 2003 on the general aim of the study, on the objectives of the demographic survey questionnaire and on how to administer the questionnaire. The next day, each enumerator was sent to a few household to administer the questionnaire and to come back for discussion. The enumerators did what they had been told to and came back. Then we discussed, identified the problems they encountered, forwarded solutions, and paved the way for the administration of the questionnaire.

The questionnaire was administered from November 4, 2003 to November 11, 2003. Each enumerator was assigned to administer about eight questionnaires per day. With his translator the researcher walked in each '*neus*' (sub- *kebele*) to supervise the performance of each enumerator and to solve problems on the spot.

The next task was conducting household survey. The researcher selected 75 households out of the 254 households of Dorze Haizo *Kebele*. The households were selected employing stratified random sampling technique. Of the 75 sample households 50 of them were female-headed household (FHHs) while 25 of them were male-headed households (MHHs). The number of FHHs in the sample was greater than that of MHHs because the majority of the households in Dorze in general and in Haizo *Kebele* in particular were female headed.

The researcher offered a full-day orientation to the enumerators on the aim of the household survey and on how to administer the household survey questionnaire effectively. Thereafter, the survey questionnaire was administered from November 17 to 30, 2003. The questionnaire revealed important facts on household composition, spatial distribution of household members, and economic role of each household member. It has also thrown light on issues related to divorce, marriage, and intra-household interaction.

In addition to this, the researcher collected facts and figures from archives and libraries of NGOs and governmental organizations. Moreover, he collected maps from regional, *zone* and *wereda* offices.

1.4.2. Gathering Qualitative Data

There was no fixed timetable for tasks in relation to collecting qualitative data. The tasks were carried out daily along with the qualitative tasks and continued after the completion of the latter. The following methods were employed to collect qualitative data.

a. Participant Observation

The researcher heavily relied upon participant observation in the qualitative study. He observed gender roles in Bodo/Dorze market in almost all market days, i.e. on Mondays and Thursdays, when he was in the field. He also took pictures, carried out informal discussion with various people. Besides, he observed women's economic activities including **enset** manuring, harvesting, and processing, spinning cotton

thread, fetching firewood, and fodder. The researcher also observed women's labor sharing networks, locally called *yusho*. He closely observed *puto suqet yusho* and *outsma ashuncha yusho* i.e. *yusho* of cotton thread spinning and *enset* manuring respectively. Besides, he managed to observe a big labor pooling event locally called 'qaga' in which about 15 men and 5 women participated in cutting and transporting bamboo tree for the construction of a new traditional house.

b. Life History

The researcher recorded life history of individuals employing in-depth interview technique. The study of life histories of women and men dealt with women of different statuses including widows, divorcee women, *de jure* and *de facto* household heads. He also recorded life histories of men who live both in the rural areas and Addis Ababa.

c. Household Case Study

Household case study was one of the research strategies employed in this study. The researcher carried out household case studies in order to construct household histories and examine the pattern of changes in structure, composition and economic status of households. Yin (1984) in Schuler (1986:15-16) has indicated that 'in multiple case research ... each case should have a clear purpose within the over all scope of the inquiry'. Accordingly, the household in this research were purposefully selected. The household cases consisted of male and female-headed, low income and rich households. Moreover, households that existed in different developmental stages were treated.

d. Oral Literature

Collecting and examining oral literature is one of the methods, which is helpful to explore worldview of people in different socio-economic contexts. Taking this fact into consideration, the researcher collected proverbs and 'work songs' relevant to the study. Thereafter, the proverbs and songs were translated into English and interpreted based on local contexts.

e. Focus Group Discussion

Attempts were made to organize a number of focus group discussions. However, only two of them were successful. This was because members of the focus group discussion lacked willingness to disclose their experience with regard to causes of divorce, quarrel with their spouses, etc. The first focus group consisted of four widows; the second included four divorced women. A local female assistant led the discussion directing it to the desired direction using key questions prepared earlier by the researcher. What the women discussed was recorded in audiocassettes and translated into Amharic then into English.

1.5. Selection of Research Site

There are a number of reasons that instigated the researcher's interest to select Dorzeland in general and Dorze Haizo in particulars as a study area. The first reason is the researcher's former exposure to weavers' households in Addis Ababa. The researcher has conducted a brief study on Dorze households of Shiro Meda area in the capital in 2002. The study focused on the role of firewood carrier women in the economy of weavers' household. The major aim of the study was to explore the role of women and men in relation to household income and expenditure; and to find out

whether the weavers' households are units of pooled economy or not. The finding shows that the studied households were not units of pooled economy. Spouses generate income from different sources and they have separate and well-defined role in household expenditure. This finding challenges the assumptions of households as units of pooled economy, because these assumptions do not adequately explain weavers' households in the capital. It is therefore this research finding which has encouraged the researcher to study Dorze households in the rural context.

Dorze is divided into 11 rural *kebeles* and 1 small market town, which has its own *kebele* structure. Of these *kebeles* the researcher selected Dorze Haizo as a research site for the following major reasons:

First, Olmstead Judith conducted a comparative anthropological study on the Dorze and Dita communities of the Gamo highlands before three decades. Dorze Haizo was one of her study site where she built her house, resided there, and carried out a fieldwork from 1969 to 1971. She studied the interrelationship between the weaving economy and some variables such as migration, polygyny and female fertility. She also produced an article on the role of women and men in weaving (Dorze Haizo) and farming (Zada Demba-Dita) communities. The researcher selected Dorze Haizo *kebele* as his research site in order to compare some of Olmstead's findings with that of his. The researcher believes that studying the same area (i.e. Dorze Haizo) after three decades would help him to grasp both change and continuity in the weaving community of Dorze.

Location is another reason to select that *kebele* as a research site. Haizo is situated adjacent to Bodo, which is an important local market in Dorze. Bodo is a relatively 'big' market which attracts people from the highland and the near by lowland areas. Its significance is not limited to its economic importance. It is also an important center at which important rituals including Masqalla sacrifice are performed. The researcher selected Haizo as a research site because he believes that its location would allow him to observe the role of men and women in market activities, which is one of the major intentions of this research.

The researcher selected Haizo still for another major reason. Judith Olmstead stated that Haizo was considered to be 'representative of the center core of Dorze districts'. Moreover, the Haizo themselves say '*Haizo gidho*' which means 'Haizo is the center' (1974:46). Besides, Haizo weavers have been famous even in Addis Ababa for their skillful woven goods, and the famous weavers' co-operative founded during the Derg period in the capital was named after Dorze Haizo. The researcher has also selected Dorze Haizo as a research site because of its central position.

1.6. Limitation of the Study

This research work has the following limitations.

One of the intensions of the research is to examine gender roles in farm activities. However, the researcher couldn't observe the role of men and women in certain farm activities such as hoeing, sowing and weeding because of the fact that the above mentioned activities are carried out in July and August before the beginning of the

research time table. Thus, data on these issues are collected from informants by employing in-depth interview.

Moreover, time budget study has not been conducted because it is beyond the scope of the study. Thus the amount of time devoted by men, women, and other household members to carry out different economic activities is not calculated.

Furthermore, the success of the household survey study carried out in Dorze Haizo has been affected by an unexpected coincidence of events. This was resulted from the occurrence of two events in the same time-period. The first one is the administration of the survey questionnaire. The second is a certain meeting organized by *wereda* government officials and conducted in the research site. The major theme of the meeting was associated with landholdings and land tax payment. As a matter of coincidence one of the major concerns of the survey questionnaire was to secure data on land issues including landholding size, number of plots, and location of plots. As a result of this coincidence, some people associated the aim of the household survey with the intention of government officials and refrained themselves from providing genuine responses especially to questions related to land issues. This has negatively affected the quality of the quantitative data.

1.7. Description of the Study Area

1.7.1. The Gamo Highlands: Geographical Setting and Brief History

The study area, Dorze, is located in the Gamo highlands which lie in southwestern Ethiopia to the west of the Rift Valley lakes: Abaya and Chamo. The Gamo highlands are situated about 500 kilometers southwest of Addis Ababa. About 700,000 people

live in the highlands, which rise to an altitude of 3,000 meters. Despite slight variation in dialect, a great majority of the highlanders speak an Ometo language, which is the member of Omotic language family (Freeman, 1999:20-21).

The highlands are characterized by series of ups and downs; altitudinal change is common within a few kilometers distance. For instance, Dita is a predominantly area of cold weather and one season crop. However, it has an area of middle altitude, which allows the people to grow low land crops such as sorghum and cotton (Olmstead, 1975:47)

The Gamo highlands like other parts of southwestern Ethiopia were relatively isolated from central and northern Ethiopia for centuries. The highlands were incorporated into the expanding Ethiopian empire in 1898. Prior to 1898 the Gamo highlanders were organized into several autonomous political units called *deres*. There were about 40 *deres* including Ochollo, Doko, Dorze, Ezo, and Dita. Each *dere* was ruled by its own king locally called *ka'o* (Olmstead, 1973: 224).

The *deres could not exist as* autonomous political units after the incorporation of the Gamo highlands into the Ethiopian empire. Thereafter, each *dere* was made an administrative unit within the political structure of the empire and each *ka'o* was given a title called *balabbat*. The *deres* of the highland 'persisted as viable social units' partly because they were incorporated into the political structure as different segments (Olmstead, 1975:33).

The incorporation brought about various changes in the socio-economic life of the highlanders. The former local system was replaced by the *gabbar* system; the local people became *gabbars* and started to pay tribute in kind and labor. Soldiers and governors of northern origin alienated much land from the local people (Olmstead, 1975:38). The position of local leaders was shaken. The *Ka'os* became *balabbats* and began to play an intermediary role between the local community and the feudal governors of the empire (Ibid.).

The period of the *gabbar* system was followed by a brief period of Italian occupation of Ethiopia, 1936-1941. However, the Italian period was too short to bring about significant change. After a five-year Italian occupation, the imperial power was restored. The highland communities were more and more integrated into the Ethiopian state from time to time. A number of factors hastened the integration process. The construction of all weather roads which have connected the highlands with Arba Minch, Wolayita Soddo and Addis Ababa were one of the major factors. The improvement of the transportation system encouraged local people who engaged themselves in business including trade and weaving (Freeman, 1999:71).

The Dorze were pioneers to benefit from these opportunities. They engaged themselves in various business activities including 'importing' manufactured goods to the highland and 'exporting' local produces such as maize and rawhide. Moreover, weaving became an important source of cash income. Migrant weavers who spent most of their lives in urban areas brought money to the highland (Olmstead, 1997:86).

Traditional sources indicate that weaving had been practiced in the highland before the period of the incorporation. However, the number of weavers increased at large after the incorporation of the highlands (Freeman, 1999:72). In this regard Freeman writes:

Many men in the *deres* around Chench and Dorze had taken up weaving during this [twentieth] century, and as transport links improved, some of them began to sell their cloth in Addis Ababa and other urban centers. Dorze were the trendsetters in this regard and by the 1970s many of them spent most of their years in Addis Ababa, returning home only for the Mesqalla celebration of the New Year (1999:72).

The imperial regime ceased to exist as a result of the Ethiopian Revolution of 1974. Unlike the previous developments, it was the Revolution that brought about significant changes on the socio-economic condition of the highland. Traditional institutions and practices were suppressed. Olmstead stated that the traditional rules of seniority were challenged; the customary forms of leadership such as that of *halaqaship* was abolished (1997:203). Offering of sacrifices and initiation of *halaqas* were banned. 'Status differentials' between *mala*, free citizens; and artisans, marginalized social groups including tanners and potters, were made illegal. Moreover, the *balabbats* were expelled, in some areas, their house and property was looted (Freeman, 1999:75).

Equality among different social categories was preached. It was taught that the *mala*, *degala* (tanners) and the *ka'o* were equal and they all were brothers. The former despised social groups such as tanners and potters (*mana*); were favored. They were allowed to participate in political meetings, and to have their own land (Olmstead, 1997:205). Furthermore, unlike the traditional system in which the *mala* and *degala*

had different burial places, *degalas* that died in the Revolutionary period were buried with the *mala* in the same burial place. According to Gamo tradition, it was a taboo for the *mana* and *degala* to own land and to cultivate crops with the exception of having a small land at the backyard of their residential areas (Freeman, 1999:75). Besides, the Revolution temporarily altered the role of women. Olmstead indicated that women in Dorze and Dita owned land and began participating in public meetings. They also became members of the local militia and carried arms (1997:205).

The Revolution period came to an end in 1991 with the coming of EPRDF forces to power. The changes brought about by the Revolution have been reversed and traditional practices encouraged. The sharp decline of the *degalas'* status is a good example in this regard. Citing the case of Doko Freeman (1999:80) states that for the *mala* treating *degala* as equals was considered as a 'serious infringement of taboo or *gome'*. Thus, they decided to restore the former traditional system. As a result, the *mala* forcibly took back the land which had been granted to *degalas* and stopped the practice of burying the *degela* in the *mala* burial place.

1.7.2 Economic Setting

The basis of subsistence in the highlands is cultivation of food crops. The major food crops cultivated are *enset*, barely, and wheat. Maize and sorghum are also important crops in the lower altitude (Freeman, 1999:20). Agriculture is dominated by hoe farming; population density is high; and 'land holdings are quite small'. Agriculture is intensive but ox-drawn plough is not common (Freeman and Pankhurst, 2001:181).

The land is less fertile. As a result, continuous manuring is important for successful farming (Olmstead, 1974; Freeman, 1999; Freeman and Pankhurst, 2001).

Though agriculture is the basis of the highland economy, productivity is very low. For instance, productivity of cereals does not exceed eight quintals per hectare. One of the major causes for low productivity is the prevalence of very small land holding. For instance, the average holding size in Chenchā *wereda* is between 0.25 and 0.50 hectare. This is much lower than the national average, which is one hectare (World Vision, 1997:24-25). The poor fertility of the land caused by severe erosion, and the limitation of exploiting the power of draught animals (Ibid: 25, 29) and scarcity of labor (Freeman, 1999:60) are also some of the causes for low productivity.

Enset and barely are the most important food crops in the highland. *Enset* is a staple food throughout the highland. According to the available data on Chenchā *wereda*, *enset* constitutes 61 percent of household food. Barely is the most important cereal. However, its production per hectare is low. Its average production in Chenchā *wereda* is about nine quintals per hectare (Ibid: 27).

A considerable number of the Gamo highlanders are also engaged in certain off-farm activities. For example, 27 percent of the total population of Chenchā *wereda*, in which Dorze is located, engaged in off-farm activities such as weaving, trading, and daily labor. Weaving is the major off-farm activity. However, the percentage of weavers in different communities of the highland varies at large. Olmstead (1975:5) stated that the skill of weaving is not equally distributed throughout the highland. The

Dorze dominated weaving. A simple comparison of Dorze and Dita communities clearly indicates this fact. In Dorze Haizo, 82 percent of men knew how to weave and 78 percent were full-time weavers. In Zada Demba of Dita 86 percent of the male population was farmers. However, recent sources indicate that the number of non-Dorze weavers have increased from time to time. About 60 percent of the people who engaged themselves in off-farm activities are weavers (World Vision, 1997:41).

Trade, mainly petty trade, and daily labor are other important economic activities in the highland. A recent study on Chench *wereda* shows that 9 percent of the people in the *wereda* earned income from trade activities (World Vision, 1997:41). Though petty trading is one of the important economic activities among the Gamo highlanders, the amount of profit gained from it is very small. The following short quotation indicates this fact:

People travel between the weekly markets, either as traders buying butter, or thread, or plastic jugs in one market and selling them for five pence more in another, or simply as customers looking for some coffee or a little extra milk (Freeman, 1999:23).

1.7.3 Cultural Setting

Though they had been organized into several autonomous political units or *deres*, the highland communities share common cultural values, traditional institutions, and practices. The intension of the researcher is not to deal with the details of this issue rather it is to describe the major cultural features that would help the reader to see the thesis within the cultural context of the study people and area.

'The basic elements of social structure' are the same throughout the Gamo Highlands. Gamo communities are organized into exogamous patrilineal clans. Marriage is everywhere virilocal; exogamy is the dominant marriage pattern. However, marriage is characterized by a great extent of endogamy within each community. For instance, '88 percent of the wives of men of Dorze Haizo district were from Dorze'; the percentage for Zada Demba district of Dita was 96 percent (Olmstead, 1975:3). This indicates that the overwhelming majority of Gamo men marry wives from their own community or *dere*.

The prevalence of strong patriarchal ideology is another common feature among the highland communities. Men's dominance is prevalent everywhere while women have very low socio-economic status. Only men own and inherit key resources such as land and houses. Descent is reckoned through male line. Men are ritual leaders because only men perform sacrifices for the well being of their dependents. In general, 'women depended first upon their fathers, then their husbands, then their sons' (Olmstead, 1997:31-32).

Another central feature of the Gamo culture is the notion of *gome* or taboo. *Gome* is the transgression of traditional rule locally called *woga*. It is believed that an infraction of *gome* would bring misfortunes such as illness, drought, infertility, and poverty. There are hundreds of *gomes*. Olmstead stated that 'It is *gome* to have intercourse outside marriage, to allow blood from a cut finger to fall into food, to bear false witness, to marry within one's own clan, to kill a certain kind of snake' (1997: 92-93). It is also a taboo for spouses to have intercourse outside their house; it is a

taboo for a young man to sleep with his wife on his father's bed or to sit on the bed of his father-in-law.

Those who transgress traditional rules or break the rules of taboos are supposed to confess their misdeeds in public. For instance, a migrant husband who had an extra-marital sex while he was in the urban center is expected to confess his sin and offer sacrifice before he joins his rural family. Any confession would be followed by a sacrifice, which is offered to cleanse the *gome* or *the sin*. (Olmstead, 1997:93).

A well-defined pattern of relationships between *baira* (senior) and *getha* (junior) exists throughout the highland. Every *dere* has a senior *baira* called *ka'o*. Every clan within each Gomo community has a senior *baira* known as *omo baira*. There are other *bairas* at different level of the lineage. The position of *ket's baira*, a household head, lies at the bottom of the social structure (Olmstead, 1975:26). Judith Olmstead clearly explains the prevalence of *baira-getha* relationships as follows:

A concept critical to Gamo Highland society is that of elder and younger, senior and junior. Any dyad can be said to have its senior *baira* element and its junior *gedhos* element, no matter how disparate the dyad may be. Males are *baira* to females, older people to younger, ordinary people to slaves, slaves to potters and tanners, humans to animals, and so on, the whole universe being submitted to this type of classification (Ibid: 26).

1.7.4 Social Categories

There are three separate social categories in every Gamo community. They are *mala*, free citizens; the *ayle*, ex-slaves; and the artisans, i.e. tanners and potters. The *mala* occupy the highest position in the social structure followed by the *ayle* then by the

artisans. All *dere* officials or traditional leaders such as *halaqa* and *ka'o* come from the *mala* (Freeman, 1999:58).

It was the *mala* that had better access to resources. Only the *mala* had the right to own and cultivate land. The artisans could be granted land where they build their houses. They could cultivate the land in their compound. However, they were not allowed to own and cultivate farmland outside their compound. The Gamo highlanders believe that it is serious taboo for artisans i.e. potters and tanners to cultivate farmland (Olmstead, 1973:224).

The *artisans* are marginalized social groups. The *mala* consider them as inferior and as people of low morale, status, and dignity. There are firmly established rules of taboo with regard to the relationship between the *mala* and marginalized groups. It is taboo for the *mala* to have intercourse with the *mana* and *degala* or to eat meat of animals slaughtered by the *latter*. It is also taboo to establish marriage relation with the *artisans* because each social category is endogamous group. In general, the artisans are considered as 'impure.' They are accused of eating unclean food including meat of animals that die before being slaughtered. Moreover, they were not considered as citizens; they were not allowed to participate in traditional meeting or assemblies.

1.7.5 Religion

The Gamo people exercise different kinds of religions. The major ones are Orthodox Christianity, traditional religion, and Protestantism, which respectively constitute

42.4, 27, and 26.9 percent of the Gamo population. Islam is rarely practiced in the Gamo highlands. Only 0.3 percent of the total number of the Gamo population exercise Islam (CSA, 1994:54).

The case of the Dorze is different from the general distribution of religion in the Gamo highlands. The overwhelming majority, 85.3 percent, of the Dorze are members of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Members of protestant church comprise 12.6 percent. Percentages for traditional religion and Islam are 0.4 and 0.5 respectively (Ibid).


1.7. 6 the Study Area

The study area Dorze is located in Southern Nation Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State (SNNPRS), Gamo Gofa zone and Chenchu *wereda*. SNNPR lies in southwestern Ethiopia. Its estimated area is 112,343 square kilometers and its total population is 1,468,202; the number of male and female population is 730,813 (49.8 percent) and 737,389 (50.2 percent) respectively (SNNPR, 2004). The region is divided into 13 zones, 8 special *weredas*, and 96 *woredas* (Ibid, 2002). The region is characterized by ethnic diversity; there are more than forty-five indigenous ethnic groups associated with Omotic, Cushitic, and Nilotic language families (Sintayehu, 2000:20).

Gamo Gofa zone, one of the 13 zones in SNNPR, is divided into 13 *weredas* (see Map 1 p.25). The total population of the zone is 1,468,202. Out of this number 737,389 are female while 730,813 are male (SNNPR, 2004). It is bordered in the north by Dawro and Walayta zones; in the east by Konta and Basketo special *weredas* and South Omo zone; in the west by Oromia region and Amaro special *wereda* and in the south by South Omo zone and Derashe special *wereda*.

Key

Boundary

 International

 Regional

 Zone/S.

Woreda/

 Woreda

 Lake

W - Woreda



1:2 500 000

Chencha is the *wereda* in which the study area is located (see Map 2, p.28). According to the 1994 population and housing census, the total population of the *wereda* is 121,837; of which 68,256 are females while 53,581 are males (Ibid). The sex distribution of the above figure indicates that 56 percent of the population is female where as 44 percent are males.

Chencha is also the name of the *wereda* town, which was one of the garrison towns established during the incorporation of the Gamo highlands. After a century of its history, Chencha is still a small town. The number of its population in 1994 was 5,800 (CSA, 1994:107-8).

Though it has so many similarities with other Gamo societies, Dorze is different from the others for some reasons. Agriculture, as noted above, is a dominant economic activity among the majority of the Gamo highlanders. This is not true for the Dorze because the two major sources of Dorze livelihood are weaving and farming. Both men and women engage in farm work in most Gamo societies where as Dorze men and women dominate weaving and farming respectively. Olmstead (1975:5) has indicated that in some areas more than 75 percent of Dorze men were full-time weavers where as Dorze women predominantly engaged in farming.

Moreover, life of the Dorze is highly associated with rural-urban migration, which is associated with the weaving economy. Olmstead states that farming in the Gamo highlands has created a sedentary population while 'the organization of production for weaving has created a mobile population' (1975:152). Weaving is associated with the

'national market' because products of weaving are 'most profitably sold in urban centers'. As a result, most weavers migrate to and live in Addis Ababa (Ibid: 4); the following figures¹ indicate the trend of weavers' migration to the capital. The number of Dorze weavers in 1910 was about 3000 (Burley, 1978:145). In 1973 the figure reached 20,000 (Bekele, 1973:9); in 1984 it increased to 23, 179 and in 1994 to 39,401 (Wondu, 1998:49).

Facts and figures indicate that the spatial mobility of the Dorze is dominated by male migration. Halperin and Olmstead (1976:149) stated that, of the total number of Dorze males listed in a local district between 1969 and 1971, 43 percent lived outside Dorze. On the other hand, Wondu (1998:49), citing the 1994 population and housing census, indicates that there were 39,401 'Dorze' migrants in Addis Ababa; of this number 25, 059 (63.6 percent) were males while only 14,342 (36.4 percent) were females. The reverse is true when we consider the rural context of Dorze, which is characterized by greater number of female population. The following figures on three Dorze *kebeles*, Dorze Haizo, Dorze Holo'o, and Dorze Hirpo, support this fact. The total population of D.Haizo, D.Holo'o, and D.Hirpo was 911, 1020, and 1041 respectively. Of the total population of each *kebele* the number of males and females was 313 and 598 for Haizo; 339 and 681 for Holoa, 378, and 663 for Hirpo (CSA, 1994:315). This trend shows that out migration strongly affects the spatial and sex distribution of the Dorze. From the total number of people in the three *kebeles* i.e. 2972, only 1028 (34.7 percent of the total number) were males where as 1942 (65.3 percent of the total number) were females. The above-cited figures indicate the fact that Dorzeland is characterized by large number of male migrants and female residents.

¹ The figures refer to Dorze and other Gamo migrant weavers who lived in Addis Ababa.

Gofa Zone

oundary
a Boundary

oo
x
5

As indicated above, Haizo is one of the eleven Dorze *kebeles* (see Map 3, p.30). It is located in Chencha *wereda* and at the center of Dorzeland. The population number of Haizo was 911, of which 313 (34.4 percent) were males, 598 (65.6 percent) were females (CAS, 1994: 315). The demographic survey shows similar pattern of sex distribution. Accordingly, the total number of Haizo residents in 2003 was 888; the number of males and females was 324 (36.4 percent) and 564 (63.6 percent) respectively.

Haizo is located along the Arba Minch-Chencha road, which divides the *kebele* almost into two equal parts. In the south direction Haizo is bordered with the market town called Dorze/Bodo. It is possible to divide Haizo into the following parts. About 35 percent of the areas are covered by homesteads and *enset* groves. Haizo homesteads have town-like housing pattern. Most of the homesteads are established near to each other. A considerable number of them are built in row along side the main road. Though homesteads are erected near to each other, they are properly fenced with woven bamboo trees (for detail description see chapter three).

Farm plots cover about 40 percent of the area in Haizo. The farm plots are of two types. The first type includes small and fragmented plots scattered here and there in open spaces between groups of homesteads. Secondly, there is a relatively large non-fragmented farm field called *Pereya*. It lies in the northern part of the *kebele*. Several households of Haizo have farm plots in *Pereya*. Plots in *pereya* are said to be more productive because they are located near to homesteads, thus are well manured.

Despite this fact, a considerable number of Haizo households have farm plots out side the *kebele*. Most of such plots are located in the neighboring areas called Weqate, Tegecha, and Gimbilo. According to the field data, the above-mentioned areas were parts of Haizo before the Ethiopian Revolution. Now they are organized into a different *kebele* structure.

About 15 percent of the area of the *kebele* is covered by bamboo forest. The Dorze use the bamboo tree to construct traditional houses, fences and to make household utensils. They also use the tree as fuel, and source of livestock fodder. The main road, the newly constructed church and its compound, and the *dubushas* (places where local meetings are conducted) occupy the rest of the area in the *kebele*.

Chapter Two: Review Literature and Conceptual Framework

2.1. The Household: Definition and Controversies.

It is very difficult to come up with a single common definition of the concept 'household' because household features greatly vary from society to society. Household structure, residential pattern, size, and composition vary even within a single society from time to time. These variations are associated with factors including socioeconomic and cultural diversities. This makes the task of defining and conceptualizing 'household' difficult. Netting addresses this very fact as follows:

The household is a social group so ubiquitous in human society that it is easy to take it for granted, and its forms are so varied—monogamous and polygamous, patrilineal and matrilineal, nuclear and extended, with and without servants that no universal common functions or activities seem to exist (1993:58).

Accordingly, different scholars define the term household differently. Hammel (1984) defines it as 'the next biggest thing on the social map after the individual' and 'the smallest grouping with maximum corporate function' (as quoted in Netting, 1993:58). 'Household' is also defined as 'the fundamental social unit' (Netting, 1993:59), the center of economic resources and decision-making process (Bhoola, 1988:56) and the basic unit of production and consumption (Freeman, 1999:91).

As stated earlier, household characteristics vary from society to society. Research findings indicate that in some societies households are relatively more stable, in others more fragile. Netting found that household membership is 'relatively more stable among the Kofyar of Nigeria (1993:58). Similarly, household membership is

permanent in the Doko community of the Gamo highlands. Freeman states that 'fathers and sons live in a common compound throughout their lives; and with their wives they form a combined production and consumption unit (1999:105).

Other scholars have found that households in some societies are less stable because they are in the state of continuous changes in structure and composition. Bauer argues that Tigray households are not static rather they are characterized by "high degree of flux" (1977:77). Bhoola (1988) argues similarly. She states that Somali households of Mogadishu are in the process of 'continuous fragmentation and breaking up'. Divorce (Bauer, 1977; Bhoola, 1988) migration (Clark, 1984, Bhoola, 1988) and fluctuation of household wealth (Bauer, 1977) are some of the factors that bring about continuous changes of household structure and composition.

Household economic patterns also vary from society to society. Some scholars consider the household as a unit of pooled economy while others consider it as an arena of separate economic units. The household in African societies such as the Ga of Ghana (Robertson, 1976) and the Mandinka (Dye, 1981) has separate units of economy because household members do not pool their income and other economic resources. As a result, the household lacks unified pattern of economy. On the other hand, there are several societies, which have households with pooled economy. Hoben (1973) and Yared (1999) have indicated the absence of separate economic units in the Amhara households. Citing Hoben (1973) Yared (1999:44) states that 'the contractual nature of marriage' creates equal and joint control over resources.

Despite the above-cited variations, there are some common household features. Though identified with different names such as family, house, or hearth, households exist everywhere. Moreover, there are certain activities carried out by the household or 'the domestic group'. These activities include some combination of production, distribution and transmission of property through inheritance and 'trusteeship', having a common residence, 'social and biological reproduction' (Netting, 1993: 58-59).

The definition and conceptualization of the concept 'household' has been a controversial issue in Anthropology. The household is considered as a fundamental unit of analysis (Bhoola, 1988; Netting, 1993; Yared, 1999) because it is the center of economic resources and decision-making process (Bhoola, 1988). Other scholars reject this idea. Guyer (1981), for instance, argued that the household model is inappropriate for African cases because of the problem of defining household membership and the high mobility rate of members of the household. Woodford-Berger (in Bhoola, 1988:65) states, that "The household should remain 'unresolved multidimensional concept' rather than analytical concept." Bhoola, on the other hand, argues that the concept of the household may be problematic. For instance, 'household mobility and flux may be a challenge to the household model. Nevertheless, to exclude such a model on this ground is to disregard one of the most important units of change in society '(1988:66).

Despite these controversies, researchers have continued using the household model as a unit of analysis. Some examples in this regard are Bhoola (1988), Yared (1995, 1999) and Daniel (2002). Bhoola argues that the household is a fundamental unit of

examining the changing status of women. She further states that 'The household should be viewed as a unit that allows women to manipulate their statuses and roles' (1988:65).

The study of household economic pattern is very important. Because it provides basic data on forms of household organization and division of labor; on forms of control over resources such as land and its produce (Young, 1993:65). The study of intra-household relations, gender roles and statuses provides basic data to plan and implement development projects; to integrate women's experience, labor and resources into development projects and to attain sustainable economic development. Safilios Rothschild (1984:51) contends that 'understanding and taking family structure and dynamics into consideration is especially crucial in developing strategies aimed at alleviating poverty'.

2.2. Household Theories

Bhoola (1988) in her Ph. D dissertation on Somali households of Magadisho reviews certain household models. Firstly, she reviews and criticizes Fortes' (1958) model of household developmental cycle. Then, she turned her attention to Dan Bauer's (1977) 'path analysis' household model. Finally, she introduces a new household model namely a model of 'continuous fragmentation.'

2.2.1. Fortes' Model of Developmental Cycle

Meyer Fortes argued that a social system, like a living human organism, has a life and its development has a 'cyclical process' (1958:2). The 'domestic group' must continue

operating for a sufficiently longer period time in order to produce and rear offspring, which is very important for the society to maintain itself. Furthermore, the group as a unit retains the same structure where as 'its members, and the activities, which unite them, go through a regular sequence of changes during the cycle, which culminates in the dissociation of the original unit and its replacement by one or more units of the same kind' (1958:2).

Fortes' model of developmental cycle refers to three distinct developmental stages of the 'domestic group'. The stages are expansion, dispersion, and replacement. Expansion begins at the marriage of two partners and continues until the end of the process of procreation of that union. This is determined by the length of the wife's fertility period (Fortes, 1958:5). Dispersion is the phase of fission of the domestic group. The marriage of the eldest child marks the beginning of this phase, which continues until all children get married. Replacement begins when the youngest child controls household responsibility. It comes to an end with the death of parents, which is followed by the replacement of the parents' family by the family of their offspring (Ibid: 6-7).

Bhoola states that Fortes' model has provided a starting point for the analysis of 'changes in household structure'. Despite this advantage, the model does not adequately explain the following issues.

First, Fortes consider marriage as a major factor to explain changes in household structure. However, he does not consider other factors, such as migration and divorce that could alter household morphology. Similarly, the death of parents is not the only

factor responsible for the replacement of the parents' household with that of their children (1988:60).

Second, Fortes's analysis does not make clear 'whether we are looking at the whole process from the point of view of the household or domestic group' (Ibid).

Third, though Fortes claimed that his model can be used to explain all social systems, the reality is far from this. For instance, the marriage of the oldest child is not the only factor that marks the beginning of the dispersal phase. Factors such as migration and intra-family conflict may also lead to the dispersal of the household (Ibid).

In general, Bhoola strongly criticizes a single cycle household model of Fortes. She argues that 'household does not go through a sequence of stages (expansion, dispersion and replacement) in its development because changes may appear at any one of the stages. Thus, instead of going through a single developmental cycle, households go through 'the process of continuous fragmentation and breaking up' at various levels of development (Ibid: 13). She further argues that Fortes' model is 'too simplistic' because it considers marriage as the major factor for changes in household structure (1988:59). It does not consider other factors that 'cause households to change at various periods during their development' (Ibid: 76-77).

Not only Bhoola but also Bauer attacks Fortes' model. Bauer (1977:7-8) argues that the model of Fortes does not adequately explain Tegray households, which are characterized by a 'high degree of flux'. Rejecting the single cycle model of Fortes.

Bauer has concluded that 'Tegray household forms did not fit into a single cycle model or even into a small number of cycles in any meaningful way'.

2.2.2. Bauer's Model of 'Path Analysis'

Bauer (1977) in his study of Tegray households introduces the model of 'path analysis'. Bhoola states that Bauer's path analysis 'goes beyond that of Fortes' by showing that factors not time-bound affect household organization thereby resulting in diversified patterns. Unlike Fortes, Bauer identified factors such as death, divorce, gender of offspring, climatic and environmental factors that alter Tigray household structure. For instance, Bauer's model considers divorce as a factor that could bring about the dispersal of the household and the formation of two separate households. Bauer's path analysis also takes time and decision making as major factors altering household structure (1977:61-62).

Bauer's model is better than that of Fortes because:

It is designed to deal with all forms of households that exist in a certain community. Besides, it puts emphasis on certain critical phases in the developmental process at which households may 'take off' or decline. It puts major emphasis on marriage and inheritances because they are critical phases in which resources pass from generation to generation (p.78).

It considers several factors that lead to the change of household structure at any given time and stage of the developmental process. According to the model of Fortes, the birth of children marks the beginning of the expansion phase of the developmental

cycle. However, Bauer's model considers factors other than the birth of children. Bauer argues that though the birth of children leads to the expansion phase, the expansion process may begin with the incorporation of children from other parents (p. 85).

Moreover, fluctuation of household economic status may lead to expansion or dispersion of the household. Economic success may give rise to large size household composition, while economic failure may lead to the dispersal of household members. If the economic potentials of the household falls 'too low to support its members, its personnel disperse, its head will be forced to become a member of another household, and it ceases to exist as a household (Ibid: 92).

2.2.3. The Model of Continuous Fragmentation

As discussed earlier, Bhoola (1988) has criticized Fortes' model of household developmental cycle. She argues that Fortes' model does not adequately explain the Somali households of Mogadishu; because Somali households do not go through a single developmental cycle. Somali households are characterized by continuous 'fragmentation and breaking up'. And they are in the state of continuous change because of different factors that alter household structure.

The model of 'continuous fragmentation' deals with the following major issues:

First, it explores 'the mechanism of control by men over women'. It helps us to explore factors that lead to decision-making; identify member of the household who

has the right to make decision; examine the economic and cultural factors that affect decision-making (Bhoola, 1988:75).

Second, it assumes the household as a decision-making unit and 'an arena for overlapping social relationship'. Changes associated with socio-economic conditions may lead to changes in the household. When the 'structure of economic opportunities' changes 'patterns of authority, autonomy, and mutual expectations within the household may also change (Ibid). However, 'changes in opportunities' affect household members in different ways. Such changes in turn alter the 'balance of power' within the household; and influence the resource allocation pattern i.e. whether household resources are allocated jointly or separately (p.15). Bhoola in short states that: 'Continuous fragmentation alters the household radically and affects the household in complex ways, for it involves changing patterns of cooperation, conflict and domination among individuals and households' (p. 75).

The household models of Bauer and Bhoola have certain similarities. Both deal with decision-making and household 'flux'. Like Bauer, Bhoola puts a strong emphasis on decision-making processes. She argues that decision making at the household level leads to changes in household morphology and alters women's roles and statues. She divides the sphere of decision making into male and female spheres. Male sphere of decision is 'culturally motivated' while that of female is 'economically determined' (Ibid). In Somali society men dominate decision-making with regard to marriage, ploygyny and divorce. These factors (marriage, polygyny, divorce) in turn change the household structure and aggravate the subordinate status of Somali women. Somali

women's decision to migrate and to engage in income earning tasks also alters the household morphology and increases autonomy and economic status of women.

Bhoola's model begins with the position of the 'original household', which is considered to be a 'unit consisting of a husband, wife and children' (p. 75-76). The original household begins with a marriage and comes to an end with the birth of the last child of that marriage union (Ibid: 105).

'Fragmentation' is defined in relation to 'factors other than marriage of the children of the 'original household.' It is associated with 'household flux' resulted from decision making process in relation to marriage, divorce, polygyny and migration.

Decision to marry affects the structure and composition of the household. It adds a wife to the original household of the groom and creates a stem household while it reduces a member from the bride's family (p. 109). Divorce leads to the breaking up of the original household and the formation of a stem household. Decision to marry an additional wife (polygyny) leads to the creation of two or more stem households (p. 104).

Decision to migrate also alters household structure significantly because migrant household heads mostly prefer to leave their children with relatives in the rural area. They do this because it is difficult to support a large household in the city (p. 117). This action changes the structure and composition of the original household. The change is resulted from two processes. First, the action of leaving children in rural

areas would add extra members to households of extended kin members. Second, migration leads to the beginning of a 'second expansion phase for the head of the household now settled in the city' (p. 119). Furthermore, other factors such as the death of spouses and the status of children affect household structure (p. 76).

As stated earlier, the model of 'continuous fragmentation' focuses on factors such as divorce, migration, and polygyny that affect household structure and the socio-economic status of women. Both migration and polygyny are common among the Dorze. Olmstead (1974) stated that 'weaving has created a mobile population'. This is to indicate the high rate of migration among the Dorze. She also states that 'polygynous unions are much more frequent in Dorze'. Moreover, divorce is also a common phenomenon in Dorze. This thesis has attempted to explore the impact of polygyny, migration, and divorce on household structure and socio-economic status of women. It has also tried to address, whether the model of "continuous fragmentation" could be applied to examine the socio-economic context of Dorze households.

2.2.4. Theory of Pooled Household Economy

Donham has argued that most theories formulated to study non-capitalist societies have been influenced by grand economic theories developed in the context of capitalist system. This holds true in relation to theories in economic anthropology. Donham states that the three schools of economic anthropology, (the Substantivist, Formalist and Marxist schools), have been in one-way or another influenced by 'the more comprehensive body of theory on capitalism'. In most cases, the influence has

been indirect. However, every theory developed to deal with non-capitalist economies has 'contained at least some implied contrast with and therefore some notion of the structure of capitalist economies' (1985:10-11).

Of the above-mentioned schools, the formalist theory is the one, which has been strongly influenced by the Neo-classical economic theory. The formalist school has developed its theoretical approach on the basic assumption of the neoclassical economic theory. Donham states that basically formalists have borrowed a 'magnificent tautology' of the Neo-classical economics, which assumes that 'individuals in all societies act so as to maximize their individual gains' (Ibid: 24).

There are similar arguments with regard to the influence of capitalist economic theories on theoretical models employed to the study of household economies in non-capitalist societies. Fapohunda (1988:146) argues that empirical budget studies in western economies assume the existence of pooled family income. Researches on economic behavior of households in non-capitalist countries have 'also assumed pooled household income.'

An ideal example of household economic model that is characterized by the assumption of pooled household economy is what is commonly called the New Household Economics ²(here after NHE). This theoretical model has been formulated to explain household behavior. The model was originally applied to explain 'empirical trends in industrialized economies. However, the basic model has been

² An American Economist known as Gray Becker developed the New Household Economics model in the 1960s.

modified and used to explain household characteristics in the third world countries (p.143).

The NHE model assumes that households are 'utility maximizing units motivated by stable, uniform preferences'. While the neo-classical economics deals with rational individuals as the basic unit of analysis, the NHE focuses on homogenous household as the basic unit of analysis (Ibid). The model considers household as an economic unit that behaves similar to a firm. It also assumes that the household is a unit of income and asset pooling, unified consumption and investment, and 'joint utility function' (Young, 1993:193). Generally, the two basic assumptions of the New Household Economics are: 1) Household preferences (tests) must be the same; in other words households must have 'joint utility function'; 2) Economic resources of household members must be pooled (Fapohunda, 1988:144).

The assumption of pooled household economy is associated with the existence of an altruistic household head that controls and distributes economic resources. Fapohunda, citing Gary Becker states that the existence of an 'altruistic household head is sufficient to explain the presence of joint household preferences.' The altruistic head acts 'selflessly' because he gains happiness not only from his personal consumption but also from the consumption of other household members. Thus, he reduces his personal consumption for the sake of other members of the household. As he transfers more resources to other members he receives more satisfaction, which is considered as 'social income' (p.144).

What about the behavior of other members of the household? Don't they (especially selfish one's) attempt to reduce personal consumption and income of the altruist? Fapohunda states that according to the assumption of Becker the answer is no! Because the 'egoist beneficiary' fears that such behavior could reduce his own consumption 'due to diminished transfer'. In general, the altruist's preference theoretically becomes household preference and 'his social income operationally constitute pooled household resources' (Ibid).

As reviewed above, it has been assumed that the household is a unit of pooled resources. However, this assumption doesn't adequately explain the reality that exists in many societies. Research findings show that households in many African societies are characterized by non-pooled economy in which women enjoy a great extent of economic independence. The case of the Mandinka of the Gambia is a good example in this respect. Mandinka spouses control separate farm plots and cultivate different types of crops. Women have ownership and use right to rice land; where as men own 'upland' and cultivate crops such as millet, groundnut and sorghum. There is clear distinction between '*maruo*' and '*kamanyango*' crops. The former refers to crops produced by men and women for household consumption; the latter indicates crops cultivated by either men or women and controlled by each cultivator (Dye, 1981:110).

Moreover, Madinka men and women have separate income sources and different patterns of expenditure. Income earned from selling '*kamanyango*' crops is kept by each cultivator and allocated for various purposes. Men and women allocate money to buy their own clothes, while they share the responsibility of buying clothes for their

children. However, men would buy their wife cloth in times of good harvest. Moreover, women are responsible to pay laborers who work for them and to pay dowries for their daughter. They also cover expenditures such as buying perfumes and jewelry for themselves (p.112-113). Such non-pooled households have been observed in many other African societies including the Ga of Ghana (Robertson, 1976), the Mwea of Kenya (Young, 1993) the Tiv and the Yoruba (Fapohunda: 1988) of Nigeria.

Fapohunda who has studied Yoruba households in southern Nigeria has also rejected the assumption of pooled household economy. He argues that 'a collective and homogenous household model' is inadequate to explain economic behavior of Yoruba households (1988:146). He further argues that Yoruba spouses had limited knowledge on financial conditions of their marriage partner. Based on his sample study, Fapohunda states that 80 percent of the wives in the research sample did not have information on the income of their husband; 65 percent of them did not know the expenditure behavior of their spouse and about 78 percent 'did not pool their income or jointly plan expenditures with their husband' (p.147). In general, Fapohunda has found that the overwhelming majority of 'traditional Yoruba spouses lack knowledge of each other's economic resources, and do not have joint budgets or commonly held assets (p.149).

Other scholars have also attacked the basic assumption of the NHE model. Moser criticizes the assumption of the household as a 'joint utility function.' He argues that the position of men and women in the household, their role in relation to resources

and their needs differ for various reasons (1993:15). The basic problem with regard to the concept of 'joint utility function' is that it doesn't provide the chance of investigating circumstances of 'unequal exchange and exploitation' between household members (p. 23). He further argues that the approach of analysis which aimed at the 'household rather than inside them' does not consider the 'importance of intra-household dynamics (Ibid: 20). Moser also rejects the concept of household common preferences. He states that the nature of decision-making, pattern of resource management and distribution within the household 'vary depending on the household form and the nature of the conjugal contract'. Moreover, the prevalence of 'equalities or inequalities' in the system of resource allocation is determined by ideological, cultural and economic factors (p. 24).

Young has also criticized the basic assumption of Becker's NHE theory. He has rejected the assumption of joint utility function, the analogy between household and firm and the idea of selflessness in the household. Young forwards the following argument against the above-mentioned assumptions. 1) There is no justification for the assumption that spouses share common preferences; 2) the analogy between household and firm is highly stretched because it is difficult to compare exchange between household members and exchange in the market; 3) The NHE assumes that behavior within the household is characterized by selflessness. This is contrary to the idea of the market, which is characterized by self-interest. This assumption creates theoretical incoherence (1993:121).

As discussed above, the basic assumptions of the NHE model dose not give attention to interaction within the household. Scholars indicate that the absence of consideration to the study of intra-household interactions has created some practical problems. Young (p.117) argues that 'a major problem in policy making is the prevalence of stereotypes in economic models of how intra-household economic relations should operate.' For instance, marriage is regarded as partnership between spouses with reciprocal rights and obligations. It is also assumed that marriage creates a pooled domestic economy. 'Pooling and sharing' are considered as features of household economic behavior. However, research findings indicate that 'even where jointness' is a social fact, 'the degree of jointness varies' from society to society.

Young clearly indicates that 'understanding the complexity of the intra-household distribution of work and its rewards' is very important in any analysis of development planning (p.117). The study of intra-household relations involves the understanding of 1) activities carried out by women, men, children and elders; 2) variations in access to and control over resources; and 3) distribution pattern of benefits (Overholt et al. 1984). In the light of this, the research has attempted to explore the intra-household relations. It has also tried to identity whether Dorze household are pooled or non-pooled economic units.

2.3. Women and Development

Integrating women in development strategies is one of the major factors for the success of development projects. This fact is justified by research findings. Ladipo's

research finding is a case in point. There were two experimental projects in Nigeria. In the first project women's needs and views were not considered. The women were subject to "rigid cooperative regularities". Women in the second project were allowed to modify the rules based on their need. Ladipo identified that women in the second project were more successful than those in the first because the second project integrates the needs and views of women (1981:3).

A research finding in Ethiopia also shows the importance of integrating women's role in development activities. Citing Alula Pankhurst (1992: 123-4), Dejene indicates how an extension program aimed at diffusing a new composting method in Walayta-South western Ethiopia suffer from failure. One of the reasons was that male extension workers did not have positive attention and respect to the women. Moreover, some of the female household heads were 'among the most vulnerable' members of the society. They had less livestock, less dung and less land (1994: 9). Thus they could not benefit from the new technique if composing animal dung.

These research findings indicate one crucial reality: it is unthinkable to bring about sustainable development without the contribution of women. Ghosh puts this reality in clear terms:

The ultimate goal of any society is the good life. The means to this end may differ with ideologies and different development and economic conditions but the ideal is to maximize eventually the opportunity for the good life for all. Since women constitute half the population they cannot be overlooked nor can a society afford to ignore their potential reserve of working ability (1981: Xiii).

That is why the proposed research aimed at exploring women's role and status in the household economy.

2.4. Women and their Access to Resources

Women's access to resources varies cross culturally. However, the general trend shows that women's access to resources is very limited. Filmon (2001:56) quoting the UN mid-decade Conference Copenhagen, 1987 states that:

As a group, women have access to too much fewer resources than men. ... They own only one percent of the world's material goods and their rights to ownership is often for less than those of men. This reality exists in most households and communities.

Women's status pertaining to access to resources differs from society to society. Despite their active participation in production, women in Africa have limited access to key resources (Davison, 1988). Filmon states that men control key resources among the Konso. Women do not gain basic resources from their natal family. They also gain nothing when divorce occurs. But they have access to and control over revenues from sales of local beer-*cheqa* (2001). Among Maqi Oromo only men are owners of the household land. Women have no right of land ownership even after the death of their husband. Besides, men commanded agricultural labor of the household (Regassa, 2000:95). Tsemako women have certain access to land but they are excluded from access to and control over livestock. Melese states that in relation to cattle resources men and unmarried women have similar rights. However, married women "give up not only milking cows but also touching cattle and sheep, entering... cattle kraal." Moreover, Tsemako women do not inherit livestock even after the death of her husband. A wife inherits livestock only through her son (1995: 74-76).

The above paragraph reveals that women have very weak position in relation to access to and control over resources. However, women engage themselves in different economic activities to improve their status. An extensive involvement of women in petty trading and other informal economic sector is a good example. Dejene citing the survey of the Central Statistical Authority (CSA: 1985) states that '24 percent of the economically active women' in Sidamo province engaged themselves in petty trading and manufacturing where as only 0.2 percent men participated in these economic sectors (1994:11).

As noted above women in general have limited access to resources. Female headed households are more vulnerable in this regard. However, they employed various coping mechanisms in order to improve their socio-economic position. For instance, female headed households in eastern Shewa generate income from diversified sources. They sell local drinks, strongly rely upon backyard farms, involve in petty trading (p. 18).

Chapter Three: Social Organization

3.1 The Household

Upon first interviewing heads of households in Mogadishu, one senses that the household is in constant flux and that the definition of the word "household" has to be made clear within the context of the people under study. The predominance of extended families and multiple family households necessitate a more precise demarcation of the household. Furthermore decision about marriage, divorce, and labor migration must be considered for their effects on the household and its members (Bhoola, 1988:80).

As stated in the above quotation, Somali households are characterized by constant changes. This holds true in the case of Dorze households because one who studies Dorze households would clearly understand that the household is in the state of continuous change in structure and composition. The major factors that alter household structure are rural-urban migration, marriage, divorce, polygyny and death of spouses, mainly that of husbands.

Migration is one of the major factors that lead to constant household flux among the Dorze. A Dorze husband may migrate to Addis Ababa. He lives there for some years. When he fails to achieve economic benefits in the urban center, he may move back to Dorze, and join his original family. After a brief interval, he may migrate again perhaps to another urban center to retry his chance. He lives there for some years. Finally, he moves back and permanently settles in his rural village in his old ages. This kind of spatial mobility of household members brings about continuous changes in household structure and composition. This leads to the prevalence of different household forms, which in turn poses a serious problem to define and conceptualize the term 'household'.

Dorze household could not be defined as common eating and residential units. This definition may work for households whose entire members live in the rural homestead. But, it does not work for households affected by out migration. However, the result of the demographic survey³ shows that most Dorze households (for instance, 71 percent of the 254 households of the research site) include migrant members who live mostly in urban centers such as Addis Ababa. In most cases urban migrants retain socio-economic ties with the core or natal household in Dorze.

Members of the household who live in the rural compound and migrant members who live in urban areas have relations of socio-economic interdependence for some reasons. First, weaving is not as such profitable to accumulate wealth for old age economic security. Second, weaving is profitable mainly in young ages because when a weaver gets old his weaving speed and his ability of producing woven clothes declines. Thus, migrant weavers prefer to retain their land holdings and maintain their relations with the rural household aiming at old age security. The household survey indicates that 81 percent of old age men in Dorze Haizo were migrant weavers in their young ages. This depicts that most migrant weavers maintain strong socio-economic ties with the household members who live in the rural village. As a result, Dorze migrants who retain strong socio-economic ties with their rural household are considered as household members. For instance, migrant husbands are considered as household members if: 1) they send money to their family to cover certain household expenditures including payment for land tax, *idir*, hired laborers who cultivate

³Demographic survey/data', unless it is specifically qualified, refers to the demographic survey/data carried out/collected during the fieldwork of this research, October, 2003.

household plots; 2) they visit their wives and children at least once in a year unless they face serious problems such as illness and crucial shortage of money.

3.1.1 Dorze Homestead / Compound

The term 'compound' refers to a distinct housing area in which household members live together. In most cases Dorze compounds consist of houses including the *woga ket'sa*, *mishira ket'sa*, a house of married son and *embere* or kitchen. The term homestead and compound are used interchangeably to refer to the above-mentioned meanings.

A brief description of Dorze compound would throw light on the most common type of Dorze household structure and composition. The most common Dorze homestead is a well-fenced compound that constitutes a number of houses that vary from each other in size, structure, and function. The symbol of the compound is a big traditional house called *woga ket'sa*. This house is considerably bigger in size and height than all other houses in the compound. Besides the *woga ket'sa*, the compound consists of small houses such as *mishira ket'sa*, *kat'sa ket'sa* (grain store house) *dana ket'sa* (local beer house) and *embere*.

Woga ket'sa is a house in which the household head (*ket's haira*), his wife and unmarried children live together. *Woga ket'sa*, unlike other Dorze houses, has a unique and beautiful structure. It is sometimes called a 'house with a nose' because of its nose-like projection attached to its front part. The projection forms a small room known as *zono*. To use the words of Judith Olmstead (1972:27), *zono* is simply a

'reception room'. There is a corridor-like narrow space between the door of the *zono* (which is locally called *penge*) and that of the main room of the *woga ket'sa*. Benches lie on both sides of the narrow space of the *zono*, which is wide enough to entertain about six people at a time.

The *zono* has an important traditional value. It serves as a 'checkpoint' to avoid unwanted entrance of people into the main room of the *woga ket'sa*. The traditional rules, *dere woga*, do not allow certain individuals to enter the main room of the *woga ket'sa* unless the avoidance is cancelled by performing certain rituals. For instance, a newly married daughter and her husband are not allowed to pass the *zono* of her parents' *woga ket'sa* until the ritual of *gat'sa ad'et's* is carried out. The performance of this ritual marks the end of the avoidance between the newly married couple and the parents of the wife. (This will be discussed in some detail in the latter part of this chapter). A married daughter in the state of avoidance would be entertained in the *zono* because her entrance into the main room of her father's *woga ket'sa* is considered as *gome* or taboo because according to the local views it may bring misfortunes on the family and/or its belongings.

The main room of the *woga ket'sa* has a big space that is divided into areas for livestock and human use (Olmstead, 1972:27). The left side of the room where livestock and fodder is kept is called *osha*. This part has an opening known as *ay'sa kesizaso* that is an outlet through which livestock waste, urine plus dung, drained out to the *enset* grove (Olmstead, 1972). The right side of the space is a place where household members eat, drink coffee, and enjoy chanting. There is also a *tus*, a

wooden pillar, at the center of the *woga ket'sa*. The hearth is situated near the *tus*. *Oruga* is located beyond the *tus*, in the extreme opposite to the door. *Oruga* is an area where cooked food and household utensils are kept. The door of the *zoko* is called *penge* (see the illustration on page 57).

As noted earlier, Dorze compound consists of one or more houses besides the *woga ket'sa*. These houses are different from the *woga ket'sa* both in size and structure. Firstly, they are smaller in size. Secondly, though they may have a partial nose-like projection, the projection does not develop into a *zono*. Olmstead (1972:28) stated that the projection is a 'cape-like' structure that serves to protect the doorway from the heavy rain of the highland. Thirdly, all houses in the compound have neither a *tus* nor a 'reception room' except the *woga ket'sa*.

Small houses could be built for various purposes. The father builds *mishira ket'sa* for his newly married son when the latter lives in the compound of the former. The married son is not allowed to build his own *woga ket'sa* in his father's compound because only the *ket's baira* can do this. This is because, a married son, his wife, and their children are considered as members of a single extended family household headed by the father or the *ket's baira*. Though they live in a separate house the young couples have no separate kitchen, coffee pot and granary. The family of the father and that of the son have common granary controlled by the *ket's baira*. Moreover, the two families share common *embere*, coffee pot and have common consumption pattern. This symbolizes the power and higher status of the household head while it indicates the dependent status of the couple and their children.

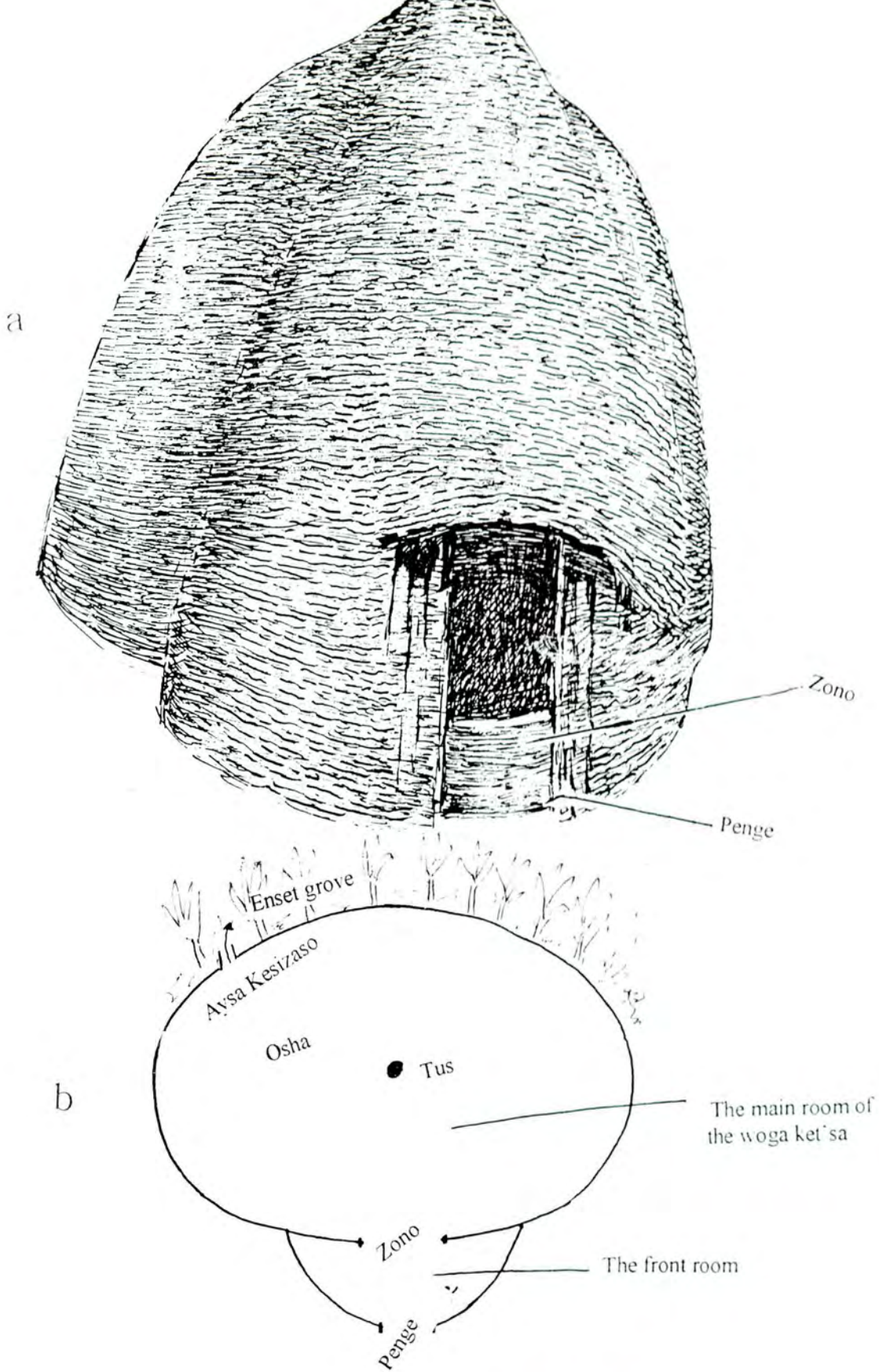


Figure 1: a) The *woga ket'sa*, traditional house of the Dorze.
 b) The inner part of the *woga ket'sa*.

Illustration by Abera Mehari

Bauer investigated a similar household pattern in Enderta-Tegray. According to him, the newly wed couple remains attached to the 'sponsoring household', which has facilitated the couple's marriage. The couple's household is partially separated from the 'sponsoring household' because both live in separate houses. However, the two households are interdependent because they have common 'cattle compound', granary, kitchen, and 'eating basket' (1977:118).

The physical structure of a Dorze compound could be considered as a symbolic image of the ideal Dorze household structure. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the most common type of Dorze compound consists of a number of houses among which *woga ket'sa* has a unique feature and position. Above all, the *woga ket'sa* is erected in front of the main gate of the compound, while the other houses are built in the side ways. The former has a considerably bigger size and height. Besides, it is only the *woga ket'sa* that has *tus* and *zono*. The *woga ket'sa* surrounded by small houses has a picture that is similar to that of a mother hen surrounded by its chickens. In general, its big size and height, its *tus* and nose like projection reflect the extra-ordinary importance of the *woga ket'sa* as compared to other houses in the Dorze compound. This unique position of the *woga ket'sa* symbolizes the status of the *ket's baira*. Its bigness shows the highest position of the *ket's baira*; its *tus* indicates the central position of the *ket's baira*. The latter is considered as a pillar upon which other members of the household including married son/s and his/their wife/wives depend.

Despite the above-mentioned common features, there are a number of households that have no *woga ketsa*. Most of such households are headed by poor women, especially

widows, who have no matured sons. It is rare to have such a situation in male-headed households. But the researcher found a single person household headed by a man who lives in a newly built small house rather than in a *woga ketsa*. He is an ex-migrant who returned home recently. It was reported that his wife migrated to Addis Ababa years before he came back to Haizo. Now, as a new settler, he has built a new small house in which he lives. He has no wife, no children, or any other dependents in his house. It is in such cases an adult man may live in a small house. Otherwise the 'real' *kets baira* must live in a *woga ket'sa*. The researcher also observed a compound of a lonely old man. The man does not live in the *woga ket'sa* because the *woga ket'sa* has disintegrated (see plate 3, Appendix).

Though it is impossible to build more *woga ket'sa* in a single compound, building modern tin-roofed houses is tolerated. As a result, young men who have better economic status build rectangular tin-roofed houses in their or their father's compound. However, in socio-cultural aspects modern houses have inferior position as compared to *woga ket'sa* because people still perform rituals in the traditional houses rather than in modern ones. Hence, people build modern houses that are considered as symbols of better economic status. There are 40 iron-roofed houses out of 254 compounds that exist in Haizo *kebele*. This figure indicates that about 16 percent of the total compounds in the *kebele* consist of a tin-roofed house. Thus, it is common to see both traditional and modern houses in Dorze compounds.

The *woga ket'sa* symbolizes the existence of a household *baira*, and his dependents in a given compound. It also shows the existence of an ideally desirable Dorze

household. The Dorze compound does not disappear easily because when the *ket's baira* passes away, his male heir, mostly his eldest son, would take over his position and live in the compound and *woga ket'sa* of the deceased father. This process of succession continues for generations and it maintains the continuation of male line in the same residential place. When the *woga ket'sa* deteriorates and disintegrates a new one is built in its place hence it is renewed. The process of replacing the old *woga ket'sa* with a new one also continues for generations until the compound entirely disappears.

A compound may disappear in rare cases. It could physically disappear when there is no male heir to succeed the *ket's baira* or when the *ket's baira* with his dependents changes the residential place of the entire household. There were 15 compounds that were completely abandoned during the fieldwork. No one lived in any one of these compounds. Even though it disappears physically, kinsmen of that partilineage remember it for a longer period of time. The kinsmen erect a clearly noticeable memorial-stick locally called *wurche ae'si wat'so* in the area of the ex-compound to commemorate it (see plate 2, Appendix). Moreover, they perform certain ritual activities to remember the compound that has no residents. In this regard Judith Olmstead writes:

For a well-lived- in compound is not easily forgotten and the living honor its memory. At Masqal⁴, the bone fire, central symbol of the celebration, is built of torches carried to the public meadows in the early morning; these torches, each

⁴ *Masqal or Masqalla is the most important annual celebration in Dorze and other Gamo societies. It is celebrated in September. The presence of each household head is very important during the Masqalla celebration because each ritual is performed by the head of the household. Though Masqalla of the present time has some relations with Masqal of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, most of the rituals performed in Dorze are closely associated with the traditional religion of the Gamo people.*

representing a compound, and have been lit in a solemn domestic ceremony from the hearth fire of the compound. Each man, accompanied by an elder son or sons if there is more than one torch to carry, brings one torch for each compound, which he owns for each memorial, which stands, on his land (1972:33).

3.1.2 The Ideal household

Bauer made clear that societies have their own ideal type of household. The ideal household in medieval Europe was aimed at 'maintaining an immortal family chain'. To this end, the eldest son stayed and worked beside his father. Through time the son took over the position of his father (1977:39).

The ideal Dorze household constitutes a multi-family household. It consists of: 1) father, his wife and unmarried children who live in *woga ket'sa*; 2) a married son and members of his family who live in a separate house but in the same compound. Such multi-family households are also common in other Gamo communities. Freeman (1999: 91) states that the people who reside in a Doko compound are 'typically the household head and his wife, their unmarried children and their married sons with their own wives and children.' It is not uncommon to see three generations live in a single compound. There is a similar household composition and structure among the Malle. Donham (1985:86) states that 'an extended family household was a cultural ideal in the Malle society. The stem family household comprises elders plus their wives, unmarried children, an eldest son with his wife and children.'

Most Dorze parents desire to have multi-family household for a number of reasons. One of the reasons is the desire of parents to have old ages socio-economic security. In most cases, parents obtain old age security from their married sons that live with

their wives and children in the parents' compound. The relation of the two families is characterized by interdependence. The father controls key resources such as land and houses but parents are in need of old age security from the son's family. The son and his dependents do not control key resources but they are potential sources of labor for the parents. The son with his wife provides labor because he anticipates that he would control key resources through inheritance. A household pattern which consists of such interdependent families would provide better old age security because parents would benefit from the labor of wives and children of their sons even when the sons migrate to urban areas. This is because migrant sons mostly leave their wives in their father's compound. The wives, with their children, living with their in-laws, support the latter in their old ages.

Dorzes also desire to have father-son joint household structure for cultural reasons. This emanates from the need to maintain a continuous succession of household *bairas* along with the male line and a continuous existence of household chains in the same compound. The Dorze concept for this kind of continuity is *tus nageyis*.

Initially, the union of a man and a woman establishes the original household. In most cases the newly married couple depends upon the father of the groom to get access to resources such as land. The son's position in relation to access to resources grows stronger through time while his parents' position declines in their old ages. The son would completely control key household resources after the death of his father. The son who occupies his father's position in turn would encourage his son to bring in a

wife and live in the same compound. Most Dorzes desire to have such a pattern of household development in order to achieve well secured life.

Despite the prevalence of this strong desire, there are smaller numbers of joint family households in the present time Dorze. For example, there were 20 joint household compounds in Dorze Haizo *kebele* out of 254 households registered during the demographic survey. All these households are made up of father's and son's families who live in the same compound. Of the above mentioned figure, 15 households are characterized by sons' families attached to parents' compound but the married sons live in distant urban centers. The wives and children of these migrant sons remain in the homestead of the sons' parents. The remaining 5 households have similar structure but both young spouses live in the homestead of the husbands' parents. Out of the above-mentioned 20 compounds there is only one case in which two brothers and their wives live in their father's homestead.

There are several factors that alter the pattern of household developmental process. Rural-urban migration strongly diverts the above-mentioned pattern. Unmarried sons, staying in urban areas for longer period, delay their marriage time. In some cases sons prefer to marry in urban areas rather than in the rural villages. Still some of them may marry a wife in their father's compound and another in urban areas thereby they maintain polygynous marriage. Widely dispersed stem families characterize this type of polygynous marriage. This household pattern forces the husband to move between two stem families, one located in urban area, and the other in the rural village. Besides, some sons may not marry at all in their father's homestead.

Divorce is another factor that reduces the chance of securing an ideal type of multi family households. As a result of long term absence of migrant husbands, young wives run away from the compound of their in laws. Because of such events the latter could not get the labor of their son's wife in a more reliable manner.

3.1.3 Household Structure

The total number of Haizo *kebele* households in 1994 was 279 (CSA, 1994:315). The demographic survey data indicate that currently 254 households exist in the *kebele*. This shows a reduction of 25 households. The number of male headed and female-headed households is 110 and 144 respectively. This figure shows that 57 percent of the total number of households in Haizo are female headed (see table 1 on page 65).

Female-headed households (FHHs) could be divided into '*de jure*' and '*de facto*' types. The former refers to female-headed households characterized by a permanent absence of a male partner as a result of death or divorce. The women are legally single, divorced or widowed. *De facto* FHHs are characterized by a temporary absence of a male partner; the women are not legal household head. Some of the factors that have increased the prevalence of '*de facto*' female-headed households are male labor migration, war, and political insecurity (Moser, 1993:17).

There are a considerable number of *de facto* and *de jure* households in Dorze. There are two major factors that have increased the number of female-headed households in Dorze. The first one is male migration to urban centers that makes wives in the rural

village 'de facto' household heads. The second factor is death of husbands, which results in a considerable number 'de jure' household heads. Of the total number of female-headed household, 54 percent are *de facto*, while 46 percent are *de jure*.

Table 1: Distribution of Household Types, Dorze Haizo kebele, October, 2003

Types of HHs		No. of HHs	% from total No. of HHs
MHHHs		110	43
FHHHs	<i>De jure</i>	66	26
	<i>De facto</i>	78	31
Total		254	100

Source: Demographic data, Dorze Haizo, October, 2003.

Note: HH=households; MHHs=male-headed households; FHHs=female-headed households

3.2. Marriage⁵

There are three types of Dorze marriages namely *gela'o*, *sayo* and *dafo*. *Gela'o* is the most common type of marriage among the Dorze. *Gelo'o* means virgin girl. Here the term *gela'o* refers to marriage of a girl and a young man. The word *sayo* refers to a divorcee woman. Accordingly, *sayo* marriage is a marriage union established between a man and a divorcee woman. *Dafo* is marriage by abduction.

Different types of marriage union entail different ways of 'defining and locating unions and their offspring in a social universe' (Comaroff, 1980:38). Similarly, the three types of Dorze marriages depict marriage unions in different positions in the social context. *Gela'o* marriage is associated with a full-fledged process of marriage

⁵ In this section the researcher has attempted to describe Dorze marriage as it was practiced in the 1960s and before. Nowadays the traditional marriage practice of the Dorze has been mixed up with various new elements introduced by migrant and educated members of the society. For instance, marriage through abduction (i.e. *Dafo* marriage) has become rare. The description is presented in the present tense for the sake of convenience.

arrangement, series of rituals and feasts. Thus, *gela'o* marriage has a better socio-cultural position because it is the first legal marriage established between a virgin girl and a young man. Following is a brief description of each marriage.

3.2.1 Gela'o

Parents of the prospective bride and groom arrange *gela'o* marriage. The parents of the boy choose a particular girl and start approaching the parents of the girl to give them the hands of their daughter in marriage. The prospective groom and bride are allowed neither to choose their marriage partner nor to reject the marriage arranged by their parents. Moreover, they were not officially informed about the marriage arrangement. Nowadays, the agreement of the two partners is very important to establish marriage union.

As said above, marriage arrangement starts with the selection of desirable girl for marriage. Parents of the would-be groom choose a particular girl based on such qualities as family background and good conducts. Usually, a strong and hardworking girl is desirable. This is because Dorze woman is expected to be strong enough to face and endure the ups and downs of marriage life and to shoulder multi-faceted household responsibilities associated with domestic chores, farm tasks and income generating activities. The following Dorze proverb shows this in clear terms. *Mechar danchoy mono ge'ro adeiy boza ge'ro*; which literally means let the girdle of a woman to be tight, let a man be lazy. The proverb could also be translated as follows: Let the waist of a woman be girded up and tight, it does not matter whether the man is hardworking person or not. It depicts that the household cannot survive if the woman

is lazy. This saying clearly indicates the crucial role of women in the household. It indicates that it does not matter if a man is lazy. However, a woman must be strong and hardworking to maintain a good family and marriage life.

After the girl has been chosen the parents of the prospective groom select a *lazansa*. A *lazansa* is a man who is responsible to play an intermediary role between the parents of the boy and that of the girl. The first task of the *lazansa* is asking for the hand of a girl for marriage. He would go to the house of the girl's parents and ask them saying '*Mara ye'ezui?*' which means 'Do you have a heifer?' Then he explains for whom he is asking the hands of their daughter. Usually, the parents of the girl do not give immediate response to the *lazansa*. For this reason, the *lazansa* is expected to visit the girl's father's house repeatedly. In the meantime, the parents of the bride examine the socio-economic status, conduct and genealogical background of the prospective groom before giving their last words to the *lazansa*. If the proposed marriage satisfies them they give positive response. They reflect their agreement by offering food and drink and *gaya*, locally prepared tobacco, to the *lazansa*.

Then, the *lazansa* goes to the parents of the groom and declares the agreement of the other party. Thereafter, the groom's parents fix the date of the wedding and the *lazansa* communicates the information including the actual date of the wedding, to the girl's parents.

In traditional Dorze marriage, wedding ceremony is held in the groom's house. No wedding feast is carried out in the house of the bride. Moreover, the groom and his

friends do not go to the homestead of the bride to bring (take) the latter. The groom stays in a new *mishira ket'sa* built in his father's compound. The best friends of the groom bring the bride by abducting her. However, the abduction is a pre-arranged kidnapping facilitated by relatives of both parties. As indicated above, the parents of the bride had been informed about the date of the wedding. Thus, they purposely send the bride with a woman or two to a distant village to bring household utensils or some other things. They do this to facilitate the kidnapping of the bride that is their daughter. The friends of the groom suddenly kidnapped and carry her to the homestead of the groom's father. When they reach there, they let the bride enter the *mishira ket'sa* where she joins the groom.

The couple stays in the *mishira ket'sa* for an hour or two. Then they come to the *woga ket'sa* to take part in a certain ritual. When entering the *woga ket'sa*, they kiss the foot of the parents of the groom. Thereafter, the father of the groom drinks the local beer (*dana*). Then, he let his wife drink from the same container. Then he let the couple *dago*, drink together, three times. Moreover, the father and his wife eat the ritual honey. And then the father let the couple eat the honey three times each. The same process is repeated with *kat'sa*, a food cooked from barely. After the completion of these events the parents praise the groom and bride saying 'May you beget children. May you, prosper!' Finally, the couple retires to their *mishira ket'sa*. This marks the end of the wedding ceremony.

After the wedding ceremony, the couple stays for a number of weeks in the *mishira ket'sa*. The mother of the groom provides them with the best traditional foods. This is

the period of avoidance between the couple and the parents of the groom. The couple is not allowed to enter the *woga ket'sa* of the groom's parents. The latter also do not enter the *mishira ket'sa*. The mother of the groom can provide the couple with food and drink but since she is not allowed to enter, she puts the food at the gate of the couple's house. This avoidance is brought to an end by a simple ritual carried out in the *woga ket'sa* after a few weeks.

There is a similar state of avoidance between the couple and the parents of the bride. *Gat'sa adet's*, a ritual carried out in the *woga ket'sa* of the bride's parents, marks the end of the period of avoidance. Following is a brief description of the ritual.

Gat'sa Adet's

The literal meaning of *gat'sa adet's* is to let someone enter into one's compound. It is a ceremony in which *kumet's* is brought from the homestead of the groom to that of the bride's father. *kumet's* refers to wholeness or fullness of something. *Kumet's* in this regard refers to *dana*, a special kind of local beer, filled in a certain container. The relatives of the groom bring *kumet's* to the house of the bride's parents. The *dana* must fill the container because everything must be full to carryout the ritual of *gat'sa adet's*. Besides, they also bring a big pot or pots filled with honey.

When the ritual is started, the newly wed couple enters the *woga ket'sa* of the bride's father. They walk into the inner part of the *woga ket'sa* being kneeled. They move on the ground that is covered by fresh *enset* leaves. The parents of the bride and other relatives wait for the arrival of the couple being in the *woga ket'sa*. Having entered

the *woga ket'sa*, the couple kisses the foot of the bride's father then that of the mother and of other close relatives. Then, the parents praise the newly wed couple saying: *duretitei* meaning May you prosper; *di chitei*, May you grow; *ye litei*, May you beget children; *yeliri haysat'so oufa eisitei*, May you please us bearing children. *Gat'sa adet's* is followed by another ritual called *sofe*.

Sofe

Sofe is a ritual of togetherness performed in public in an open market place. It is carried out after the end of *gat'sa adet's*. When the ritual of *gat'sa adet's* comes to an end the couple and other participants walk to the market place to '*sofe*'. The women enjoy local beer sitting outside the market. The bride adorned herself with traditional clothes. Men including the groom walk in the market greeting people saying '*yooo...hooo...!*' This marks the end of avoidance and declares the 'togetherness' of the relatives of both the bride and groom.

Bolo Asho/Lukumo Asho

Gat'sa adet's and *sofe* were not the only rituals. There is another important ritual called *bolo asho* that is performed during Masqal sacrifice. *Bolo asho* is a meat ritual. Nowadays, the Dorze do not practice this meat ritual. *Bolo asho* is performed on the day of *shuha*⁶ that is the day of *Masqalla* sacrifice. It was a ceremony in which the groom and his best men take meat to the house of the bride's parents. *Zoko asho* is a

⁶ The term 'Shuha' refers to the annual sacrifice ritual of Masqalla. The Dorze celebrate Shuha in a colorful manner. Urban migrants in large numbers move back to Dorze and join their relatives, wives and children. Shuha is mostly celebrated in the last week of September. All *ket'sa baira* of Dorze slaughter their cattle in Bodo-Dorze market place. No one slaughter cattle in the village. More than 150 oxen were sacrificed in the Shuha of 2003 which I observed.

preferable part of cattle meat which includes the backbone of the ribs with the meat covered them. In other words, *zoko asho* was a preferable kind of cattle meat in this regard. *Zoko asho* consists of a considerable part of slaughtered cattle from its neck to its tail excluding the four legs and the stomach. The groom's group carries the *zoko asho* to the bride's parent's house without cutting it into parts. However, they do not eat from it in that particular day. Rather they are served with *kat'sa* and local beer. After a day or two, the couple and the best friends of the groom go to the house of the bride's parents to eat the meat. In addition to what they consumed they take part of the meat to the homestead of the groom's father where it is consumed by the rest of the household members.

3.2.2 Dafo

Dafo is the second kind of marriage, which is established by abducting a girl. It has been mentioned that marriage by kidnapping a girl is common in *gela'o* marriage. In the case of *gela'o* marriage, the abduction is carried out with the knowledge of parents. Judith Olmstead stated that the 'ambush was no surprise'. The girl put on her best cloths when she leaves her parents' home. The parents have prior agreement on the abduction of their daughter. The abduction is not carried out accidentally (1973:141).

Here, *dafo* refers to a surprise and an accidental kidnapping of a girl. Neither the girl nor her parents have any information on it. *Dafo* is a forceful means of getting a wife without any prolonged marriage arrangement and wedding expenses. Moreover, *dafo* could be carried out with the agreement of the girl. In both cases, the man would hide

the abducted girl in a distant area for a number of weeks in order to avoid direct confrontation with her parents and relatives. Then, he would send elders to the parents of the girl to make the union legal (official) and also to maintain peaceful relations with the parents of the girl. When the latter recognize the union, the couple brings *kumet's*, i.e. *dana* and honey, to the home of the girl's parents. The ritual of *gat'sa adet's* is performed thereby the newly married couple and the parents of the wife establish peaceful relations.

Nowadays, the practice of forceful abduction is rare. Because the police and legal bodies (the court) have started to take serious measures against those who abduct girls for marriage. However, *dafo* marriage is seldom practiced with prior agreement between a young man and a girl who prefer to establish marriage union without a prolonged marriage arrangement and wedding expenses. One of my research assistants who is a civil servant married his wife by abducting her with the consent of the latter.

3.2.3 Sayo

The term *sayo* refers to a divorced woman. According to the researcher's informants, it does not refer to a divorced man. Dorze marriage that is established by a divorced woman and a man is also called *sayo*. *Sayo* is a frequently practiced marriage among the Dorze. One of the causes for the prevalence of *sayo* marriage is the high rate of divorce in Dorze communities. The household survey data show that 45 percent of the male and female household heads of the sample reported that they faced divorce in

their marriage life. The data also shows that remarriage is a common phenomenon among the Dorze.

Sayo marriage is not arranged by a *lazansa*. Moreover, parents do not involve themselves in the arrangement of such a marriage. The friends of the *sayo* play the leading role to facilitate *sayo* marriage. Women who play an intermediary role are mostly *sayos* or widows. These women facilitate the marriage union by persuading the *sayo* and the would-be husband. When the two parties agree, the women organize an occasion of local beer feast. The prospective husband and wife allocate money by which local beer is brewed for the feast. The best friends of the man and the *sayo* take part in the occasion. The beer feast is conducted in the neighboring house of the future wife. First 'beer of the man' is served. When the beer feast starts, the future husband and wife *dago*⁷ three times. Then, the beer is served to all other participants. The same process is repeated with the 'beer of the woman'. The group fixes the date in which the *sayo* would move to the house of the would-be husband. On the fixed day, the woman with her belongings moves to the house of the man. There is no formal wedding celebration in *sayo* marriage. However, the *sayo* is welcomed with a brief feast of food and local beer. Only the couple and immediate neighbors of the husband take part in the occasion. Thereafter, friends of the husband go to the parents of the wife to declare the new status of their daughter. When they reach there, they would say: '*intena'a ket'sa*' meaning 'your daughter has established a house'. The

⁷ 'Dago' refers to local drinking style in which two persons drink together from the same container at the same time. Two friends or groom and bride *dago* [drink together] to reflect their love and or togetherness (See plate 6, Appendix).

parents respond by praising the marriage union saying: '*Istar na'a in go*' meaning 'May she beget children'.

3.2.4 Marriage Transaction

Marriage transactions among the Dorze move to both directions i.e. from the parent's of the bride to the newly wed couple and from the husband and his parents to the parents of the bride. Material transaction to the bride and /or to the newly married couple is made in two different times. The first one is called *dancho afala* which is a small *buluko* sent to the bride by her parents in the very date of the wedding. The second material transaction that is to the newly wed spouse is a very big *buluko* locally called *dalet'sa buluko*, which serves as a blanket. *Dalet'sa buluko* is a big *buluko*. Informants of the researcher estimated the price of the *buluko* to be equivalent to Birr 300.00.

Marriage transaction from the husband and his parents' household to that of the wife is transferred in the form of *dana* (local beer), honey, and meat. This is conducted twice. *Kumet's* is the first transaction that consists of *dana* and honey. It is transferred during the ritual of *gat'sa adet's*. The amount of the *dana* and honey varies based on the economic status of the giver. The most common type of meat that goes to the bride's parents is called *zoko asho*. The latter is the name of a considerable portion of cattle meat that consists of part of the slaughtered cattle from the neck to the tail excluding the four legs. The groom and his best men take the meat to the bride's natal family during the day of Masqalla sacrifice.

It has been argued that bridewealth transactions prevail in patrilineal societies where residential patterns are virilocal/patrilocal (Goody, 1973:4). Besides, bridewealth payment has been associated with alienation of women's labour and reproductive capacity. Thus bridewealth is paid in order to compensate the loss of a daughter from her natal family (R. Brown, 1950:50). Patrilineal African societies such as the Nuer (E-Pritchard, 1990) pay bridewealth, which comprise a considerable number of cattle. Besides, it is common to deal with a prolonged bridewealth negotiation among these people. The Dorze society is patrilineal. Residential pattern is also patrilineal. Here one may raise a question: Do the Dorze exercise bridewealth transaction?

The term bridewealth should be defined so as to answer the above question properly. Bridewealth, according to Goody (1973:5), is not a payment that is consumed during marriage feasts. It is rather a payment that is transferred to the bride's kin, especially to her brothers, so that the latter can take wife. Turnor (1980:86) has forwarded a similar definition. He states that bridewealth is the total amount of stock paid out by a man to his wife's kin. Based on these definitions the Dorze do not exercise bridewealth transaction because what the husband's family transferred is materials in the form of *dana*, honey and meat. All these are consumed during rituals. There is no significant amount of marriage payment either in kind or in cash.

The above description gives the picture of Dorze marriage practices as exercised by the people in the past. There are changes these days. Migrants who have been influenced by the urban culture serve as agents of change. They introduce/add new

cultural elements and practices while they give less attention to some of the local marriage practices. Nowadays:

1. Young men choose their marriage partner instead of accepting what is arranged by their parents.
2. Some male migrants marry in the urban areas. Then, they (with their wives) go to Dorze in order to perform some of the necessary rituals.
3. The former marriage transactions transferred in the form of *buluko* and meat has been abandoned these days. Informants reported that parents do not give the big *buluko* called *dahet'sa buluko* to their daughter during her marriage. Besides, the newly wed husband and his best men do not take *zoko asho* to the parents of the bride.
4. Unlike the previous *gela'o* marriage, young men do not 'abduct' a girl or a bride to establish marriage. Like the urban wedding ceremony, they with their best men move to the bride's parent's house to fetch the bride.
5. Again unlike the pervious period, marriage transaction transferred from the groom to the bride may include materials such as gold jewellery, modern cloth, shoes, and perfume.
6. Moreover, some members of the Ethiopian Orthodox Christians practice religious marriage what is commonly called *teklil* marriage.

Despite these changes, the Dorze still perform traditional marriage practices and rituals such as *gat'sa adet's*, and *sofe*. In general, marriage practices in Dorze include some of the former/local elements and some new elements introduced by urban migrants.

3.3 Divorce

Divorce is common in many societies though its rate varies from society to society. Bhoola (1988:175) states that Somali marriage is the frail, brittle thing. In Mogadishu where Bhoola carried out a fieldwork, 55 percent of Somali women have faced divorce (p. 177). Divorce among the Somali is a simple and uncomplicated matter. A man can divorce his wife by declaring his wish to his wife saying 'I divorce you' three times in the presence of other witnesses (p. 114). Divorce is also common in Tegray communities. Bauer (1977:127) mentions that of all marriage contracted from which one partner is still living, 45 percent ends in divorce. This shows that marriage among the above-cited societies is unstable.

Like the cases of the Somali and Tegray, marriage among the Dorze is unstable. Divorce is simple and frequent. The household survey data indicate this situation. Of the total of sample household heads, 40.6 percent of female household heads and 41.7 percent male household heads reported that they faced divorce at least once. The qualitative data also show the prevalence of divorce. A considerable number of informants reported that they experienced divorce two or more times. However, the number of divorcee men and women at a given time is not significant. According to the demographic data, only 4.3 percent of the total number of households (i.e. 254) in the research site was affected by divorce. This is mainly because of the prevalence of remarriage in the society.

One of the reasons for the prevalence of high rate of divorce among the Dorze could be the absence of bridewealth transaction. Olmstead has stated that 'divorce is

possible and is not a complicated affair, for there is no important transfer of property between groups on the occasion of marriage' (1975:30).

This is not always true because there are societies that practice marriage payment but characterized by frequent divorce. For instance, the Somali studied by Bhoola (1988) exchange both bridewealth and dowry while divorce rate in that society is very high. However, many anthropologists have associated bridewealth payment with marriage stability. Evans Pritchard (1990:90) states that Nuer bridewealth transaction has a role of stabilizing marriage unions. Because when a woman runs away from her husband the bridewealth cattle that are transferred to her kin must be returned to the husband's kin. This creates serious problem on kin (relatives) that are accountable to return the bridewealth cattle. As a result, those who would lose from the dissolution of the union put pressure on the wife to live with her husband. Similarly, Goody (1973:12) has also argued in a similar way. Moreover, citing the case of the Ngada of Indonesia, Barnes (1980:111) indicates that divorce rarely occurs when bridewealth has been paid. The case of the Ema, another community in Indonesia, supports the above mentioned idea. The Ema have two types of bridewealth payments 'small price' and 'large price'. The payment of the 'small price' and 'large price' completely integrates the wife into the lineage of her husband. Moreover, divorce is impossible after the complete payment of the 'large price' (Ibid: 100).

Bridewealth payment is not the only factor that leads to marriage stability. Marriage payment stabilizes marriage to some extent. The other factor that stabilizes marriage is the birth of children. Evans Pritchard (1990:94) states that divorce is rare among

the Nuer after the birth of the second child in the marriage union. Similarly, Barnes (p.115) indicates that divorce is relatively easy among the Kedang of eastern Indonesia. It is more frequent when children have not been born in the union. Likewise, among the Ema of Timor, divorce is rare when the couple have produced children (Ibid: 101). Like the cases of the Nuer, Kedang and Ema, the birth of children has an important place in Dorze marriage. The absence of children in a marriage union mostly leads to divorce. Dorze men do not hesitate to divorce their wives who are considered to be infertile or barren.

Migration of husbands and their long-term absence from their family also cause dissolution of marriage ties. Some wives prefer to divorce rather than allowing their husbands to migrate to distant towns. A young divorced informant reported that she did not accept her husband's idea of migrating to Addis Ababa. The husband rejected her opposition and migrated to the capital. While he left Dorze, his wife moved out of his house. As the result, the union came to an end.

The long-term absence of migrant husbands from the rural homestead may lead to divorce. Especially, young wives do expect their husbands to visit them at least once a year during Masqalla. They also expect the provision of clothes, sufficient amount of money to cover Masqalla expenses, *idir* and land tax payments. They do not tolerate the continuous absence of their husbands during Masqalla celebration. One of the young informants, now a divorcee, made clear that she prefers to be a *sayo* rather than being a woman neglected by her husband.

Polygyny is another factor that gives rise to divorce. Most migrant weavers have a wife in the rural area. Some of them also married another wife in urban centres without the knowledge/agreement of their wives. This sometimes leads to conflict and ends up the union with divorce. Sometimes husbands marry two or more wives in the rural area. If they do this without the consent of the former wife, the marriage of a new wife may be followed by the divorce of the former.

Some women divorce their husbands because of economic reasons. A number of *sayo* informants reported that they divorced their husbands because their migrant husbands do not send them money, do not 'feed' them during annual holidays. They also do not cloth them especially during Masqalla.

Chapter Four: Household Economic Pattern

4.1 Social Status of Women

The economic and social dimensions of society are inter-twined. They are not standing apart from each other. Thus, let us deal with the socio – cultural position of men and women before we deal with gender roles and household economic pattern. Different factors affect gender statuses and roles.

One of the factors that determine the role of women is social structure. Citing Weisner and Abbott, Clark (1983: 112) explains how a strong patrilineal structure of the Luhya restricts the ‘independence and enterprise’ of women while a weaker patrilineal structure of the Kikuyu puts ‘fewer constraints’ on them. The Dorze social context is characterized by a strong patrilineal structure and ideology. Men have higher socio – economic status while women’s position is that of a subordinate one. Only men own and inherit land and other non-moveable assets. Only men can be *ket’s baira*, household head, and sacrifice for the well – being of the household members. Only men drink first from a newly brewed local beer, and eat from a newly harvested grain. Dorze tradition associated with *kumet’s* illustrates the role and status of men and women at the household level.

Kumet’s means ‘full’ and ‘complete’ (Freeman, 1999: 11). It also refers to wholeness and newness. The following are considered as *kumet’s*. When a cow gives birth to a calf, the new milk that is milked in the first few days is called *kumet’s*. A newly harvested grain and a newly brewed local beer are also considered as *kumet’s*. Members of the household including the wife could not consume the new milk, a

newly brewed local beer, or a newly harvested grain before the *ket's baira* does. First the *ket's baira* must offer part of the *kumet's* to the ancestral spirit and then he himself drinks or eats part of it. Consuming new milk, local beer or grain before the *ket's baira* is considered as *gome* or taboo. The Dorze call such a taboo '*tseyra miraza gome*' which means *gome* of 'first eating'. Furthermore, in certain households women are not allowed to smoke incense unless the household *baira* puts the incense on the '*itanei kona*', a small earthenware utensil on which the incense is smoked.

It is said that *Tseyra miraza gome* would bring about misfortunes and harms on those who transgress the traditional rule with regard to *kumet's*. The *gome* that is caused by '*tseyra miraza*' must be cleansed by offering a sacrifice. The one who violets the taboo must offer *kumet's*. The *kumet's* could be milk or local beer. The *ket's baira* performs the sacrifice ritual by spitting/splashing the *kumet's* brought by the one who violates the taboo.

All these show the higher status of the household *baira* who dominates the decision-making process in relation to household resources. It also indicates the extreme dependence of the wife and other members of the household upon the household *baira*. This cultural context seems to make women dependent upon men and wives upon their husbands. In other words, it shows the weak position of women's decision-making power regarding resources. The following proverb reflects this fact. The Dorze say '*Menansani degalan isinok*,' which means that 'both women and '*degala*' (tanner) are the same. The proverb reveals that women and the *degala* have equal status.' The *degala* are despised and marginalized social groups in Dorze and other

regard is considered to be similar to that of the *degala* because women have no right to own and even to inherit land from their parents and husbands⁸

The above cited proverb shows not only the weak position of women in relation to decision making over household resources but also shows their inferior status in the society. On the contrary, the other saying cited below indicates the higher social status of men. It runs as follows: '*Ade alo'osoy Dorze*' which literally means 'A country where men are respected is Dorze'.

Furthermore, the different social status of male and female in Dorze society is reflected in parents' preference to beget male rather than female children. Olmstead (1974: 35) has stated that the Gamo highlanders, including the Dorze, exercised female infanticide before the 20th century (Olmstead, 1974:35). Moreover, Dorze traditional values still reflect the prevalence of male preference. For instance, when a woman gives birth to a baby people would ask for the sex of the newly borne baby saying "*awa yelerie?*" meaning 'what did she deliver?' (i.e. male or female?). If the response is '*wacha*', which means female, the people would say '*I zir dicho*' meaning 'May the baby grow'. However, if the newly born baby is found to be '*ade*' i.e. male, the people would reflect their delight saying '*Ade ayo ancho!*' meaning 'Let the mother of a male child be proud!' The people also could say '*Atumana yelira ayo*' which is to say 'Let the male child split her mother while being born!'

⁸ Currently there are some exceptional cases in which women inherit land. My informant told me that a widow woman inherited land and residential compound from her father-in-law. After the death of her husband she lived with her father-in-law. She helped the father of her ex-husband in his old age. In his last days the old man officially transferred his land and residential compound to his daughter-in-law. Now the woman with her children lives in that compound

mother of a male child be proud!' The people also could say '*Atumana yelira ayo*' which is to say 'Let the male child split her mother while being born!'

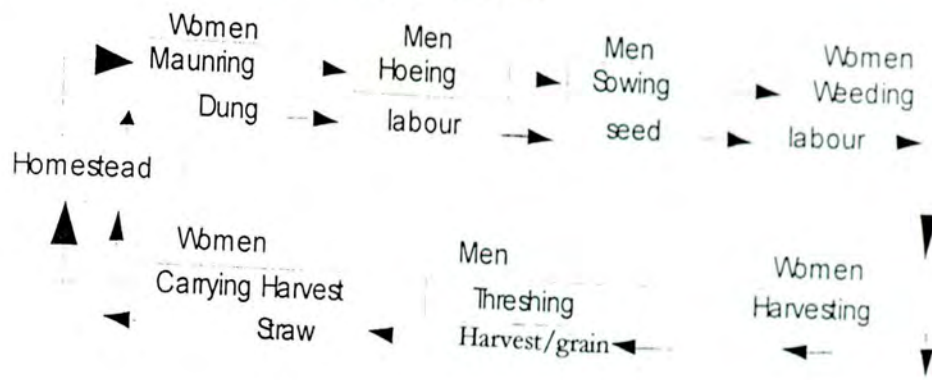
4.2 Gender Division of Labour

Though women have lower social status and weaker position/power to control economic resources, their contribution in household economy is considerable. Women's status and role in the household economy is clearly reflected in the traditional gender division of labour in the Dorze society.

A well-established tradition of gender division of labour exists among the Dorze. In some cases the division of labour is associated with strict rules and taboos. For instance, to carry manure or fodder is considered as shameful activities for men because these tasks are supposed to be women's tasks. Moreover, women carry most of the things such as firewood, *enset* and harvest/grain, fodder as compared with men. The following description of gender division of labour may give a vivid picture of gender division of labour in the Dorze society.

Farm tasks are strictly divided and assigned to male and female domain. Women, including unmarried girls, are responsible for manuring plots before beginning other farm activities. Men carry out the next two tasks, hoeing and sowing. Then, women take over the task of weeding and harvesting. Thereafter, men come to the field for threshing. Finally, women transport the harvest to the homestead. In general, the farm task starts with women's role i.e. manuring and ends with women's task that is carrying the harvest to the homestead. Figure 1 summarizes what has been said above:

Figure 1: Gender Roles in Crop Cultivation



We have seen gender division of labour in crop cultivation. *Enset* cultivation is another major farm activity because *enset* is the main source of food for most Dorze households. There is a similar division of labour in *enset* cultivation. Women carry the *enset* seedlings to the area of planting. Men dig the ground and plant the *enset*. Here stops the task of men. However, the role of women continues because the other tasks including manuring, harvesting, and processing are tasks that tie in the domain of women.

Moreover, women take care of livestock. There is a serious shortage of grazing land in Dorze. As a result, women cut fodder and carry it to the homestead to feed livestock. Women also chop *enset* leaf in order to feed livestock. In addition to this farm related activities, women engage themselves in various household chores ranging from cooking food for the family to fetching firewood. They also involve in income earning activities such as petty trading, local beer brewing, and spinning cotton thread.

It has been believed that women play a considerable role in food production. Boserup (1970: 50) in this regard stated that in hoe farming areas of sub-Saharan Africa, women carry out most of the farm tasks. The sample surveys carried out in three regions of Ethiopia: Amhara, Tegray, and the South (SNNPRS)⁹ in 1997 and 1998 also show the considerable role of women in productive activities. The data indicate that women in SNNPRS contributed 34 percent of the labour and time input in crop cultivation while men contributed 66 percent. Women's contribution in *enset* cultivation and in livestock production is 60 percent and 77 percent respectively (Wudnesh, 2003:18).

Dorze women play a leading role in food production for some reasons. 1) Most Dorze men consider themselves as weavers. Thus they prefer to hire-labourers instead of carrying out farm tasks. The inclination of Dorze men towards weaving creates some gap in the farming sector. Besides, male out migration also reduces a considerable amount of male labour from most households. Women devote their time in order to fill this gap. 2) Most Dorze men live in urban areas as migrant weavers. As a result, they entirely left the task of farm management to their wives who live in the rural village.

As discussed earlier, women's role in farming is significant. For example, let us consider the task of manuring in order to see women's labour and time contribution in crop production. Manuring is not a simple task in the context of Dorze Haizo because a great majority of Haizo households have farm plots out side the *kebele*. The results

⁹ 'SNNPRS' refers to the Southern Nation, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State.

of the household survey¹⁰ data indicate that 75 percent of Haizo households have farm plots in a distance that ranges from half- an hour to two hours walking. This shows that most women in Haizo carry manure from home to distant farm plots walking from half-an hour to 2 hours. The task is not a single day activity. Women repeatedly walk to and from farm plots to perform the task.

In households that have distant plots women devote more time and labour in manuring. Let us consider the case of a 48 years old woman called Arshie. Arshie is the wife of a migrant weaver who lives in Addis Ababa. Arshie is said to be a barren woman. She did not give birth through out her marriage life. She lives alone in her husband's compound. The farm plot of her husband is located at a two hours walking distance from her house. Arshie reported that she carries manure to the plot three times per week. She does this for six weeks. Totally Arshie walks 18 times in six weeks between her house and the farm plot. This means she walks 72 hours from her home to the farm plot and back home again. This shows that Arshie walks to the plot for 36 hours carrying manure on her back. She has to walk another 36 hours to come back home. She repeats this task every farm season. This does not include Arshie's time and labour devotion on *enset* manuring, weeding, and harvesting. The case of Arshie reveals that one of the tasks that consume the labour of women in Haizo is manuring. As indicated in the above paragraph, 75 percent of Haizo households have land out side the *kebele*. Thus, the women in these households walk from home to the plots and vice versa.

¹⁰ The "household survey", unless it is clearly specified, refers to the household survey of this research carried out in Dorze Haizo *kebele* in October, 2003. This is applicable in the text through out the thesis.

4.3 Labour Networks: Yusho

The term *yusho* refers to a system of co-operative labour. People secure extra household labour through *yusho* arrangements. A *yusho* work group may have different number of members. Each member of the work group contributes labour to other members and receives back a proportional amount of labour from the other members.

Dorze women have multifaceted responsibilities. Beside farm activities, they involve themselves in petty trading, foddering, fetching firewood, and conducting other household chores. Dorze women manage to carry out most labour intensive and tiresome activities by manipulating their access to labour through various *yusho* or co-operative labour arrangements. In other words, women maximize their access to labour by engaging themselves in *yusho* work groups. Women have a number of *Yusho* arrangements aimed at carrying out labour intensive tasks such as manuring, harvesting and carrying *enset* seedlings. Dorze men also have labour networks, *yushoes* that are associated with farm activities. They have *yusho* networks for hoeing, levelling farm plots, sowing and threshing. Table 2 below shows labour networks of women and men.

The findings of this research data indicate that women rather than men have more *yusho* arrangements and other networks. As discussed above Dorze women are expected to carry out various labour intensive tasks. They accomplish these tasks by manipulating the available resources in the local socio – economic context. They secure extra – household labour through various *yusho* networks. Moreover, petty

trader women establish relatively stable groups. Members of such groups help each other while they go to distant markets. They protect themselves from any possible danger. They also exchange resources, information, and capital.

Table 2: Types of Labour Networks (*yusho*) of Dorze Women and Men.

	Type of <i>yusho</i>	Tasks accomplished	No. Of members
Women's <i>yusho</i>	<i>Out'sa ashuncha yusho</i>	<i>Enset</i> harvesting	4-6
	<i>Agisa ido yusho</i>	Carrying manure to distant plots	4-8
	<i>Bangs meto yusho</i>	Barely harvesting	4-8
	<i>Out'sa i'do yusho</i>	Carrying <i>enset</i> seedling to areas of <i>enset</i> seedling	4-6
	<i>Puto suqet yusho</i>	Spinning cotton thread	6-10
Men's <i>yusho</i>	<i>Gosha yusho</i>	Hoeing	4-6
	<i>Qot'sa yusho</i>	Leveling farm plots and sowing	4-6
	<i>Kot'sa buko yusho</i>	Threshing	4-6
Women + men	<i>Qaga yusho</i>	Building traditional houses...	10-20

Source: Fieldwork data collected from key informants.

The researcher argues that Dorze women have more labour networks because they carry out more productive activities as compared to men. This indicates that in societies in which labour is a scarce resource, a social group that accomplish more productive tasks would have more labour networks. Similarly, Dorze women have more labour networks because they carryout more intensive labour tasks. Dorze men contribute less time and labour in farm activities. Hence, they have lesser number of labour networks. Female informants disclosed that they are involved in *yusho* arrangements because working in work group helps them to complete much more

work within a short period of time. They further pointed out that the *yusho* work group helps them to work longer hours without being exhausted.

The practice of performing different tasks in work groups or *yusho* arrangements is a deep-rooted tradition among Dorze women. The prevalence of various *yusho* songs reflects this practice. Dorze women sing different *yusho* songs while they work together. Though it is impossible to present the beautiful and melodious *yusho* songs in their full picture and context, the researcher has attempted to list the words of a few songs below.

4.4. Yusho Songs

Song one: 'Lolashe'

<u>Local terms</u>	<u>Translation of local terms</u>
Lolashe-Isipei pe'ana.....	We shall spend the day together.
Lolashe-Isipei suqana.....	We shall spin together.
Lolashe-Isipei buchana...	We shall harvest together.
Lolashe-Isipei idana.....	We shall carry [manure, <i>enset</i>] together.
Lolashe-Isipei hashana...	We shall harvest <i>enset</i> together.
Lolashe-Isipei dichana...	We shall grow together.
Lolashe-Etopa isa ko.....	This is the culture of Ethiopia.
Lolashe-Haiz isa ko.....	This is the culture of Haizo.
Lolashe-Etopa asana.....	Let us protect Ethiopia.
Lolashe- Etopa dichana....	Let us develop Ethiopia.

Lolashe, song one, is a famous *yusho* song. Women sing *lolashe* while they carry out all *yusho* activities. They sing saying we spin [cotton thread], carry manure, and harvest...together. Besides, women sing different types of songs for each type of *yushoes*. Now let us see a song of spinning cotton thread (see plate 6, Appendix).

Spinning cotton thread is a common economic activity among Dorze women. It is difficult to find Dorze women who do not spin thread. Women have cotton-spinning *yusho* locally called *punto suget yusho* (see plate 4, Appendix). The number of women that participate in *punto suget yusho* varies from 6 to 10. The group spin equal amount of cotton thread for each member. In some cases the members work throughout the night. In such occasions each member brings firewood called *putona mit'sa*, which is used to make fire. The women spin sitting round the fireplace. Members of the group sing songs, narrate stories, and discuss serious issues while they work. They use songs to ridicule those who feel asleep, to encourage and praise those who work hard, or to flatter each other mentioning good manners and deeds of each *yusho* member. When some one falls asleep the other members sing as follows:

Song Two: Song of Spinning Cotton Thread

Local terms

<i>Tisko tisko</i>	<i>Oumbandei - Odei tisky</i>
<i>Almazi tiskoy</i>	<i>Oumbandei - Odei tisky</i>
<i>Ona ayko</i>	<i>Oumbandei - Odei tisky</i>
<i>Mundei aiyko</i>	<i>Oumbandei - Odei tisky</i>

Translation of the local terms

Sleep! Sleep!	<i>Oumbandei</i>	Whose sleep is it?
It is Almaz's sleep.	<i>Oumbandei</i>	Whose sleep is it?
Who should the sleep catch?	<i>Oumbandei</i>	Whose sleep is it?
Let it catch Mundie?	<i>Oumbandei</i>	Whose sleep is it?

Women sing as follows to flatter one of their friends:

Local terms:

<i>Seira lago</i>	<i>L'a lago</i>	<i>weyehe - hu'nara</i>
<i>Seira sere</i>	<i>Lomei tere</i>	<i>weye'he - Zawka Mundie</i>

Translation of the local terms

The generous friend, the beautiful friend, *weye 'he*, let you be with us.
Monday's generous, a ripe lemon, *weye 'he*, Zawka's Mundie.

The above two lines of the song are aimed at praising one of the women called Mundie. Mundie was regarded as generous because she often invites her friends to drink local beer in the market days: Mondays and Thursdays. As a result, the women flattered her saying: "Monday's generous, a ripe lemon." Women also sing when they carry manure to distant plots. In the following song women praise Dorze – their homeland.

Song three: - *Wose*: Song of Manuring

Local terms

Translation of the local terms

<i>Wose! Wegiza dere...</i>	A country that develops...
<i>Wose! Tenkelei Dorze.</i>	Tenkelei's Dorze.
<i>Wose! Wozi wogizei?</i>	How does it develop?
<i>Wose! Et'si terizei.</i>	Like a ripe <i>sholla</i> ! ¹¹

They also sing to encourage, and flatter themselves. The following song is a very good example in this regard.

Local terms:

Wose! Isa aso
Wose! Sudira aso
Wose! Werqa Chacha
Wose! Numi ha'ei gachilei bira bacha

Translation of the local terms

Wose! You people who carry manure.
Wose! You people who come together.
Wose! Glittering like gold.
Wose! We the children of the era are sickles made of silver.

¹¹ 'Shola' is a big tree that produces edible fruits.

4.4. Household Economy and the Assumption of the New Household Economy.

The role of men and women in productive activities has been discussed in the previous section of this chapter. It has been also stated that women rather than men contribute much more labour and time in productive activities. Now let us examine whether the basic assumptions of the NHE theory could be applied to explain Dorze household economy.

The new household economics theory assumes that households are units of pooled economy. Besides, they are characterized by common preferences or 'joint utility function'. Household members pool economic resources to satisfy common preferences (Fapohunda, 1988:143). The model also assumes that households have an altruistic head that controls and distributes pooled resources to members of the household. The altruistic head is 'selfless' person who reduces his own consumption in order to distribute resources to other members (Ibid.).

Different researchers have criticized these assumptions of the NHE model (Fapohunda, 1988; Young, 1993). Do the basic assumptions of the NHE model adequately explain Dorze household? The researcher has attempted to provide answers to this basic question in the next few pages. First, I will examine the degree of resource pooling in Dorze households by considering key household resources: labour, land, and income. Then I will explore whether Dorze household members have common preferences by examining intra-household interaction. Finally, I will turn to the analysis of household income and expenditure pattern to examine whether there is joint expenditure pattern in Dorze households or not.

4.4.1 Labour Pooling Pattern

Dorze household members pool their labour in some economic activities but not in others. Spouses and other members of the household pool their labour and other resources in farm activities. However, men and women do not carry out the same farm task together; rather they accomplish different tasks at different times and at different stages of farm tasks. Women manure plots, weed, harvest, and finally transport the grain to the homestead. Theoretically, men are responsible to hoe plots, sow seeds, and thresh what women harvest. In practice, however, the majority of Dorze men carry out less farm tasks than women because 1) the majority of Dorze men live in distant urban areas. Thus they are not available in rural villages during the farm season; 2) Men, according to the demographic data, 70 percent of the total number of men treated in the survey reported that they engage themselves in weaving while only 16.8 percent of them involve in farming (see table 3 on p.103).

As already noted above, most Dorze men are urban migrants. As a result women play a dominant role in managing farm plots and farming activities. Besides, women contribute a considerable amount of time and labour to the cultivation of food crops. Despite their major contribution, however, women have very limited control over crop production. Men rather than women store the harvest in the granary, close, and seal it with animal dung so that no one, including the wife, could take grain without their permission. The following case illustrates how male household heads including those who live in distant urban areas maintain strong control over cereal crops. Chuba is an old man who lives in Dorze Haizo. He, as a migrant weaver, lived in Addis

Ababa for more than 40 years. Though he lived in the capital Chuba managed to control over cereal products of the household. He reported this as follows:

In these days we produce a small amount of crops. In our period [referring to the time when he was a young man] everything was good: the land, the harvest...was good. Then I used to produce 20 quintals of grain. After the harvest I used to keep the grain in two granaries. I closed one of the granaries, sealed properly with cattle dung so that no one could open it during the period of my absence. I left the other granary open for the family consumption. I used to open the sealed granary when I came back to Haizo for Masqal celebration.

There is similar pattern of labour pooling between spouses in *enset* cultivation. At the beginning stage of *enset* cultivation both men and women pool their labour. Women transport the *enset* seedling to the area assigned for *enset* planting where as men dig the ground and plant the *enset*. The role of men in *enset* cultivation is confined to hoeing and planting while women, in collaboration with their daughter(s) continue taking care of the plant throughout the period. They also harvest and process *enset* for household consumption. This indicates that women play a dominant role in *enset* cultivation.

The role of women in *enset* cultivation is much more than the role of men. As a result of this, though women have very limited control over cereal crops, they have better access to and control over *enset* and *enset* by-products. They can sell part of the *enset* products and use the money to cover other household expenses. However, it should be noted that better access to *enset* products is not without any limit as they are expected to consult their husbands in order to cut and harvest new *enset* plants.

Labour is also pooled in weaving, which is a male dominated economic activity. Nevertheless, Labour pooling in weaving has a different pattern. Fathers and sons

rather than wives and daughters pool their labour to produce woven goods. Sons in their early ages wind bobbins and carry out other weaving tasks. Through time they start weaving but the father controls the income earned from selling woven goods. Women and daughters also pool their labour to some extent especially in the absence of male children in the household. But their role is confined to winding bobbins. They do not weave because weaving is considered to be "male's work".

As explained above, male members of the household and to a certain degree daughters and women pool their labour in the weaving tasks. However, the father controls the income generated from selling woven goods. He may give some money, 2.00 or 3.00 Birr, to his wife saying "let you buy coffee." He rarely gives money to his sons though they pool labour for the purpose of winding bobbins and performing other weaving related tasks.

In most cases sons are not allowed to weave for their own income. Even a married son who lives in his father's compound is not allowed to weave and generate income independently. This creates son-father conflict because the former wants to achieve economic independence while the latter to maintain his dominant position in controlling weaving income. The conflicting interaction between Aleme and his father is a good example in this regard.

Aleme Demissie, a 43-year old man, lives with his wife in his father's compound. Aleme's wife carries out farm activities such as manuring, weeding, harvesting, and taking care of the *enset* grove. She also supports her mother-in-law in other domestic chores. Aleme and his wife pool their labour in the household productive activities whereas Aleme's father controls farm products (cereal crops) and income earned from weaving. Aleme has a desire to generate his own income. He asked his father to allow him to weave independently in order to generate income for himself. The father refused. This resulted in a serious

conflict between Aleme and his father. The mother was in favour of Aleme. She gave him some money selling her jewellery so that Aleme could start weaving for his personal income. Aleme started weaving in such a way and managed to gain some income. However, he faced serious challenges because his father asked him to contribute more and more money from what he earns saying 'we need to pay land tax, pay for farm labourer' etc. Since Aleme gives a considerable portion of his income to his father, he could not get an independent income source. Finally, he migrated to Addis Ababa to work as a weaver so as to generate his own income.

The researcher observed similar pattern of labour pooling in weaving households of Shiro Meda in the capital. Male children and other male members of household carry out weaving related tasks such as winding bobbin. Wives and daughters also pool their labour by winding bobbins. The father controls the income gained from selling the woven good. However, he redistributes a small portion of the income to those who contributed labour. He gives one or two Birr to each according to the amount of the profit, the skill and contribution of each household member. The money distributed to those who pooled labour in the weaving task is called "*ye senbet misa,*" meaning 'Sunday's lunch'.

4.4.2. Pattern of Access to and Control over Land.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the model of NHE assumes that households are units of pooled resources. However, researchers who studied African societies such as the Mandinka of Gambia and Yoruba of Nigeria have rejected this assumption. Dye (1981:110) for instance, indicated that Mandinka spouses control separate plots of land and cultivate different types of crops. They also have the right to control over crops they cultivated on their land.

The pattern of access to and control over land in Dorze households does not fit to the assumption of the NHE model. It is also different from land ownership pattern of Mandinka households. Unlike the Mandinka case Dorze spouses do not own separate plots of land. According to the assumption of the NHE theory, which claims that households are units of pooled resources, land is not a pooled resource in Dorze households. In the first place women have no land ownership right in Dorze land. Only men have the right to maintain control over land and other non-moveable resources such as houses. Besides, only males have the right to inherit land from household *bairas*. Nevertheless, women have access to farmland through their husbands, in the absence (death) of their husbands or through their son(s). Prior to marriage and at the time of divorce they get access to such resources through their father or brothers.

Though women get access to land and houses through their male relatives, husbands, or sons, their access to the above-mentioned resources is temporary. When get married she loses the rights of access to land in the natal family. At the time of divorce she loses rights of access to her husband's land and other non-moveable resources. A divorced woman may go back to her parents homestead to live and perhaps to get access to land and other resources there. However, a divorced woman faces different obstacles to get access to key resources. Sometimes she may not be able to secure shelter in her parents homestead if the latter had been occupied by one of her married brothers. Under such conditions a woman has no right to claim access to these resources in her natal (parents') homestead.

This male dominance in relation to access to and control over land puts women in dependent position vis-à-vis men. This precarious position of women sometimes exposes them to problems especially when divorce occurs. In some cases a divorced women may not get access to land and residential compound both in their husband's and parent's homestead.

A woman named Dile faced such a problem when she moved away from her husband's homestead because of divorce. Dile Gataro, 58 years old and divorced, had married twice. The second union was followed by divorce, which forced Dile to move out of her husband's compound. After she moved away from her ex-husband's house she tried to secure shelter in her parents' compound but she was not allowed to live there. Dile explained the problem she faced as follows:

I was forced to move back to Haizo. [She had married her second husband in Dorze Hirpo which is a neighbouring *kebele* to Haizo]. But, I could not get a chance to live in my parents' compound because my brother and his wife had occupied it. My brother lived in Addis Ababa and his wife lived in the house. My brother's wife did not allow me to live together with her in the same house. That was the time of serious problem in my life. My problem was solved when the people of Haizo built a small house for me in a public land. However, I had no *enset* land or farm plot. That was another problem. Thus I could not grow what I need to eat. There were times in which I was forced to collect wild fruits and roots in order to get food. After some year, the wife of my brother died. Then I managed to live in my father's compound because my brother who had inherited the compound lived in Addis Ababa. As a result no one was there to live in the compound. My brother did not send money for land tax payment. I sell *enset* and spun thread in order to pay land tax. I use the *enset* and....

4.4.3. Household Income Pattern

In the previous section of this chapter, it has been explained that non-movable resources are not pooled in Dorze households. Rather, male members predominantly control them. Following is analysis about Dorze households' income pattern.

A great majority of Dorze households are characterized by diversified income sources. The demographic data on Dorze Haizo *kebele* households show that 79 percent of the households had diversified income sources. Spouses of Dorze households engage themselves in various economic activities in order to generate income. Weaving is the major source of income for the majority of husbands. About 75 percent of migrant and rural resident husbands earn income by weaving traditional clothes.

The amount of income earned from weaving is determined by a number of factors such as the amount of available labour, the degree of weaving skill and age of the weaver. It is also affected by market conditions including demand for woven goods and prices of weaving inputs and woven goods. If an adult weaver has a number of sons who help him in his weaving tasks he could produce more woven clothes within a relatively short period of time and gain better income. When he works alone, his income would be smaller. More skilled weavers invest more time and labour to weave quality clothes, such as *tibeb*, and earn better income. Those who produce less quality woven goods earn less income but within shorter time interval. The age of the weaver also affects the amount of income earned. Younger weavers weave more quality clothes within shorter period of time than older ones. Thus, the younger the weaver the higher the income earned from weaving. Moreover, the market prices of weaving inputs such as *mag*, *dir* and that of weaving products affect the level of income earned.

Moreover, the results of the demographic survey show that husbands involve in other income earning activities such as government work (5 percent), trade (3 percent), and carpentry (1 percent) (See table 3, p. 103). Besides, a number of migrant husbands that run business involve a relatively higher capital investment. Some migrants such as Cherqos and Altaye for instance, have shops in Addis Ababa and other towns. They also have business vehicles such as Isuzu cars and mini buses. Some others have become brokers, guards, and factory workers. Still some others earn profit by 'exporting' woven clothes to the capital and other big towns.

In her comparative study of Dorze and Dita communities Olmstead (1974:5) provided the following data on major economic activities in the two societies. From all matured men in Dorze Haizo 15 percent knew how to farm while only 2 percent engaged themselves in farming. On the other hand 82 percent of men in the same area had the skill of weaving and men who were full time weavers constituted 78 percent of the total number of husbands. Based on this fact Olmstead concluded that Dorze is a 'weaving society' while Dita is a 'farming society'. The demographic survey of this research shows that men who are fully engaged in weaving and those who mixed weaving with other economic activities such as farming and trading constitute 75 percent of the total number of husbands (i.e.170). Of the total number of male household heads those who are full-time weavers were 27 percent. The other 48 percent combined weaving with other economic activities. The data show that 33 percent of men mixed weaving with farming. About 5 percent added petty trading and farming on weaving. Other 7 percent mixed weaving with other economic activities including government work, carpentry and daily labour work. Men who claimed that

they are fully engaged in farming were about 5 percent. This figure is greater than 2 percent full time weavers mentioned by Judith Olmstead.

Though Dorze women have lower social status their economic role is decisive for the well being of the household. Dorze women are extensively involved in various productive and income generating activities. According to the demographic data 98 percent of the total number of women in the sample generates income from diversified sources. They spin cotton thread and brew local beer. They are involved in petty trading and other economic activities including *enset* processing, fodder selling and pottery (see table 4 on page 105). The most important source of income for the overwhelming majority of women is selling hand-spun cotton thread. More than 86 percent of women in the sample generate income from spinning and selling cotton thread locally called *mag*. In table 4, it is indicated that only about 12 percent of the total 253 women do not generate income from selling hand-spun thread. They gain income from petty trading (5 percent), pottery (1.5 percent), and local beer selling (0.4 percent). Petty trading, firewood, and fodder selling are sources of income for about 4.3 percent of the women covered by in the demographic survey. However, selling *mag* is not the only source of income for women. As table 4 shows, 50 percent of the women in the sample earn income from other sources including petty trading, beer brewing, and fodder. Only 2 percent (5 out of the 253 women) did not engage themselves in any kind of income earning activities.

Besides spouses, sons and daughters also generate income from various sources. In general, daughters and other female members of the household earn income from 'women's economic activities' such as petty trading, local beer brewing, spinning

home-spun cotton thread, and selling fodder. Sons in the rural context generate income from very limited sources. Their participation in petty trading is insignificant because women and girls dominate this economic activity.

Table 3: Distribution of Men's Income Earning (Occupational) Pattern.

<i>Occupation</i>	No. Of men	Percent From total No. Of husbands
Weaving (W)	45	26.5
Farming (F)	8	4.7
Government work (g/t work)	8	4.7
Trading (T)	5	2.9
Carpentry(C)	2	1.2
Others	8	4.7
Weaving+ Farming	56	32.9
W+ Trading	6	3.5
W+ F+ trading	8	4.7
W+ g/t work	8	4.7
W+ carpentry	1	0.6
W+ Daily labour	1	0.6
W+ Black smith	1	0.6
F+T	2	1.2
F+ g/t	1	0.6
F+ C	1	0.6
F+ W+ C	2	1.2
F+ Black smith	1	0.6
Other	6	3.5
Total	170	100

Source: Demographic survey data, Dorze Haizo kebele, October, 2003.

Thus, a few of them have 'open shops' along the Arba Minch-Chencha road where they sell woven goods mainly to tourists. A few others are involved in petty trading activities. The majority of them weave, but since most sons weave under the control of their fathers weaving is not an independent source of income for sons. As a result, most of the sons in their early ages migrate to Addis Ababa and other urban centres where they can earn their own income.

In general, most members of Dorze households engage themselves in different economic activities to earn cash income. Household members, including 11 to 12 years old girls, devote their time and labour to earn income. This is because 1) in most cases the income generated by spouses is not sufficient to cover the basic household expenditures). Food crops particularly cereal production in most households is much lower than what is needed for household consumption. Most informants confirmed this idea. In relation to this, Yegebahal¹², head of a household of nine members, said:

Here the amount of crops that we produce is limited; it is very small. Annual crop harvest of most families in Dorze does not exceed three or four quintals. Farming in Dorze is nominal. We are farming merely to say we are farming. Rather, our survival depends upon *enset* cultivation; *enset* is our soul.

The above case indicates that most households rely on *enset* for their food consumption. However, *enset* foods must be supplemented by cereals, root crops, and vegetables. Thus, cereals such as maize and barely, root crops including sweet-potatoes are bought to supplement household consumption. Besides, these foodstuffs and other important items such as fuel (kerosene) and coffee must be bought. Most household members including children of younger ages involve in different income earning activities to fulfil these basic necessities. The following case depicts the role of spouses and children in income earning activities.

Awoke, 72, has a wife, 2 sons and 2 daughters. One of the sons (youngest one) lives in Addis Ababa. The other son who is 24 years old and 2 daughters aged 13 and 10 respectively live with their parents. In this low-income household each member generates income and contributes to the household economy.

¹² The reader will come across a number of Amharic (non-Dorze) names while case studies are discussed in the thesis. This may create some sort of confusion. A considerable number of Dorzes use Amharic names because most of them have been influenced by the urban culture either while they live in urban centers or as a result of their contact with migrant members of the community. According to the demographic data 44 % of female and 53 % of male respondents had Amharic names.

Table 4: Distribution of Women's Income Sources.

Sources of income	No. Of women	Percent. From of total o. Of wives
Selling hand-spun thread (SHST)	127	50.2
Petty trading (PT)	13	5.1
Pottery (P)	4	1.58
Selling local beer (SLB)	1	0.4
Enset processing (EP)	1	0.4
SHST+ Petty Trading	37	14.6
SHST+ Local Beer selling	32	12.6
SHST+ P.Trading + Local Beer	12	4.7
P. Trading+ Fodder	11	4.3
SHST+ Pottery	5	2.0
SHST+ Housemaid	1	0.4
ShST+ Daily	1	0.4
SHST+ SLB+ Pottery	1	0.4
SHST+	1	0.4
SHST+ EP	1	0.4
no Personal Income	5	2.
Total	253	100

Source: Demographic survey data, Dorze Haizo kebele, October, 2003.

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Income of Spouses

Awoke [the husband] weaves and makes from 5 to 7 Birr per week. From this income he pays contributions, gives money to his wife in market days. The wife who is 57 earns income by spinning and selling cotton thread. Besides, she carries and transports trade items from Dorze to Doko for 'rich' women. The trip from Dorze to Dita and from Dita to Dorze takes three days. After completing her duties in Dita she earns an average income of Birr 4.00 by which she buys important foodstuff and comes back to Dorze.

Income of Children

Awoke's daughter, a 13 years old girl, engages herself in a similar income earning activities. She carries trade items (for women traders) from Dorze to Bonke to gain an average income of 3.00 Birr in one trip. She also supplements the household by covering certain expenses. The eldest son, 24, works as an assistant driver and

helps the family. He assists his father in land tax payment and in buying Masqal meat¹³. He also provides his mother with some money in market days.

From the above cases, it is possible to understand how the four members of the household generate income and how they cover certain household expenses. The contribution of each member plays an important role to the maintenance of the household.

The above discussion reveals that Dorze households are characterized by diversified income sources. The important question here is that: Do household members pool their income? Male and female household heads who were asked the above question provided the following answers. About 75 percent of female household heads and 79 percent of male household heads responded 'Yes'. The response indicates that members of the overwhelming majority of Dorze households generate income from diversified sources.

As noted above in the majority of households in the study *Kebele* households' members do not pool their income and do not have joint household expenditure pattern. Each member gains income from different sources and covers certain parts of household expenditure and keeps the remaining part of her/his income for her/his personal expenditure. Husbands allocate part of their income for the payment of farm labourers, land tax and *idir* membership fees. They may give certain

¹³ 'Mesqal meat' does not indicate an ordinary meat. Mesqal is the most celebrated holiday among the Dorze. All households in Dorze have a common sacrifice-ritual carried out in the Dorze/Bodo market place. Four, six or eight ket's bairas (household heads) contribute money and buy an ox. The ox is slaughtered at the market place. Ket's bairas are responsible to buy Mesqal meat. It is strictly the role of men. Every ket's baira, poor or rich, is responsible to buy Mesqal meat. Those who fail to do so are not considered as respected ket's baira. Their wives undermine them and the society gives less respect.

amount of money to their wives in market days so that the wives may buy foodstuff and some other important items for household consumption. Husbands keep the rest of their income to enjoy *tej* and local beer with their friends. They also allocate it for other purposes. Daughters may cover part of household expenditure. In most cases they do not give the money to their parents. Rather, they buy foodstuffs, coffee, or household utensils when they earn income and save some money to buy cloth, jewellery to maximize their capital for the purpose of petty trading. The experience of Almaz can be taken as an example in this regard. She said:

I started petty trading when I was living with my parents. First I prepared *beso* at home and sold it in Dorze market. The profit was very small. The maximum profit I made on a single market day was 1.50 Birr. As a result I gave it up and started selling maize. I bought the grain from Chano and sold it at Dorze market. The profit was good. I earned about four Birr per market day. What I gained from two markets in Dorze was about eight Birr. I helped my parents from what I earned. I did not give money to my parents. Instead, I bought salt, coffee, cabbage, during every market day. When I made about eight Birr per week I used to spend about four or five Birr to buy those things. Moreover, I saved in *bank* [*'bank'* refers to local money saving institution] two Birr every week.

4.4.4 Household Expenditure Pattern

Earlier in this chapter, it has been described that household members have no unitary income pattern. Next is the analysis of expenditure pattern of Dorze households.

The researcher also tried to study income and expenditure patterns of weaving households at Shiro Meda, Addis Ababa and came up with a similar income and expenditure pattern. Spouses of the studied households have separate income sources and different and well-defined roles in relation to food household expenditure. Husbands generate income mainly from weaving while wives earn income from firewood selling and petty trading. Husbands are responsible to cover the expense of

major food crops such as maize. For this purpose they give their wives certain amount of money on weekly basis. Routine and diversified food expenses dominate women's food budgets. They supplement the household foodstuff by purchasing vegetables, oil, salt, coffee, and *enset* products such as *kocho*. Wives supply most of these ingredients on daily basis.

There is a similar household expenditure pattern in rural Dorze households. Husbands and wives have separate areas of expenditure in the majority of households in Dorze rural villages. Wives buy vegetables, spices, kerosene, and salt. They also allocate their income to buy cereals, coffee and household utensils. Husbands are responsible to cover more gross and seasonal expenses including land tax and hired labour payments. They also allocate portion of their income to cover *idir* and *iqub* membership payment, and holiday expenses such as purchasing of meat and clothes.

There is variation in the roles of women in relation to household expenditure. Women's roles in this regard vary from household to household. One of the major factors that alter the roles of women in household expenditure is the economic status, structure, and composition of the household.

The economic status of households and that of the husband determine the roles of women in household expenditure. Women in rich and poor households do have different levels of contribution in household expenditure. Wives of rich husbands have better advantage than wives of poor husbands. First, they receive more money from their husbands. Second, the wives themselves generate better income from

trading activities because they have more money than wives of poor husbands do. As a result, they involve themselves in more profitable and less tiresome business activities. Third, rich households manage to cultivate more food crops; the availability of sufficient amount of food crops reduces the amount of cereal crops that should be bought from the market. This in turn reduces the burden of the wife because the latter buys fewer amounts of food crops from the market.

In contrast, the wives of poor husbands shoulder more responsibilities in household expenditure. They cover a considerable portion of household expenses because the money they receive from their husbands is relatively smaller as compared with the wives of rich husbands. When the amount of income they receive from their husbands decline their contribution goes as far as covering land tax and hired labour payment. This indicates that the smaller the income received from the husband the greater the contribution of the wife in household expenditure. The following cases indicate the roles of wives of poor and rich husbands in the household expenditure.

Case of poor wives of low-income husband:

Mulu: wife of Awoke

Mulu is a wife of a poor man –Awoke. Awoke generates a small amount of income from his weaving business. His income does not exceed 6 or 7 Birr per week. He does not give his wife more than 2 Birr per week because he saves part of his weekly income for annual/seasonal expenses such as payment of land tax and hired labour. Besides, he allocates a portion of his income to enjoy *tej* or local beer. That is why Mulu is engaged in different income earning activities.

Mulu walks from Dorze to Dita market carrying cotton thread [*mag*] and other trade items for rich traders. It takes three days to go from Dorze to Dita and back to Dozre. The rich trader pays her 5 Birr in a single trip from Dorze to Dita. When returning, she brings home root crops, coffee, and other important things for family consumption. Moreover, she sells home-made cotton thread so that she earns 2 or 3 Birr per week.

Almaz: wife of a migrant husband

Almaz is a 34-year old *de facto* head whose husband lives in Addis Ababa. She has to generate a considerable amount of household income because her husband does not send her enough money to cover men's household expenditure. Almaz herself reported that:

Before our marriage my husband lived in Addis Ababa. We got married in September 1989. After a month my husband moved back to Addis Ababa. He used to visit me annually. He used to send me money when ever he could. However, I did not sit idle relying upon what he was sending me. I continued *mag* trading. I moved to Lante market once a week and involved in trading at Dorze market twice a week .My income was less than that of the previous time because I could not move to distant markets as I was doing before. This was because of family responsibility. As a result, my weekly income declined to Birr 7. However, I managed to cover *idir* and other *kebele* payments and some market expenses from this profit.

Case of a wife of a rich husband

Gucho is a wife of a rich man called Cherqos who has two Isuzu cars, and a shop in Addis Ababa. He sends money on regular basis. Gucho covers household expenses such as payment for labourers, land tax, and *idir* with the money she received from her husband. Cherqos also brings clothes for his wife and daughter, sends money to cover holiday expenses such as the purchase of meat.

Household structure and form also affect the roles of women in both income earning and household expenditure pattern. The cases of *de facto* and *de jure* female-headed households may illustrate the impact of household form on the economic role of women. In most cases *de jure* household heads (i.e. widows) cover greater portion of household expenditure. They manage to do this by involving themselves in more intensive income earning activities. Widows who have no matured sons and/or daughters are sole providers of the household. Thus, they devote more time and labour to income earning and productive activities in order to maintain the survival of the household. They cover all household expenses including land tax, *idir*, and farm

labour payment. They also allocate money for children's clothing, schooling expenses, and other household expenses. The case of Gendersie is an example in this regard:

Gendersie is a 44-year widow. She got married when she was 17 years old. She gave birth to 2 male and 1 female children before the death of her husband in 1977. She has shouldered all household responsibilities after the death of her husband. Since her husband had no brother and sister in Haizo, Gendersie could not get help to raise her children. Thus she faced all problems and challenges of life alone. She said the following during group discussion:

The money and asset my husband and I had were consumed within three years. Then I was not able to cover food, cloth and school expenses of my children. No one could help me. Finally, I took loan from relatives and started trading. I got a little profit carrying heavy loads on my back, walking the up land of Arba Minch which is difficult ever for vehicles let alone for humans. I had to cross rivers, and suffer from hunger and thirsty. I brought up my children facing all these challenges.

The *De facto* female household heads, as compared with *de jure* ones, have lesser burden in relation to household expenditure. For instance, wives of migrant husbands receive some amount of money to cover certain portion of household expenditure. However, results of the field data indicate that most migrant husbands do not send money to cover routine household expenditure such as the purchase of vegetables, coffee, and fuel. They often send some amount of money for annual and seasonal payments such as land tax and hired labour payments. Moreover, migrant husbands allocate money to buy family clothes and holiday meat.

Men and women reported different figures with regard to the amount of money husbands send to their wives. About 4 percent of wives in the sample reported that their husbands did not send money at all. The rest of them reported that they receive some amount of money from their migrant husbands. According to the household

survey data, migrant husbands send their wives Birr ranging from 160.00 to Birr 680.00 annually.

Though they receive money from their migrant husbands wives of migrant men shoulder much more responsibilities in relation to household expenditure. There are some important reasons in this regard. First, a considerable number of migrant husbands do not send enough money to cover household expenses that are considered as men's responsibilities. Second, the money sent to land tax, hired labourers and *idir* payment do not help women to cover the day-to-day household expenditure such as the purchase of vegetables, kerosene, coffee, spices and salt. This also shows that though most migrant husbands send money to cover some or all of 'seasonal' expenses; it is still the wife who is responsible for the day-to-day household expenses. Moreover, there are some husbands that rarely send money to their wives. In such circumstances the *de facto* woman head, like the *de jure* ones is forced to involve herself in different income earning activities so as to earn more income so that she could handle expenses such as land tax and hired labour payments.

Currently Arshie is living with her third husband who is a migrant weaver in Addis Ababa. Her husband married her not to get children from Arshie but he knows that Arshie is a barren woman. He married her so that she would keep his house in Haizo while he lives in Addis Ababa. Arshie said that:

This one is my third husband. He has a wife and six children in Addis Ababa. He visits me every year during Masqalla. He also sends me some money for annual holidays. He married me saying 'the house would disintegrate if people do not live in it and if fire is not made in it.' He does not send me enough money. So I spin cotton and sell the thread (*mag*) and save the money to hire farm labourers who plough the land and plant *enset* for me.

The previous discussion in this chapter shows that household members do not have a unified income pattern. Do all household members have common preferences? The NHE theory focuses on homogeneous households headed by an altruistic head. It assumes that members of the household have common choices. However, a number of scholars have argued against this assumption. For example, Moser (1995:15) argues that the status of women and men with regard to resources and in relation to what they need is different. Furthermore, he states that the NHE model does not allow dealing with intra-household interaction and inequality between household members (Ibid: 23).

The findings of the field data indicate that Dorze household members play complimentary roles to maintain the family life. However, they have also conflicting interests geared towards individual economic benefits and aimed at certain level of economic independence. Following is the analysis of intra-household economic interaction and interdependence.

The interaction between father and son is characterized by interdependence and conflict of interests. The father often wants to maintain an extended family structure in which he controls key household resources. To this end, he encourages his son to bring a wife and live in their compound as part of the extended family. Besides, the father attempts to delay the time of the son's marriage. The married son, on the other hand, wants to establish an independent household as early as possible. The son also wants to generate and control his own income, to have and cultivate their own plots.

In some cases the son does not want to enter into serious conflict with his father. This is because the father may reduce the amount of resources that should be transferred to the son in the form of inheritance. Moreover, he may decide not allow his son to inherit key resources such as land if the son behaves against his will. Aleme is a case in point. Regarding father-son interaction he said the following:

After my marriage I worked freely for my father for two years. My duties include both weaving and farming. Then I asked him to give me land and to allow me to lead an independent life. He refused. I also asked him to allow me to weave for myself. He refused. Finally, I decided not to work for him any more. This brought about severe conflict between us. My mother was in favour of me. She gave me some money selling her own jewellery. Using that money I started weaving to generate income. Though I earned my own income I contributed some money to the family. But my father asked me more and more money in the name of land tax and other payments. This conflict continued and forced me to move to Addis Ababa.

The father-son interaction is, therefore, characterized and governed by two opposite forces. The first force pulls the son towards his father's homestead while the second one pushes him from it. There are some factors that pull the son to the homestead of his parents. The major ones are:

The father mainly owns land, which is a scarce resource among the Dorze. He has the right to make the final decision in relation to the inheritance of land and other key resources. Thus, sons must appease and respect their father's in his lifetime in order to inherit more land and other resources when the father dies. The case of Aleme reinforces this idea. Aleme migrated to Addis Ababa and he lived there for years. He also resettled in Haizo. When he moved back to Haizo his father granted him a plot of land on which Aleme with his family settled. Living in a separate compound, Aleme with his wife continued working for his father. Aleme reported that he worked for his

father in order to secure more promise or inheritance from his father because Aleme had very small plot of land while his father had more land.

1. The father may curse his son if the son is against the will of his father. It is believed that the curse of the father would bring about misfortunes and harms on the misbehaving son and his dependents as a result of which the future life of the cursed son would be full of miseries.

The following Dorze sayings indicate this local belief with regard to the interdependence and conflict that exists between father and son.

- '*Ade ayfna tora ayfen esinok*', meaning 'father's eye and spear's eye are the same.'

This saying indicates that the eye of a father is sharp and harmful like that of a spear.

- '*Ba'ade bonchontay asa adeir tsoylei toke's*.' This proverb states that 'one who does not respect his father will carry *tsoyles* or hoe of somebody's father.' Here the saying shows that one who does not respect his father would not inherit land from his father. In other words, he would not have land of his own. Thus he will be a servant of unrelated person.

2. According to the *dere woga* (traditional rule), all members of the extended household are dependent on their *ket's baira* to perform sacrifices.

The qualitative data of the field research reveal that there are some factors that push the son away from his father's compound. First, the conflict between son and father mainly over resources may lead to out migration of sons or may force sons to establish an independent household and to seek their own plots of land through

different means such as land purchase. Second, male out-migration has been common among the Dorze. Sons beginning from their childhood develop the desire to migrate to urban centres. This desire pushes large number of sons out of the rural villages and makes them relatively free from their father's control. Father-son conflict is not the only factor that pushes sons to urban centres. Sons also migrate encouraged by their successful migrant friends who manage to secure economic benefits, further education or government work.

Interactions between spouses are also characterized by conflicting interests and positions. Here is an example of women's complaints over their husbands. As reported by a middle-age woman informant:

Men usually want to marry a hard working woman. They want to benefit not only from the labour of the wife but also from her procreative capacity. Women also prefer to marry a husband who has land, earns better income and who [if the husband is urban migrant] sends more money, buys clothes, visits them at least annually, and buys sufficient amount of meat during annual feasts especially during Masqalla. Spouses complain and sometimes divorce their partner when one of the partners does not fulfil what has been expected from him/her.

Summary

According to the assumption of the NHE theory, income and other economic resources of household members must be pooled to satisfy common household preferences. This assumption does not adequately explain the economic pattern of Dorze households for the following reasons. Unlike the assumption of NHE model: First, members of the majority of Dorze households do not pool their income. They rather generate income from different sources, allocate part of their income to cover certain household expenses and keep the rest of their income for personal expenditure.

Second, the majority of Dorze Haizo households are characterised by gender specific income and expenditure pattern. Spouses in the majority of Dorze households do not pool their income and do not have unified expenditure pattern. Spouses have a relative autonomy of income earning and expenditure pattern. Husbands and wives contribute to household expenditure in different ways. Husbands allocate money for 'gross' and 'seasonal household's expenses including payment of land tax, of hired labour, of *idir* membership, and the purchase of family cloth and holiday meat. Wives allocate more money for a day-to-day purchase of food staff, fuel, and household utensils.

Third, key resources such as land and houses are not pooled. Instead, they are entirely controlled by male household heads. This status of men with regard to access to and control over resources makes women subordinate to men.

Fourth, household members pool their labour in productive activities such as crop cultivation and weaving. Husbands may not pool their labour in the farm activities because they may incline to weaving or live in the urban area as migrant weavers. But, they cover the payment of farm labourers. By hiring farm labourers men compensate the shortage of labour caused by their migration. Despite the considerable role of women in crop production, their access to and control over the harvest is very limited, because only men have the right to store the harvest in granaries and to control the allocation of it.

The role of women in allocating money for household expenditure fluctuates for many reasons. Economic status of the household and the type of household structure and composition could be mentioned as the major factors. Wives in poor households generate more income and cover more household expenditure than wives in rich households. The economic status of husbands' matters a lot. In some cases poor husbands do not cover men's portion of household expenditure, especially poor migrant husbands may not send money for gross expenses such as payment of hired labour and land tax. In such situations, it is the wife who shoulders the responsibility of covering such expenses by generating more income or by reducing allocation of money for other expenses.

This structure and composition of a household also affect the role of women in this regard. For instance, heads of *de jure* households as compared with heads of *de facto* ones generate greater or the whole portion of household income. They also cover most of the household expenses. Moreover, there seems to be a variation of women's role among *de facto* household heads. *De facto* heads who receive less amount of money from their migrant husbands generate more income and cover a greater portion of household expenditure than those who receive better income.

Chapter Five: Factors that Affect Household Structure

As discussed in chapter 2, Bauer (1977) and Bhoola (1988) have argued against Fortes' (1958) model of household developmental cycle. Both have stated that unlike the assumption of Fortes the household does not pass through a single developmental cycle because it is affected by different factors associated with decision-making processes of household members.

Furthermore, Bhoola has applied the model of continuous fragmentation to analyse Somali households of Mogadishu. The model starts with the 'original household' that begins with the marriage of a man and a woman. It passes through the process of expansion 'through the birth of children and ends with the birth of the last child of the union. She argues that the household is subject to continuous disintegration at various stages of its developmental process. A series of decision making regarding marriage, divorce, polygyny and migration give rise to fragmentation and change in household structure (1988:105-6). Moreover, the change in household structure and composition in turn affects the status of women (Ibid: 13).

In this chapter, the researcher argues that the model of continuous fragmentation of households can depict the behaviour of Dorze households. This is because Dorze households, like Somali households of Mogadishu, are not stable. The majority of Dorze households are subject to continuous changes in structure and composition. The major factors that lead to continuous fragmentation of households, as Bhoola has mentioned in the case of Somali households, are divorce, polygyny and migration. Moreover, death of husbands is another major factor that changes the structure of

Dorze households. Besides, Bhoola's model would help researchers to identify the major factors that alter women's socio-economic position at the household level. It is also useful to examine how decision-making processes associated with the above-mentioned factors affect the role of women in the household economy.

As reviewed in chapter 2, Bhoola (1988) argued that decision making at the household level alters household structure and statuses of women. Somali men dominate decision-making in relation to marriage, divorce, and polygyny. These three factors on the other hand, alter household morphology and aggravate the subordinate status of Somali women. Somali women make decisions to migrate and to involve in income earning activities, which in turn change household structure and increase women's autonomy and economic status.

Thus, according to Bhoola, men have greater power in decision making in the cultural context of the Somali society. Somali women have no saying on marriage, divorce, and polygyny. The Dorze context is somewhat different in this regard because Dorze women have a better position in decision making at the household level. For instance, with the exception of first marriage, both men and women have equal decision-making power to decide when and whom to marry. Besides, not only husbands but also wives could decide to divorce their marriage partner.

'Original household' among the Dorze emerges when a man and a woman establish a marriage tie. The newly wed couple live in the compound of the husband's father. Though they have a separate house the couple live as members of the father's

household. The original household expands with the birth of children. It succeeds the parents' household when the latter die and it eventually develops into an extended family household when sons marry in the same compound. Then it enters into the dispersal stage when children grow up, and it starts to disperse when daughters marry outside their father's compound. With the death of spouses, the original household would come to an end and be replaced by the household of one of the sons.

In addition to this, the household is subject to 'continuous fragmentation'. Based on Bhoola's definition, the term 'fragmentation' refers to factors that affect household structure and composition with the exception of marriage of the children of the 'original household'. In other words, fragmentation refers to changes in "households due to the great mobility of members and the continuous fission and fusion that take place." Decision making process associated with marriage, divorce, polygyny and migration gives rise to changes in household morphology during process of fragmentation (1988: 105-6).

The concept 'fragmentation' is applied here in the analysis of Dorze households based on the above definition provided by Bhoola. The term fragmentation does not necessarily indicate the breaking up of the household into two or more segments. Such breaking up may be caused by divorce. However, the change caused by 'continuous fragmentation' could be caused by other factors such as migration of members of the household, polygyny, or death of a spouse. Next, the researcher attempts to analyse Dorze households by considering the factors explained earlier in this chapter.

5.1 Marriage

Marriage changes the morphology and composition of the original household. According to Dorze culture, sons marry in their fathers' compound while daughters move to the homestead of their husbands when they marry. Under normal circumstances the newly married couple reside in the husband's father's compound being members of an extended family household. When daughters marry out the original household loses not only labour but also income generating capacity of its members. However, the reduction of a household member caused by the out marriage of daughters would be compensated when sons bring wives to their father's compound. This indicates that the marriage of daughters and sons balances the gains and losses of female labour and income earning potential. However, such household developmental pattern rarely exists because Dorze households pass through continuous changes as a result of a number of factors such as migration other than marriage.

5.2 Migration

Bhoola considers migration as a major factor that changes household structure and the role of Somali women. The latter migrate to the urban centre, engage in income earning activities, and strengthen their role in the economic arena at the household level. Similarly, migration is one of the major factors that strongly affect Dorze household structure, composition, and economy. Migration affects a considerable portion of Dorze households. Table 5 on page 123 shows the percentage distribution of Dorze Haizo households with and without migrant member(s). From the total number of households, i.e. 254, 183 (71 percent) had one or more migrant members

where as only 71 (29 percent) households had no migrant member in distant urban areas. This indicates that migration has had a strong impact on a great majority of Dorze households.

Table 5: Distribution of Households with and without Migrant Members.

No.	Distribution of households	No.	percentage
1	With migrant members	183	71
2	Without migrant members	71	29
3	Total number of households	254	100

Source: Demographic survey data, Dorze Haizo Kebele, October, 2003.

Both male and female members of Dorze household migrate to urban centres. When we consider internal migration in Ethiopia the number of female migrants exceeds that of male migrants. According to the available data (CSA, 1999:191), 15.2 percent of the female and 13.1 percent of the male population of the country were migrants who moved from their former residential place to other areas with the country. The pattern of Dorze migration reflects the reverse situation because the overwhelming majority of Dorze migrants are males. Table 6 below indicates that out of the total number of migrants recorded during the demographic survey, 72 percent were males while 28 percent were females.

Table 6: Distribution of Male and Female Migrants.

Migrants	No.	Percentage From Total No. Of Migrants
Female	121	28
Male	309	72
Female + Male	430	100

Source: Demographic survey data, Dorze Haizo, October, 2003.

Furthermore, Table 7 on page 124 provides us with more figures on the percentage distribution of male and female migrants according to their age categories. The age of more than 74 percent of female migrants was between 10 and 39 years. This comprised 21 percent of the total number of migrants recorded in 2003. When we see the age distribution of male migrants 72.4 percent of them were between 10 and 49 years old. This consisted of 52 percent of the total number of migrants recorded in the same year.

Table 7: Distribution of Female and Male Migrants, Dorze Haizo, Oct. 2003.

Age Group	Female Migrants			Male Migrants		
	No.	%From total Female Migrants	%From total No. Of Migrants	No.	%From total No. Of Male Migrants	% From total No. Of Migrants
0-9	14	11.6	3.24	29	9.4	6.7
10-19	28	23.1	6.5	40	12.9	9.3
20-29	41	33.9	9.5	89	28.8	20.7
30-39	21	17.4	4.9	47	15.2	10.93
40-49	11	9.1	2.6	48	15.5	11.2
50-59	4	3.3	0.9	23	7.4	5.3
60-69	1	0.8	0.2	19	6.1	4.4
70-79	1	0.8	0.2	11	3.5	2.6
80-89	0	-	0	3	0.97	0.7
90+	0	-	0	-	-	-
	121	100	28.1	309	100	71.9

Source: Demographic survey data, Dorze Haizo, October 2003.

This migration pattern affects sex and age distribution of the resident population of Dorze rural villages. The prevalence of greater number of male migrants has led to the prevalence of female dominated population pattern in Dorze (See table 8, p. 125).

Table 8: Percentage Distribution of Resident Population by Sex and Age Groups.

Age Group	Female Residents			Male Residents		
	No.	%From total Female residents	%From total No. Of residents	No.	%From total No. Of Male Residents	% From total No. Of Residents
0-9	92	16.3	10.4	104	32.1	11.7
10-19	104	18.3	11.7	79	24.3	8.9
20-29	102	18.1	11.5	37	11.4	4.2
30-39	69	12.2	7.8	29	9	3.3
40-49	64	11.3	7.2	9	2.8	1
50-59	73	12.9	8.2	25	7.7	2.8
60-69	40	7.1	4.5	22	6.8	2.5
70-79	12	2.1	1.4	11	3.4	1.2
80-89	5	0.9	0.6	7	2.2	0.8
90+	3	0.53	0.3	1	0.3	0.4
	564	100	63.6	324	100	36.4

Source: Demographic survey data, Dorze Haizo, October 2003.

The sex distribution of Haizo *kebele* residents' population is a relevant example regarding the impact of migration on sex and age distribution. According to the demographic data 63.6 percent of the resident population in Haizo were female where as 36.4 percent were male. The previous demographic data also reflect a similar pattern (see table 9 on page 126). The 1994 population and housing census of the country indicate that out of the total resident population of Dorze *kebele* excluding Bodo town was 58.4 percent for female while 41.6 percent was for male. The percentage for Dorze Haizo was 65.4 percent for female and 34.6 percent for male (CSA, 1994:315). Judith Olmstead (1974:52) based on a demographic survey carried out between 1969 and 1970 found a similar pattern.

Table 9: Distribution of Male and Female Haizo Residents.

Year	Percentage of Residents	
	Male	Female
1970 a	38.5	61.3
1994 b	34.6	65.4
2003 c	36.4	63.6

Source: **a-** Demographic survey data, Dorze Haizo, October 2003.

b- CSA, 1994:315 ¹⁴

c- Olmstead, 1974

The large-scale male migration affects Dorze household morphology at large. Female-headed households (FHHs) dominate Dorze household structure. Table 10 below shows the distribution of male and female-headed households. The number of male and female-headed households are 110 (43 percent) and 140 (57 percent) respectively. *De facto* and *de jure* female-headed households constitute 31 and 26 percent respectively. Of the total number of female-headed households, about 53 percent were headed by *de facto* heads where as 46 percent were headed by *de jure* heads.

Table 10: Distribution of Male and Female Headed Households, Haizo, Oct. 2003.

	MHHs	FHHs		Total No. Of HHs
		De jure	De facto	
No. Of HHs	110	66	78	254
Percent From total No. Of HHs	43 %	26 %	31 %	100 %

Source: Demographic survey data, Dorze Haizo, October 2003.

Note: MHHs refers to 'male headed households'; FHHs refers to female headed household heads; and HHs refers to households.

¹⁴ CSA .1994. Population and Housing Census: Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region. Addis Ababa: Central Statistics Office.

Furthermore, migration has a multifaceted impact on Dorze households. The migration of the husband would affect the status of the wife in various ways. When a married young man migrates to a distant urban centre, he leaves his wife and children in his parents' compound in the rural village. This makes the wife and her children more dependent on his parents. For instance, the migrant husband himself does not send money directly to his wife while his father is alive. Rather he sends everything through his father. The wife gets what her husbands sends through her father-in-law. The following case of Gendersie indicates how wives of migrant husbands depend upon their in-law's while their husbands live in distant towns.

I lived with the parents of my husband while he lived in Addis Ababa. Then he used to send money to them not to me. My parents'-in-law fed me. The past tradition was not like the present time. It was in favour of parents-in-law. I harvested for them. I collected firewood. They provided me with cloth. When my parents-in-law were alive, I did not bother about what to eat and drink. There was no problem. My parents'-in-law had several cattle. They had also horses. My work was bringing fodder for them. There was no trade [I was not engaged in trading]. When they died every thing died. From then on I have been in problems.

Migration of other members also affects the household at large. A considerable number of sons including children of younger ages migrate to Addis Ababa and other towns. According to the demographic survey on Dorze Haizo *kebele*, 22 percent of male migrants were below the age of 20 while 51 percent were below the age of 30. The natal households of migrant boys lose the labour of their migrant members. This is one version of the impact of the migration of sons. Though parents lose the labour of their members, the loss is partly compensated with the money sent by migrant sons. Despite this, migration of unmarried sons may create problems to their parents. Because, most of the sons stay in urban centres for several years as a result of which

they delay their marriage time. Furthermore, some of them do not want to marry and establish family in the rural village. These tendencies interrupt the traditional pattern in which the father's household is succeeded by the household of the son. This in turn affects the traditional system of inheritance and old age security discussed in chapter two.

Moreover, migration exposes a young migrant to different socio-economic interactions and opportunities that affect the status of the migrant in different ways. For example, economic failure may force a migrant young man to go back to the rural village even before old ages. He may also move back to his parents' compound when the parents pass. If he is the eldest son, he would inherit the land and residential compound of his father. He also succeeds his father as *ket's baira*. In contrast, as a result of economic success, the migrant may become a businessman and change the economic status of the rural household. Moreover, a young migrant, who has a wife in the rural village, may marry another wife in the urban centre and resides there permanently instead of succeeding his father as a *ket's baira*.

Migration is a major factor that results in fluctuation of household structure. Different factors may force migrant husbands to go back to their rural household and to live there for sometime or through out the rest of their lives. Factors such as illness and economic problems in towns may push the urban migrants to their home village. For instance, a man who migrates to urban area may not achieve economic success. As a result, he may decide to go back to his rural homestead to live there for some years. Thereafter, he may migrate again to the same or to another urban centre. After living

in the urban centre for some years, he may move back to his home village. This pattern of movement may continue until the beginning of old age in which most migrants move back to their rural villages to settle permanently. The experience of Awoke reflects the dynamic nature of spatial mobility that continues from young to old ages of the migrant.

The case of Awoke:

I was born in Dorze [in 1951]. When I was 15 years old, I went to Addis Ababa. I walked with other people from Dorze to Walayta. From Walayta we got a truck by which we traveled to Addis Ababa. I lived there with my uncle who was a weaver. I helped my uncle by winding bobbins and performing other tasks. After staying for 9 years I came back to Dorze and got married. I stayed in Haizo for about a year and then moved back to Addis Ababa while my wife remained with my parents. Then, I was working independently. I did not work for my uncle. I did not even live with him. I used to send money and visit my family every year. When things became bad, I decided to live in Haizo; I came back to my family in 1961 and lived there until 1969. In 1969, I was recruited as a militiaman and was taken to the warfront during the Ethio- Somali war. I stayed in the army for 5 years. In those days my parents were alive. They along with my wife raised my children. In 1973, I was retired and came back to Haizo. My wife died in 1974. I married my second wife, Amarech, in 1976. After two years I went to Gofa town and began to work there. I decided to work in Gofa because my memories of urban life and experience pushed me to move to somewhere else. Income in Gofa was good. I used to visit my family two or three times annually and sent money regularly. I did not send money directly to my wife. I sent to my father. My wife received what I sent through my father. Moreover, I saved the money I collected in the hands of my father. In the meantime I took my wife to Gofa where we lived together for 3 years. We came back to Haizo in 1983 when my mother died. We decided to live in my father's compound because the death of my mother left him alone. Thus, it was difficult for me to go back to Gofa though my income in Gofa had been good. One elderly person said: 'you are the baira among your brothers. Besides, there is no one who got married and lived with your father. You have to be with him in his old ages.' Hence, I gave up my intention of moving back to Gofa and permanently settled in my father's compound. When my father died, I inherited the land and the house.

Migration affects the role of women in two major ways. First, migration of the husband changes the status of the wife into a *de facto* household head. That means it alters the role of the wife by adding more responsibilities on her because she is forced to take

over her husband's responsibilities too. For instance, the wife of a migrant man is responsible to pay land tax and *idir* membership payment when her husband fails to send money. She is also responsible to deal with farm management and children schooling and other household responsibilities alone. Second, migration affects the economic status of the migrant husband which in turn alters the economic status of the wife.

Migration also affects the socio-economic status of the migrant in a significant way. Changes that affect the life of migrant husband also affect rural households. Sometimes the changes may create conflict between spouses and alter the pattern of relations between the migrant husband and his wife. Aleme, a young man, migrated to Addis Ababa leaving his wife and children in his father's compound. Within a few years he managed to generate better income. Moreover, he married an additional wife in the capital. Aleme's urban marriage challenged his marriage relation with the former wife. Aleme inclined to the new wife, paid less attention to his first wife who lived in Haizo in Alem's father's compound. When she heard the marriage of Aleme, his first wife decided to move to Addis Ababa. Then, instead of moving back to Dorze she decided to stay in Aleme's house where the second wife also lived. Serious conflict broke out between the two wives on one hand and between each wife and Aleme on the other hand. Finally, Aleme got sick. Then he divorced his second wife and went back to Dorze to recover from his sickness. From then on he has lived with his first wife in Dorze Haizo.

In some cases migration considerably changes the economic status of the husband, which subsequently alters role and status of wives. When the husband becomes rich he would manage to send more money to his wife, to provide the family with better clothing and covers school and medical expenses. Moreover, the rich husband enriches the cash capital of his wife so that the latter could involve in a more profitable trade activity and could earn better profit. Economic position of migrant husbands also allows the wife to hire farm labourers who carry out labour instead of investing her time and labour to carry out farm tasks. Besides, such a woman does not involve in low profit and more tiresome trade activities. The following case shows how economic success of migrant husband affects the socio-economic status of his wife who lives in the rural village.

The Cases of Cherqos and Gucho:

Cherqos is a 70-year-old merchant who lives in Addis Ababa. Gucho, 61, is his wife. Both of them were born in Dorze Haizo. Cherqos and Gucho established marriage union before 45 years in Haizo. Cherqos was a weaver. Cherqos and his wife lived in the homestead of his father for two years. Thereafter, he migrated to Addis Ababa as a migrant weaver.

Prior to Cherqos's economic success, Gucho engaged herself in different income generating activities. She brewed local beer; she spun cotton thread to sell it at Bodo/Dorze market. She also sold 'areqe (local alcoholic drink) in the same market place. Besides, Gucho used to carry out farm activities such as manuring, weeding, and harvesting. She also involved herself in different labour networks or *yusho* arrangements to accomplish some of these tasks. Moreover, she walked to distant markets and engaged herself in petty trading.

During the period of the Derg, Cherqos engaged himself in *dir na mag* trade in Addis Ababa and managed to make a considerable amount of money. This helped him to open a shop and to buy a mini bus and then an Isuzu. This change in the economic status of

Cherqos has also altered the role and status of his wife in many ways. The following paragraphs illustrate this situation.

After he becomes a trader Cherqos sends more money on regular basis. Gucho covers household expenses such as payment for labourers, land tax, and *idir* with the money she receives from her husband. Cherqos also buys clothes for his wife and daughter. He sends money to cover holiday expenses such as the purchase of meat.... Now Gocho does not walk from one local market to another in order to make 3 or 4 Birr profit on each market day. The pattern of her trade activity was changed since the Derg period. Cherqos has become a rich man since that period. From then on Gucho was able to generate better income from other economic activities. She buys trade items including coffee, and butter when prices are low and sells them when prices rise. She does this without moving from one market to another. She buys the items from Dorze market, stores them from 6 to 9 months and sells the items when prices go up. She also lends money at the rate of 10 percent interest per month. She engages in these income-earning activities not for the sake of covering routine household expenses but to improve her own economic status.

The following case similarly shows the impact of migration of a husband first on the status of the migrant then on his wife who lives in the rural village.

The Case of Altaye (husband) and Masine (wife):

Altaye married Masine in 1969. The spouses started to live in the homestead of Altaye's father. Altaye migrated to Addis Ababa in 1971. First, he was a weaver, and then he turned his attention to business. In the meantime, he managed to generate more capital, which helped him to run more business and also to help his family. He was able to promote trade activities. Now Altaye has 2 Isuzu cars, a shop in Merkato, Addis Ababa, and another shop at Bodo/Dorze market.

At the beginning of her marriage life Masine had engaged herself in petty trading because the money her husband sent was not enough to cover household expenses. Moreover the profit she gained did not exceed 6 Birr per week. Currently, she maintains a business network with her husband. Altaye sends trade items from the capital to Chano; a small town located some 20-kilometres far away from Dorze. Masine sells the trade items in Dorze. This has improved the economic status of Masine considerably. Furthermore, Masine's role farming has been changed since then. Unlike wives of poor husband, she does not carry manure, does not harvest and weed. Rather, she manages the household farm. She hires labourers who conduct farm tasks.

The above cited cases reveal the impact of migration on the role of women in the household economy. Migration first changes the status of the migrant husband. Some migrant husbands manage to make more money by engaging themselves in non-

weaving economic activities such as trade. Those who make more money send more money to their rural wives. This changes the status of the wives' role in productive and income generating activities.

5.3. Divorce

Divorce is a common, simple, and less complicated issue in Dorze communities. Nevertheless, it affects the structure of the household and the status of spouses. It breaks up the household. Usually the husband remains in his/his father's compound while the wife moves away from him. When the divorced husband lives with his mother or other matured female relatives he would not face a problem of getting food, and of childcare. Thus, he may not rush to another marriage. If he has no mother or other adult woman relative to cook and manage the household for him, he would be forced to marry another woman as quickly as possible.

Divorce changes the status of women in different ways. First of all, it forces the divorced woman to change her residential place. As a result, the woman moves from her husband's to her father's compound and lives there until she manages to establish marriage relation with another man. Secondly, divorce changes the social status of the woman. A divorced woman is locally called *sayo* which literally means a divorcee woman. A *sayo* has lower socio-economic status than a married woman.

Despite this change of status, parents do not reject their divorcee daughter when she comes back to their compound. They mostly welcome her when she runs away from her husband's house. This is because the *sayo* who comes back to her parent's

compound is not considered as a burden. She is rather considered as a source of an additional labour because the *sayo* helps the household in various ways. She contributes her labour to carry out farm activities and other domestic chores. She also generates income from different sources including petty trading, spinning cotton thread, and local beer brewing. Allocating part of her income, she covers a portion of household expenses by purchasing foodstuff, coffee, kerosene, and other items. This indicates that a Dorze woman plays an important role in the household economy either she lives with her husband as a wife or with her parents as a *sayo*.

As discussed earlier, divorce changes household structure. The change in household structure alters the economic status of women in different ways. First, a divorced woman loses her right to live in her husband's compound because it is the woman that moves out of the residential compound during divorce. Second, the woman loses her access to key economic resources that remains under the control of the husband after the divorce. As a result, the divorced woman loses access to farm plots, domestic animals, and *enset* grove. Moreover, the woman does not share household asset when she moves out of her husband's house because the customary law does not allow the woman to claim her share from household asset when divorce occurs. The husband may give the woman small amount of money as a 'compensation.' This is possible when the husband is found responsible for the divorce. The amount of money given to the *sayo* is very small. The researcher interviewed Halaqa Himado, a 93 years old man, about divorce and the amount of 'compensation' given to the divorced woman. He said: 'During our time there was no problem. We simply kick out a woman who does not have good conduct perhaps giving her one or two Birr... No more. That is

all!' Moreover, when a group discussion of divorcee women was carried out one of the participant described her experience as follows:

When I divorced my husband I left his house without sharing property. I moved out only with my labour. I moved out nil. When I sent elders asking him saying 'Divorce me; give me the price of my labour,' he ran away from one place to another. Since I was not able to do anything, I moved out empty handed.

The case of Agdew is also another example in this regard. Agdew divorced eight times throughout his marriage life. When the researcher interviewed him Agdew responded that he did not share household property with his seven ex-wives during divorce. He did not also give a significant amount of money to his wives. He was challenged only once to share household asset with his wife. That was during the period of the Ethiopian Revolution when he divorced Damame. Damame was supported by her relatives. She challenged him claiming that he should share the household asset with her. Finally, forced by the decision of *kebele* officials, Agdew gave 100.00 Birr and a cow to Damame.

Some divorced women informants reveal that divorce does not bring major changes in their living condition. They reported that they carry out similar economic activities when they live as a wife in their husbands' house and when they live as a *sayo* in their parents' household. A woman who lives in a marriage union in low income households conducts domestic chores, carries out farm tasks and engages herself in petty trading and other income earning activities to maintain the survival of the household. After divorce, the same woman carries out similar tasks living in her parents' household. Ayelech, 30 years old *sayo* said:

When I was there [in my husband's house] I was working and I was sleeping alone! Here in my father's house too I am working. I sleep alone. There is no major change since I live on my own effort. For me as a married woman or as a *sayo* [a divorced woman] there is no difference whether I live in my husband's house or in my father's house.

As mentioned earlier, divorce is a common phenomenon among the Dorze. Bhoola revealed that Somali men dominated the decision-making process in relation to divorce. In Somali society men have the right to divorce their wives merely uttering 'I divorce you' (1988:113). Unlike the Somali case, decision-making associated with divorce and marriage are not entirely dominated by men in Dorze society. Dorze women also have a significant decision making role in this regard. They could make decision to divorce their spouse. The following case about Ayelech illustrates the decision making role of women regarding divorce:

Ayelech married in 1995 and divorced her husband after 9 years. In those years the spouses did not live together. The husband first lived in Addis Ababa then in Arba Minch. Ayelech lived with her in-laws in Haizo. Ayelech revealed that she was tired of living apart from her husband. She asked her husband to allow her to live with him in Arba Minch. The husband did not agree. Finally, Ayelech decided to divorce her husband. Regarding her decision Ayelech said:

My husband could not help me. Sometimes, he was in favor of his father. Sometimes he was in favor of me. But he could not solve the problem. He married me not to be his wife but to work for his parents. I said to him: 'You do not feed me. You do not buy cloth for me. You have not adorned me...Nominally people call me 'the wife of government worker.' But I did not get any benefit. So 'divorce me.' He responded 'I do not divorce you. With whom do you want to live other than a civil servant like me?' After I heard his response, I decided to move away from the house of his parents and came back to my father's house. Now I live with my father and my sisters.

As mentioned above, both men and women have the right to make decision regarding divorce. The case of Agdew also supports this idea. Besides, it illustrates how divorce and remarriage are common and simple matters in the Dorze society.

Agdew Zada, a 78-year old man, divorced and remarried several times. He married his first wife when he was 30. From then until the time of this field research, he married ten women. Agdew revealed that his marriage ties with 8 of the women were followed by divorces. He also mentioned a number of causes that resulted in divorce. For instance, two of his wives, Dangalo and Askale decided to divorce him because of their belief associated with *gome*. Dangalo decided to divorce Agdew because she believed that the misfortunes that occurred in the house i.e. the continuous sickness of Agdew, the death of livestock and the sharp decline of Agdew's income were caused by her *gome*. Askale also took the same measure influenced by her belief associated with *gome*. The other two wives Kawotie and Watekie decided to divorce for different reasons. Kawotie divorced Agdew because he did not send her enough money and buy her cloth while he lived in Zala. Watekie was the second wife of Agdew. She lived in a distant farm plot. She moved out from Agdew's house because she did not want to live in a distant farm plot as a second wife.

Agdew made decision regarding the other 4 divorces. He reported that he divorced Shewaye because her bad conduct [he said that she was 'talkative']. He chased away Damame because she had poor household management skill. He divorced the other two women as a result of continuous quarrel with him and his parents.

The above case shows how divorce followed by successive remarriages affects the structure of the household. It also shows that not only men but also women can decide to divorce motivated by economic and cultural reasons. Moreover, the case of Agdew's household indicates that Dorze household structure is characterized by

continuous fluctuation resulted from the impact of multiple factors including marriage, divorce, and polygyny. It also shows possible causes that initiate spouses to make decision associated with marriage and divorce.

5.4. Polygyny

Polygyny¹⁵ is another factor that affects Dorze household structure and composition. Polygyny is common among the Dorze. When they were asked whether they have or had two or more wives now or in the past nearly 42 percent of the total number of male respondents in the household survey sample said 'Yes!' while 50 percent of them responded 'No!' About 8 percent did not respond. Female respondents were also asked a similar question: "How many wives does your husband have?" Among the total number of respondents 52 percent of them said 'One', 27 percent answered 'Two' and about 5 percent of them reported that their husbands have three wives. About 16 percent did not respond. According to the results of the demographic survey, out of the total number of households in Dorze Haizo, 23 percent were polygynous while about 43 percent are monogamous unions (see table 11, page 139).

There are factors that lead to polygynous marriage. A Dorze man may marry two or more wives in order to settle each wife in different plots so that each wife would manage the cultivation of particular plot and take care of livestock. This type of polygynous marriage was more common in the past when the Dorze inclined more towards farming rather than weaving. A Dorze husband may decide to marry an additional wife when his former wife fails to bear children or even when she fails to

¹⁵ Polygyny is a marriage between a man and two or more wives/women.

give birth to male children. The other factor that causes polygynous marriage is rural-urban migration.

Despite its prevalence, very small portion of Dorze men and women consider polygyny as a useful practice. When they were asked a question: 'Is polygyny useful?' about 76 percent of male respondents answered saying 'No' where as only 16.7 percent of them answered 'Yes'. The rest (i.e. 16.9 percent) did not respond to the question. Regarding the same question, 75 percent of the total number of female respondents said that polygyny had no benefit whereas 12.5 percent reported that polygyny was useful while the remaining 12.5 percent did not respond.

Table 11: Percentage Distribution of Marital Status of Household Heads.

Marital Status	No. Of households	Percent From total No. Of HHs
Monogamy	108	42.5
Polygamy	58	22.8
Divorce	11	4.3
Separated	2	0.8
Single	5	2.0
Widow	70	27.6
Total	254	100

Source: Demographic survey data, Dorze Haizo, October, 2003.

Husbands dominate decision-making in relation to polygyny. However, in most cases spouses discuss to make decision regarding polygyny. There are times in which the wife rejects the proposed marriage. Sometimes the wife may decide to divorce her husband. The experience of Asnakech is a case in point. Asnakech divorced her husband when he married an additional wife,

In some cases the wife accepts her husband's decision to marry an additional wife. The wife supports such a decision, for instance: 1) when she does not beget children to her husband; 2) when she fails to give birth to a male child or male children and 3) when the husband who lives in urban areas is in need of a woman to cook for him. The following two cases are good examples in this regard.

The case of Asine, a wife of a migrant husband:

Since the time of our marriage my husband and I lived in peace. Though we lived together for several years I did not beget children to my husband. I was worried about the problem. My husband was also worried about it. I knew that he wanted to marry another wife in order to get children. This was my worry too because I could not give birth to neither male nor female children. When he told me his desire and asked me for my consent, I agreed. Beyond that I myself chose a woman and arranged the marriage between my husband and that woman.... Now my husband and the second wife live in Addis Ababa.

A wife who lives in urban areas also tolerates her husband's marriage to another woman. She tolerates such a marriage for to major reasons. 1) When her husband inherits land in the rural village he could marry in order to have a woman who would look after the land. 2) He could also marry a wife in the rural village when his parents are in need of a woman to help them in their old ages. Abaynesh, a 26 years old housewife, who lives in Addis Ababa with her civil servant husband, explained this as follows:

I do not allow my husband to marry another wife in Addis Ababa because he has no reason to do so. However, if he has inherited land in Dorze he must marry so that the wife would take care of the land, *enset* and the house while he lives in a town. Again if his parents are old who are in need of the help of another woman, I do not oppose my husband's marriage to another woman because I am here [in Addis Ababa] and I do not go to the rural area to help the parents of my husband. Thus, he must marry another wife for the sake of his parents. This is our culture.

Decision with regard to polygyny affects the household in different ways. It alters household structure and leads to the formation of stem households headed by the same husband. It also results in resource division between two or more stem households. Moreover, it may give rise to competition and conflict between wives over key resources.

Polygyny has two major features among the Dorze. When the husband permanently resides in the rural village he and his wives live in the same geographical area. Usually the wives with their children live in different compounds. They will have separate *enset* groves. If the husband's land holding size is good, they would also have separate farm plots. Though the household structure is changed, the household head closely controls both stem households.

The second form of polygyny is associated with migration. This type of polygynous union has a different pattern. A man who has a wife in the rural village marries another wife in the urban centre. The husband with one of his wives lives in the urban centre while his other wife resides in the rural homestead. The husband permanently works and resides in the town but he visits the rural wife during annual holidays mainly during the time of Masqal celebration. In such circumstances the man moves between two stem households situated in distant geographical locations. For instance, a migrant husband who lives in Addis Ababa must travel about 525 kilometres to visit his rural family and wife. He is also responsible for sending money, and buying clothes etc for his parents, wife, and children who live in the rural village. Besides, he must allocate some amount of money to cover certain portion of household

expenditure in the urban stem household. Because of their double role in provision of cash, in purchasing clothes and in covering holiday expenses most husbands seem to cover a limited portion of household expenditure. As a result, wives that live both in the rural and urban areas shoulder much more responsibilities in generating income and covering a considerable amount of household expenses. Kansa is a case in point:

Kansa was a migrant weaver who lived at Shiro Meda in Addis Ababa. He had a wife, two children, and old parents in Dorze. His urban wife reported that he annually sent his family and parents about Birr 300.00. Every week Kansa saves Birr 25.00 as a member of *iqub*. Moreover, he visited his rural family and parents annually. As a result, he spent a considerable amount of his income for transportation and other holiday expenses. These responsibilities of Kansa weakened his cash contribution in relation to household expenditure of both the urban and rural stem households. Hence, both his wives who lived in the rural and urban areas were engaged in different income earning activities in order to supplement household income. Atsede, the urban wife, was engaged in firewood selling. She was earning about Birr 30.00 per week. Masore, the rural wife, generated income from petty trading and spinning cotton thread for market.

In addition to altering household structure and composition decision making regarding polygyny also changes the role and status of women at large. In one-way or another the decision would affect the position of women. In some cases decision to marry an additional wife leads to the disintegration of the marriage tie between the husband and his former wife. Let us see the following case, which illustrates how the decision of the husband, in relation to polygyny led to another decision to divorce.

Mered, now 51 years old adult was a migrant weaver who lived in Addis Ababa. He had married Etenesh, his first wife, in 1988. After a year the union came to an end as a result of divorce. Etenesh moved away from her husband and lived as a divorced woman for 15 years. During those 15 years, she engaged herself in coffee and *dir na mag* trade. She used to travel to distant towns and markers to run her business. As a result, she managed to change her economic status with the profit she earned. She also generated profit by lending money at the rate of 10 % interest in every month.

After Etenesh moved away, Mered married Asnakech who was a 16-year old virgin. Asnakech begot him two children and lived as his wife for 14 years. After 14 years Mered decided to marry Etenesh. According to some informants, it was Etenesh that

sent elders and asked Mered for remarriage. Mered's decision to remarry his former wife led to divorce because Asnakech who did not accept the decision of Mered decided to divorce him. Asnakech decided to divorce Mered not merely because of the decision of Mered to marry Etenesh. She was also offended by his decision to move her away from the residential compound in which she lived for 14 years in order to put Etenesh in her place. Being annoyed by the decision, Asnakech moved away from the compound and settled in her parents' homestead.

The decision of Mered to marry Etenesh as a second wife affected the roles and statuses of both women. Mered's decision to marry Etenesh resulted in divorce which in turn changed the position of Asnakech from the status of a wife to the status of a 'sayo,' a divorcee woman. The same decision alters the social position of Etenesh who had lived for 14 years as a *sayo*. Etenesh's social position was changed from the status of a *sayo* to that of a wife. Etenesh moved into the compound of Mered as a wife in 2002. After two years she gave birth to a baby son. As a result, Etenesh became not only a wife but also a mother. That decision also changed the life of Mered's household because Etenesh allocating her own money built a modern corrugated iron house in her husband's compound. Moreover, Etenesh allocates her own income to cover most of the household expenses.

5.5. Death of Spouses

The death of husbands is another major factor that changes household structure and the socio-economic roles of Dorze women. It creates a considerable number of female-headed households. The demographic data on Dorze Haizo households indicate that out of the total number of households i.e. 56.7 percent were female-headed. *De jure* heads or widows headed 52.8 percent of the total number of female-headed households in Haizo. The percentage of *de jure* female-headed households out of the total number of households was 27.5 percent. This indicates that the death of husbands rather than that of wives has a strong impact on household structure and the role of women.

The death of a spouse does not affect the life of the husband and the wife equally. The spouse that remains alive loses economically, socially and psychologically. However, a man who lost his wife as a result of death would marry another woman with in a

short time. As a result, he secures economic and psychological benefits. Marriage after the death of a husband is not simple for widows. There are a number of reasons that refrain widow women from exercising remarriage after the death of their husband. Culturally, it is believed that it is *gome* to marry another man leaving the children of the deceased husbands without mother. Moreover, widows mainly who have male children prefer to remain widowed and to live in the compound of their deceased husband for economic reasons. Because, when the widow stays in the same compound, she would maintain access to and control over key household resources. When her sons get mature and live in distant urban areas, the widow would secure better status in relation to control over resources. Besides, if she has son/sons that earns/earn better income engaged in non-farm activities, the widow would receive more income from her son(s) (see case of Gendersie on page 145).

Despite securing the above-mentioned economic benefits, the widow suffers a lot. If she marries, that would be considered as a *gome*/taboo. Moreover, she would lose economic benefits because she would lose her access to household resources. If she refrains herself from remarriage, she would also suffer from biological, psychological and economic problems. Biologically the widow suffers because extra marital intercourse is rare among the Dorze. First of all, having intercourse outside marriage ties is considered as *gome*. Besides, the distribution of residential compounds in Dorze has town-like housing pattern. The compounds are located near to each other. Furthermore, the members of the society are intertwined as a result of endogamous marriage and kinship networks. All these situations minimize the chance of engaging in secrete sexual affair.

The case of Gendersie

Even now I have no problem with regard to land. I have one female and two male children. Living in such circumstances I still suffer a lot. Before my blood [my potential of bearing children] dried up, I was living alone with out a husband, saying, 'where could I go leaving my children behind?' I lived alone and still I live alone. I was a woman who could move elsewhere, getting married, begetting children, having good food and cloth. I could sleep in a good bed. But the culture tied me up Our culture does not allow me to marry another man. If I marry that would be a *gome* [transgressing the traditional rule or taboo] for me. Even If I marry, the husband would undermine me saying 'didn't she beget children in another place to another man? So I decide to live alone praising God, and placing my hope on my children. I hope that when they get matured my children would provide me with cloth, food, and drink.

Summary

Fortes' model of household developmental cycle has been criticized because it assumes that households pass through a single developmental cycle. Bauer (1977) and Bhoola (1988) have disproved this assumption and thereby developed alternative theoretical models.

The researcher has found that the model of 'continuous fragmentation' adequately explains the behaviour of Dorze households and the role of women in the household economy. This is because: 1) unlike the assumption of Fortes, Dorze households are not stable. 2) Besides, Dorze households do not pass through a single pattern of developmental stages such as expansion, dispersion, and replacement. 3) Rather than passing through a single pattern of developmental cycle, a great majority of Dorze households are characterized by continuous changes in structure and composition.

Bhoola has stated that Somali households are characterized by 'continuous fragmentation' and 'breaking up' because they are affected by factors such as marriage, divorce, polygyny and migration. Similarly, Dorze households are continuously affected by the above-mentioned factors. The most important factor that affects the household economy, structure and the roles and statuses of women is migration. Moreover, the death of husbands is another major factor that alters household structure and significantly changes the socio-economic status of women.

For instance, migration to a great extent drains out male labour because a great majority of Dorze migrants are male. This large-scale male migration in turn adds more household responsibilities on wives of migrant men. It also strongly affects the sex distribution of the rural household and population. Female population constitutes about two-third of rural population. Moreover, it increases the number of female-headed households.

The death of husbands also brings about a relatively permanent and long-term change on household structure and the status of women. While, migration of men increases the number of households headed by *de facto* women heads, the death of husbands' results in large number of households headed by widows or *de jure* heads. The structural change of the household resulted from the death of husbands also affects the socio-economic status of women. Besides, divorce and polygyny alter the structure of the household and the status of women.

Conclusion

This thesis has focused on the study of Dorze households with particular reference to the role of women in the household economy. First, it presents the description of the historical and geo-cultural context of the Gamo highland communities in general and the Dorze in particular. The Gamo highland communities had been relatively isolated from central and northern Ethiopia. They were incorporated into the Ethiopian empire in the last decade of the 19th century. The incorporation brought about various changes in the socio-economic life of the highland communities.

The Dorze are the most affected people in this regard. Though the Dorze had the skill of weaving earlier, weaving has become an important source of income for the majority of Dorze households after the period of the incorporation. From then on, the weaving economy has been associated with migration of weavers because better market for woven clothes is available in the urban centre. The spatial mobility of the Dorze is dominated by male migration, which affects household structure and the economic role of women at the household level.

In general, men enjoy higher socio-economic status while the status of women is that of a subordinate one. The prevalence of strong patriarchal ideology indicates this situation. For instance, only men own and inherit key household resources such as land. Only men can be household head. Only men conduct rituals and perform sacrifices. This cultural context puts woman in a subordinate position vis-à-vis men.

Dorze women play a pivotal role in production activities. The considerable role of women in food crop cultivation is clearly reflected in the traditional gender division of labour. Men are responsible for hoeing, sowing, and threshing. Though these tasks are considered as 'men's works', in most cases they are carried out by non-Dorze labourers. Most Dorze men do not farm for two major reasons. 1) Most of them live in urban centres as migrant weavers. 2) Most of the rural resident men incline to weaving. They generate income from weaving and hire farm labourers for farm activities. Moreover, the tradition of 'work taboo' makes men free from carrying things such as manure, fodder, *enset*, firewood harvest, grain and straw.

Women's roles in farming include manuring, weeding, harvesting and carrying the produce, grain and straw, to the homestead. With the exception of rich households that have better access to hired labour, women carry out these farm tasks. Labour is scarce resource where as farming is labour intensive in Dorze. Male out migration aggravates the degree of this problem. As a result, women devote more time and labour to carry out farm tasks. Moreover, Dorze women manipulate local contexts to secure extra household labour. They increase their access to labour being engaged in labour network locally called *yusho*. Women have more number of *yusho* arrangements than men. This reveals the dominant role of women in productive activities.

Different theoretical models have been applied to analyze and explain household behaviors. Fortes' (1958) model of household developmental cycle, Becker's (1960) New Household Economics, Bauer's (1977) 'path analysis' model and Bhoola's (1988) model of 'continuous fragmentation' are good examples.

In this thesis, the researcher has reviewed the above-mentioned models. Then, he has attempted to examine the basic assumptions of the NHE and the 'continuous fragmentation' models in order to find out whether the models could be applied to explain the behavior of Dorze households or not.

The researcher has come up with the following major findings. The socio-economic contexts of Dorze households do not fit to the NHE model. Thus, the NHE can not adequately explain the behavior of Dorze households. The model of 'continuous fragmentation' has been applied to explain the continuous changes of Dorze households in structure and composition.

According to the assumption of the NHE theory, the household is a unit in which members pool income and other economic resources to satisfy common household preferences. This assumption does not adequately explain the economic pattern of Dorze households for the following reasons.

First, members of the majority of Dorze households do not pool their income. They generate income from different sources and allocate portion of their income to cover certain household expenses and keep the rest for personal expenditure. Besides, key household resources such as land and houses are not pooled. Instead, they are controlled by male household heads. Only male members inherit key household resources. This status of men with regard to control over resources makes women subordinate to men.

Second, the majority of Dorze households are characterised by gender specific income and expenditure pattern. Spouses have a relative autonomy of income earning and expenditure pattern. Moreover, husbands and wives contribute to household expenditure in different ways. Husbands allocate money for 'gross' and 'seasonal' household's expenses including payments of land tax, hired labour, and *idir* membership. They are also responsible to purchase cloth for household members and to buy meat during Masqalla and other annual celebration. Wives allocate more money for a day-to-day purchase of consumption items including cereals, vegetables, spices, root crops, kerosene, and household utensils. Male and female children also have different income and expenditure pattern similar to the above mentioned pattern.

Third, household members pool their labour in productive activities such as cereal and *enset* cultivation. Despite their considerable role in crop production, women's access to and control over the harvest is very limited. This is because; only men (household heads) store the grain, seal the granary and control the allocation of the grain.

Fourth, the NHE theory focuses on homogeneous household headed by an altruistic head. It also assumes that members of the household have common choices. Thus, they join their income and economic resources under an altruistic head that redistributes the economic resources to the members of the household. Unlike this assumption, Dorze households are not homogeneous. Household members do not necessarily have common preferences. Though, members play complementary roles to maintain the household they also have conflicting interests. Interactions between spouses, between father and son, mother and son is characterized by conflicts over key household resources.

As indicated above, the model of 'continuous fragmentation' has been applied to explain the continuous changes of Dorze households in structure and composition. The model assumes that the household is in the state of continuous changes in structure and composition. The household is subject to 'continuous fragmentation' because it is continuously affected by factors such as migration, polygyny, and divorce. The change in household structure in turn alters the role and status of women at the household level.

The model has been applied to explain Dorze household behaviour economy because:

Firstly, Dorze households are characterized by continuous changes in structure and composition because they are continuously affected by various factors such as migration, divorce, and polygyny.

Secondly, the model of 'continuous fragmentation' puts strong emphasis on the major factors that alter household structure. Moreover, it examines the impact of household structural change on roles and statuses of women. As a result, it provides an important theoretical framework to the study of Dorze household dynamics and the role of women in the household economy.

Thirdly, the model considers intra-household interaction and conflict which allows researchers to examine the conflicting interests of household members.

Furthermore, Bhoola's model could serve as an alternative theoretical framework to the study of household behaviour in other societies in which households are characterized by

continuous changes because of various factors including migration, divorce, and polygyny.

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Appendix



Plate 1:
An old man sitting
in front of a fallen
woga ket'sa [traditional house].

Plate 2:
A memorial stick erected to remember
the woga ket'sa that disappeared.

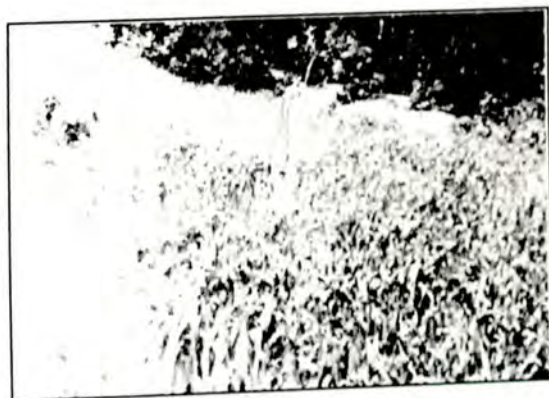


Plate3
View of Dorze
residential compound.

Plate 4:
Women work group
- spinning cotton thread.





Plate 5:

Members of a work group singing a yusho song.

Plate 6:

Women **dago** [drink together] local beer in Bodo market.



Plate 7:

The researcher with enumerators enjoying food and local beer.

Plate 8:

The researcher and enumerators near the big **dubusha**.





Plate 9:
Chuba, a 94-year old weaver,
with his wife.

Plate 10:
A boy weaving.

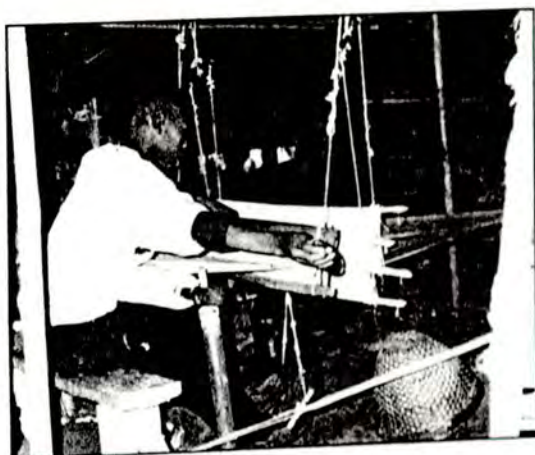


Plate 11:
A potter working.



Plate 12:
Women processing enset.





Plate 13: Women moving the edible part of the enset plant for processing



Plate 14: Women In Dorze /Bodo market

