

**THE INFLUENCE OF THE MARKET: LABOUR,
PRODUCTION PRACTICES AND
LAND RENTALS IN GODINO VILLAGE
ADA'A, EASTERN SHEWA**

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	i
LIST OF TABLES AND MAPS AND PLATES	v
ACRONYMS	vii
TRANSLITERATION	viii
GLOSSARY	ix
PREFACE	xiv
ABSTRACT	xv

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Review of the Literature	1
1.2. Purpose of the Study	8
1.3. Methodology	10
1.3.1. Qualitative Methods	11
1.3.2. Quantitative Methods	13

CHAPTER TWO

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH SITE AND HISTORY	17
2.1. Location, Topography and Climate	17
2.2. Description of Godino Community	19
2.3. Brief History of Godino	22
2.3.1. Land Tenure of the Pre-revolutionary Period	28
2.3.1.1. Tenancy and Rental Forms	29
2.3.1.2. The Old Tenure and Farm Labour	32
2.3.2. The post-revolutionary Period	34
2.3.2.1. Labour forms During the Revolution (1975-90)	41

CHAPTER THREE

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF GODINO COMMUNITY	44
3.1. The Household	44
3.2. Neighbourhood Associations	50
3.2.1. Ts'Iwa Mahabär	50
3.2.2. Qallu Institution	53
3.2.3. IddIr	54
3.3. Marriage and Divorce	57
3.3.1. Arranged Marriage	57
3.3.2. Gora Marriage	60
3.3.3. Buta Marriage	61
3.3.4. Gada	62
3.3.5. Divorce	64

CHAPTER FOUR

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION	67
4.1. Farm Land	67
4.1.1. Distribution of Rainfed and Irrigated Land	70
4.1.2. Inheritance of land Use Rights	73
4.1.3. Reduction of Land Holdings	74
4.1.4. Distribution of Rainfed Land Holdings	76
4.1.5. Distribution of Irrigated Land Holdings	77
4.2. Farm Production	79
4.2.1. Production Activities in Rainfed Agriculture	79
4.2.2. Irrigated Farm Activities	86
4.2.3. Fertilizers and Herbicides	87
4.2.4. Crop Patterns	91
4.2.4.1. Factors Affecting Selection of Crops	96
4.2.5. The Middlemen	101
4.3. Livestock Production	102
4.3.1. Stratification and Traction Power	105
4.4. Farming System of Godino	109

CHAPTER FIVE**FORMS OF LAND RENTALS AND TEMPORARY LAND USE
TRANSFERENCE ARRANGEMENT AS MEANS OF DEBT**

CLEARANCE	111
5.1. Types of Interlinkges	111
5.2. Incidence of Tenurial Arrangements	115
5.3. Social Bases of Interlinkages	120
5.4. Factors of Interlinkages	123
5.4.1. The Developmental Cycle	124
5.4.2. Female-Headed Households	125
5.4.3. Ownership of Oxen	126
5.5. Liqa	

CHAPTER SIX 131**COOPERATIVE LABOUR** 138

6.1. Cooperative Labour Forms of the Past	139
6.2. Current Forms of Cooperative Labour	142
6.3. Occurrence and Frequency of Cooperative Labour	142
6.4. Hired Labour	151
6.4.1. Immigrant Hired Labour	161
6.5. Decline of Cooperative Labour	163

CHAPTER SEVEN**SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS** 169

7.1. Summary	169
7.2. Conclusions	177

BIBLIOGRAPHY 182**APPENDICES**

I: Bench marks to overview Local-dynamics Over the Past 45 Years	186
II: Cases of Productive Activities of 15 Households Represented by Heads From Different Age, Sex, and Wealth Strata Groups	190
III: Crop Names of Godino	203
IV: Photocopies of Formal Agreements in Economic Interlinkages in Amharic	214

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1:	Selection Criteria of 45 Sampled Households	15
Table 2:	Ethnic Composition of 401 Surveyed Heads of Households.	19
Table 3:	Educational Background of Heads of Surveyed Households.	22
Table 4:	Household Size of Surveyed Households.	48
Table 5:	Frequency of Surveyed Households by Size of Irrigated and Rainfed Land Holdings.	70
Table 6:	Distribution of Rainfed Plot Holdings of Surveyed Households.	76
Table 7:	Frequency Distribution of Surveyed Households by Size of Irrigated Land Holdings.	78
Table 8:	Work Calendar of Main Activities by Crop Type.	83
Table 9:	Price Increase of Fertilizer Over the Past Ten Years per 50 kg in bIrr	88
Table 10:	Price Increase of One Madabariya of Grain in bIrr for Selected Crops.	90
Table 11:	Cereals and Crop Patterns of Surveyed Households in Godino in 1994/95 Agricultural Season in qarxi	93
Table 12:	Varieties of Wheat Planted in Godino in 1994 95 Season in qarxi	93
Table 13:	Crop Pattern of Irrigated Fields of Surveyed Households in 1994/95 Season.	95
Table 14:	Frequency Distribution of Surveyed Households by Improved Wheat Varieties Applied and by Reasons for Preferences.	98
Table 15:	Reasons Given for Preferring Sugar Cane and Onions by Surveyed Households.	99
Table 16:	Livestock Population of the Surveyed Households.	103
Table 17:	Ownership Distribution of Oxen in Surveyed Households.	105
Table 18:	Frequency Distribution of Surveyed Households by Oxen Size, House Types and Number of Rooms.	107
Table 19:	Subjective Categorization of Surveyed Households into Wealth Strata	108
Table 20:	Participation of Surveyed Households in Tenurial Arrangements.	116

Table 21:	Tenurial Forms and the Corresponding Land Size of Surveyed Households in qarxi	117
Table 22:	Categories of Households in Various Social Relations Leading to Economic Links.	121
Table 23:	Rental and Purchase Price of Farmland in bIrr	131
Table 24:	Background Information of Jigi-and-LImäna-sponsoring Households in the Last Sowing Period in Central Godino.	143
Table 25:	Age and Sex Composition of Hired Labourers of Surveyed Households.	153
Table 26:	Age Structure of Surveyed Households.	154
Table 27:	Standard Rates of Payment for Hired Labour in bIrr	157
Figure :	Crop/livestock Interactions in Godino.	110

MAPS

1. Map of Ada'a Woräda.....220
2. Map of Godino village....xvi

PHOTOGRAPHS

Plate 1:	Tredding of the Soil in Jigi Work Group.	206
Plate 2:	Jigi Work of Ploughing.	206
Plate 3:	Tractor of Godino SC.	207
Plate 4:	Lunch After jigi Work in the Host House.	207
Plate 5:	Cattle Market in Godino.	208
Plate 6:	Hired Labourer Working with his Employer in the Field.	208
Plate 7:	Market.	209
Plate 8:	Hired Labourer Spraying the 24-d Herbicide on a Wheat Field.	209
Plate 9:	Hired Labourers Weeding t'ef	210
Plate 10:	Sugar Cane Plantation.	210
Plate 11:	The Wodecha River Dam Diverting Part of the River to Farm Fields.	211
Plate 12:	Channel of Wodecha River Leading to Farm Fields.	211
Plate 13:	Harvesting Onions in Belbela Quarter.	212
Plate 14:	Diversion of Belbella River to Farm Fields.	212
Plate 15:	Partial View of Godino Village.	213

ACRONYMS

A.D.D.P.	:	Ada'a District Development Project.
A. M. C.	:	Agricultural Marketing Corporation.
A.R.C.	:	Agricultural Research Centre.
D.Z.A.R.C.	:	Debre Zeit Agricultural Research Centre.
DA	:	Development Agent of Ministry of Agriculture.
E.P.I.D.	:	Extension Program Implementation Department.
FHH	:	Female-Headed Household.
Hlds	:	Households.
IDR	:	Institute of Development Research.
I.L.C.A.	:	International Livestock Centre for Africa.
I.L.R.I.	:	International Livestock Research Institute.
MHH	:	Male Headed Household.
MOA	:	Ministry of Agriculture.
NGO	:	Non-governmental Organization.
O.D.A.	:	Oromiya Development Association.
PA	:	Peasant Association.
PC	:	Producers Cooperatives.
PDRE	:	Peoples Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.
P.P.D.E.	:	Peasant production and Development in Ethiopia.
R.E.W.A.	:	Revolutionary Ethiopian Women's Association.
R.E.Y.A.	:	Revolutionary Ethiopian Youth Association.
TG	:	Transitional Government.
USAID	:	United States Aid for International Development.
V.O.H.	:	Voice of Hope.
WPE	:	Workers Party of Ethiopia.

TRANSLITERATION

I. Amharic consonants

The following spellings are used to represent corresponding sounds indicated in front of each. Only sounds which are difficult to represent in English spelling are discussed.

- Sh = š: Like the first sound of Shäk'äl.
gn = ñ: Like the fifth sound of Dägäгна.
tch = č': Like in the second sound of Atchäda.
ts = ts': Like in the second sound of Ats'mä Rİst
J = j : Like in the final sound of t'ä
t' = t' : Like in the first sound of t'ä
ch = č : Like in the final sound of Amrach.
k' = k': Like in the first sound of k'olo.
k = k : Like in the first sound of Kiray.

II. Amharic Vowels

- i = i: Such as in the second sound of Diyak'on.
e = e: Such as in the final sound of Gäbare.
a = a: Such as in the first and fourth sound of Amrach.
o = o: Such as in the second and last sound of k'olo.
u = u: Such as the second sound of Gummata.
I = High middle vowel in the first sound of IddIr.
ä = Low middle vowel in the second sound of Mägazo

III. Oromo consonants

- c = č': Like in the first sound of Cari.
q = k': Like in the first sound of Qarxi.
x = t': Like in the first sound of Xafi.
dh = d̄: Like in the third sound of Kadhachisa.
ch = č : Like in the first sound of the last syllable in Koticha.
Ny = ñ : Like the first sound in the word Nyariqole.
sh = š : Like in the first sound in the word Shumbura.

IV. Oromo Vowels

Short: i, e, a, o, u, Long: ii, ee, aa, oo, uu,

Although different spelling systems are applied in the paper for the two languages, gemination of consonants is represented by doubling in both languages.

GLOSSARY

Abbifa:	One donkey load of straw.
Adäf:	Low priced grains such as beans, peas and so on.
Amrach:	Producers' cooperatives.
Araqe:	Locally distilled alcohol.
Arba:	Mortuary rite of the 40th day after death.
Arso-Arash:	An arrangement for exchange of labour for oxen.
Ashkär:	One who offers service to his master in order to make a livelihood. This implies status difference between employer and employee.
Asrat:	Tithe.
Ats'mä RIst:	Outright sale of farm land.
Ayana:	Spirit.
BIrr:	The legal tender in Ethiopia.
Boy:	1. A line prepared by a ploughshare on the farm fields to demarcate areas which are sown. 2. Number of lines prepared between beds in sugar cane fields. 3. Unit of land measurement used in Babichev's enterprise.
Budenna:	Pancake-like local bread called Injära in Amharic.
Buta:	Kidnapping.
Caffee:	Council.
Cari:	Sandy soil.
Tchiflik:	Farm land intentionally uncultivated for two or more months after harvesting onions, tomatoes or potatoes.
Dabballe:	The second stage of the Gada system.
Däbo:	Non-reciprocal work party.
Dägäгна:	Highlander.
Därg :	The military regime that ruled Ethiopia from 1974-1991.
Däsh:	Virgin land.
DIBIgnIt:	Barrel-like grain store made from mud and chaff.
Difo Dabbo:	Home-made bread.
Dİrdaro:	1. Preparation of beds in sugar cane fields. 2. The last round of ploughing just before seed covering activity.
Diyak'on:	Deacon.
Domäгна:	Oxenless and hoe cultivators.
Doma:	hoe.
Duulo:	One of the five Gada groups also known as also Michille and Halchisa.
Farso:	Local beer known as T'älla in Amharic.
Furushka:	Wheat chaff sold from the macaroni factory of Bishoftu used as animal feed.

- Fitawrari: One of the feudal military titles given to the aristocracy meaning commander of the vanguard forces.
- Folle: The third stage of the Gada system.
- Gäbaya: Market.
- Gabi: A traditional cotton-made thin blanket.
- Gada: Traditional Oromo social-political system which marks changing generational status.
- Galma: Temple of a qallu.
- Gan: A liquid container (usually for Farso) made of clay.
- Gasha: Unit of farm land equal to 40ha.
- Gäbbar: The old freehold tenure.
- Gäbäre:
 1. A farmer.
 2. Permanent hired labourer.
- Gird: Leftover of chaff and grains after the first threshing.
- Gonbore: Red clay soil.
- Gora: Non-arranged and non-ceremonial marriage following immediately the surprise request of the groom's group.
- Gombisa: Outside granary equivalent to Amharic word Gottära.
- Gulguwalo: Hand-clearing of herbs.
- Gult: Non-inheritable ownership of farmland granted to prominent officials or soldiers during the pre-revolutionary period.
- Gulumma: Grant of farm land from parents to children.
- Gumatta: Gift of goods made at wedding, Gada feast, and others occasions. Gifts are reciprocated when similar occasions arrive in the gift-offering household.
- Guura: Transportation of harvested crops from farm field to threshing areas known as Agizo in Amharic.
- Haama: Harvesting of crops called Atchäda in Amharic.
- Harama: Weeding.
- Hulät-Tähamso : Sharecropping arrangement that apportions two-fifths of the yield to the land holder and three-fifth to the contractor.
- IddIr: A neighbourhood association primarily responsible to coordinate and organize activities of mortuary rite on the funeral day.
- IkkIr: Leguminous crops upgrading the fertility of the soil. IkkIr Märeyt refers to the field which has an improved soil fertility due to the plantation of leguminous crops.
- Irbo-Arash: A pre-revolutionary arrangement that transfers one-fourth of the yield to a landowner including one-tenth of the produce as tithe.
- Jigi: Reciprocal work group.

Karta :	Unit of land allocated to Babichev's labourers which was equal to 3,000m ² . It was also called four Boy.
Kadhachisa:	Non-reciprocal work party also known as Ras Simmosh.
Kiray:	Employing hired labour on daily basis.
Kish-Kish:	Kind of pest.
Kontrat:	1. Land rental deal of two years or more. 2. Employing hired labour on piece rate basis.
Koticha:	Vertisol or deep black soil.
Kurt:	High yield of onions, specially that of thick-stemmed variety.
Kuraz:	A lump that consumes kerosene.
Kusa:	Levelling of Koticha farm fields by foot steps of animals before broadcasting t'ef.
LImäna:	Small-sized, feastless and reciprocal group labour.
Liqä:	Borrowing of cash. Its Amharic equivalent is BlddIr.
Madabariya:	1. Fertilizer 2. Empty sack of fertilizer used to bag 50-55 kg of grains.
Madbet:	Literally, "kitchen:", land whose income and taxes in foodstuffs flowed directly to the palace.
Mahabär:	A neighbourhood association in which each member of the Mahabär is responsible to organize a rotating feast dedicate to the saint whose name the Mahabär bears.
Malsi:	Return feast organized for the newly married couples by parents and relatives.
Manasesa:	Small ceremony that marks the ratification of a marriage bond.
Maqanajo :	Pooling of an ox by two households to make a pair and using it commonly in ploughing tasks.
Mädäkän:	Piling of harvested crops on the field. This word is used by hired labourers from Northern Shewa.
Mädgäm :	Magical formula that could be used for good and evil purposes.
Mägazo :	Sharecropping arrangement that divides one-third of the yield to holder of rainfed land or one-half to holder of irrigated plot.
MämIre :	A title given for a priest.
Minda:	An arrangement for temporary exchange of an ox with grains or one Qarxi of farm land.
MIsläne:	Officials entitled to administer a farm land owned by the palace in Madbet Awrajas in pre-revolutionary periods.
Muuda:	Butter.

- Näft'ägna-Gäbbar: Military and tributary tenure of the pre-revolutionary period commonly found in the southern part of the country.
- Naso: Picking up of dead weeds after applying herbicide.
- Ona: The original site of a house before changing settlement site.
- K'ägne-Azmach: A pre-revolutionary military title meaning commander of the right.
- Qallu : Ritual leaders of Oromo.
- Qarxi: Unit of farm land equal to 2,500m².
- Qince: Wheat porridge.
- Qixe qote: An old arrangement whereby seed and oxen are provided by the land owner for an equal share of yield (Yäkul-Arash) with a tenant who applies his labour. Tithe is not deducted.
- Qolo: Roasted grains.
- Qumt'a: An empty sack used to bag 50 kg of onions.
- Qonna : Farming.
- Qotiyo: Plough oxen.
- Qunna : Unit of grain equals to 5 KG.
- Qurxa : The second and subsequent rounds of ploughing to soften farm land.
- Rako : A ceremony on the eve of the Gada feast to ritually ratify the existing marriage bond between the couples.
- Ribbi : An arrangement that facilitates common ownership of new born ones between owner and keeper of livestock.
- Sallabi : The one with evil spiritual power or the one who uses sorcery that snatches away one's crops, livestock, or wealth.
- Sämon : Land whose income accrues to an Ethiopian Orthodox church.
- Sanbate : Neighbourhood association similar to a Mahabär except the feast of each member is administered in the church compound.
- Sigaba : A second marriage in which a man joins a widow or a divorcee in her home.
- Sinxäqo : The first round of ploughing farm land.
- Sirbi: Threshing. Its Amharic equivalent is Wuk'iya.
- Shäk'äl : A Wello hired labourers term for migrant labour activity.
- ShikarimetIr : 1,000m² of land allocated for houses of Ts'ähafi TIIzaz's labourers. It is used as a unit of land measurement in irrigated fields equals to 1600m².
- Shiyatch: Rent of farm land for a year.
- Siso: One-third.
- T'äj : Local alcohol made from Honey, sugar and Gesho.

Tāramaj:	Peasants who have adequate oxen and labour that have expanded their holding by cultivating virgin and non-allocated land after the revolution.
Ts'āhafi TIIzaz :	A pre-revolutionary title which is minister of pen.
T'Iru :	High priced grains such as t'ef, Wheat and others.
Tumtu:	Blacksmith.
Warsa :	Levirate marriage.
Wag:	Crop disease.
Woyna Dāga:	Middle-land.
Wolād AgId :	A loan system in which a lender uses farm land of a debtor until all the advance is paid back.
Wonfal :	1. Work group with immediate and equivalent exchange of labour. 2. Reciprocity of labour in general.
Worāda :	District.
Wot':	Stew.
Woxalo :	Eating wheat fresh before it ripens.
Wudumma:	Threshing-floor.
Wushuma :	Concubine.
Yāt'urāta märeyt:	Farm land allocated to the old and helpless residents by the PA/PC in the form of Pension. Also called Yāshāt Märeyt.
Zigni Wot':	Stew prepared from meat.

PREFACE

This study is a result of data collected during five months of field work in Godino.

The paper is composed of seven chapters. First comes the introduction in which the literature review, theoretical background, objectives and methodologies are discussed. Chapter II is a general description of the study area. This includes population and family size as well as educational background of heads of the 401 surveyed households. Here, an attempt is made to elaborate a recent history of Godino that has a significant bearing on the current socio-economic features of the village. In a wider Ada'a context, important historical facts have been selectively emphasized to illustrate their impact on the current plough-oxen economy of Ada'a. To this end, an overview of the 19th century Ada'a history and pre-1974 land tenure are presented.

Chapter III focuses on the social organization of Godino community through closer treatment of households and neighbourhood associations. The social organization has been highlighted as a basis of agricultural labour and economic links of households.

Chapter IV deals with production activities in both rainfed and irrigated agricultures. Attention has been paid to decision-making about types of crops in the two agricultural forms. The extent of the livestock component has been part of the section. An attempt was made to classify households into rich, middle and poor strata along parameters such as oxen ownership, type of house and number of rooms.

Chapter V examines various arrangements of land rentals and sharecropping prevalent in the village.

Chapter VI analyses the types of cooperative labour, their current forms, frequencies. Comparison is made between cooperative and hired labour which has gained the upper hand. An explanation has been presented for possible causes leading to the decline of cooperative labour. The last chapter VII, is devoted to a summary and conclusion.

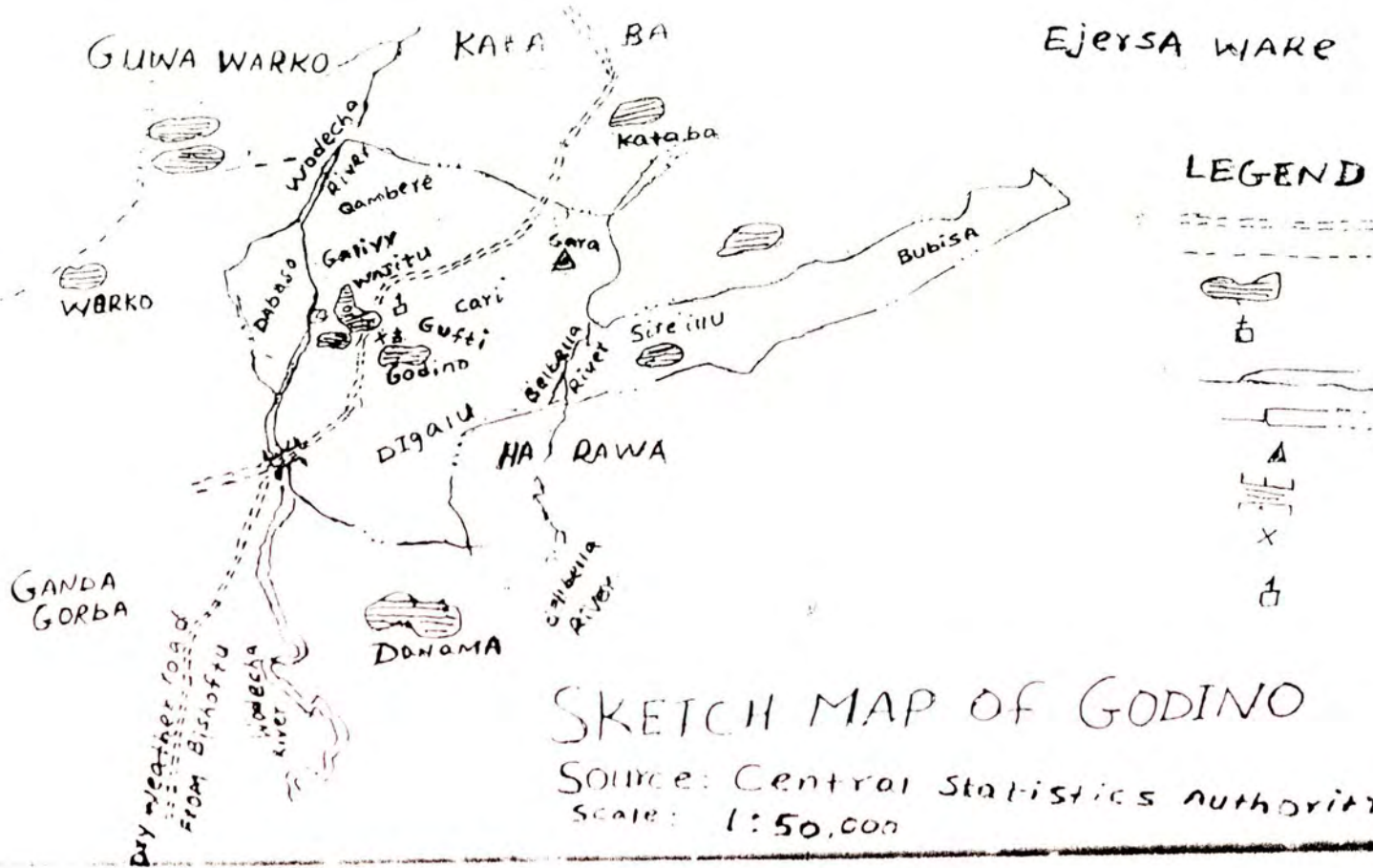
ABSTRACT

Godino, located 12 km in the north east of Bishoftu town in Ada'a Woreda of eastern Shewa, has been a witness to changes and continuity of ox-plough agriculture. Changes have been induced both from external sources (state interventions as well as urban and market influence) and internal factors (population pressure the horticultural enterprise of Ts'ähafi TIIzaz and competition of farmers).

Like other parts of Ada'a, Godino agriculture has adapted to the intensification of labour, crop-livestock integration and specialization in cash crops (mainly **t'ef**, wheat, Sugar cane, and onions) in the 20th century. The horticultural enterprise of Ts'ähafi TIIzaz introduced wage labour, founded crowded settlements, promoted social services, consolidated political control, and resulted in a specialisation in cash crops (notably sugar cane). Households had different levels and requirement of labour for agricultural tasks. Despite encroachment of hired labour from irrigated on rainfed agriculture even before the revolution, cooperative labour was utilized in bigger sizes and frequency.



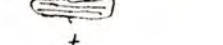

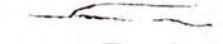


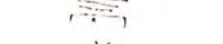

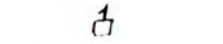
After the revolution, wage labourers dominated tenants in the competition for exclusively utilizing irrigated fields through their association which was favoured by collectivization of the **därg** regime. During this period, differentiation took on new forms based on oxen ownership, availability of labour and cash resulting in the coining the word **täramaj** for successful farmers. The earlier processes of crowded settlement, specialization in cash crops and crop-livestock integration have been further intensified. During the mixed economy policy of the **därg**, commercialization of farm land commenced with the introduction of new land rentals. The significance of large-sized cooperative labour was drastically reduced after the 1975 land reform. Following the predominance of cash-oriented production, hired labour gained prominence over cooperative labour, which, although it has been sustained to the present time, has been much reduced in scale.

to Lagardai
 AM BALTA
 To Cafo



Ejersa WARE

LEGEND

-  DRY WEATHER ROAD
-  FOOTPATH
-  VILLAGE
-  CHURCH
-  PERENNIAL RIVER
-  INTERMITTENT RIVER
-  MOUNTAIN
-  BRIDGE
-  MARKET
-  SCHOOL

SKETCH MAP OF GODINO

Source: Central Statistics Authority, 1993
 Scale: 1:50,000

CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

There have been a number of studies undertaken in Ada'a **woräda**. Most of them were conducted before 1974/75 and were carried out for development purposes.

A socio-economic survey was undertaken in all areas of the previous Ada'a **woräda** in 1967 (Stanford Report No. 14, 1967). The report suggests that shifting cultivation was gradually abandoned in the highlands due to the expansion of farmlands. However, this practice was more prevalent in the Rift Valley areas. As was confirmed in the Stanford Report, traditional work parties (**wonfal**, **jigi**, **ras simmosh**) as well as non-institutional and non-commercial (without interest) credit systems were on the decline. It was stated that in **wonfal** parties a group in a neighbourhood organized themselves and worked for one villager who had called them to participate in work that could be finished in a day and prepared food and drinks to be served for participants. The host was expected to reciprocate this labour whenever demanded by any other member. **Ras simmosh** was a similar kind of work party which was arranged by friends or relatives of the host from people in different neighbourhoods. In this case, the host was expected to repay in similar terms. Lastly, there was **jigi** in which neighbours were called in to help when one of them was building a house for a short time. The host was not obliged to return this labour but prepared a bigger feast than was required for **wonfal** and **ras simmosh**.

It was suggested that the importance of the work groups diminished due to the availability of hired labour. Non-commercial credit was giving way to a non-institutional commercial type of credit system that included interest. In addition, mixed

planting of grain and oil seeds was gradually being eliminated owing to the change from subsistence to cash-oriented farming that led to preference of grain.

The Stanford Report pointed to the great obstacle of the prevailing land tenure system that allegedly hindered development endeavour. In the past, land tenure was based on a tenancy system in which absentee landlords and the Orthodox Ethiopian Church controlled most of the farm land. The predominant forms of land tenure in Ada'a according to the Stanford Report, were **gäbbar** and **sämon**.

It was indicated in the Stanford Report that the average size of all landlords' holdings in Ada'a area probably varied from three-fourths to one **gasha** (40 ha) at the most. It was stated that:

"... Perhaps 50 percent of the tenants in Adea are farming under 'sisso' whereby 3/10 of the produce from the farm is handed over to the landlord as part of share tenancy, and 1/10 handed for the payments of **asrat** (tithe). The tenant keeps 6/10. The other 50 percent of the tenants, however, give a share tenancy of 4/10 to the landlord, with 1/10 for **asrat**; he keeps 5/10 for himself... The landlord provides one of the cost of seed...or, occasionally the full cost of the seed when the share tenancy is fifty-fifty. At present, the fifty-fifty share tenancy is concentrated in the better farm land areas." (1969: 98).

Concerning the distribution of types of tenure, it was remarked that "According to the Ada'a survey of 1961, there are 3,146 **gasha** of land in the whole of Ada'a district. **gäbar** and **sämon** (major types of land tenure in Ada'a) accounted for 3,106 **gashas**; the remaining 40 **gashas** belong to the government" (Ibid: 95). According to Morton (1973), the **qallu** in the rural areas of Ada'a were mainly tenant farmers, although some - including the prominent **qallu** - were wealthy landowners.

Although there are slight variations from region to region, the impact of the 1975 land reform was, according to Dessalegn, destratification of the Ethiopian peasants, in terms of access to labour. He remarks that:

Of all the peasants, those who benefited most are the landless...The second category of peasants who have clearly benefitted are former tenants, and their gain is not so much in terms of size of holdings acquired, as in the removal of burdens imposed on them by the previous tenurial arrangement...Land reform has had mixed results for the class of peasants who formerly were owner-cultivators... Some have gained, i.e. the plots that they now cultivating are larger than before; some have lost, and some have remained with the same size of land as formerly. (1985:58).

Tidenekialesh in her B.A. thesis (1973) in Economics, Habteab and Tewolde in their household survey of 1974, and Humphrey in his developmental study of 1974 dealt with issues related one way or another to agricultural labour in Ada'a. Tidenekialesh exposed the negative impacts of mechanised farming before the 1974/75 revolution in Ada'a, where in addition to over-population and scarcity of farm land, these new technologies brought about labour displacement (eviction), unemployment, under-employment, and deterioration of the standard of living of peasants. Tidenekialesh remarked that "...for areas like Chilalo and Adea, where labour is abundant and capital is scarce, the appropriate technology must be one which is labour intensive." (1973: 47).

According to Habteab and Tewolde, the average household size was 5.02 persons, and the largest segment of the population were children (47 percent below the age of 15). They found that 81 percent of household heads were male and 19 percent were female. According to their findings, the age-groups which were likely to be affected by mechanisation were those below the age of 60, comprising 80 per cent of the heads of households of the sampled population and specially the young. The fertility rate of women in the sampled population was 5.49.

Humphrey indicated that the cost of keeping oxen in the middle elevation (**woyna däga**) is higher due to expansion of farm land given the population pressure. He also argued that:

The cost of labour for farm work whether imputed or actually paid is probably higher in the middle, more accessible region...farmers in the lower elevation regions seem to augment their labour force by having larger families (although the difference is not yet proven statistically). (1974:13)

This implied that shortages of pasture in the middle elevation created conditions unfavourable to enlarging the size of livestock in contrast to the Rift Valley areas. Humphrey acknowledged that the cost of supporting an additional member of a family may not be less than the cost of hiring labour.

Bereket conducted an economic study of flow of energy in Sirba and Godeti village in Ada'a in September, 1992. He used ownership of oxen to determine the economic stratification of the villagers in view of the scarcity of this form of property. Bereket found that 49.7 percent of the population in the village who were below the age of fifteen were providing less energy in farming as compared to adults. He also noted that the most important sources of energy extended in agriculture was ox-power covering 74 percent of energy spent in this activity.

A number of research reports have been written focusing on development programmes that could provide baseline data and guidelines for further studies. Most of them are IDR (Institute for Development Research) working papers written by Hedges (1975), Mullenbach (1974), IDR (1974), Lakew Yilma (1975), Parson (1974) and Teshome Mullat (1974).

1.1.1. Peasant Economic Behaviour

The discussions of peasants' economic behaviour have been a central issue in the study of peasants in anthropology. Cancian quoted in Plattner, 1989 divides the approaches to peasant economic behaviour into three groups. He states that:

Homogeneity theorists see peasants as having a special sociocultural system that makes them resistant to associations with non-peasants and economic change. Heterogeneity theorists see peasants as similar to other people and find them generally eager to change when genuine opportunities are available to them. The third group, differentiation theorists is more concerned with the way relations with larger economic system affect peasants and with history of transformation of peasants from relatively independent producers of their own land subsistence to rural residents who must sell their products of their labour to survive. (1989: 128-129).

In a similar perspective, Wolf made distinctions between closed and open communities of peasants. Cancian explains that

The closed communities are more inward-looking than the open communities. They tend to produce basic grains for food rather than commercial crops and often have cultural, historical, or political differences with the larger society. Open communities usually have many more economic, political and cultural connections to the larger society. The influence of outside world is a more direct and more important part of everyday life in open communities. (Ibid: 129).

Barlett, in assessing agricultural decision-making of peasants, considers them more open to changes in terms of long-and-short-term adaptations. Her point of view is that:

...small farmers are neither irrational nor tradition-bound, and we assume that agricultural patterns are the consequence of long-term-and short-term adaptations based on observation and experimentation. (1984:3).

The impact of market-oriented economies and urban influences on the subsistence farming activities of Ada'a was noticed and is cited in several research reports as discussed above. However, this impact on agriculture and the traditional way of life has never been systematically studied. The problem of this study is then to identify which of the above theories could best explain the present cultural and economic conditions of Godino farmers including changes in their social organization of production.

1.1.2. Subsistence Farming

Given the scattered small plots of Godino farmers, It could be presumed that production is consumption oriented though a certain portion of it is supplied to markets in order to buy commodities required by a household. Scott states the economics of subsistence ethic as:

The distinctive economic behaviour of the subsistence oriented peasant family results from the fact that, unlike a capitalist enterprise, it is a unit of consumption as well as a unit of production. The family begins with a more or less irreducible subsistence consumer demand, based on its size, which it must meet in order to continue as a unit. Meeting those minimal needs in a reliable and stable way is the central criterion which knits together choices of seed, technique, timing, rotation, and so forth. The cost of failure for those near the subsistence margin is such that safety and reliability take precedence over long-run profit.(1976:13).

At the sociological level, the ethic of subsistence entails social networks beyond the family level, organization of labour, self-help, redistribution, patron-client ties for social insurance, reciprocity and others. The ethic of subsistence dictates the choice of strategic decision-making in agricultural activities. Such an ethic finds expressions in

choices, institutions and values in peasant society. Where yields are below subsistence level, income is regularly complemented by off-farm activities, casual wage labour, redistribution, reciprocity and so on. Scott maintains that

If income were the active principle of occupational preference, it would be sufficient to rank occupations by average income to obtain a schedule of preferences. If, on the other hand, subsistence security were the determining factor, one would expect that increments in economic security would be as important as increments in income in structuring preferences. (1976: 35).

Therefore, the above stated subsistence ethic is anticipated to prevail in one form or another in the agricultural activities of Ada'a and thus of Godino. Hence, the problem is whether and if so how cash-oriented activities of Godino are undermining traditional work groups. Are the tasks of traditional work groups totally carried out by hired labourers or are they still important in some aspects of agricultural activities of the area and if so which ones and why?

1.1.3. Hired Labour

Family labour is expected to cover most of the agricultural activities of Godino village. However, hired labour was mentioned in the previous research reports as a common feature of Ada'a agriculture. The source of hired labour is both from Ada'a itself and other regions of the country.

Concerning the causes of migration, Southall (Barbour and Prothero: 1961) remarks that "Migration has been channelled by the differing resources of the physical environment in relation to changing human needs, precipitated by war, famine, disease, influenced by the contrasting social structures and values of tribes and more recently by differentiation in education, wealth and opportunity." (1961:157). In his study of

West African agriculture, Hart identifies two categories of wage labour: temporary and permanent. He suggests that "There is also a class of rural labour that consists of work done for a fixed length of time, usually a season or even full year; and people working as daily wage labourer in communities where they have homes." (1982:118).

Concerning labour circulation, Mitchell (Barbour and Prothero:1961) comments that:

Labour circulation does not depend entirely on economic conditions: it is rather part of a larger totality in which Africans try to solve the problem of meeting two sets of opposed obligations by participating segmentally in each- in the one as migrant worker and in the other as a part-time tribesman. (1961:244).

Over-population in tandem with the scarcity of land is assumed to create underemployment in Ada'a and thus in Godino. Consequently, the problem which needs to be addressed is how the scattered small plots of Ada'a in general and Godino in particular accommodate the flow of immigrant hired labour.

1.2. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

As has been indicated in the previous reports, some indicators of subsistence farming in Ada'a have been changing. It has been reported that traditional forms of organization of labour are declining due to the availability of wage labour. Fallowing and mixed cropping have been gradually diminishing. Non-commercial and non-institutional credit systems are being replaced by commercial credit. Leasing of farm land is pervasive throughout Ada'a. Immigrant wage labour is present for several farming practices in the labour market of Bishoftu. There are a number of other factors that may be introduced due to the prevalence of cash-oriented agriculture in Ada'a.

Thus the objectives of the study are:

1. To identify the range of human responses that reflect and can be used as a yardstick for the impacts of a market-oriented economy in Godino. Also to see if the control of irrigated land leads to more opportunities to respond to the demands of the market in various aspects including labour.

2. To survey the types, statuses, and frequency of work groups and household labour. Emphasis will be given to the impact of hired labour on the traditional organization of labour in Godino. This is to identify the dimension and significance of hired labour be it local or immigrant in both kinds of agriculture. The study will focus on classifying the categories of labour in Godino taking into account the already existing differences between labour in irrigated and rain-fed agriculture. An attempt will also be made to understand the causes of immigration of labour to Godino. The following issues will be addressed here:

- To investigate whether there are interlinkages between the use of hired labour and the developmental cycle of the domestic group.
- To explore whether employers of hired labourers have higher economic status in the village. Surveys will be made on the types of crops, size and quality of land holdings that generate demands for hired labour.

3. To inquire whether lease of farm land effects the rise of demand for hired labour, and to analyze if the lease of farmland is caused by fission of the domestic group which lacks the necessary labour to undertake farming activities.

4. To understand the types of options and constraints of agricultural decision-making in Godino.
5. To distinguish the socio-economic status of frequent beneficiaries of co-operative labour in the village since if it is decreased in frequency, the span of its utilisers must have been narrower than before.

1.3. METHODOLOGY

Godino was selected as a research site due to the following factors:

1. I have better knowledge of Godino than any other part of Ada'a. This has been possible due to my occasional visits to relatives living near by Godino.
2. Godino exhibits one of the best example for urban-rural interactions situated near to Bishoftu. In addition, Godino has a regional bi-weekly market which serves the surrounding area and is linked to Bishoftu by a dry-weather road¹.
3. Godino has two types of agriculture: irrigation and rainfed. This provides me with the opportunity of studying similarities and differences of the agricultural forms in various respects including labour requirements.

The approach in this research takes the household as the unit of analysis. This is in view of the fact that the household is a basic unit of organization by which agricultural production is carried out in many rural areas of Ethiopia. Underlining my

¹ The road the passes across Godino is categorized as dry-weather road by the Central Statistics Authority. The road is however used in the rainy season without interruption of transport services.

interest in group labour, cooperative labour forms are also considered as units of investigation. Moreover, the problem will also be approached through the individual actors who make one sort of decision instead of another in agricultural activities.

To carry out the specific study, a combination of different methods will be employed to obtain the required data. The approach pursued to study the heterogenous Godino community is investigating what Carrithers calls sociality.

As cited in Heinonene he states that " According to sociality theory, people do things with, to and in respect to each other, using means that we can describe if we wish to, as cultures." (1996: 16-17). This, in my study, refers to common agricultural practices and norms that are reproduced in the interactive process of Godino villagers regardless of the existing ethnic differences. Incompetence of the researcher in Oromifa was not an obstacle in gathering data, because, the majority of the population are bilingual and the key informants were helpful in the matter. To this end, the various methods employed should not be taken as alternatives but rather as approaches that complement each other. On the whole, five months of field work have been distributed over a wide interval of time so that activities at different cycles of the agricultural seasons could be investigated.

1.3.1 Qualitative Methods

Participant Observation: As the conventional method of inquiry in anthropology, participant observation has been employed as the basic tool of field work. This has included residing in Godino for all of the field work time (five months) which was scheduled in intervals. This enabled me to take part in the daily lives of the people and observe peak seasons of agricultural labour while allowing me to closely monitor and follow up enumerators gathering quantitative data. The first fieldwork period was from

6 February to 6 April, 1995; the second one from 11 August to 9 September, 1995; the third from 15 November to 15 December, 1995 and the fourth one from 21 December to 21 January, 1996. After and in between the field work, several short visits have been conducted to pursue collection of data.

Extended Case Method: This involves the collection of detailed qualitative data on the options, actions and relationships of specified actors through close contact over a lengthy period of time. In my endeavour, I have continuously followed up selected households so as to understand their options in various agricultural decision-making objectives, especially in relation to labour allocation and strategies. As a result, production activities of 15 households have been attached in the annex II representing all the five age and sex groups as well as the three wealth strata discussed below under sampling. Except my key informants, all persons in the qualitative case materials are represented by pseudo names.

Interviews: A number of unstructured interviews have been conducted by a means of a checklist so that optimum coverage of different issues could be possible to initiate conversations. Some of the interviews have been recorded by tape and later transcribed. Persons from different age, status, sex, ethnic group, wealth and local groups have been consulted to enrich information available from quantitative data.

Work Journal: A journal of daily events and experiences has been recorded at the end of each day. Attention has been paid to any pieces of information that were unpredictable and relevant to my topic.

Documents: Documents from the DZARC, governmental offices, ILRI, Peasant's associations and Development Agents have been collected and consulted. Documents of sharecropping agreements were collected to uncover various types of dealings which could be used as written evidence and included in annex four.

1.3.2 Quantitative Methods

Due the nature of my topic, agricultural labour, I have preferred to utilise both quantitative and qualitative methods with equal emphasis in such a way that the one is complementing the other. After making myself more familiar with Godino in 15 days of my field work, I administered a general survey questionnaire in 401 households by hiring six enumerators. With this questionnaire, I have been able to obtain access to basic information about the village including: Household, land and livestock sizes, crop patterns, status of education, source of income, types of local associations, types of agriculture and many others. The survey was conducted from 22 of Feb., to 23 of March, 1995.

However, it was not possible to cover all households of Godino in the survey for the following reasons: First, Godino settlement is a crowded one with a tendency towards an urban orientation. Thus the relatively high density of Godino community, as compared to the neighbouring areas makes it difficult to incorporate the total population in my survey due to time constraints. Second, the type of Godino settlement could be classified into two groups: settlement near the irrigated land and around Godino market (including the quarters of Wajitu, Qambere, Godino, Gufti and Belbella as well as those relatively distant quarters (Sire Illu and Bubisa) from Godino market see map on page xvi. The bi-weekly market of Godino is the largest one in that part of Ada'a attended by peasants coming from several neighbouring PAs. Therefore, in view of my objectives, I choose those settlements nearer to the market and irrigated land. Both rainfed and irrigated farm lands of the area have been included in the survey.

1.3.2.1. Sampling

In the second phase of my field work (from 11 of August to 19 September, 1995) 45 households (addressed in the first survey) were selected on the basis of non-random purposive sampling (Paul: 1991). The parameters to select the sample that were employed by the researcher are described as follows.

1. To study labour options, households were selected taking into account their different stages in the developmental cycle. Thus households in 1st and 3rd phases have been contrasted. Especial attention has been paid to female headed households by comparing different units which are grouped separately depending on the availability or absence of male labour.

2. The second criterion has been wealth, since responses of households to requirement of labour could vary along different wealth strata group. For this study, households have been distinguished and selected considering the number of traction animals (oxen) owned by a household. Thus, those households with four or more oxen were considered as rich, those with one or two or three oxen as middle strata and the oxenless ones as poorer.

3. The last yardstick was the type of agriculture (irrigation verses rainfed). The requirement of labour has different magnitude in the two agricultural types. Therefore, 23 households have been picked from owners of irrigated plots and 22 from those only avail on rainfed agriculture.

As a result of these technique, the three parameters combined to plan the following criteria of selection.

Table 1: Selection Criteria of 45 Sampled Households.

Criteria	Rich	Middle	poor	Total
Households headed by younger males under 50 years of age	3	3	3	9
Households headed by males over 60 years old who have son/s of a working age.	3	3	3	9
Households headed by males over 60 who have no son/s	3	3	3	9
Households headed by females who have son/s	3	3	3	9
Households headed by females who have no son/s	3	3	3	9
Total No. of households	15	15	15	45

On the basis of the above formulation, 15 households were selected from the three groups of wealth strata by taking a balanced number of households from irrigated and rainfed areas which make up 45 households. Households heads who are under 50 years old have been further desegregated in relation to developmental cycle. Thus, very young and recently married household heads have been contrasted with those who have been married longer and have reached the second phase of developmental cycle. Having set these criteria, the enumerators were allowed to choose specific households fitting the parameter to fill in the questionnaire. The researcher, on a daily basis, followed up the procedures of data collections carried out by the enumerators making the necessary corrections on time such as replacing households who do not fit the criteria.

This method of selecting a sample exposed the study to biases of enumerators. Nevertheless, the researcher interviewed the selected households to make up shortcomings. In addition, questionnaires of the general survey have been used to countercheck the information of selected households on the basis of purposive sampling.

Data collected by enumerators were scrutinized in order to obtain information as accurate as possible. In the beginning, six enumerators were employed to fill in the general survey questionnaires. The enumerators are residents of Godino and have different level of educational background (one is a college drop out, two drop outs of high school and the three attended school up to grade eight). Through interactions and day to day follow up of works, I selected two of the six enumerators to continue my data collections of the sampled households and to edit the results of the general survey. The two enumerators Endale Tsegaye (who is a college drop out and Challa Telilla who attended school up to grade eight) were very reliable, friendly and diligent. Both of them were away from the village in the middle of 1980s for only three years: Endale left the village to pursue his college education and Challa was conscripted in the **därg** army. Both of them are young: Endale is 25 years old and Challa is 28. With the help of them, a lot of editing the general survey has been conducted including resurveying of about 100 households whose earlier information have been replaced since it was found unreliable and vague.

CHAPTER TWO

2. DESCRIPTION OF GODINO AND ITS HISTORY

2.1. LOCATION, TOPOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE

Godino is an urban-oriented village with its own PA located 12 km from Bishoftu. There is one Service Cooperative comprising three PAs (Peasant Associations), located in Godino village. Godino shares a boundary to the north-east with the PAs of Harawa and to the north with Ketaba to the west with Guwa Werko, and to the south with Denama and Ganda Gorba. Two perennial rivers (Wodecha and Belbella) pass through the village. Both of the rivers have traditionally been diverted along ditches to irrigate farm lands during the dry season. Slightly inclined plain in the north-south direction characterizes most of the topography of Godino² with minor hills in the northern part of the village.

There are bi-weekly markets in Godino which are held on Mondays and Thursdays. There is a clinic that provides health services to the surrounding community. In Godino, the following crops are commonly grown: *t'ef*, wheat, beans, peas, barley, lentils, and Gesho. In addition to cereals and pulses, the community of Godino cultivates some vegetables using small-scale irrigation schemes along the Godino river.

As was shown in the Stanford Report No. 14, Ada'a was divided into three climatic and topographic zones: the highlands (including Tulu Dimtu, Kajima, Gerbicha, the northern quarter of Liben and Zukala), the Rift Valley area (which covers

² Godino has thirteen quarters of settlement and grazing as well as cultivated areas: Wajitu, Qambere, Misrata, Denema, Gufti, Cari, (Gudisa) Gara, Digelu, Debaso, Galiyy, Sire Illu, and Bubissa. Currently, administrative zone of PAs is reorganized joining three PAs under one administrative committee. Thus Godino becomes a sit of the committee administrating Godino, Guwa Werko and Harawa PAs together.

the southern sub-districts of Zukala and Liben), and finally the mountain zones (Zukala and Yerer). These climatic differences are reflected in the variation of crops grown in the three zones. In the mountain areas (Yerer and Zukala), the main crops are cabbage, **gesho**, and pepper growing on steep slopes. White **t'ef** is mainly grown in the highland areas whereas red **t'ef** is dominant in the Rift valley areas.

Maize and barley are more widespread in the southern Rift Valley area than in the highlands. Wheat is mainly found in the highlands and is absent in the Rift Valley areas. Agriculture is practised more intensely in the highlands than in the Rift Valley areas where keeping of livestock is more prominent.

Jim McCann describes the climate of Ada'a, applicable to Godino, as a mixed reflection of its dominant altitude (range between 1,800 and 2,000) and neighbouring semi-arid zones of its southern frontier with the rift valley. He also states that twenty-two years of rainfall data (1965-85) depict a strong unimodal rainfall pattern with an annual average of 845mm decreasing through the 1970s. Its temperature alternates between 17 and 20 degree centigrade (stanford Report No.14). Seventy percent of the annual rainfall is concentrated between June and September, dictating a single growing season. Ada'a is warm, dry and very dusty in the dry season.

Jim McCann stresses that the dynamics of population growth of the 1960s was responsible for the emergence of rural towns in Ada'a thereafter. In addition to this, internal dynamics of Godino provided impetus for the mainstream process of urbanization at the local level. As will be discussed, the entrepreneurship of Babichev and later of Ts'ähafi TIIzaz, the weekly central market of Godino and the irrigation scheme merged to influence, shape and develop the urban-oriented settlement of Godino. The villagization programme of the **därg** and the construction of a dry-weather road that joins Godino with Bishoftu and Caffee town in the north in 1974, promoted

the already embryonic process of urbanization. Consequently, the central part of Godino is a market place as well as a crowded residential area.

2.2. DESCRIPTION OF THE GODINO COMMUNITY

Records of the Godino extension agent indicate that the population of the village is around 2,000. The heterogeneity of Godino settlers is reflected in the composition of household heads. The results of my survey show that out of 401 household heads, 156 are Amharas, 127 are Oromo, 9 Wolaytas, 5 Gurage, 1 Kembata, 1 Tigre. Also, 102 households (25.4%) have a mixed ethnic background: 95 are Amhara and Oromo, 4 Amhara and Wolayta, and 2 are Oromo and Wolayta 1 Kembata and Amhara.

Table 2: Ethnic Composition of 401 Surveyed Heads of Households.

Ethnic group	No. of households	percent
Amhara	156	38.9
Oromo	127	31.67
Wolayta	9	2.24
Gurage	5	1.2
Kembata	1	.25
Tigraway	1	.25
Amhara and Oromo	95	23.69
Amhara and Wolayta	4	.99
Oromo and Wolayta	2	.49
Kembata and Amhara	1	.25
Total	401	100

Moreover, 73.6 percent of household heads are bilingual using both Amharic and Oromo. Only 85 household heads (21.2 % of the survey) are monolingual utilising

Amharic and one person could only use Oromifa. The remaining few household heads could employ a combination of various languages: three Amharic and Wolayta; four Oromifa, Amharic and Wolayta; one Amharic and Kembata; one Oromifa, Amharic and Kembata; one Amharic and Gurage; one Oromifa, Amharic and Tigrigna; one Oromifa, Amharic and Gurage.

Out of all the surveyed households, 203 or (50.6 %) are members of the PA (the total members of Godino PA are 263) and 193 (48.12%) are not members of PA, but are resident of Godino. Five household heads are neither resident nor members of PA. They rent a house in Godino to run drinking houses which they administer by making routine visits from Bishoftu.

The most concentrated residential quarter is Godino which has 223 houses (55% of the surveyed houses). The next most populated is Wajitu with 93 houses (23.1%). Qambere is the third one with 40 houses (9.97%). Gufti has 26 houses (6.5%), Gara 9 houses (2.2%); Denema with 8 houses (1.99%) and Cari has 2 houses (.49%). Godino and Wajitu are crowded because they were earlier settlements of ex-labourers of Ts'ähafi TIIzaz. Godino, which is also a central market, grew due to the villagization program. The other quarters perhaps represent patterns of traditional settlements which are scattered.

Houses closer to Godino's bi-weekly market are convenient as drinking or food houses and have a high market value. Many of Godino residents prefer to have additional houses of these types if they can afford it. The majority of surveyed houses (313 or 78%) are privately owned and occupied by members of households. Of the remaining houses, 65 (16.2%) of them have recently been transferred to others through purchase from the original owners. Another 19 houses (4.7%) are rented to traders and teachers of the area. The remaining few houses 4 (1.2%) are held through outright

grants, grants until a lifetime of a beneficiary, as resident civil servant and housekeeping deal for the return of owner to Godino.

As a central market area for that part of Ada'a, Godino has emerged as a provider of various social services including recreation with elaborate specialization of economic activities. Three diesel mills (one belongs to the Service Cooperative of Godino) are providing grinding services in the area. Similarly, one health station and elementary school render services to the communities. Almost all houses surrounding the market place of Godino are used for business activities (mostly for drinking, food and as butchers). In relation to this, my survey shows that there are 141 **farso** and **araqe** houses, 18 butchers, food and drinking houses, 7 **t'äj** (meed) houses, 7 bars and 6 shops in Godino.

Utilization of houses in Godino reflects the widespread simultaneous use of a single house for both residence and sale of drinks. Of 401 surveyed Households 185 (46 %) are only used for residence, while 148 (36 %) are used for residence and drinking houses. The remaining 66 (16.4 %) houses are owned by 32 persons who have two or more than two houses which are invariably employed by dividing houses into categories of residence and sales or drinking houses. There are two **qallu** houses which have separate **galma** and residence.

The predominant source of lighting in Godino is lamps (**kuraz**) that consume kerosene. This is reported by 375 (93.5 %) of the surveyed households. Only 24 (5.9 %) houses use lanterns for lighting. Wood and dung-cakes account for most of required fuel for cooking.

Household heads could also be differentiated by their degree of exposure to education. Nearly half of the total surveyed household heads (47.9%) have not had formal education while the other half have various backgrounds ranging from higher

education training to literacy programme. Thirteen persons who have training above grade 12 are civil servants except for one who is an accountant of the SC mill.

Table 3: Educational Background of Heads of Surveyed Households.

Educational status	No. of households	Percent
Can't read and write	192	47.9
Can only read and write	133	33.2
Can only read	3	.75
Has attended classes up to grade six	45	11.2
Has attended classes from 6 to 12	14	3.5
Training above grade twelve	13	3.2
No information	1	.2
Total	401	100

2.3. BRIEF HISTORY OF GODINO VILLAGE

As part of Ada'a, the political, economic, social and historical events of 19 century Ethiopia are likely to have influenced the general patterns of episodes that Godino followed. However, the peculiarities of Godino's history cannot be overlooked. Thus, an overview of Ada'a and Godino history is briefly presented with as follows.

To begin with the accounts of McCann's book,

The earliest Oromo traditions of settlement extend five generations prior to the first Shewan Amhara hegemony in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The oral narrative tradition of the three Ada brothers

[who were forming the three clans³ of Ada'a] migrated in search of pasture and purgative waters for their cattle suggests that the first arrivals in the early eighteenth century... (1995: 197).

This marked the first arrival of Oromo in Ada'a from Western Shewa. During that period, the Oromo of Ada'a were predominantly pastoralists with little involvement in agricultural practices. Therefore, the shift from a pastoral to a sedentary mode of subsistence is likely to have been accompanied by a change in their social organization, values and norms. Furthermore, Professor McCann indicates that the Oromo of Ada'a were, through intratribal relations, evolving some forms of local leadership which had not yet reached to a level of centralised authority. The leadership at its embryonic stage, however, turned into a tributary status after the southward expansion of Shewan hegemony in the late eighteenth century. Both McCann (1995) and Ayele (1977: 5) stressed that Ada'a was incorporated into the Ethiopian empire through conversion to Christianity, political marriage with local leaders who were able to form tributary relationship rather than violent conquest and hostilities.

Besides, after Menelik had transferred his capital from Ankober to Entoto and finally to Addis Ababa in 1886, Ada'a received the new status of **madbet**⁴ or pantry of the palace replacing Ankober. This historical reality had significant repercussions on the communal land tenure of Ada'a. This phenomenon shaped the peculiar land tenure

³ The three clans of Ada'a (known as **handa**, **dhahku** and **illu** the names of which and the knowledge about which are not diffused and vary from place to place) do not play a significant role in current production activities. Perhaps they were important organizing principles in the pastoral mode of subsistence. Therefore, the clans will not be treated in the social organization of Godino.

⁴ As it is described in **ZIKIrä Nägär**, **gannä gäb** (also Known as **madbet**) was a status accorded to a certain **awraja** in which **hudad** land (fertile farm land directly controlled by a palace through **mIsläne**) was allocated. Grain and flour was delivered every month from different **gannä gäb awraja** in turn and a quota of grain was set for each of them by the palace. **MIsläne** were responsible to administer **hudad** land by employing tenants and transporting produce (including those allocated for **asrat** or tax if a yield was below a quota set for an **awraja**) to the palace once a year. After Ada'a had received **gannä gäb** status, **mIsläne** were delivering grain and flour to the palace every August. All **gannä gäb** or the **madbet awraja** were directly administered from the palace by **gibbi minister** (Minister of the Palace)

system of Ada'a which was different from that of the southern regions at that period as is explained by McCann.

Accordingly, Menelik did not want to entirely alienate the cooperative local leaders of Ada'a from possessing lands. Neither did the Emperor allow soldiers to be quartered on Ada'a farms, exempting the area from the military tribute system (**näft'änga-gäbbar**) which was common in other southern regions. Instead of this, direct control over Ada'a farmlands was exercised by the palace by assigning the head of palace's pantry (Ayto Bethsabe) as governor of Ada'a as well. That implies that being a royal larder, Ada'a lands were also granted by Menelik to members of the palace in terms of freehold. Side by side with this, Ada'a land was measured in units of **gasha** (40 ha) and partially auctioned. This step of Menelik by 1886, transformed the meaning of **madbet** (pantry) to one of freehold status. In fact Menelik also made grants of Ada'a land to churches (found both in Addis and Ada'a) and individuals in his service.

Exploiting the above opportunities, K'ägnazmach Babichev, a white Russian confidant of Menelik, was granted about 4 to 5 **gasha** (160-200 ha) of land in Godino (at the southeastern foothills of Mt. Yerer) and started his horticultural entrepreneurial activities perhaps in the first quarter of 20 century. This horticultural field is now divided between Godino and the neighbouring village Guwa Werko. The former shares the larger part. This entrepreneurship must have had a tremendous impact on the agricultural practices, crop patterns, diffusion of hired labour and relations of production of peasants around the area. In contrast to the adjacent village of Harawa which also has irrigated agriculture, Godino irrigated fields has been dominantly planted with sugar cane since the time of the enterprise. Techniques of irrigation, sharecropping

arrangements (specifically **mäggazo**), unit of irrigated field measurements, and land use have exhibited continuities of forms commonly found during the time of enterprise.

One of my informants (Ato Begashaw) claim that K'ägnazmach Babichev inherited the plot from Fitawrari Wolentev, his uncle, who in turn received the plot, in the form of a grant, from Menelik. In any case, this horticultural firm was owned by Babichev until 1941. There were many labourers working in the enterprise. As payment for their labour, the labourers were given four **boyy (karta)** of land, equivalent to about 3,000m². Ato Begashaw (ex-labourer and 70 years old now) says there were as many as 600 households who built their shelter and cultivated their garden on their **Karta**. The site of this crowded settlement was Dabaso. The labourers were working on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays on Babichev's plot whereas two days of the week (Fridays and Saturdays) were spent on their own plot. In addition, it was also possible, through share-cropping arrangements which they called **mäggazo**, to work on additional plots granted to Babichev.

Babichev, according to the villagers, was the first person to introduce small-scale irrigation in the area. Planting was conducted three times a year for short-cycled cereals and vegetables. The main crops of the time were citrus fruit, sugar cane, banana, coffee and others.

Babichev's enterprise was, as well, a focus of interactions among peasants of the surrounding villages since the weekly Sunday market is located nearby at Dabaso. Sales were taxed at the market by tax collectors who transferred the revenue to the government office at Bishoftu.

Ato Bagashaw states that Babichev managed his farm by delegating his authority to four of the managers⁵ who administered, hired and controlled labourers on the farm plot. One of the impacts of this enterprise was the promotion of a heterogenous composition of the villagers and the hiring of labourers coming from different regions. Labourers were attracted to the enterprise from different regions to seek employment. At a later stage, the enterprise was recruiting labourers from southern Ethiopia for skilled labour such as managing the pig farm.

The living memory of villagers about Babichev is reminiscent of better times.

One of the labourers, Ato Tadesse now paralysed and 60 years of age says:

Oh! That was a good time. We bought one **qunna** (5kg) of **t'ef** for 50 cents. Sunday was a market day at Debbaso. It was known as **yäashkär gäbaya** (labourer's market). Babichev said my **ashkär** should not travel long distances to buy things. The income we earned from produce of our plot was enough to support us. We were producing three time annually on our garden. We were satisfied about the size of our garden. It was a prosperous time. That was how we were.

In 1941, the enterprise was transferred to Ts'ähafi TIIzaz Woldegiorgis (the Minister of Pen) by the order of Haile Sellasie. The villagers saw the decision as the outcome of a conspiracy made against Babichev by Ts'ähafi TIIzaz. It was stated that Babichev was falsely accused of being a collaborator of the Italians. He was also accused of selling or planning to sell his enterprise to Italians who should not be given a chance of owning the plot as enemies of the country.

After assuming property rights over the enterprise, the most important change brought about by Ts'ähafi TIIzaz was that of converting the status of labourers to complete wage workers. Ato Bagashaw, previous guard of Ts'ähafi TIIzaz, states that

⁵ The four managers were Ato Issuballew, Male Gaga, Azaz Gizaw and Gebre Wolde who were themselves hired to perform this task.

Ts'ähafi forced, step by step, labourers to lose their irrigated plot. He explains that "All of us became labourers earning 50 to 75 cents for a day's work. Differentiation of payment was made on the basis of type of work and capacity of the labourer to carry out heavier tasks."

Moreover, Ts'ähafi TIIzaz removed all settlers and the Sunday market from Debbaso so as to monopolise the irrigated land of the enterprise in the beginning of the 1970s. Labourers were not paid in terms of land as in Babichev's time but in cash. The labourers then had to leave with the only option of paying 80 bIrr for the use right of the house constructed on 1000m² (**shikarimetIr**)⁶ land of Wajitu quarter by Ts'ähafi TIIzaz. At that time, Wajitu area was not irrigated, hence, the garden plot of labourers (in contrast to Babichev's time) could only be used during the rainy season. The labourers were also coerced to provide six days of work without payment in the form of corvée labour annually to the enterprise in exchange for the land on which they were allowed to settle. Alternatively, a labourer could gather five individuals and perform the task in a single day instead of working for six consecutive days alone. In a similar move, Ato Ayele Garedeu, landlord of the area since the early 1960s, allocated part of his land for the weekly market charging a certain amount of payment for 2m² or more space used by retail traders. Moreover, persons purchased a small plot of land near to and around the market from Ato Ayele to construct houses. For the service, settlers had to pay a tithe to Ato Ayele annually. In this manner, the market and crowded settlement of Ts'ähafi TIIzaz's labourers have provided the foundation out of which the present crowded settlement of Godino has evolved.

⁶ Godino villagers utilise **shiKarimetIr** (i.e. 1000 m²) as a unit of measurement in the irrigated field. This same size was used to parcel plots for sharecroppers in **mäggažo**. At present **shiKarimetIr** is equal to 1600m² of irrigated plot even though peasants call it **shiKarimetIr**.

As compared to Babichev, Ts'ähafi TIIzaz Woldegiorgis's enterprise was more developed expanding its investment to pig farming. Ts'ähafi TIIzaz is said to have been responsible for establishing a police station and health clinic at Godino. He also had two mills that gave services to the community. In the beginning of the 1970s, a tractor operated in the enterprise which made use of chemical fertilizer as well as improved varieties of vegetables. Ts'ähafi TIIzaz diversified the type of crops, and vegetables planted in the enterprise, introducing cotton and pepper, but the most prominent of all was sugar cane which covered most of the cultivated area. Like his predecessor, Ts'ähafi TIIzaz managed his enterprise through administrators (namely Ato Habte and Gebreye)

The relation between the enterprise of Ts'ähafi TIIzaz and the labourers were not only as employer and employee but also included elements of patron-client relations. Hence, the administrators of Ts'ähafi TIIzaz presented gifts of grain, coffee and cloth to all of the labourers who had a new born child or lost a relative by death. This kind of support is still admired by previous labourers of Ts'ähafi TIIzaz.

However, it is stated that the number of labourers were fewer in Ts'ähafi's enterprise than they were under Babichev's. The reason was that some didn't like to be hired labourers and Ts'ähafi's enterprise used a tractor and combiner which reduced the number of labourers required. What is more, many labourers were said to be emigrating from Godino in search of other alternatives.

2.3.1. Land Tenure in the pre-revolutionary period

The old tenure practices of Godino did not show significant variations from those in Ada'a. One form of land tenure, **gäbbar** or what Professor McCann calls

freehold, seemed to be dominant in Godino. Government grants, purchase, and inheritance appeared to be major factors contributing to the prevalence of this tenure.

Furthermore, 40 ha of **sämon** land was administered by Gufti Mariam church of Godino. **Sämon** was land on which the primary or reversionary interest was vested in the church. Primary interest implies the right confirmed in proclamation 2 of 1942, to collect and retain for the church use land tax, tithe and education tax from persons settled on the land on the basis of rates laid down by law.

At least two individuals were administrating **gult** land in the central area of Godino, residential and market area. **gult** is the right to own land without paying land tax (as opposed to **gäbbar**) to the government. Settlers within this jurisdiction were paying tithe to the landowner. **Gult** holders were required by the government to give services in times of war, in administering their respective zones and discharging other official duties.

2.3.1.1. Tenancy and Rental Forms

According to the description of Professor McCann, tenancy was not a widespread form of economic relations in Ada'a at the beginning of 20th century.

The expansion of land owning necessarily created a need for new tenants to put land in cultivation... In the two decades following the Italian occupation Ada's agriculture evolved as an open forage system in which land prices rose but were restricted by the continued availability of virgin and fallow lands, on which tenants maintained their livestock. In Ada's open economy of 1950s tenancy itself could be a vehicle for accumulation... (McCann 1995: 214-215).

This implies that there was little integration between livestock and crop cultivation or what is termed an open economy. Consequently, land owners were

greatly encouraging tenancy by exempting farmers from sharecropping obligations in the first or second year of virgin land plantation. They recruited tenants along kinship lines both from Ada'a and outside. Therefore, tenancy was a lucrative way of increasingly expanding one's holding by cultivating virgin land until 1963. McCann affirms that there were many tenants who prospered in this way. There was not only tenant-landowner relations but also tenant-tenant relations based on the same form of sharecropping arrangements.

In the middle of the 1970s, population increase, the influx of immigrants, improvements of social services such as health care and the fertility of farm land in Ada'a combined to create pressure on the agricultural practices. The land-owners did not allow tenants to leave the land fallow the practice of which was abandoned resulting in the expansion of cultivated land at the expense of pasture. This occurred because land owners had little interest in livestock, which was in the majority cases, the domain of tenants. This intensification of cultivation, alongside, brought about new tenant-landlord relations. Most of the landlords were managing their enterprise through delegated tenant-operators who in turn hired tenants. These delegated tenant-operators evicted tenants for minor faults such as leaving land fallow for a year. The following rental forms were common in Godino.

1. Mäggazo : In this form the tenant supplied his own seeds, oxen and farming implements and the landowner supplied only the land. After harvest the landlord paid **asrat** to the government which was one-tenth of the total and a third of the remainder, thus retaining 60 percent of the crop for himself. This form of arrangement was in one-half share of produce in the horticultural activities the norm of which is still operational to the present. **Mäggazo** was and is a widespread rental form which has been perpetuated with little modifications in Godino. Of course, **asrat** is non-existent at

present.

2. **Wolläd AgId** was a rental form in which a land owner transferred the use right of his land to a money lender. The money lender had a right to cultivate the land until the loan (without interest) was defrayed. Both residential house and farm land could be held temporarily in the past. It was suggested that 1 ha of land could be seized for a time for 400 **bIrr**. At the end of the 1970s, however, this price was raised to 1,000 **bIrr**.
3. **Qixe qote (yäkul arash)**: In this type of arrangement, the land owner provides seed and oxen whereas the tenant utilises his labour alone and they have an equal share of the produce at the end of harvest. The tenant does not (in contrast to **mäggazo**) have to pay tithe.
4. **Irbo Arash**: This was similar to **mäggazo** except that after subtracting one-tenth, one-fourth of the harvest went to the landowner.

Although all the rental forms are believed to have increased stratification in the already hierarchical community, they also served to facilitate flow of resources such as land from labour and oxen scarce households to those who relatively endowed with these resources. Such a flow of resources was actually beneficial in distributing use right of land among households particularly in sub-contract dealings of tenant-tenant links and contracts among small holders. The contracts between absentee landlords and tenants were also one of power relations interfering in decision-making of tenants and was one of the constraints hindering the development of agriculture as indicated by Borton in the Stanford Report No. 14. Security of tenancy was precarious since the lease could be terminated any time if one of the parties decided to opt out.

2.3.1.2. The Old Tenure and Farm Labour

All land tenure forms before the revolution created and promoted stratification through disproportionate distribution of labour. McCann concludes that "Historically, state-agrarian relations depended on tribute relationships and labour obligations rather than rents" (1995: 239). In other words, if a person was enlarging land under his ownership, he could also increasingly control labour. In such instances, land-lords were also lords of labour. In Godino, more than a dozen landlords were masters of all available cultivated, pasture and residential area. The largest holding was that of Ts'ähafi TIIzaz's (200 ha). The remaining landlords owned land ranging from 40 ha to 20 ha in size. Of course, it was not only landlords who had control over labour. There were also many **mIsläne**⁷ and tenants who hired other tenants on the land previously taken from the landlord on the basis of some form of sharecropping arrangement.

One way or another, the old tenure forms also influenced group labour activities. Since work groups were evolving out of networks of relations of persons living in the same or different localities, their composition was very much affected by status. In other words, the old tenure systems enhanced the prevalence of vertical (hierarchical) relations over horizontal ones (among equals). Ideally, persons of equal status tended to have intimate relations rather than those who were high in status. This implied that voluntarily organized work groups gravitated to be formed among equals. This was actually true of relatively equal farmers/tenants, as confirmed by informants, who were entertaining work group among themselves. The attempt is here to emphasise the influence of status on social relations during the time but actual realities could differ.

⁷ **MIsläne** were managers of **hudad** land (a fertile land owned by government from **gannä gäb** or **madbet awraja**) who employed tenants and delivered grain and flour to the palace in accordance with the amount set for each **awraja**. They also collected taxes and rendered judicial services.

Patron-client or other relations could develop between landlords and the poor leading to exchange of labour and other goods among them.

Däbo or **kedhchisa**, which was organized by relatives of a host and where reciprocity was not obligatory was more common among landlords of the past than among poor peasants and tenants. This form of work group eased the flow of labour from low to high status rank. Ato Begashaw recalls the **däbo** of Ts'ähafi TIIzaz organized in Godino in 1973.

When Ts'ähafi TIIzaz called assistance of work, labourers came from distant areas. Once he organized a **däbo**. He sent messages to big persons of various areas through **mIsläne**. Farmers came from Migira Werko, Ganda Gorba, Kataba, Denama and many others. The task was ploughing which was accomplished in a single day. There were 100 pairs of oxen on the work. Afterwards, Ts'ähafi TIIzaz slaughtered two oxen and held a big feast for the farmers. If asked, Ts'ähafi TIIzaz may reciprocate by sending farmers. But this was not usually the case.

This account indicated that the labour in work group was reciprocated by lavish feasts and usually organized during the sowing and harvest periods.

On the other hand, **jigi**, a work group which was organized by the host and for which labour had to be reciprocated, seemed to have been common among closely related persons of equal status. Ato Tsegaye Sangi a former labourer of Ts'ähafi TIIzaz had his own plot. He describes the work group he organized in 1972:

It was harvest time. I had 25 **qarxi** of **t'ef** and wheat to be harvested. I called my relatives and neighbours. 50 persons turned out for the work. The work was completed in a single day. Then I gathered the **jigi** persons in my home for a feast. I had already prepared 7 **gan** of **farso**. It was a good work but the feast was big. I also paid back the labour of each person who participated in my work. The persons were like me, some are labourers, some small holders and some tenants.

This account shows that the element of feasting was present in both types of work groups, **däbo** having the bigger one.

In general, the organization of work groups was the main means by which shortages of labour was alleviated during peak seasons of agricultural activities. In the past, hired labour had minor importance as compared to work groups according to villagers. Therefore, work groups were the main form of social labour before the revolution that covered much of the activities during peak seasons.

2.3.2. The Post-revolutionary period

The 1974 Ethiopian revolution and specially the 1975 land reform seemed to have had strong support among the majority of poor farmers and wage labourers of Godino. They reacted quickly against the lords of the area. For instance, Ato Ayele Garedew, owner of the central residential area of Godino, was beaten up and forced to run away to Addis Ababa.

After the revolution, nevertheless, there appeared to develop competition between labourers of Ts'ähafi TIIzaz and other tenants for the control of small-scale irrigated plots. This led to, and later on, was strengthened by policy measures of the state, and the formations of factions with competitive interests. At the beginning of the revolution, there was a trend of division between **domägna** (those with hoe but who had no oxen) and **gäbäre** (those who had oxen). This tendency generated the idea of forming separate associations, one for **domägna** and the other for **gäbäre**. The **domägna** wanted to utilise exclusively the irrigated land whereas the **gäbäre** needed to become beneficiaries of irrigated land.

The authorities of the government banned such a kind of division along status of oxen ownership. They instructed the labourers of Ts'ähafi TIIzaz to form a single association that would enable them to utilise the properties of the enterprise and the

irrigated plots. In this manner, the labourers of Ts'ähafi TIIzaz became official beneficiaries of the irrigated plots.

With similar objectives and forms, those tenants who were cultivating Qambere established their own association which entitled them to exclusive rights to use irrigated plots in that quarter. Those tenants who were settled in the rainfed areas of Godino were precluded from utilising the irrigated plots.

Following the formation of the association, the ex-labourers of Ts'ähafi TIIzaz took over the property of the enterprise except for the pig farm, tractor and diesel engine for generating electric light. Ts'ähafi TIIzaz had been able to destroy or ruin his pig farm intentionally shortly before the fall of Haile Sellasie through his delegates who were said to have benefited secretly from the sale of some pigs. Due to this, the pig farm no longer operated after the transfer of the enterprise to the ex-labourers. The tractor and the diesel engine were confiscated by the **därg**. The remaining property (30 pairs of oxen, mills and offices) were given to the ex-labourers' association of Ts'ähafi TIIzaz. Each member of the association was allotted a garden plot from the irrigated fields, though most of the fields were cultivated and the produce was shared communally. The same could be said of members of the association formed at Qambere quarter.

On the other hand, private farmers in Godino were also ploughing collectively for two consecutive years after the land reform of 1975 when all had access to garden plots of their own. Distribution of produce, at that time, was made after deducting a certain amount for running costs of the PA, the value of oxen power and seed inputs in terms of grain. Hence, the left-over produce was shared equally among members

who participated in ploughing and other tasks. Complaints were raised by those who didn't have oxen. They said that their share of produce was smaller as compared to oxen owners.

By 1977, land distribution was carried out among private farmers of Godino. All members of the PA were entitled to have cultivated land on the basis of three levels of differentiation. Firstly, unmarried persons were allotted 6 **qarxi** (1.5 Ha) of land. Secondly, married couples were entitled 7 **qarxi**. Lastly, 8 **qarxi** was allotted to families of larger size. Discrimination was not made on the basis of sex but younger boys were not given land until they established their own household.

In line with the policy of the **därg**, the difference between the **domägna** and **gäbäre** took new forms. The majority of the **domägna** became members of producers cooperatives whereas most tenants remained private farmers. Members of producers cooperatives, were made the sole beneficiaries of irrigated plots. They were also allowed to expand their holdings into the fertile areas of rainfed agriculture. By the end of the 1980s, the two cooperatives (the labourers of Ts'ähafi TIIzaz and those organized at Qambere) were merged to form the single cooperative of Godino. Gradually, the cooperative was encouraged to increase its members by expanding its operations into newly cultivated areas belonging to private farmers who were then forced to join the association. The PC was provided with better extension services and farm equipment (including a tractor, combiner, container of molasses, mills and others) so as to attract and captivate private farmers into the organization. Despite all these efforts, the PC never had a significant increase in membership and it declined to 98 persons (originally it had more than 100 members) in the final days before its collapse in 1990.

In the first years of the revolution, the Peasant Association of Godino was formed to take over local administration of the area. However, the two associations of

domägna were not subservient to the PA. Especially, in matters relating to irrigated plots, they were the sole bodies that claimed to be responsible. At the end of 1980s, policies of the **därg** gave patronage to collectivization, widening the rift between **domägna** and **gäbäre** in Godino. Step by step, power shifted from the PA (in the Godino case they were tenants) to the PC (**domägna** or most of the labourers of Ts'ähafi TIIzaz). The reason for this was that administration tasks of Godino were made under the leadership of the PC.

Furthermore, the leadership of the PC was stated to be acting more harshly to enforce directives (such as quotas of grain given to the AMC and villagization schemes) of the **därg** regime. Three levels of quotas of grain were set for private farmers of Godino to sell their produce to the AMC. Grading of farmers is usually made by PA/PC leaders on the bases of landholding and oxen ownership. These criteria were often exploited by the leadership in order to harm enemies and benefit relatives and friends. There was practically no stated land size to grade farmers. There was a category of farmers called **täramaj**⁸ who expanded their holdings by cultivating virgin lands. These farmers were in the first grade. The most elaborate criteria was oxen ownership used to grade non-**täramaj** peasants. Peasants who had more than 2 oxen were grouped in grade one with **täramaj** peasants, those who have 2 oxen in group two and those who have no ox/en in grade three. The quotas increased from time to time reaching the following final rate.

- 7 quintals for first grade farmers.
- 5 quintals for second grade farmers
- 4 quintals for third grade farmers

⁸ The word **täramaj** is an Amharic word coined after the revolution meaning a Marxist or a progressive person or one who accepted socialist principles. In Godino, **täramaj** persons were ones who expanded their holding by cultivating virgin lands by exploiting their households' good potential of labour and oxen power.

During the villagization carried out by the **därg** (1975-80), many members of the PC were not affected since they were already settled in the crowded quarter of Godino. It was the private farmers who were forced to leave their scattered settlements and build their houses in the central part of Godino. Some private farmers claimed that they were ordered to help in the construction activities of houses for some members of the PC.

Like in other parts of Ethiopia, access to leadership status within the PC was exclusively restricted to members of the ruling political party (Workers' Party of Ethiopia). The power base of the PC leadership was (then) beyond the realm of Godino and ordinary members of the PC. Many ex-members of the PC complained that they were deprived of the rights to be consulted in important decisions. For instance, the leadership of the PC bought a combiner on credit without consulting the members. The combiner, due to missing parts, was not utilised even once. It was increasingly damaged because of exposure to sun, rain and poor storage conditions.

On the other hand, the extension activities, which were started at the end of 1970s by ADDP (Ada District Development Project) between 1968-73, an integrated rural development scheme funded by USAID and executed by the MOA, were further intensified after the revolution. As in other parts of Ada'a, Godino was exposed to extension services of EPID (Extension Program Implementation Department), MOA and ARC (Agricultural Research Centre of Alamaya University). Consequently, through credit facilities provided by service cooperatives, the use of fertilizers was entirely adopted and local crops (specially local wheat crops such as **nyaruqole**, **looko** and others) were totally replaced by imported improved varieties. Professor McCann reported that the Agricultural Research Centre of Bishoftu distributed 250 quintals of improved white **t'ef**, 70 quintals of improved Kenya wheat and 30 quintal of chickpeas.

Professor McCann suggested that the internal dynamics of population pressure (partially aggravated by immigrants), greater crop-livestock integration, expansion of crop land at the expense of pasture were continued after the revolution. The residence-based land tenure of the **därg** increased the pressure on farm land due to new demands for land. On the other hand, McCann states that better prices offered by the AMC for **t'ef** gave new impetus to the already started process of specialising in **t'ef**. Especially, during the 1970s and 1980s prices favoured **t'ef** instead of wheat which had a lower market value.

Members of the PC were able to irrigate more land that was not utilised by Ts'ähafi TIIzaz along the Wodecha river. By the middle of 1980s, some private farmers also started to utilise another river of Godino (Belbella) for irrigation purposes. On both rivers, small dams of soil and stone were traditionally constructed by farmers in the dry season using locally available materials. The diverted water is channelled to farm fields by ditches prepared by farmers.

Following the mixed economic policy of the **därg** in 1990, the PC was quickly disbanded. Members shared out properties of the PC including farm lands. On the whole, each member of the PC was allotted 5 **qarxi** of rainfed and irrigated plots. 10 ha of the PC land was reserved for an NGO called "Vision of Hope" which promised to establish an orphanage rehabilitation centre for the locality. Another 2 **qarxi** of coffee plants was placed under the control of Gufti Mariam church of Godino which took over the administration of the plot by leasing it.

Despite demands from **gäbäre** (private farmers) for equal access, the ex-members of the PC divided the irrigated plots exclusively among themselves in 1990. The private farmers then raised the issue of irrigating more of their land using the Wodecha river. To this end, they applied to the authorities in Bishoftu requesting the

development of a small-scale irrigation scheme in Godino. Although all private farmers wish to benefit from irrigation, they differ in choosing a specific spot at which to divert the river and everyone wants to channel the water on or near to his own field. Last year, more than a hundred persons (who are not beneficiaries of the irrigation scheme) were digging ditches on their own initiative so as to make channels from the Wodecha river to farm fields. This task was tiresome and incomplete because the farmers did not follow elevation contours while digging the ditch. Currently, the Water Resource Development of Eastern Shewa has commenced construction works to develop the irrigation scheme of Godino. The work is planned to be completed in two years time, irrigating 160 ha of farm land.

The NGO (Vision of Hope) has never made any move to realise its objectives. Its office and properties were robbed twice (during the fall of the **därg**) in the past three years by residents of the area. The PA of Godino has now taken over the 10 ha land which was given to VOH. The PA leaders are, at the moment, negotiating with an investor who could lease the 10 ha land for 200,000 **bIrr** which was assumed to cover part of the cost required to install electric light in Godino.

After the disintegration of the PA, about 170 beneficiaries of irrigation from the Wodecha river have formed an association which is responsible for administration, protection and utilisation of irrigation plots. This has been productive in organizing labour annually required at the beginning of the dry season to reconstruct the damaged dam and to clear up ditches. Every member contributes a monthly fee of 2 **bIrr** to cover the salary of 2 guards (100 **bIrr** for each). The task of these guards is to check whether each beneficiary is utilising, his turn to irrigate its field properly. The guards (one for Wajitu and another for Qambere) look after cattle in order to protect crops on fields. The two guards could accuse someone, who misuses the irrigation or leaves his

cattle to graze on the irrigated plots, in front of the irrigation committee. The committee as per regulations of the association, could fine the accused a punishment fee of 30 bIrr. As was formulated by the committee, water circulates between the two quarters (Wajitu and Qambere) in alternating shifts of 7 days, regularly. The committee, though independent in its affairs, obtains support as required from the PA in enforcing regulations among members.

In comparison to the above, there is no association which administers the utilisation of irrigation on Belbella river. Due to irregularity of use, there have been complaints and minor conflicts among beneficiaries over the period of irrigating one's field. However, all beneficiaries of Belbella irrigation mobilise their labour to reconstruct the damaged dam and to clear up ditches annually after harvest. Due to availability of sufficient water to irrigate relatively smaller plots of bellbala quarter, the formation of an association was not required.

2.3.2.1. Labour forms during the revolution (1975-1983)

Collective labour was introduced to Godino among the PC members who representing perhaps one-fifth of household heads of the area. This measure deprived households of their autonomous role as production units. The members conducted their tasks with disciplinary control and evaluation of performance of politically affiliated persons elected by the general assembly. The share of every member from the produce was calculated on the basis of accumulated points (man-hours) over a year, regardless of quality of work. The very principle of "from one according to his capacity, to each according to his work" was biased by favouritism of the leadership which benefited their relatives and allies and harmed their opponents. In fact, the leadership evolved

their own bureaucratic forms and styles, developing managing roles with little participation in agricultural tasks. Ironically, high points of performance were accorded to leaders of the PC. The concomitant of all these realities were lack of incentives and interest on the part of the ordinary members. Dessalegn emphatically points out that:

The reforms that came almost simultaneously in the late 1970s and early 1980s had one important thing in common: they promoted in the name of agrarian socialism insecurity of holding and of production... they involved group farming and loss of individual holdings, evictions from the land, relocation elsewhere (often to marginal lands), and loss of one's independent decision making ability. (1992: 60-61).

The PC had at least one negative impact in the village. It eroded the bond of neighbourhood and friendship. I have never encountered a single ex-member of the PC who appreciated the achievement of their organization. Ato Wobishet, once a leader of the PC has the following to say:

We became **amrach**. We were worse off than private farmers though beneficiaries of irrigated and fertile plots. This was so because of abusive leadership. We elected them but they became our kings. Some of us were beaten for minor faults. Oh! that was a bad time nobody likes to remember. But these wrong-doers are still with us. Many of us do not like to establish good relations with them. Thank God, bad days have passed.

In a similar account, Challa, a private farmer, explained his conflict with the ex-chairman of the PC.

Ato Demeqe Zena was abusing his power too much when he was chairman of the PC. In the past, he personally imprisoned me for no apparent reason. Since then, I have never been on good terms with him. We have never exchanged greetings with one another. Like many other villagers, I have never forgotten the injury caused by Demeqe who is still living in the village without facing charges.

These facts suggest that collectivization has been a factor for some, if not for all, of the dissension among Godino villagers. Adding to this point, private farmers were obliged to contribute labour for some tasks of the PC during peak seasons. Most of the private farmers opposed this compulsory labour which resembled *corvée* labour. In a similar scheme, private farmers were obliged to participate in the collective labour activities spent on plots of communal land of the PA, REYA, REWA and plots of soldiers at war fronts and fields of older persons. These tasks were undertaken on Wednesdays and Fridays in the village. Produce of communal plots were shared among the participants after deducting a certain amount to be used as a running cost of the associations. Shares of leftover yields were not proportional since the value of oxen power, attendance of all activities, and subjective judgement of PA leaders were used in combination to justify unequal participation. This could also leave a negative mark on personal relations of those involved in these activities.

Besides, the 1975 revolution has brought about a change in the size of group labour. Until 1977, household-sponsored group labour was interrupted because of communal labour engaged in at the village level. Due to reduction of the size of land holdings in 1977 and after, the need for larger size of voluntarily organized work groups has vanished among private farmers of Godino. The organization of voluntary work groups have, however, been maintained to the present day. The researcher has been informed that 10 to 15 pairs of oxen, for instance, were mobilised in one work group to perform ploughing of seed-cover. Most of the routine agricultural tasks were covered by household labour. Additional labour requirements were met by voluntarily organized group labour. Since the 1980s, the demand for and influx of seasonal migrant hired labour has been on the increase in Ada'a. The role of this form of labour (immigrant and locally hired) has become the dominant feature of present day Godino.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF GODINO COMMUNITY

It is virtually impossible to explain the strategies by which Godino villagers operate their routine agricultural tasks without investigating their social relations. This organization of agricultural work may be based on a number of principles such as age, sex, friendship, neighbourhood, religious organizations, kinship, and affinity. Relations in these domains tend to be multiplex (Boissevan: 1978) with myriads of shifting roles in which one kind of relations could be exploited to establish another. The highlights of the main organizational principles of Godino will be discussed as follows.

3.1. The household

A household is a basic form of organization which can be defined as a unit of common consumption, production, and residence for its members. This reflects the reality for the majority of households. Nevertheless, before the onset of the first stage of developmental cycle, there is a temporary situation during which young males form their new residential house but continue to eat and work with their natal households. This exceptional situation seems to disprove the residential function of a household but it is transitory until the onset of the first stage in the development cycle which is often commenced at marriage. In another relatively rare occurrence, newly married young men continue to share food with their natal households but have a separate residence in the vicinity to their families. Yet in another rare circumstance is when adult man returns to obtain his food from his natal household after divorcing his wife.

Ferede G/Amlak is 45 with two children from his first marriage. He has 4.6 qarxi of land which he frequently lets to others on the basis of share contract arrangements. He earns 100 bIrr a month by working for a private mill owner in Godino. Because of this job, he couldn't operate his farm land and doesn't have oxen. He resides and runs his own life separately near his natal household of which all children have married out except for one young boy. When his wife ran away from him, Ferede, together with his children started to eat in his natal household while still residing separately. He started to contribute to some of the expenses required to feed the household members.

Along with its other roles, a household unit is primarily responsible for managing agricultural tasks so as to sustain its members. In Godino, the preponderant form of household is that of a the nuclear family. 221 (55 %) of the surveyed households are represented by parents or one of the parents with or without their children. 191 (47.6%) households have a depth of two generations and 109 households (27.2 %) have an expanded form beyond the nuclear family. The generational depth of the surveyed households is shallow. 87 households have a depth of more than two generations. 85 of these households have a depth of three generations (parents, children, and grandchildren) whereas only two households have a depth of four generations. Most grandchildren living in their grandparents' house are born out of marriage. Birth out of marriage is not a norm of the community though it is tolerated after its occurrence. 42 (10.47%) of the surveyed households have been increased in size by incorporating children born out of marriage. These children become members of grandparents' households contributing labour when they grow up. On this point, Dahl-Jorgensen cited in Aspen states that "These children represent important inputs to the households both as labourers and at a later stage as a security for their parents in their old age". (Aspen 1993: 17). This happens in both kinds of households (23 for female headed households

while 19 for male headed ones). It might reflect a declining trend of parental control over their children as regards to mate selection since most of these children are those of youths who have premarital affairs.

Parental households who lack labour (those at the third stage of the developmental cycle as is explained later) bring in grandchildren in order to solve their shortages of labour.

Ato Bedada is 60, married, a father of two children (a boy and a girl). He was a wage labourer of Ts'ähafi TIIzaz and then a member of the PC about which he has many complaints. His boy is currently working in butchers and does not like and is unwilling to be engaged in agricultural tasks. Thus, Ato Bedada, in his present capacity, couldn't plough all of his fields since he is old and lacks oxen. Despite this, he has a great veneration for his profession (farming). He failed to impart his skill and respect for farming to his son. Ato Bedada, now gives three-fourths of his land through sharecropping arrangements while operating one-fourth of his fields. Fifteen years ago, his daughter was married shortly after her husband died. She has since remarried. Ato Bedada, after despairing of instructing his son in farming took his grandchildren from his daughter from her first marriage. Ato Bedada brought up this boy who is 13 years old to ease shortages of labour. Ato Bedada has already started to impart his agricultural skills to his grandson.

In relations to this, one-third of the surveyed households (110) are headed by women. As will be discussed later, these households are differentiated in their degree of participation in agriculture and labour resource available to them. Out of these households, 51 (46.36%) were widows 39 (35.45%) were divorced, 17 (15.45%) were never married while 3 (2.72%) of them are concubines (Wushuma).

Table 4: Household Size of Surveyed Population

Family size	No. of household	Percent	Family size	No. of household	Percent
1	30	7.5	8	14	3.5
2	42	10.5	9	11	2.7
3	89	22.2	10	10	2.5
4	83	20.6	11	2	0.5
5	47	11.7	12	3	0.7
6	45	11.2	13	2	0.5
7	21	5.2	14	1	0.2
-	-	-	15 \leq	1	0.2
Total				401	100

As can be seen from the above table, households which are composed of 3 to 7 members represent nearly three-fourths or 71% of the surveyed domestic groups. The mean household size of the surveyed population is 4.46.

Godino households are autonomous and independent units. However, their viability is secured via networks of kinship and neighbourhood. Households pass through three stages in their life cycle (Goody 1971: 4-5); the first of which is the expansion stage which is critical for many households since their viability is challenged during the formation of new households. Marriage is usually a mechanism by which couples form a new household. In Godino, a young boy usually marries between 20-25 years of age. Often, but not always, new households lack a draught animal and land which leads to non-viability. This obstacle is primarily resolved by economic assistance from the parental households because the viability of this unit has a positive impact on the inception of the new household unit by children. Relatively wealthy households support their children so that they could form viable households. This is especially true of oxen shortages and land which can be granted by parental households (land grants

for children are locally known as **guluma**) if they have relatively sufficient land. Non-viability of new household could also be alleviated by exploiting networks of affinal and neighbourhood relations.

Teshome Lemma is 24, married seven years ago and a father of three. He has been allotted 1.28 **qarxi** from his parents to help the establishment of his household. He has no ox and doesn't operate his small plot which he transfers to another farmer through share contracts. He participates in trading activities to support himself and his household. His wife complements their income by selling **farso** and **areqe** in addition to retail trade of horticultural produces. Teshome used the plot of his parents to construct his house.

In normal circumstances, new household units are formed during marriage. Birth alone is a next major factor to entitle someone to be member of a household and to a lesser extent some become a member of a household by virtue of adoption. It may seem strange to see 30 households (half of them are headed by female) in the above table which are composed of a single person. This anomaly is caused due to the domestic development cycle and other factors. In my personal records, 11 of these households came to exist in their present form due to divorce and 6 by death of one of the couple. Five of the remaining households were established by young males and another five are composed of single women who have never married. One house is occupied by an ex-policeman of Godino who has not yet brought back his household members from his earlier residence in Gojam. The last two are used as drinking houses in which a hired house-boy resides.

Nigatu Lemmi who is 25 has recently established his own household prior to marriage by purchasing a house for 300 **bIrr**. He has only **shikarimetIr** of irrigated plot and does not have any draught animal. He has been renting farm fields from the neighbouring PA of Migira Werko and utilises the oxen of his grandmother for ploughing. He has also ploughed his grandmother's plot. In addition, he has complemented his income by working as a guard of a compound of Vision of Hope (NGO).

After leading his life as a bachelor for about a year, he has very recently married. His wife has come to live with him in Nigatu's house. This case shows that single-person households of the young are transitory.

To sum up, at this stage offspring are totally dependent on parents, economically, jurally, and affectively. Non-viability of households can occur at any stage of the developmental cycle. Its occurrence, nevertheless, is much higher in the newly constituted households in the first stage of their cycle.

The second phase of the household cycle is marked by fission and dispersion (Goody 1971: 5). In Godino, this phase overlaps with the first one because households could still be expanding while their elder son/daughter is forming his own homestead. This stage also overlaps with the third stage of replacement. Dispersion of household member begins with marrying out of the first child and continues until all of the rest follow the same course. Households at this phase have alleviated their shortages of labour and oxen becoming viable units. At this stage, the dependency ratio of households decreases because grown up boys participate in the agricultural tasks. Even recently married out boys continue to contribute labour to their parental households, at the same time, benefiting from borrowing oxen from parents. Ideally, a household's economical strength passes from non-viability at the first stage of the cycle to a climax of viability at their second phase; thereafter a decline in viability occurs. This is due to the fact that parental households usually give or share out a parcel of their land (and if possible a bull, other goods and cash) to a newly formed household of their son. Through time, scarcity of labour leads to a decline of parental households as viable units.

The third stage through which households pass in their life cycle is the replacement phase (Goody 1971: 5). This is the stage at which parental households are

supplanted by that of offsprings. This is also a process that could overlap with the second phase and end with the death of parents. These households are non-viable mainly due to lack of adult labour for agricultural tasks. The impact of this will be discussed in chapter five. One case is presented as follows to illustrate the situation.

Ato Mekete is 70, and lives with his wife, 72, in the absence of children. He had only one son who migrated 7 years ago. Neither has he returned to his parental house nor has he contacted his parents since. Ato Mekete served in the PA several times and operated his small-holder enterprise effectively when he was young. But in the past three years, his health and physical strength deteriorated and made him incapable of operating his own fields. As a result, he gives both his land and oxen to his neighbours in sharecropping arrangements (to be discussed later). Since his wife is also incapable of running domestic tasks as before they have hired a housemaid to serve them. Ato Mekete is now caring only for his irrigated garden vegetables that do not require too much labour tasks.

3.2. Neighbourhood Associations

3.2.1. Ts'Iwa Mahabär

Ts'Iwa mahabär is one of the neighbourhood and religious associations that reinforces and revitalises harmonious relationships of its members. The decision to become a member of a specific **mahabär** depends on personal choice and dedication to a certain saint. Often, members who die are replaced by their children. Since gender segregation is usually maintained in the associations, deceased members are supplanted by their children of the same sex. Personal choice is frequently influenced by particular incidents encountered by individuals.

Ato Desta is 45, married and has three children. He became a resident of Godino leaving his previous home in neighbouring Guwa Werko about 15 years ago after he was employed as a guard in Godino PA. He has been a member of **mädhanialäm mahabär** since his early youth while he was in Guwa Werko. He decided to join **mädhanialäm mahabär** after recovering from a serious illness after a vow made to

Mädhanialäm. Since then, Ato Desta has developed his devotion to **mädhanialäm** by fulfilling all the required services to **mädhanialäm** including joining the **mahabär**.

The main function of **mahabär** is to establish, promote, and replenish harmonious relationship among dedicated members of a certain saint. Normally, new members are permitted to join the **mahabär** so long as they are not engaged in hostile relationship with one of the members. This is effected by requesting the approval of every member about the new candidate. If a candidate is in conflict with someone in the **mahabär**, the two are advised to resolve their conflicts. If the existing member refuses to resolve this conflict, a candidate will not be accepted to join the **mahabär**. It is only after the approval of all members and reconciliation that a candidate is allowed to become a member. Obligations of **mahabär** members involve preparing the circulatory feast which is prepared by each member, once in a year in most cases. Moreover, every member is obliged to attend monthly feast on the day of the **mahabär**'s saint day and abstain from any agricultural task on the same day. Every member is also expected to pay a monthly fee of 1 **birr** which is collected and offered to one of the members whose turn to prepare a feast would be in the next saint day of the **mahabär**. Monthly feasts usually do not imply slaughter of an animal though variation occurs depending on the economic stand of feast-organizer household. The quality and magnitude of annual feasts (annual ceremony of saint) are believed to be greater. For the annual feast of the saint, members of a **mahabär** organize a special contribution fee that will be used to purchase a goat or sheep to be slaughtered in the house of the feast-organizer. The food is shared by members.

Sanbate is basically similar to **mahabär** in form and function except that feasts are entirely consumed in a church compound. Part of feast of **mahabär** can be taken

to the church while the remainder is consumed by members and invited neighbours, relatives and guests. Relatively, the feast of a **mahabär** is bigger in magnitude than that of a **sanbate**. Both **mahabär** and **sanbate** were established after the spread of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church to Ada'a and Godino. My informants suggest that the two associations became widespread after the expulsion of the Italians in 1941.

Currently, the main service of a **mahabär** is to carry out mortuary rites, specially the rites of **arba** (40 days after death) for members. Every member is required to contribute one pot of **farso** and 10 **budennas** or **injära** (pancake made of flour of **t'ef**) to administer a feast necessary for the mortuary rites. Members who are not ready to contribute in kind are allowed to pay 10-15 **birr** to the family of the deceased member. The quasi multifunctional association has dropped some of its insurance-like functions. In the past, the regulations of the **mahabär** entailed collective support for members who accidentally lost an ox or incurred damages caused by fire. However, due to false and frequent claims, members agreed to stop obligatory support. Otherwise, members of the same **mahabär** could raise funds for fellow members of their own will. The following incident illustrates this phenomenon.

Ato Tufa Mekonen is 30, married and has a child. He studied up to grade four. A year ago, he was imprisoned in Nazreth after he was charged with attempted murder in Godino. As a member of St. **george mahabär**, an appeal was made to members at a monthly meeting to help Ato Tufa. Interested members contributed some money to send to Ato Tufa in prison. Since this is not part of the **mahabär**'s rule, only some members participated in the cause.

Dedication to a particular saint is not only expressed by becoming a members of **mahabär**. Households can be devoted to a certain saint without joining a **mahabär**. These households organize feasts on the saint's day and abstain from agricultural tasks. The patron saints of churches in the locality and nearby areas influence the combination

of saints to which devotion is observed. The influential churches of the area are Gufti Mariam church of Godino which has an additional ark of St. Abbo; St. George of Qoftu, Balewolde church of Guwa Werko which has an additional ark of Mädhanieläm and St. Michael church of Dalota. In addition, persons are also affiliated to saints of their homeland. In one instance, Ato Mekete, who came to Godino from Bulga of north Shewa, devoted to St. Abuna Täklähaymanot for whom there is no church around Godino. He is devoted to the saint because he claims that he is genealogically related to St. Täklähaymanot. Hence he doesn't perform agricultural tasks on the saint's day. On the whole, **mahabär** are very much associated with the prevalence of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church in Ada'a. Often, organizers and ritual leaders of **mahabär** are priests.

In Godino, there are eight **ts'Iwa mahabär**. 180 (44.8%) of the surveyed households participate in at least one **mahabär**. Only 21 (5.2%) households belong to two **ts'Iwa mahabär**. Although the majority of **mahabär** members are localised in Godino, there are members of these associations from neighbouring PAs. The majority of the members (74) belong to **mariyam mahabär** related to the local Gufti Mariam church of Godino. The rest belongs to **mahabär** of Abbo with 22 members, St. Michael with 19 members, Balewold (holy-son) with 19 members, Mädhanieläm (the holy Saviour) with 19, St. George with 15, **sanbate** with 11 members, Chirstos Samira with 1 and there is only one person who belongs to the **mahabär** of Chirstos Samira many of whose members are outside Godino.

3.2.2. Qallu Istitution

Qallu institution is the basis of the Oromo religious organization which operates side by side with the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. In addition to coordination,

responsibility and basic compensation, Raymond Firth sees foresight as a significant element of social organization. He states that "... the basic fact of organized activity is the tendency to transform the uncertainties of human opinion and action into measurable probabilities by making an estimate or approximate evaluation of the capacity of men." (Firth 1951: 76). The **qallu**, in exchange for their spiritual services are accorded due social esteem and prestige including some economic benefits as will be discussed later. There are two influential **qallu**⁹ in Godino who have significant numbers of followers. Followers of **ayana** spirit attend rituals regularly held at **galma** house of the **qallu** in the village. The followers often reciprocate the **qallu**'s services with their labour (participating in **jigi**), transferring their land temporarily and so on. Followers bring the first harvested crop of a year to the **qallu**'s home in order to have it blessed and protected from **sallabi** (a person with evil spiritual powers or one who use sorcery that snatches away one's crop, livestock or wealth). The belief in **ayana** is adhered to by Oromo, Amhara and other ethnic groups in the village. Thus, the **qallu** institution is one form of traditional religious association which has applications for economic activities.

3.2.3. IddIr

IddIr is an association through which households organize their collective efforts to perform mortuary rites. In general, **IddIr** tends to be multifunctional in Godino. In relation to this, **IddIr** more importantly serves to enforce social sanctions. It is the main mechanism of enforcing social sanctions next to the religion which is a domain of the

⁹ Their names are Ato Abera Kebede and Midhaqso Bonsa. Ato Abera is a resident of Godino who inherits the office from his father. Ato Midhaqso is a recent settler coming from Sululta and is less influential in comparison to Ato Abera.

qallu. A number of incidents could demonstrate case of **IddIr** in enforcing social sanctions. The following three cases could illustrate this.

In Godino, a compound of VOH and a socially alienated house of ex-policeman of Godino was robbed in 1993. This act was performed by youth of Godino and who were hiding to avoid charges or imprisonment. The community of Godino, mobilised by better-off persons, condemned the theft and passed a resolution to suspend the parents of thieves from **IddIr** membership if they did not bring their children to PA court. Also, all members of **IddIr** are advised to terminate their relations with these households even in minor cooperation such as allowing them to light a fire. The suspended households then influenced their children to go to PA court.

In a similar move, a discussion was going on about a type of social sanction to be taken over parents of Protestant Christians in Godino during my field work. Though the majority members of Michael **IddIr** agreed to suspend these households from **IddIr**, the matter was averted by PA leaders who opposed this move on the grounds that it contradicts the constitution of the country.

Individuals penalized due to their improper use of irrigation water were, in the same manner, forced to pay, through their **IddIr**, the charge levied by the irrigation committee. (This will be discussed later).

There are nine **IddIr** of which four are entirely composed of male members while five belong to women. The separation of the two sexes in joining **IddIr** is paralleled by the traditional division of labour between sexes. The male **IddIr** are responsible for more physiologically demanding tasks of mortuary rites such as digging graves, pitching tents whereas the female **IddIr** carry out cooking and other duties. In Godino, membership of at least one **IddIr** is almost universal. 344 (85%) of the surveyed households are members of at least one **IddIr**. Only 57 (14.2%) households do not belong to any **IddIr**. Most of these households are formed by young very recently married couples and use the **IddIr** of their parents. They will soon become members of at least one **IddIr** through time.

The four male **IddIr** are Michael, Abbo, Mahabärä Sällama and Baläwäld. Michael is the oldest **IddIr** to which the majority of Godino households belong. It is said that Michael **IddIr** was established during Ts'ähafi TIIzaz's period. This **IddIr** lends a tent and utensils and provides a payment of 300 **bIrr** to families of the deceased members during the burial ceremony. Abbo **IddIr** specializes in providing families of the deceased with grain, pepper and spice in addition to 80 **bIrr** that is necessary to run the burial ceremony. The fixed number of its members turn by turn and three times a year (coinciding with the annual saint day ceremony of St. Abbo) supply **farso** and **dabbo** to be partaken among members in a church compound. Likewise, Mahabärä Sällama is also more like **sanbate** than an **IddIr**. Twelve members take turns to supply **farso** and **dabbo** on St. Mariyam's day to be consumed by members in the church compound. During the annual ceremony of St. Mariyam, members and other villagers devoted to the saint contribute money so as to slaughter and share an ox or oxen in the compound of the church. Mahabärä Sällama was formed with an aim of extending free prayer service of repentance for members as part of mortuary rites. This, nevertheless, has never been realised and membership is in decline. Godino villagers complain that Mahabärä Sällama has no utilitarian service as compared to other **IddIr**. To sum up, the majority of the surveyed households belong to more than one **IddIr** (205 or 51%) whereas 139 (34.6%) households who are relatively poor have only one **IddIr**. As the main community **IddIr** of Godino, 314 (78.3%) of the surveyed households are members of Michael **IddIr**.

In discussing the various neighbourhood associations such as **mahabär**, **sanbate** and **IddIr** are predominantly localised units which come into existence through interactions of Godino households to fulfil social tasks. Intra-household relations are mediated and regulated through informal institutions (among which are found **mahabär**,

sanbate, and **IddIr**) and formal ones such as PA. These relations established through membership of informal institutions (as will be seen later) are one of the mechanisms by which cooperative labour is organized.

3.3. Marriage and Divorce

Marriage is a mechanism by which households enter into social bonds of affinal relations. The social bond and myriads of goods that are circulating among households forged by networks of affinal relations come to materialize after the formal act of marriage is conducted. Although purpose of this paper is not to study system of marriage in Godino, a brief discussion of the salient feature and the main forms of marriage prevailing in Godino is presented. Marriage is generally monogamous and **warsa** (levirate marriage) has been dropped among Oromo due to the influence of Ethiopian Orthodox church. My informants state that marriage was exercised within ethnic boundaries in earlier times. With increasing ethnic diversity of the village through time, intermarriages have been introduced and become more common in the village.

3.3.1. Arranged Marriage

This form of marriage dominated in earlier times. It is, nevertheless, impossible to say that it has been entirely abandoned. Both among Amhara and Oromo households, selection of a daughter-in-law is made by parents from socially acceptable categories of households in order to exclude "caste" like groups such as **tumtu** (blacksmiths),

pottery makers, lepers and others. Marriage among relatives who are related to a depth of seven generation is not allowed following the rule of Ethiopian Orthodox church.

Among the Oromo, elders will be sent to ask the permission of parents of the would-be bride. The bride's household will ask for an appointment. The negotiation and fixing of appointments may take some time until the final date of expressing acceptance. The elders accompanied by the groom will go to the bride's house. This small ceremony of formalising the marriage bond is known as **manasesa**. The groom brings a ring and necklace to the would-be wife to finalise an engagement. A small feast is conducted in the bride's home where the act of formal signature ratifying the marriage is conducted. As an act of good gesture and acceptance, both parties of elders as well as relatives anointed with butter (**muuda**). On the **manasesa** day, the formal wedding day is fixed by both parties. Every request is not accepted as is shown in the following illustration.

Ato Abebe Leta wanted to marry a daughter of Ato Dema Tola. Elders were sent and took several appointments before actually contacting the parents of the would-be bride. Elders sent by Abebe were able to communicate to Ato Dema Tola via neighbours. After meticulous screening which took several days, Ato Dema proved that Abebe was related to him by blood to the depth of seven generations. As a result, the marriage request was refused which was not actually regretted by elders of Abebe and Abebe's parents.

Choosing a best man have equal significance and importance as that of selecting a bride. The reason for this is that best men, just like a marriage bond created between two households, are interwoven in intimate relationships with the newly established household of the couple. Request for the first best man is usually presented to a concerned household by elders since the first best man chooses the second who in turn chose the third one, selection of all of which entirely depends on the chain of networks of the first best man. These relations, based on the old one, reinforce the already

established social bonds and interhousehold links. On the wedding day, the best men prepare a feast on their own part in their respective households to be consumed by their relatives and neighbours prior to joining the bridegroom. When they are about to leave the bridegroom's household, they slaughter a sheep or goat. Best men are ceremonially accompanied when they leave to join the bridegroom. Sequentially, the third best man goes to the second one who together go to the first one. Then all of them join the bridegroom. They present, as part of sharing the wedding cost, a number of pots of **farso** and **budenna** to the bridegroom. Best men are actually helped by relatives and friends who provide them with contributions of **farso** and **budenna** by reciprocal arrangement (but not immediate) called **gumata**. This gift enable best men to carry out their responsibility of administering their own feast and presents of **farso** and **budenna**. This implies gradation of intimacy since is the firsts best man who contributes the lion's share followed by the second one and third with diminishing shares. They also arrange separate feast to welcome the new couple the occasion of which known as **malsi**. Marriage which is based on the consent of couples illustrated by the following example.

Ato Demeqe Zena is 38, married and a father of 3 children now. He was a chairman of the PC. He has 9 **qarxi** of rainfed and irrigated plots and an ox. Before he was formally married, Demeqe had an affair with his wife who agreed to join his household by orchestrating a false kidnap. Then Demeqe sent elders to bride's household who somehow accepted the request knowing the desire of their daughter. The marriage bond was subsequently ratified by signing of the two parties without being accompanied by a wedding feast. The feast was not prepared since the father of the groom didn't consent fully to the mate selection of his daughter. Conflicts frequently occurred between Demeqe and the groom's father after the marriage but did not split the bond. Affinal ties, nevertheless, were established between the two groups. Aunt of the bride usually helps Demeqe by lending him oxen. Last year during the sowing period, Demeqe was imprisoned. The aunt of the bride organized a **jigi** for Demeqe to accomplish sowing.

3.3.2. Gora Marriage

Gora marriage, as part of **oromo** culture, is often but not always practised among Oromo (I am aware of one instance of **gora** marriage as practised by an Amhara). It is characterized by shortening long procedures and cutting off marriage costs which are otherwise required in the formal process of wedding. **Gora** has two meanings in Oromifa, firstly a plant with hooks and secondly entering into a house which is found nearby by the side of the road to one's destination. Usually but not always, **gora** marriage is practised by a man when he is denied or refused access to earlier confirmed marriage permit, says Ato Badhada. The household is denied access to marriage if it belongs to the despised social group such as **tumtu**. Ato Melese says that it is also possible for a household to try **gora** marriage on its own preference. In both cases, a bridegroom, accompanied by relatives and elders, requests a marriage with one of three or more uninformed households who have a girl. In doing this, all of the guests do not eat, nor enter a household to which a request is made until acceptance is approved. The would-be bridegroom carries a leaf of **gora** plants a symbol of cursing which is expected to fall on the household if request is refused. If they are successful after a prolonged process of communication mediated by elders and neighbours, the bridegroom presents his gifts of clothes and rings. Thus, the marriage act is ratified by signature after which the groom takes the bride home without noticeable ceremony. In fact, the formal wedding feast could be arranged between the parties in the form of **malsi**. One case of such marriage occurred during my fieldwork in Godino.

A man who had been denied permission to hold a previously confirmed marriage from near-by Kataba PA, came to Ato Cheru's household to request a bride. Requesters of **gora** marriage arrived in the afternoon. Ato Cheru's household and his daughter were taken by surprise since they were not informed of this move earlier. The mediation between the

two groups took about ten hours after which agreement was reached by mediation of neighbours and elders. Even then, the agreement was fixed between the two household heads but not between the couple. After formal ratification of the marriage, the bride was taken to her ever new household in the middle of the night with little ceremony. The bride is said to have had a child from the **gora** marriage and still lives with her husband in Kataba village.

3.3.3. Buta Marriage

Marriage could also be formed by kidnapping (**buta**) a wife. Kidnapping is often followed by a formal process of negotiating with household of a bride that can lead to ratification and recognition of a bond with a ceremonial feast in the form of **malsi**. Kidnapping is not a preferred option but its incidence has increased and can be taken as a means of influencing the decision of bride's group. Kidnapping has two forms in the area. The first one is undertaken by abducting a girl without prior communication with her household. The kidnapper conducts his action with the help of friends and relatives who hide their location to avoid possible consequences until the matter is peacefully settled between the two groups by legalizing the marriage. It is this type of kidnapping that influences the decision of the bride's group through elders. The second form of kidnapping is done after confirming the approval of bride's group through elders earlier. This kind of abduction doesn't create tensions between concerned households who negotiate to effect the legal status of the bond and ceremonies at a convenient time. Of course, elders are sent to the bride's group in order to express intentions and respect after abduction. This type of abduction is practised to shorten time-gap lapses between approval and formal wedding for which a kidnapper is not tolerant to wait. The second form of abduction is more frequent than the first one in Godino. Ceremonies and feasts in the form of **malsi** follow the second (and also the

first one if agreement is reached) form of abduction to ratify the marriage bond at a proper time for the two concerned groups.

Ato Tedla Taye is 30 and lives with his mother. He has an ox which he uses in collaboration with that of his mother. Through elders, his request to marry the daughter of Ato Kefeni Bune was accepted earlier. During my field work, Tedla kidnapped a daughter of Ato Kefeni who was a promised would-be wife helped by his brother and friends and brought her to his mother's house. He then sent elder's to Ato Kefeni to inform him of his intentions for which a formal ceremony was agreed to be held on 25 of December when both households already organized the feast to ratify the official marriage. Kefeni now lives with his new wife in his mother's house.

3.3.4. Gada

Gada, the traditional political office of Oromo, is nowadays observed merely in ritual performance in the village every eight years by each of the five **gada** groups in turn. Following the descent rule of Oromo, membership in these groups is attained by sons along patrilineal lines. Last year, the **duulo** group of **gada** celebrated the end of their term in the **gada** cycles by performing rituals and organizing feasts. There were two individuals in the central part of Godino who prepared for the **gada** ritual. As compared to the **qallu** institution, cooperation of **gada** groups is not observed in production and labour mobilisation.

Marriage could also be established without entailing subsequent ceremonial feasts. Such a kind of marriage could be ritually approved during a **gada** ceremony among Oromo known as **rako** ceremony. This happens when a person prepares his **gada** feast which marks his retirement from the **gada** cycle.

Second marriages could again be socially approved during **gada** ceremony. This happens if the **folle** group finds a person who has contracted a second marriage known as **sigaba**. The villagers recognize it as a punishment. The **folle** group will, as part of

punishment, take a husband's thick garment worn around the shoulder (**gabi**) and tear it into pieces. Then all persons of the **folle** cycle tie a piece of the garment on their stick and depart from the house blessing and proclaiming the marriage through singing and dancing while leaving to attend the **gada** feast. Since last year was a time for the **duulo**, or Halchisa or Michille Gada group to retire from the **gada** cycle (five consecutive cycles each with eight years in office), I was able to observe **gada** rituals and feasts at two households that also arranged the **rako** ceremony. There was not, however, any **Sigaba** marriage last year.

Ato Lemessa Biratu is 40, married and a father of three children. He came from neighbouring Qoftu PA in 1980 following his wife. Due to his recent settlement in Godino, he hasn't been allotted farm land. He is not a PA member. He has been leading his life in the village as a hired labourer both in and off-farm activities (plastering mud to make a wall). In 1990, he managed to buy an ox with which he was (by pairing it with other's) able to plough a farm plot which he rented. Last year, (on 11 May, 1995) as member of **duulo** group (one of the two persons in the village) he prepared a **gada** feast to mark his retirement from **gada** cycle. The feast cost 1,540 **birr** of which 940 **birr** came from the sale of his ox. He divorced his first wife and lives with his second one the bond of which was not marked by ceremonial feast. As a result, on the 10 of May in the evening (eve of **gada** ceremony), **rako** ceremony was conducted in his home to reapprove the marriage in the presence of relatives and Lemessa's best man. In accordance with the **seeraa** of Oromo, he ritually slaughtered a female-sheep for his wife whom consumed it exclusively with her relatives. Whereas, he consumed a male-sheep exclusively with his best men. Though the burden of the feast-cost was very high for Lemessa, he prepared it devotedly. He said that it is a custom which should be respected.

Residence is almost universally virilocal with few exceptions by which uxori-local incidents are observed. Even then such exceptions occur due to economical preferences to live in a crowded areas of Godino. In some cases, husbands who do not have their own home choose uxori-local residence.

Ato Feleqe Biqila is 35, married and father of two children. He attended school up to grade 9 and now works as the accountant of Godino service cooperative. Before he was married, he lived with his mother in Gufti

quarter. His present day wife was previously kidnapped by a person living in nearby Migira Werko PA. She was not happy to live with her kidnapper in Migira. Hence she quickly divorced him to return to her family. She then started to run a drinking house in a house of her father in the day time while spending the night with her mother residing in another quarter. Feleqe and W/ro Zenebech developed an intimate relationship. After some time, Feleqe kidnapped her and sent elders to her mother on the third day. Acceptance was approved by her mother leading to formal ceremonies of **malsi** in five months time. Afterwards, Kebede and his wife agreed to live in the house of Zenebech's father since it is located in the crowded Wajitu quarter where running drinking houses is advantageous due to its proximity to Godino market.

Lastly, concubinage, though very limited, is practised in Godino. Two main factors of concubine are prominent in Godino. In the first case, a search for leaving behind inheritors leads to this practice. Households, often males, who are not able to produce children out of their official marriage avert to this kind of affair. secondly, very influential rich men tend to have concubines without officially ending up their first marriage. In both situations, such affair seems to be covert. In some instances, relations are overt because of children which are outcome these quasi-unofficial marriage.

Households are united through intermarriages which are crossing ethnic boundaries. Based on my survey data, 80 households were formed through intermarriages between Oromo and Amhara, four between Oromo and Wolayta, two Oromo and Gurage, one Oromo and Tigre, six Amhara and Wolayta and lastly one Amahra and Kembata.

3.3.5. Divorce

Divorce generally occurs when all means of maintaining a marriage exhausted and couples are no longer able to live under the same roof. All causal factors are not thoroughly investigated but in Godino commonly it comes when, said Ato Badane, a

household is non-viable due to laziness of a husband in agricultural tasks, poorer resources, and lack of support from relatives (social capital). To the same effect, drunkenness, is often seen on the part of males and to a lesser extent on females caused divorce. Adultery also gives rise to break up of wedlock. Out of the surveyed households, 140 are headed by one parent. Of this total, 47 (33.57%) of them brought about by divorce, 60 (42.85%) by death of one of couples, 37 (26.42%) by being never married at all and 3 (2.14%) of them are concubines. Likewise, Ato Badane states that a woman who gives birth out of marriage is not preferred for wedlock. I understand that some women who manage a drinking houses tend to be mothers of illegitimate children.

To sum up, divorce can be initiated by one of the couple but usually, if the problem has not resulted on a serious rift between parental households, resolution of an obstacle through mediation of elders is preferred. Often parents and elders stand against break up of marriages. If the problem is deemed to be insurmountable, divorce ensues. It is generally agreed that divorced couples have equal rights to share property which both of them contributed to acquire through their union. Since often a house belongs to a husband, a divorced wife returns to her parents possibly with children. Like civil marriages in town, equal right of couples to share property is stated in an agreement that ratifies marriage, formally. In reality, I understand that many divorced women do not accuse their former husbands. Many of them just retreat to parental households and remain there unless they enter a second marriage. If a bride's group follows up matters of divorce, it is possible to enforce rights to share property either through the judgement of local elders or in legal courts. I am aware of the fact that a bride whose group is influential in the village is capable of securing such rights. Another characteristics of divorce is that is not always a manifestation of ending social

bonds between two households or groups. In some instances two groups still maintain their social ties (though to a lesser degree) as long as children exist who are somehow acting as go-between for the two households or groups.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0. AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

It has been stated by Jim McCann that Ada'a's current closed economy (integration of agriculture and livestock economy) is a concomitant of a longer process of change from an open economy (independent agriculture and livestock economy) to that of a closed one. Accordingly, the final stage of integrating agriculture and livestock was accomplished between 1973 and 1990. The factors that have been indicated to have caused this change are population growth, higher market demand for white t'ef, and pressure of increasing land prices all of which have been recorded to have occurred in the early 1960s. These overall patterns of transformations are one means of characterising the agricultural/livestock economy of Godino. Before addressing the topic of production, the main means of production or access to farm land of Godino is discussed as follows.

4.1. Farm Land

Land is an important resource which needs to be supported by ownership of traction power (oxen), labour and cash as an essential part of the investment needed to operate a viable small-holder's farm enterprise in Godino. Specially, capital in the form of cash is as important as capital in the form of oxen for a farmer to be engaged in activities of irrigated farming. Nowadays, in contrast to past times, farm land is not the only means of measurement and symbol of wealth. Nevertheless, it is still a significant resource that everybody seeks to obtain.

In Godino, access to farm land is achieved through membership in one of the formal institutions (PA and PC). As was discussed earlier, access to irrigated plots was confined to those who were former members of the PC but this is not the case in rainfed areas. Nevertheless, non-members of the PA have not been totally denied rights to hold a plot though these are smaller in size than those held by members of PA. These persons have been allotted plots following their application during recurring limited land distribution from communal plots, virgin lands and land which has no inheritors. Benefiting from this decision, 79 non-members of the PA have officially been given land; the majority have been allotted plots ranging from 2 to 4 **qarxi**. The smallest size of this allocation is a 1,500m² irrigated plot whereas 6 **qarxi** of rainfed land is the largest holding among non-PA members of PA. These persons are actually disadvantaged groups if we take plot-size of their official entitlement. However, following the mixed-economy policy of the **därg** in 1990, farm land has been commercialized resulting in limited sales. Such transactions, as will be seen later, create avenues to official entitlement of farm land for non-members.

Considering the current state of land holdings, the mean land size of non-PA members is 2.05 **qarxi** whereas it is 4.22 for members. Non-members are mostly composed of traders, youths who are forming new households subsequent to fission of the second phase of the domestic cycle, returned ex-soldiers, and older persons who have no one to care for them. Even though PA leaders claim that there is equitable distribution of land for all non-PA members, there are cases of favouritism on the bases of bribes, kinship as well as friendship.

Last year, the land tax rate of Godino had only two levels: 25 and 20 **bIrr**. This year, in view of the increase in the tax rate levied by the regional government, it has three rates: 40, 35 and 30 **bIrr** annually. According to Feleqa Biqila, one of PA leaders,

those **tāramaj** peasants (those have larger size of land by cultivating virgin lands with subsequent expansion of holdings in the past) pay 40 **bIrr**, while utilisers of irrigated plots pay 35 **bIrr**. The levels are assigned to individuals haphazardly without clearly set criteria like land size. The PA leaders are responsible for assigning and collecting taxes in the locality.

Ato Birhanu Abreham is 33, married and had four children. He has two oxen and four **qarxi** of his own rainfed land at the moment. He voluntarily withdrew from being a member of the PC in the middle of the 1980s losing all of his share including farmland. He started to work with his father who provided him with bulls. Using the traction power of these animals, he operated land through sharecropping arrangements. After commercialization of land, he purchased 2 **qarxi** of farmland which was then supplemented by 2 **qarxi** of land allotted by the PA. Without being a member of the PA, he then became the owner of a rainfed plot.

The residence-based tenure of the **därg** regime entitled access to farmland by the majority of the local community of Godino. However, land distribution is managed by subjective judgement of the PA leadership which was not capable of administering it on the basis of equity. In a place like Godino, the density of population is conspicuous and pressure on and shortage of land is noticeable. In a recently conducted limited redistribution of farmland in 1992, the PA could not allocate more than 2 **qarxi** of land to each of 30 ex-soldiers of the area. In addition, about 50 youths applied for farmland in 1995 to the PA which has not been able to accommodate this request.

4.1.1. DISTRIBUTION OF RAINFED AND IRRIGATED LAND

The following table presents the aggregate size of land holding in both rainfed and irrigated agriculture by converting units used in irrigated field (ShikarimetIr) into **qarxi**.¹⁰

Table 5: Frequency of Surveyed Households by Size of Irrigated and Rainfed Land Holdings.

Land Size in qarxi	Number of households	Percent
0.5 - 2	99	28.5
2.01 - 4	58	16.7
4.01- 6	103	29.6
6.01 - 8	58	16.7
8.01 - 10	19	5.47
10.01-12	10	2.8
Total	347	100

As indicated in the table above, of the surveyed 401 households, 347 (86.5%) have farm plots though the size varies. 54 of households (13.4%) are not officially entitled to farmlands by virtue of their status as non-PA members. Frequency distribution of land size among 347 households exhibits significant variations. The largest number of owners of land sizes categorized in two ranges that are 0.5 to 2 and 4.01 to 8 **qarxi**. The former higher frequency is recorded due to utilisers of irrigated plots in the group while the latter reflects cultivators of rainfed fields. In the first group (0.5 to 2 **qarxi**), there are 99 households (28.5% of land owners and in the second one

¹⁰ There is no uniform distribution of land holding consistently using **qarxi** or **shikarimetIr** as unit of measurement. Some households reported to own half a **qarxi** or one-third of that creating fractional units of **qarxi**.

(4.1 to 8 **qarxi**), there are 161 households (46.3% of land owners). The two groups together represent 74.8 % of all households that own land. The mean holding for both types of plots is 4.36 **qarxi**.

Due to the existence of micro ecological differences, households do not own consolidated plots in Godino. They have access to fragmented plots from three traditionally defined categories of soil types: **koticha** (deep black soil), **gonbore** (red clay soil) and **cari** (black sandy soil). Distance between different quarters of cultivated plots is not great in the village. On average, it takes only 30 minutes to walk from one quarter to another in the central part of Godino. Among surveyed households, there is only one person who left his area due to a blood feud and who owns land in Sire Illu which takes more than an hour to walk to from the central part of Godino.

Of the surveyed households, 54 (13.4%) have not been officially allotted land. 32 of these households are headed by women while 22 of them are headed by men. It is widely believed in the village and among the PA leaders that pensions (**yät'uräta märeyt**) in the form of land should be provided to those poor household heads who are older and have no support from children or relatives. Almost all landless female heads of households are relatively young except for two women who are 60. These two women have children to support them. The main income of female-headed households is petty trade mostly in the form of drinking houses. The above rule of pensions is not strictly adhered to. It is, as explained earlier, often dependent on the subjective judgement of PA leaders who often respond positively to a skilful manipulation by landless households. The following case is a reflection of this.

W/ro Sintayehu Debebe is 55, illiterate, single and a mother of a daughter. She is not a member of the PA. She runs a profitable drinking house of **t'äj** (meed) and **farso** (local beer) in the village. PA leaders were beneficiaries of her services and she had good relations with them. She has a good income and a brother in Bishoftu to support her. Despite

her relatively better position, she was allotted 6 **qarxi** of rainfed land, which is large, by the standards of the village, in comparison to land allocated in the form of pensions by PA leaders. She operates her field by using her oxen and the labour of her brother together with hired labour. She also takes additional plots on the basis of sharecropping arrangements.

Similarly, most of landless males who are heading households are young. Ten of them are or have been civil servants who were not allowed to obtain access to farmland according to the 1975 land proclamation of the **därg**. Many of the remaining heads run small businesses such as drinking houses, butchers and so on while waiting for the result of their application for farmland. It should be recognized that households, which earn a substantial proportion of their income from off-farm activities, preferred not to be members of PA avoiding subsequent obligation of delivering grain quotas to the AMC and other duties such as enforced collective labour during the **därg** regime. On the other hand, almost all the sampled 45 households reported that cultivation was expanding to pasture and virgin fields of Godino such as Cari, Wodecha, Gara, Areda, Wonji, Qiqe and others over the past twenty years.

Ato Belihu Roba is 25, married, illiterate, and a father of a child. He took one ox in the form of **minda** (share oxen arrangement) and cultivated 3 **qarxi** of **däsh** (virgin land) after clearing it in the Gara quarter in 1986/87 agricultural season. He is not a PA member and has no land. He was not prevented from harvesting his crop but his right of holding the cleared land is not yet approved by the PA leaders. Without official approval, he continues to utilise his **däsh** land. He applied to the PA to approve his holding taking into account labour which was spent to clear and soften the **däsh** land. There has never been either positive or negative response from the current PA leaders.

The case of the above type is not very frequent since most of cultivable pasture or virgin lands have already been tilled nowadays.

4.1.2. Inheritance of Land Use-Rights

Access to use farm land, could also be attained by inheritance though not to the same extent as through membership of formal institutions. In order to protect accretion of land into hands of individuals, a person is now entitled to inherit plots of his parents or adopters only if he has no access to farmland through membership of a PA. Hence both sexes have equal rights to inherit farm plots utilised by parents in their life time. The inheritance rule of primogeniture among Oromo had already changed during the time of Menelik reign (see Ayele: 1977). The same rule applies for rights of a widow who could takeover use-rights of land owned by a deceased husband. Nowadays, agreement of siblings mediated by elders settles the issue of inheritance in a household. The following case illustrates this point.

Ato Tofissa was an ex-labourer of Ts'ähafi TIIzaz who passed away three years ago after the death of his wife. He had three married and two unmarried children. He had six **qarxi** of farm land which was parcelled among his sons through mediation of elders. One of his sons (Getachew) did not claim as he had already been allotted "adequate" land by the PA previously. His second son (Nega) though married had no land as he was an ex-soldier. Nega was allowed to inherit 2 **qarxi** of his father's plot to complement 2 **qarxi** of farmland allocated to him by the PA like other ex-soldiers. The third married daughter (W/ro Birqe) was allowed to inherit 1 **qarxi** of her father's plot. The fourth single daughter (W/rt Tenaye) did not inherit any of her father's land. She was adopted and brought up by Ato Tilahun who had no children of his own. When Ato Tilahun passed away a year before the death of Tenaye's father, she inherited 6 **qarxi** of farmland together with his wife who is old and more or less dependent on Tenaye. As a result, Tenaye did not claim a right to inherit her father's plot. Finally, two unmarried children (Mengesha who is 15 and Mestewat who is 13) were living together with their father. When he died, they were allowed to inherit the house, all properties, an ox and 3 **qarxi** of farm land which was approved by the other siblings and elders.

The PA is usually expected to interfere and prevent those persons from inheriting land including residential plots from parents if they have already been allotted plots.

Ato Meshesha Seboqa is 49, married and a father of 3 children. He has 8 **qarxi** of farmland and is a member of the PA. During the villagization scheme, he and his mother were obliged to change their residence from the quarter of Denema to Misirata area, the central part of Godino. Both of them were allotted **shikarimetIr** of land each to construct their house. Meanwhile, Meshesha's mother passed away. Last year, Meshesha returned to his **ona** (original or earlier residential area) by demolishing his and his mother's houses and selling the two residential plots. The PA accused Meshesha of unfairly inheriting his mother's plot since he has one for his own. Thus the PA ordered a cancelation of the transaction regarding Meshesha's mother's plot and a transfer of the plot to the PA (the letter of this order is attached in the annex 4: A). The PA was not successful in this instance since some of the PA leaders recognized the inheritance right of Meshesha.

The PA, however, is acting consistently to prohibit inheritance rights of persons who had access to farmland. The decision of PA leaders is flexible depending on influence of a person in a community and networks of relations with a concerned person. This can be illustrated by the following case.

Ato Gonfa Dabi, 53, is married and father of 15 children. He is the current chairman of the PA and has 8 oxen. He runs a lucrative butchers and sells herbicides in the village. He has a tremendous reputation as a rich farmer and a community leader. Following the death of his mother, Ato Gonfa transferred his right of inheriting 3 **qarxi** of his mother's plot to a landless son of his sister keeping the tract within the hold of his own group. The PA leaders of that period did not show any sign of opposing this act.

4.1.3. Reduction of Land Holdings

It is primarily the PA which is charged with the power of reducing or depriving a person of land for various reasons just as it is vested with the authority of entitling members of the association with farm land. Private farmers were subject to losing their rights to utilise their plot if they failed to supply a fixed quota of grain to the controlled

market or AMC. Some Godino villagers were deprived of part of their farm field. In this way, 6.66 % of the 45 households lost part of their plots after failing to meet the AMC quota.

Ato Woldmariam Kiflu is 70, married and a father of three children. He had no oxen and was not a member of the PC. In 1986, he was unable to supply any grain to the AMC. The PA leaders then decided to reduce his holding by 4 **qarxi** leaving the remaining 7 **qarxi** for his grandson; Woldmariam shifted more to non-farm activities making tables and the like from bamboo. He also gave his ox out to share in a **minda** arrangement.

In a similar move, the PC was reducing the number of its members due to older age and health problems after allocating a pension (**yät'uräta märeyt**) in the form of land. This happens when a household head has no son to replace him in the association. The allocated plot for the retired members is less than one which is apportioned for all members during the time when the PC was disbanded as was discussed earlier. There is, at least, a difference of 2.5 **qarxi** between the retired and non-retired members of the PC apart from the share of property. Thus retirement from the PC was one way of diminishing people's plot. Like victims of the AMC quota, 6.6% of the 45 sampled households lost part of their plot in this manner.

For instance, Ato Belachew Anteneh, 68, married and has no children. In 1981, he was retired from the PC after being allocated 4 **qarxi** of rained land and 0.64 **qarxi** of irrigated land (represented in the sample).

Random and limited recurring distribution of land conducted by PA leaders could also affect one's holdings. In this case, networks of relationship established with PA leaders could help a great deal in securing one's holdings. It is usually assumed that a portion of a plot should be deducted from those who have large tracts by standards of the village and those who do not properly utilise or operate their farms. Often this

premise is flexible and depends on the subjective judgement of PA leaders who reduce a certain plot from one and allocate it to another during distribution. In this way, households could also forfeit part of their plot through time.

Ato Mamo Tenga is 63, married, and a father of five children. He is an ex-labourer of Ts'ähafi TIIzaz who brought him from Jinka in southern Ethiopia in 1944. He was a member of the PC until the association was disbanded. He was then allocated 8 **qarxi** of rainfed land and 0.64 **qarxi** of irrigated land. Since he had no oxen, often gave most of his plots to others in sharecropping arrangements. During the time when limited land was distributed to ex-soldiers, the PA leaders took away 1 **qarxi** of Mamo's land in 1991. They subtracted land from Mamo's plot since he was not capable of operating it himself. Mamo was working as a guard for the compound of VOH which didn't allow him to operate his field. Recently, he has purchased an ox with which he plans to operate his field helped by sons through **maqanajo** (an arrangement of pairing an ox with that of another) utilising the remaining farm land.

4.1.4. Distribution of Rainfed Land Holdings

The following table presents distribution of holdings in rainfed agriculture.

Table 6: Distribution of Rainfed Plot Holdings of Surveyed Households.

Size in qarxi	No. of households	Percent
0.5 - 2	82	27.24
2.1 - 4	87	28.90
4.1 - 6	73	24.25
6.1 - 8	38	12.62
8.1 - 10	12	3.98
10.1 - 12	9	2.99
Total	301	100

Out of 401 surveyed households, 301 (75%) have rainfed plots. The majority of owners, that is 212 (70.4%) households hold 2 to 6 **qarxi** of rainfed land. The

remaining 59 (19.6%) households own from 6 to 12 **qarxi** whereas 30 (9.96%) households have from 0.5 to 1.5 qarxi of rainfed plot. The mean for rainfed land is 4.48 **qarxi**.¹¹

Based on the knowledge of my informants, the extension agent and my observations, the following plots of land are the minimum necessary to sustain a household of different sizes. A single-person household needs 2 **qarxi**, two-persons: 4 **qarxi**, three-persons: 5 **qarxi**, four-persons: 6 **qarxi**, five-persons: 7 **qarxi**, six-persons: 8 **qarxi**, seven-persons: 9 **qarxi**, eight-persons: 10 **qarxi**, nine-persons: 11 **qarxi**, ten-persons: 12 **qarxi**. Thus one **qarxi** is required for each additional adult.

4.1.5. Distribuiton of Irrigated land Holdings

The next table gives a general picture of land holdings in the irrigated plots.

¹¹ The fertile and the largest rainfed plots of central Godino are in Digelu quarter which has an area of 682.1 **qarxi** (170.52 ha). Its soil is **koticha** and is largely open plain with gentle descending slopes. The other main quarters of rainfed plots are Dabbaso with 69.7 **qarxi**, Galiyy with 55, Belbela with 105.9, Godino with 9.2, Cari with 168.6, Areda with 63, Gufti with 76, Denema with 43 and lastly Gara with 19.

Table 7: Frequency Distribution of Surveyed Households by Size of Irrigated Land Holdings.

Size in qarxi	No. of households	Percent
0.01 - .5	68	32.69
0.6 - 1.5	59	28.36
1.6 - 2	43	20.67
2.1 - 2.5	17	8.17
2.6 - 3	9	4.33
3.1 - 3.5	7	3.36
3.6 - 4	2	0.96
4.1 - 4.5	3	1.44
Total	208	100

I have attempted to describe in the local history of the area, how some irrigated plots of the pre-revolutionary period were transformed into rainfed areas while other rainfed lands of Godino began to be irrigated after the revolution. Specially, fields in Wajitu and Qambere quarters became more and more irrigated after the revolution reaching many of residential areas in the quarters. Consequently, settlers of the quarters gained access to irrigation exploiting the opportunity to plant garden vegetables in their compound. 68 (32.69%) households, have, without being a member of the PC, gained access to 0.5 **qarxi** of irrigated land in this way. Out of these households, only six households obtained this opportunity by virtue of purchase as will be discussed later. Four households have 1.5 **qarxi** each while one has about 3 **qarxi** including the area occupied by his home and mill house. Three of these persons became owners of these plots through purchase while one was allotted as pension in the form of land from the PA. Two became owners of the plots since it was their residential area for a long time. All of these households have additional sources of income: trade, remittances and/or support from family members.

Overall, out of the surveyed households, 208 have access to irrigated plots in addition to their rainfed farm land. Due to the smaller size of their plots, none of these households are capable of subsisting from the yield of irrigated fields alone. The highest proportion of households (82 or 39.42%) hold plots from 0.5 to 1 **qarxi**. The mean of holding in irrigated fields is 1.41 **qarxi**.

During my survey, it was possible to interview nearly all the irrigated field beneficiaries of Wajitu and Qambare quarters. 36.34 ha of Wajitu and 30.74 ha of Qambere are irrigated giving a total of 268.30 **qarxi** and. The remaining 26.20 ha of irrigated land is allocated in Belbela quarter where half the households utilising this land were not interviewed due to their relative distance from the central part of Godino.

4.2. Farm Production

4.2.1. Production Activities in Rainfed Agriculture

Ploughing activities (**qonna**) of Godino are dominantly traditional, involving a plough-share pulled by two oxen. This task is exclusively a male domain. The SC of Godino has a tractor that provides ploughing services to the community at a rental rate of 45 **bIrr** per hour. Last year, the tractor was out of order for most of the time so that utilisation of the tractor decreased. Individuals are also offered tractor. In my survey, there are only 7 persons who utilised the tractor to plough part of their fields. Three of them hired the tractor to plough virgin land. The other three utilised the tractor because rain was late and the land had too little moisture to be ploughed by oxen power. One person preferred to use the machine so as to avoid weeds and soften the farm land intensively.

After the tractor ploughing service was resumed on 28 June, 1995, as indicated in the SC file, it was utilised by 29 residents of Godino until 30 Jan., 1996. Overall, the tractor had been operating for 48.65 hours (2919 minutes) gathering a service charge of 2,675.75 bIrr (55 bIrr per hour). All ploughing services were provided for irrigated tracts except one which was for rainfed plot. Most tractor utilisers could be divided into two main groups: single- service utilisers and those (mainly better-off farmers) who used the tractor more than once. In the former case, there were 21 persons. In the latter, there were eight persons: one utilised it four times; five persons; three times, and two persons twice. The maximum number of hours of tractor operation used by a single person was 7 hours and 27 minutes whereas the minimum was 11 minutes. In the single-service utilisers' group, the average time of operation was 52.5 minutes whereas in frequent-service beneficiaries it was 217 minutes. As seven months records of the PA show, traction power of the tractor, though preferred by some, reaches only a minority of villagers. Even there, it has not totally replaced the significance of animal power. All beneficiaries of tractor power use their oxen to plough most of their land.

With possible variations depending on type of soil, a Godino farmer on average ploughs five times for t'ef, four times for wheat, three times for lentils, chickpeas and horsebeans, twice for maize and beans and once for peas. The first round preparation (*sinxaqo* as it is named by peasants), starts in March to expose the soil to sunshine and is followed by the second round ploughing called *qurxa*. This is conducted to soften the soil as much as possible. This type of ploughing is carried out until the soil is satisfactorily softened in rounds as explained above. The last round of preparation just before sowing is known as *dirdaro* which is soon followed by sowing. At this stage, the farm plot will be cleared of any visible weeds manually, which is known as

gulguwalo. Sowing is undertaken by broadcasting seeds on the plot and then ploughing the field to cover the seeds with soil, except in the case of **t'ef**. The seed of **t'ef** is broadcast over (not covered under) the soil just after the plot is ploughed and the soil is trodden down by cattle (locally known as **kusa**). In order to avoid missing or repeating broadcasting of seeds, the plot is compartmentalized by a number of lines made by ploughshares which the peasant called **boyy**. Often it is an owner or his close friend/relative who broadcasts seeds because such a task involves knowledge of amounts needed and even distribution of seeds over the plot.

The sowing period is also dependent on the type of crops and soils. In general, the sowing period for **t'ef** is mid-July to beginning of August; for wheat beginning to mid-July; horsebean mid to end of May; maize and beans, beginning to mid June; peas beginning to mid-July; lentils mid August; and chickpeas end of August and beginning of September.

Weeding¹² (**harama**) normally begins in August and is completed by the end of September. Women actively participate in weeding. Often all members of a household, including grown up children, were involved in weeding tasks. Normally, weeding is done for **t'ef** and wheat. Other crops do not need weeding according to the beliefs of the villagers. If one has time, one can weed crops such as beans and peas. **t'ef** is usually weeded twice and wheat once. But other crops are often not weeded. The use of herbicide chemicals (specially 24-D) is frequently practised in the village. In this

¹² The common weeds in the village are **yäwusha sIndädo** (migira sarre), **haräg**, **asändabo**, **yäbeg lat** (koticha), **yäset mllas** (arbadu barte), **inkIrdad**, **muja**, **qillo**, and **sInnar**.

case, the use of the weed-killer affects germinated **t'ef** seed. The chemical is often sprayed on wheat fields once or twice as required. Then the dead herbs are picked out of the farm field so that they do not shade sunshine. This task is locally known as **naso**.

Harvesting time is also determined by soil type and varieties of crops. This activity is a manifestation of shortages of labour in the village. The harvesting of **t'ef** and wheat is still largely carried out by males whereas harvesting of beans, peas, and niger seed, chickling pea and lentils which is undertaken by women. In recent years, a few women (a dozen of them in the households) have shown a tendency of engaging themselves in harvesting activities of **t'ef** and wheat as well. These women are trying to cope with shortages of male labour in their households by participating in more harvesting activities which were culturally considered to be in the domain of males. Usually, it is women that uproot chickpeas and chickling peas by hand.

T'ef is harvested in December except for a variety which is known as **bunigne** which could be harvested at the end of October and beginning of November. Similarly, **t'ef** which is sown on **koticha** (deep black soil) late or end of July could be harvested in early January. Wheat is normally harvested in December except for **Inkoy** variety which could be harvested earlier in November. Red sorghum which is preferably sown on **gobore** soil could be harvested in December but that on **cari** soil in November. Maize could be reaped in October, beans in mid-November, peas and lentils in October, chickpeas and chickling peas are harvested in January. The following table is based on the personal knowledge of my key informants.

Table 8: Work Calendar of Main Activities by Crop Type.

Crops	Ripening period	Soil types	Ploughing	Preparation	Sowing period	Harvsting period
t'ef	5 months	Koticha ¹³	5	March	End Jul	End of Dec.
t'ef	4 months	Gonbore	6	March	MidJul	Dec.
t'ef	4 months	Cari	5	March	Mid-Jul	Dec.
Bunign t'ef	3 Months	Cari	4	March	Mid-Jul	End of Oct. and Beg. of Nov.
Inkoy	4 Months	Cari	4	March	Mid-Jul	MidNov
Boohai	4 Months	Koticha/Cari	4	March	Mid and End Jul	Dec.
Dashen	4 Months	Cari	4	March	Mid-Jul	Dec.
Local varieties	4 Months	Koticha/ Cari	4	March	Mid-Jul	Dec.
Red sorghum	8 Months	Gonbore	3	March	Mid and End May	Dec.
Red sorghum	7 Months	Cari	3	March	Mid-May	Nov.
Maize	5 Months	Gonbore	2	March	Beg and Mid Jun	Oct.
Maize	5 Months	Cari	2	March	Mid-Jun	Oct.
Beans	4 Months	Cari	2	June	Mid-Jul	MidNov
Peas	5 Months	Cari	1	June	Mid-Jun	Oct.
Lentils	3 Months	Cari/ Koticha	3	June	Mid-Jul	Oct.
Chickpeas	4 Months	Cari/ Koticha	3	June	End-Jul	Jan.
Chicklingpeas	4 Months	Cari/ Koticha	4	June	End-Jul	Jan.

T'ef and wheat should be cut and piled up near the threshing field in order to avoid damages caused by untimely rain, rodents and cattle. Wheat is usually cut at the base and tied together in handfuls. After harvesting, the crop is usually left in small heaps so as to let it dry in a few days. Then transporting the crop to the threshing field known as **agizo** begins. In these activities, the role of donkeys is indispensable. Some individuals synchronize both **atchedda (haama)** harvesting and **agizo (gurra)** harvesting activities.

¹³ Normally, sowing on **koticha** soil is made later than others since it is waterlogged.

The last agricultural task is threshing known as **wuk'iya** or **sirbi** commenced shortly after **agizo**. A household usually but not always does not have its own threshing floor. Threshing floors are often shared by a group of households living in proximity to one other. Since the settlement pattern is crowded in central Godino, there are specifically arranged communal threshing floors utilised by the former PC which are still used by a number of households. These floors are left open and are not allowed to be construction sites for houses. Threshing floors are prepared by women using mud, straw, dung and water to plaster them. After ploughing, oxen have a secondary bigger task next to ploughing in threshing being driven over crops scattered on the **wudumma** (threshing floor). Winnowing then accompanies threshing in order to separate the grain from the chaff. Women participate in winnowing but not to the same degree as they do in weeding and harvesting leaving a bigger portion of the task to men and boys. The grain is filled in **madabariya** (a sack of fertilizer) and carried home where it is stored in a **dIbIgnIt**, **gottära**, grain house or else the bag itself could be used as a form of storage. Straw is the main source of animal fodder in the village. Those households, who do not have livestock, pile up their straw, either to sell or exchange it for labour (as will be seen in the next chapter).

The findings of the sampled 45 households indicate that households differ in their options and practices in agricultural activities. On average, the rich and middle households (66.6%) plough their land for **t'ef** in four rounds whereas those oxenless households do this task in three rounds (see case no five). The number of ploughing rounds could of course vary between the rich and middle households depending on other factors. For instance, 11 households plough part of their land five times and one household for seven times among these groups to decrease incidence of weeds. Likewise, all of the sampled households plough their land to sow wheat in three rounds

without significant contrast between oxenless and rich households. However, 9 households (30% of the group) among the rich and middle households plough their wheat fields four times. It should be noted that this result indicates conditions of wheat planting in the sample. On the contrary, I am well aware of a constraint resulted from lack of plough-oxen ownership. Oxenless households do not have an opportunity of intensively preparing their field in time. Often they borrow oxen late from the rich almost at the end of the seasonal tasks and have a chance of ploughing their field perhaps in two rounds. These practice exposes them to vicious circle of low productivity. For instance, my key informant, Ato Challa, was able to prepare part of his field only in two rounds including sowing by borrowing oxen from his affine. He gets the oxen after his affine finished his seasonal task almost at the beginning of August.

In other tasks, almost all of the 45 households weeded their **t'ef** crop twice in late July and September of last season. Only two households from the rich households utilised a herbicide 24-D and cleared their fields from dead herbs. Again only one household from the group of the rich weeded its **t'ef** field three times owing to multiplication of herbs. Similarly, most of the households (15 or 50% of the group) in the rich and middle strata apply a herbicide 24-D and the remaining 13 (43%) weed their wheat crop once while 2 households do not weed their fields. Interestingly, there is no utiliser of herbicides among the oxenless group. However there is no significant difference in the number of weddings undertaken for wheat among the different groups.

4.2.2. Irrigated Farm Activities

In order not to create overlap of activities and bottleneck of tasks, peasants do not synchronize planting periods of vegetables with the sowing period of other crops during the rainy season. Thus, most of irrigated farm activities are concentrated in the dry season. Here, too, the soil is softened in rounds of ploughing before planting. In order to plant sugar cane and onion, the soil may be ploughed as intensely as is done for **t'ef**. Planting of sugar cane and onion could be made in the rainy season just after the sowing period for most crops. Individuals could also utilise the tractor service to soften their field. During the planting period, several beds (known as **dirdaro**) are prepared so as to protect a plant if it is sugar cane. Onions also needs to be covered by soil during the planting period. A bed is not prepared here but rows of straight lines are made with a plough-share to demarcate one line of planting from another and to channel water in between.

By comparison, activities after the planting period, which continues until a plant is ripe, are more intensive than those before and during planting in irrigated fields. For instance, both sugar cane (that needs 18 months to ripen) and onions (with five months to ripen) require six rounds of digging until the harvest. Commonly, a hand implement known as **domma** (hoe) is used to carry out this task. Along with this, weeding is undertaken.

In the dry season, watering of each plant is carried out once in week using irrigation until harvest. Every person irrigates his field turn by turn under supervision of the irrigation committee in Wajitu and Qambare quarters as was explained before. Many persons do not perform the task, i.e. they harvest plants in irrigated fields or they sell a ripe plant still in the field. If we compare the two, the harvesting task of onions

is harder than that of sugar cane. Once it is planted, sugar cane could be harvested twice in three years. After its second harvest, the stubble (of the stem and root) would be burnt in order to kill the plant because the third round germination is unproductive due to its poor yield. Then the field could be planted with onions. Harvesting sugar cane is performed by men. On the other hand, though harvesting onions (by digging out a stem) is done by men, cutting off the leaves is increasingly performed by women. Onions are left in the field after being harvested in order to dry in the sunshine before they are ready for sale or consumption.

Potatoes, tomatoes, cabbage, pepper, carrots, beet-roots, **baso billa**, **xenadami**, **t'äj sar**, banana, coffee, **chat**, **ariti**, and others are intercropped with sugar cane or onions or cared for as garden crops. Specially short cycled vegetables (potatoes, tomatoes, and cabbages) are often intercropped with sugar cane. Most of the rest are garden crops.

4.2.3. Fertilizers And Herbicides

The use of chemical fertilizers (DAP and Urea) to plant **t'ef**, wheat, sugar cane and onions is universally practised by all households. The use of organic fertilizer (specially dung) is limited due to shortage of fuel wood. Professor McCann put the period between 1973 and 1990 as the primary years of fertilizer adoption. During my stay in the field, I haven't come across a single farmer who is not utilising fertilizer for the above crops. Thus, chemical fertilizer has become as important as seeds. Adoption of chemical fertilizer is nevertheless, not always acclaimed. It is rather taken as an obligatory consequence of the extension process. Ato Tsegaye Sangi said that extension agents made his land (villager's land) become accustomed to "bribes" (fertilizer). Never

does a small plot of villager's land give yields of t'ef or wheat without bribes in contrast to the past. He said that they are victims of unexpected extension goals in the absence of options. Ato Tsegaye said that chemical fertilizer results in stiff-strawed long wheat and t'ef, without resulting in substantial increases in yield. Chemical fertilizer is supplied to farmers through credit facilities of Godino Service Cooperative¹⁴. Even though fertilizer is still subsidized by the government, the price has been sharply increasing by 104.59% for Dap and 154.54% for Urea over the past decade or so.

Table 9: Price Increase of Fertilizer Over the Past 10 Years per 50 kg in bIrr.

Type of Fertilizer	Middle of 1980	1988	1994/95	1995/96
Dap	43.50	60	71.68	89
Urea	33	37.50	71.70	84

Source: DA files of Godino.

In 1994/95 agricultural season, 614 quintals of Dap and 373 quintals of Urea were distributed to 298 users including non-members of the service cooperative in Godino. In 1995/96, 595 quintals of Dap and 304 quintals of Urea was sold to 252 members of SC in Godino excluding non-members.

The quantity of fertilizer to be applied on one qarxi, as instructed by MOA, was 25 kg of Dap and 12.5 Kg of Urea. Recently, 25 Kg from each type of fertilizer is preferred following the Sasakawa-2000 extension programme. The quantity of fertilizer utilized by each peasant is well below standards set by extension agents. The quantity of fertilizer applied varies from one peasant to another depending on economic status

¹⁴ The Service Cooperative serves both Godino and nearby Guwa Werko villagers providing some consumer commodities (sugar, salt, oil, soap and so on) mill and tractor services. In contrast to the past, peasants do not frequently purchase commodities from the SC because of similar price levels in the free market.

and individual knowledge of a plot specifically operated. Often non-operators (those who give their farm land in sharecropping arrangement) take fertilizer on behalf of cultivators (actual operators). For instance, one of the rich men, (Ato Tilahun Asfaw) purchased fertilizer in the name of three persons (W/ro Tsehay K/ wolde, Ato Limenew Reggesa and Ato Beka Ristu) in addition to his quota. He used a total of 12 quintals of fertilizer paying 1720.40 bIrr. He is not the maximum utilizer but this is to indicate the difference between utilisers and non-utilisers which are not often identified from the PA list.

Since fertilizer is supplied just before the onset of the rainy season, it has been used as a source of income by some households in the hungry period. Households, usually from the lower strata, sell a bag or two in order to make up their shortfall of cash. This deal is made covertly through a mediator lest it should be recognized by PA leaders who warn against such practices. As a result, it is difficult to understand the spread of fertilizer sales. I only managed to encounter four persons who sold 50 kg of Dap for 65 bIrr each. By just comparing this with its formal price, it may seem irrational to sell losing 24 bIrr. If we compare this reduction with the interest rate of usurers (dealt with later in the paper) in the village, such a move is likely to sound rational. The side effect of such practice is in fact a reduction of yields in those households utilising less fertilizer in contrast to a standard application.

From another perspective, payment of fertilizer has another negative effect in the village due to the manner in which farmers are obliged to pay. This task is often undertaken through urgently mobilised committees which are composed of persons from government offices including the *caffee* (council) of Ada'a Worāda. The committee passes orders to the PA so as to enforce timely payment of credit by taking measures (including detention) of farmers. This procedure is normally pursued all over Ada'a

simultaneously. Peasants react to this demand by taking their grain to the market at once creating a greater supply and hence cheaper prices. This is not the only reason for the fall of grain price after the harvest, but it aggravates the condition under which peasants are pressed to sell their products at cheaper prices.

During my field work in February 1996, prices of grain fell sharply in Godino mainly due to the above measure. This can be shown in the following table contrasting the prices with those of grain in September of 1995.

Table 10: Price Increase of one **madabariya** of Grain¹⁵ in **BIrr** for Selected Crops.

Types of grain	Price ,Feb., 1996	Price, Sep. 1995
Red t'ef	80	110
Sargagna t'ef	110	135
White t'ef	130	155
Wheat (Israel)	60	100
Wheat (Boohai)	55	95

The other chemical element which has become part of Godino agriculture next to fertilizer is a herbicide (named 24-D). This chemical was supplied on credit through the SC. After the liberalization of the market, peasants have been purchasing it from merchants. The chemical is normally sprayed on wheat fields and is very much in use in the village. Peasants normally measure 24-D by the cup. They spray a solution of a cup of 24-D (one cup in 20 litres of water) on one **qarxi**. Five **BIrr** is paid for one cup of 24-D and the rent of the sprayer which is owned by a couple of persons who purchased it from the SC. The price of the chemical has been increasing steadily. One

¹⁵ The bag of 50 kg of fertilizer (known as **madabariya**) is used to bag and sell various grains in the area. The weight of one bag of grain usually varies ranging between 50 to 55 kg. The weight is estimated depending on the knowledge of the individual who bags the grain approximating half a quintal.

litre of 24-D was 22 **bIrr** in 1991, 27 **bIrr** in 1992, 35 **bIrr** in 1994, 46 **bIrr** in 1995. Pesticides applied in Godino agriculture though not to a degree comparable to that of herbicides. Pesticides reach the villagers via market transactions and usually the rich can use them.

4.2.4. Crop Patterns

The two dominant rainfed crops of Godino, as described by other writers on Ada'a and reflected in my survey, are **t'ef** and wheat which together cover 899.6 **qarxi** (87.8%) of cultivated cereals in the 1994/95 agricultural season. In the same year, **t'ef** alone was cultivated on 564.8 **qarxi** (55.12%) of the total cereal land whereas wheat was planted on 334.8 **qarxi** (32.6%) of land. With a goal of achieving high yielding, insect-and disease-resistant and stiff-strawed varieties, a lot of improved varieties of cereals (specially **t'ef** and wheat) have been reaching peasants of Ada'a from various sources. This is also an indication of a situation under which Godino peasants operate their fields. These extensive extension activities nearly supplanted the traditional local crop varieties of the area and some forms of indigenous agronomic practices.

The result of 45 sampled households indicate that 26(89.6%) operator households (those who operate their land or those who also operate others' farm land in share contracts) shift between **t'ef** and wheat annually; whereas only 3 households (10.3%), two from the rich and one from middle strata, claim that they plant leguminous plants on the third year. The main reason reported for this agronomic decision is small holdings of farm land as was recorded for 20 (44.9% of the sample) operator households. The small extent of farmland is employed to produce the two important crops both for the market and consumption. 9 other share contractors 9 (20%

of the sample) comment that they are not confident about ensuring continuation of sharecropping deal sustain the deal and are reluctant to upgrade the fertility of the soil. On the other hand, almost all non-operators (those who transfer their farm land to others in sharecropping arrangements) 16 (35% of the sample) affirm that types of crops are selected by share contractors.

There are several improved varieties of **t'ef** distributed in the area. The peasant do not identify them at all except for the variety of **bunign t'ef**. Thus, the researcher has not tried to classify the distribution of different varieties of **t'ef**. However, farmers do recognize various improved varieties of wheat. The indigenous varieties were **qoraxe, aybo, nyaranqole, looko** (all of which are black wheat) and **set akuri** (white wheat) and many others. It has been stated that from 1976 to 1982 four improved high-yielding varieties of Durum wheat (cocorit-71, Gerardo VZ 466.61/130//G11/ "S", LD 357 and Boohai were released for cultivation in Shewa region (DZARC Research Report Series NO. 1 of : 1994).

Table 11: Cereals and Crop Patterns of Surveyed Households in Godino in 1994/95 Agricultural Season in qarxi.

Cereals	Area covered	Percent
t'ef	772.2	55.1
Chickpeas	80.9	5.77
Lentils	6.1	.43
Beans	56.3	4.01
Haricot beans	1.3	.09
Peas	9.5	.67
Chickling pea	7.4	.52
Soy beans	1.3	.09
Maize	.5	.02
Barley	7.1	.50
Red sorghum	1.3	.09
Wheat	457.27	32.61
Total	1401.17	100

Table 12: Varieties of Wheat Planted in Godino in 1994/95 Season in qarxi.

Varieties of wheat	Area covered	Percent
Encoy	53.1	3.79
Laqach	1.3	.09
Encoy-Boohai	.37	.02
Dashen	67.1	4.78
Kenya	16.4	1.17
Boohai	217.5	15.52
Gerardo	2.7	.19
Cocrit	5.4	.39
Israel	12.8	.91
Sartin	15.7	1.12
Unknown	64.9	4.63
Total	457.27	32.61

With regard to wheat (this could be true of other varieties of crops), the improved varieties were distributed once. Afterwards, the varieties are multiplied and maintained in the crop pattern of the area if they are adapted to specific agro-ecological zone and preferred by peasants. For instance, **laqach** was (as depicted by McCann) about to become an Ethiopian wheat export had it not been entirely destroyed by stripe rust in 1974. **Inkoy** has very recently been attacked by a plant disease called **Wag** though it has not been totally destroyed. Currently, the multiplication process of most of these improved varieties is performed by peasants using traditional techniques. It seems unlikely that the planting of these varieties is measured given the traditional technique of multiplication which is likely to cause mixture of grains.

In parallel with rainfed agriculture, crops of irrigated fields are dominated by sugar cane (long cycled) and onions (short cycled) which together cover 87.6% of planted area. In Wodecha and Qambere quarter where the Wodecha river is traditionally used to irrigate fields, perennial sugar cane plants cover most of the land; all the remaining small portions are left largely for onions and to a lesser degree for tomatoes, potatoes and others. The Belbela river, on the other end, is exclusively used for onions in the dry season. Normally, short-cycled vegetables are replaced subsequently by cereals in the rainy season. Garden plants are an ubiquitous feature of irrigated agriculture all utilisers of which have one near their homestead. This part is characterised by considerable diversification¹⁶ of plants on very small parcels. The variation of plants could range from medicinal to cash crops such as coffee¹⁷. It is difficult to demarcate absolute categories of garden and non-garden plants since it

¹⁶ The main garden plants are **gesho**, Pepper, White Onions, tomatoes, cabbages, **chat**, coffee, banana, **xenaadami**, **t'äj sar**, **dama kase**, **ariti**, and others.

¹⁷ In 1995, 1,500 coffee seedlings were distributed to 150 peasants in Godino, through DA and PA offices. The seedlings were multiplied and supplied freely by O.D.A. (Oromiya Development Association).

depends on individual choice. The main character of garden crops is that they grow near homesteads on relatively small plots, however sugar cane and onions are also cared for by some in their garden fields together with other plants. During the period when I conducted the survey, tomato was insignificant though it is increasingly planted on irrigated fields. In the beginning of 1980, it was more dominant than onion until it was totally destroyed by a pest at the end of 1980. Afterwards, Godino peasants abandoned tomato shifting to other crops. Recently, there seems to be a return to tomatoes without actually abandoning and replacing onions.

Table 13: Crop Pattern of Irrigated Fields of Surveyed Households in 1994/95 Season.

Types of crops	Land size in qarxi	Percent
Sugar cane	232.86	60.82
Onion	102.5	26.79
Gesho	28.2 + 39 G ¹⁸	7.37
Potato	11.1 + 4G	2.9
Cabbage	3.02 + 47G	.79
Chat	1.99 + 17G	.52
Coffee	3.02 + 19G	.79
Banana	7G	-
Total	382.69	100

Most of the seedlings of the above plants are found in the village except for onions in search of which individuals go to the market of Bordede near Awash town. 100 kg of onion costs 110 to 140 **bIrr** in Bordede the variety of which is preferred in Godino for its good quality, high yield (locally known as **kurt**) and cheaper cost.

¹⁸ "G" is used to represent a number of households which operate garden of corresponding crops in the table above which is difficult to quantify.

Another feature of irrigated agriculture is that the input cost is more expensive than that of rainfed agriculture. This is, as will be shown later, mainly due to labour intensive nature of irrigated activities for two of the main crops (sugar cane and onions).

4.2.4.1. Factors Affecting Selection of Crops

Traditional agronomic practices such as **IkkIr** (planting leguminous crops) and fallowing have been seriously affected and disrupted due to the influence of extension programs, markets and population increase. The ever-growing application of and dependency on chemical fertilizer together with improved varieties of wheat, make the use of **IkkIr** irrelevant. As has been indicated by McCann, higher prices of **t'ef** in controlled (AMC) and free market as well as larger supply of fertilizer to Ada'a (as one of surplus producing district of the country) speeded up specialization in **t'ef**. The two prominent crops (**t'ef** and wheat) shape the rhythmic rotation of crops on a yearly basis. The Godino peasant, as is commonly the case in other parts of Ada'a, alternates between cultivation of **t'ef** and wheat annually. He only resorts to leguminous crops (11.65% of cereals in 1994/95) when shifting between **t'ef** and wheat leads to very low yields. Even after cultivating leguminous crops, peasants switch to the annual rhythm of **t'ef** and wheat where the first two years are preferably reserved for **t'ef** (alternating white with the red variety). **Tchiflik'** is another situation in which the repeated annual cycle of **t'ef** planting is favoured. A **tchiflik'** plot is one which is not cultivated for a short period (two or three months) after it has been utilised for short-cycled vegetables. In this manner, a person can sow **t'ef** on his plot in the rainy season, plant onion or other short-cycled vegetable after harvesting **t'ef**, then use the same plot for **t'ef** in the next rainy season promoting mono-crop growing of **t'ef**. Peasants consider that a

tchiflik' plot has an upgraded fertility (just like one for which **IkkIr** crops are used) which is good for **t'ef**. Decisions are normally made in favour of **t'ef** followed by wheat.

t'ef, as a staple food, has one distinctive characteristic. Ato Badane said that a difference of weight between grain and flour forms of **t'ef** is very minimal in contrast to other cereals including wheat. Asfaw Alemu (1982) confirms that weight losses of milled **t'ef** is as low as 1% whereas it is 20% to 40% for wheat. In addition, **t'ef** is the most suitable and long-lasting grain consumed in the form of **budenna (injära)** in contrast with other available grains including wheat. In addition to being a staple food, **t'ef** has been mentioned as an important cash crop of Ada'a. Based on my survey, 90 households (29.9%) cultivate **t'ef** for consumption only, 130 (43.1%) plant **t'ef** both for consumption by mixing it with wheat and partly for sale and 66 households (21.2%) produce red **t'ef** for consumption but the white one for the market. In general, the majority of households 196 (65%) reported that **t'ef** is used both as food and cash crop. **t'ef** is now considered as the culturally preferred and ecologically best adapted important crop of the area following a long-process of specialization to that end. Its residue is carefully utilised to plaster walls of houses and threshing-floors as well as providing animal feed.

As regard to wheat, peasants usually try to maintain and sow the variety they have on an annual basis, though mixing of alleged varieties of wheat with other types is unavoidable. According to my survey, preferences of peasants regarding different improved varieties of wheat can be grouped into three main categories. The majority of peasants 188 (62.45%) prefer wheat due to its high demand in the market, 73 (24.25%) of them prefer wheat varieties for their high yield and 40 (13.28%) utilise various types of wheat for consumption.

Table 14: Frequency Distribution of Surveyed Households by Improved Wheat Varieties Applied and by Reasons for Preferences.

Improved Wheat varieties	Reasons employed to select wheat varieties.			Total
	High Demand	High yield	Consumption	
Boohai	102	30	14	146
Dashen	15	20	11	46
Sartin	10	3	2	15
Cocrit	4	-	1	5
Kenya	5	1	1	7
Encoy	25	5	5	35
Israel	12	4	2	18
Unknown	15	10	4	29
Total	188	73	40	301

The variety of **boohai** has a high market demand because of its high yield, large grain, good grain colour, long straw, disease resistance, good bread, **qolo** and **qince** quality. After the survey was conducted, many peasants intended to stop growing **boohai**. This was because **boohai** variety can be eaten fresh before it is ripened by strangers passing by farm fields. The practice of eating wheat fresh on farm field (known as **woxälo**) is common among herd boys and youths. In avoiding this risk, many persons shifted to planting **israel** in 1995/96 which also has similar characteristics as Boohai wheat.

In contrast to cereals, production in the irrigated fields are primarily dedicated to the market though a small part of it is consumed at home. Considering the two prominent crops (sugar cane and onions) in my survey, the main reason for selecting these crops is made on the bases of their high market demand (93 households or 44.7% for onions and 84 households or 40.38% reported for sugar cane).

Table 15: Reasons Given for Preferring Sugar Cane and Onions by Surveyed Households.

Reasons of choosing crops	No. of Households and their Preferred crops.		
	Sugar cane	Onions	Total
Disease resistant	20 (9.61%)	-	20
High demand	84 (40.38)	93(44.7%)	177
Cheaper seedling	28 (13.41%)	-	28
To pay debts	27 (12.98%)	47(22.59)	74
Easier task	49 (23.55%)	-	49
Short-cycled	-	34(16.34)	34
Improves soil fertility	-	34(16.34)	34
Base	208	208	

Even though these crops were introduced to the area during the time of Ts'ahafi TIIzaz's enterprise, they have become a source of income for small holders agriculture only very recently after the collapse of the PC. In Godino, the social environment of decision making is dominated by rich and successful farmers. This is due to the fact that success in making a good income (usually the rich are known for this achievement in the village) is taken as a model by others. In one of the high-price years for sugar cane two years ago, I was told that a rich and successful peasant (Ato Alemu Dilnesaw 25 years old, married and educated up to grade six) sold one **qarxi** of sugar cane on the field for 10,000 **bIrr**. Every one is aware of this in the village and still consider sugar cane as a crop fetching a good price.

There are two varieties of sugar cane known as **k'äy** (improved and thick-stemmed variety) and **natch** (thin-stemmed local variety). The local variety is preferred in the village because it has a high demand and the potential to have a second harvest without planting new seedlings. Most of the time, peasants, in a competitive

atmosphere, sell their produce of sugar cane and onions to middlemen (those who purchase crops at farm-gate prices and sell to merchants at Bishoftu) usually before it is harvested. Harvesting and transporting costs are covered by the purchasers. There are at least five middlemen in the village benefiting from such kinds of transactions. In order to regulate fluctuation of prices for produce of irrigation field, the committee of the Wodecha quarter has taken some measures though these turned out to be unsuccessful as is discussed next.

The committee of irrigation field utilisers convened a meeting in September 1995. One of the issues was a kind of step that should be taken in order to curb competition of producers in the sale of sugar cane. A resolution was passed to regulate the supply of sugar cane to the market at the same time. In this regard, the committee was given the right of keeping order of sequences of harvesting sugar cane for producers. This implied that one could not harvest until all stalks of sugar cane of the first have been sold. In addition a standard price was agreed upon by producers to sell 17 stalk (stem) of sugar cane for 10 **bIrr**. It was decided that any one who violated these rules would pay a punishment fee of 100 **bIrr** to the irrigation committee. These commitments, however, were breached soon in November of 1995 by an individual against whom the committee failed to take significant steps. The person was Ato Banti Tolosa, 27, married and a resident of Guwa Werko PA whose father is living in Godino. He is the son of a rich farmer and operated irrigated fields in Godino through sharecropping arrangements. Even though he was committed to the regulation of the committee in September, he breached the rule by selling cheaply 20 stalks of sugar cane for 10 **bIrr**. The committee members advised him to sell on the standard price which he agreed to respect in front of them though soon after he resorted to his preferred price. Other members after understanding the failure of reaching a consensus and regulating the price among producers, returned to a competitive atmosphere and rules of the market. In one of the worst prices, 30 stalks of **k'äy agada** was sold for 10 **bIrr** in November 1995 while it was normally 30 **bIrr** (each stalk for one **bIrr**). Similarly, 5 Stalks of **natch ageda** were sold 50 cents in the same month while 2 stalks used to be sold on average for one **bIrr**.

My informants estimate that the average price for one **qarxi** of onions is between 2500-4000 **bIrr**, and one **qarxi** of both types of sugar cane between 3000-5000 **bIrr**. The range of price differences occurs due to unequal yield capacity of one **qarxi**

of farmland. This depends on type of soil, variety of crop, application of fertilizer, and many other factors related to production.

4.2.5. The Middlemen

Usually, sale of sugar cane and onions is transacted through middlemen of Godino. The middlemen benefit from differences between the farm-gate and official prices at Bishoftu market serving as a link between farmers and merchants. This can be illustrated by the following case.

In February 1996, the price of onions was better than earlier months. Ato Techane Azeze is one of the richer farmers who has completed elementary education. He planted three quintals of onion (costing him 120 **bIrr** each) on one **qarxi** of irrigated plot four months earlier. He spent 280.50 in total **bIrr** for labour and fertilizer. In February, he sold his onions for 3,200 **bIrr** on the field to Ato Tufa who is one of the middleman closer to Ato Techane. Ato Tufa is 30, married and completed elementary school. He obtains a small amount of farm land from his mother which is operated by his brother and a hired labourer. Ato Tufa also runs a butcher's in the village. Ato Tufa, employing labourers, harvested the onions which were 28 **qumt'a**. Ato Tufa sold each **qumt'a** for 245 **bIrr** (6860 **bIrr** for 28 quintals) to a Bishoftu trader. Ato Tufa spent 229 **bIrr** to harvest and transport the onions to Bishoftu. This is the best price of onion that I came across in my fieldwork as compared to lower prices of one **qumt'a** of onion for 130 **bIrr** in May of last year. In February of the same year, the price of sugar cane continued to fall since November of last year. Thus, 50 stalks of **natch ageda** were sold for 10 **bIrr** whereas 20 stalks of **k'äy ageda** cost 10 **bIrr**.

The main traits of middlemen that differentiate them from others are their well-established relations with merchants in Bishoftu and their relatively better position as owners of cash. Since sugar cane and onions are usually sold wholesale, costs of harvesting and transportation are high. In addition, the wholesale market of these crops is found in Bishoftu which requires knowledge and relations with merchants. These

situations support the emergence and activity of middlemen. Pearse comments on this point that :

On account of the contractual inferiority of the peasant, and the usual concentration of three commercial functions in the hands of single individuals (purchaser of produce, supplier of credit and vendor of consumption goods), any surpluses developed by the little economy tend to be transferred to the middleman rather than remain available for reinvestment. (1971: 73).

In the Godino case, middlemen are purchasers of produce and suppliers of credit. The functions of vendors are normally carried out by retail traders the majority of whom come from Bishoftu town to Godino on the weekly market days. Of course, the salient role of middlemen requires a great deal of money to be invested in purchasing, harvesting and transporting of onions and sugar cane.

4.3. Livestock Production

The shift from a pastoral to a sedentary agricultural mode of subsistence implies the shrinking of the former and expansion of the latter. However, the livestock part of Ada'a's economy is not negligible in magnitude. Specially, the integration process of crop-livestock economy facilitates the maintenance of a strong livestock sector. According to McCann, Ada'a farmers have higher per farm oxen holding (79%) as compared to the national average 39%.

Table 16: Livestock Population of the Surveyed Households.

Type of animal	No. of animals	ownership per head
Oxen	452	1.3
Bulls	112	.32
Heifers	114	.32
Cows	199	.57
Calves	131	.37
Goats	200	.57
Sheep	175	.5
Donkey	193	.55
Horses	10	.02
Chickens	1366	3.4
No. of Households	347	3.9

Such a large number of livestock is amazing in an area where grazing land has been significantly declining. As a result of integration of the two sectors (farming and livestock), the use of crop residues for animal feed has been elaborately developed with techniques of cutting and storing. McCann states that at one part of Ada'a known as Hidi, residue of crops accounted for 71.5% of livestock forage in 1990 while it is 50% for highland Ethiopia. Different improved varieties of crops including *t'ef* distributed by the DZARC and others have been stiff-strawed benefiting the livestock sector. McCann pointed out that in Ada'a the area under cultivation increased by 2.5% a year while the grazing land declined by 5.2% per annum between 1979 and 1990. In addition, he showed that development agencies (including MOA) started to use discarded by-products of industries such as oil-seed cakes, molasses, cotton seed cake and *furushka* (wheat chaff) as livestock feed concentrates in the late 1970s so as to

complement straw. McCann also reported that ILCA field trials indicated a range of 16-24 straw yields of 20-37 quintals per ha.

In Godino, these similar trends prevail. The PC was active in fattening cattle at a time when molasses was available in the village. Apart from traction power, meat and milk, animals are very important sources of fuel and manure in the village. This is a reflection of Ada'a's situations where the average source of fuel in a household consisted of 41 kg of dung cakes and only 10 kg of wood by 1980 according to McCann.

Tending and herding of cattle is practised by all members of a household although boys are frequently engaged in herding whereas women are primarily responsible for taking care of animals near homesteads (specially milking and collecting of dung). All horses belong to seven cart owners of Godino providing transportation service between Godino and Bishoftu. Most of the animals of the area graze in a quarter known as Gara (largely a barren hill with scattered bushes) which is not far away from central Godino taking about 30 minutes to reach. All animals found in the village are a local-breed which has been kept and tended using traditional techniques including medication. In fact, sometimes persons take their animals to Bishoftu for veterinary services but mostly treatment to livestock is provided by Ato Challa in the village for which a service charge is paid. For instance, Ato Tessema states that animals and dogs can be protected from *sallabi* (a person with evil spiritual power or one who uses sorcery) and hyenas by a magical formula (*mädgäm*) or medicine. There has been one person in the village who has been providing such service. He said that these animals could not be sold. If they become too old, the animals should be slaughtered and eaten by owner households.

4.3.1. Stratification and Traction Power

Godino agriculture, as in other parts of Ada'a, is significantly based on ox-plough farming. Traction power is still substantially drawn from oxen power though utilization of a tractor has started in the village in the past couple of years. McCann comments that oxen are the critical investment of the Ada'a farm comprising 86% of the total capital in the sector in 1968. Nevertheless, ownership distribution of oxen is not even and it is one of the key indicators for the prevalence of stratification in Godino. My survey depicts that 132 (38.%) households do not have oxen though they possess farm land. As compared to the figure indicated by Dejene (1989) for the another part of Ada'a (Ude) which was 29%, the number of oxenless households are bigger in Godino. Again, 69 households (19.8%) are oxen deficient owning one. The next group of households, 106 or 30.54% are oxen-sufficient having two. The remaining 40 households (11.6%) are oxen surplus owning from 3 to 8 oxen. The mean for the size of traction animal (ox) is 1.28.

Table 17: Ownership Distribution of Oxen in Surveyed Households.

Oxen-holding	No. of households	Percent
Oxenless	132	38
Oxen-deficient (1)	69	19.8
Oxen-sufficient (2)	106	30.54
Oxen-surplus (3)	9	2.5
Oxen-surplus (4)	25	7.2
Oxen-surplus 5 ≤	6	1.72
Total	347	100

In order to complement the use of oxen as an indicator of wealth, the type of house were taken as additional variables to stratify households. Differences among houses were made on the bases of roof-types and number of rooms. As has been the case before, 347 households who have either ox/en or farm land or both of these resources and are engaged in agriculture actively are considered. There are 168 thatched-roofed and 179 tin-roofed houses. The majority of thatched-roofed houses 114 or 67.8%, are found among oxenless and oxen-deficient households. Whereas 54 thatched-roofed houses belong to oxen sufficient and surplus households. Tin-roofed houses seem to be equally distributed between oxenless and oxen-deficient which share 88 or 49.1% and oxen-surplus and sufficient ones which have 91 or 50.8% of these houses. However, only 88 households or 43.7% (four of these are rental houses and one is a gift) live in tin-roofed houses of the total oxenless and oxen-deficient group (201 households). In contrast, 91 households (62.3%) live in tin-roofed houses from the total oxen sufficient and surplus groups (146 households).

Table 18: Frequency Distribution of Surveyed Households by Oxen Size, House types and Number of Rooms.

Oxen-size holding	Households with their types of houses						
	Thatched-roof ¹⁹	Tin-roofed with number of rooms					
		1	2	3	4	5	6 ≤
None	74	12	34	10	2	-	-
1	40	5	17	6	1	-	-
2	43	9	26	25	2	1	-
3	1	-	5	2	-	-	1
4	8	2	5	4	6	-	-
5 ≤	2	2	1	-	1	-	-
sum	168	30	88	47	12	1	1
Total	168		179				

Based on individual knowledge of one of my key informants as well as the enumerator Ato Challa, all the surveyed households are categorized at different levels of economic status. Challa sorted out six levels of strata in terms of trade activity, land and oxen ownership, self-sufficient production of food crops, means of earning income and participation in agricultural activity.

1. The first category of these households are categorized as very rich because most of them participate in trade, have cash reserves and operate relatively larger sizes of farm land employing hired labourers.

2. The second category are termed rich since they also have enough cash but not equal to the former and they carry out agricultural tasks (in contrast to the very rich) even though they hire labourers, too.

¹⁹ Normally thatched-roof houses are constructed in two concentric circles in which there is space to make two main compartments forming two-rooms. Only three thatched-roof houses have more than two rooms among better-off households. Households who have both types of houses are represented by their tin-roofed houses.

3. The third category is medium (self-sufficient) in a sense that they are capable of operating their own field effectively owning one or two oxen. They are also deemed to be independent in supporting their household consumption of food.

4. The fourth category are those (poor) oxenless households who share out their land in sharecropping arrangements.

5. The fifth category of households (very poor) include those who have neither land nor oxen and make a living by various arrangements such as hired labour, off-farm activities, petty trade, running drinking houses and others.

6. The last group of households are said to obtain their food by begging. On the bases of the above criteria, the surveyed households have been differentiated as shown in the next table.

Table 19: Subjective Categorization of Surveyed Households into Wealth Strata.

Wealth Strata	No. of households	Percentage
Very rich	15	3.7
Rich	24	5.9
Self-sufficient	70	17.4
poor	86	21.4
Very poor	204	50.8
Beggars	2	.49
Total	401	100

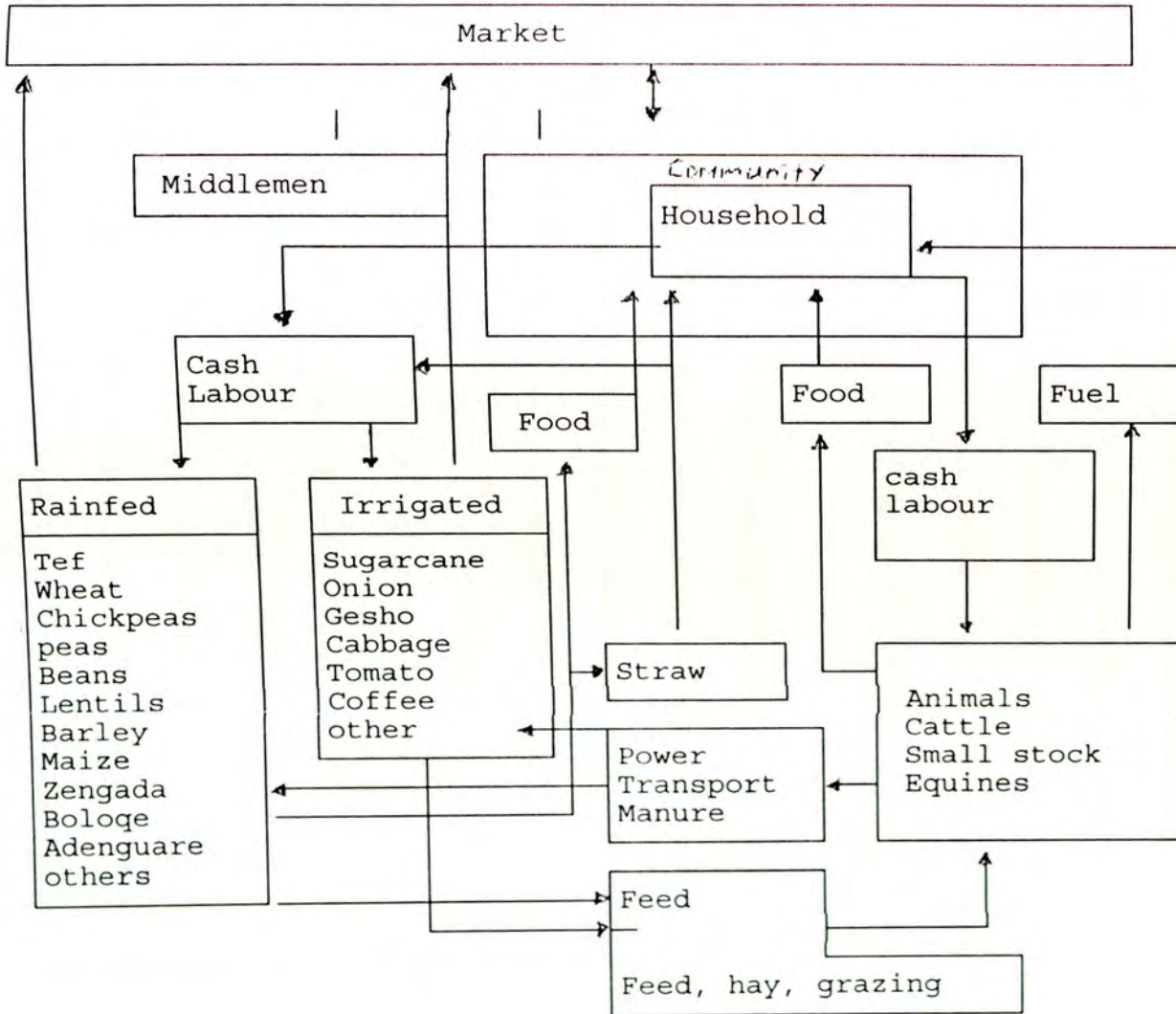
All the very rich and rich households as identified by Ato Challa are grouped along the rich strata fitting my criteria. The 15 very rich households have a substantial income from agriculture though they also combine trade activities. This can be illustrated by the following case.

Ato Cheru Fekede is 72, married and a father of three. He came to Godino in the middle of 1975 from Wello after spending some time in Addis. Then he became familiarized with Godino and married an Oromo woman. He engaged in petty trade activities in addition to agriculture. He increasingly invested his cash in agriculture by operating farm fields through share contracts after the revolution. In the middle of 1980s, he started to run a lucrative business by selling t'äj in the village. Two years ago, he purchased a single-cab toyota pick up to invest in transportation services between Godino and Bishoftu. As a recent member of the PA, he is officially entitled to 4.28 qarxi of farm land. Currently, he operates 33 qarxi of rainfed and irrigated land through sharecropping dealings employing two permanent hired labourers. He has four plough oxen and he is a money lender.

4.4. Farming System of Godino

Here, an attempt will be made to provide a general picture of crop and livestock interaction in Godino. The purpose is to sum up what has been and will be discussed in the thesis under a frame of reference. To this end, I have utilised sketch of Getachew Asamenew (Tekaligne Mamo 1993: 37). In order to adapt it to the Godino context, I have included irrigated crops, social networks, cash, middlemen and straw as part of the agricultural production system. This is due to the fact that cash is increasingly important in agricultural investments, straw can be exchanged for labour or cash and social networks are mechanisms by which economic links are established.

Figure: Crop/livestock interactions in Godino.



CHAPTER FIVE

FORMS OF LAND RENTALS AND TEMPORARY LAND

USE TRANSFERENCE ARRANGEMENT AS MEANS OF DEBT CLEARANCE.

5.1. TYPES OF INTERLINKAGES

Apart from official entitlement to land, and ownership of oxen or other animals, these resources circulate and flow from one household to another through economic interlinkages motivated by many factors and based on networks of social relations among households. These mechanisms could be taken as labour rent as is proposed by Robertson. The availability or shortage of these resources affect distribution of labour requirements in the village.

Currently operating tenorial forms are **mäggazo**, **shiyatch**, **kontrat** and **ats'mä rIst**. Ato Tefera (63, married, a rich man and ex-chairman of the PA) explains that **mäggazo** is one of the earlier forms of tenorial arrangements maintained without modification. He states that **mäggazo** has three types of sharecropping rules in different situations. If the arrangement is made on an irrigated plot, a sharecropper apportions half of the yield to the owner of the land who does not contribute inputs to the cost of production. Here a sharecropper has a right to deduct the cost of seed and fertilizer from the yield only if onions are planted. If the deal is made on rainfed plots, a sharecropper gives either one-third (known locally as **sisso**) or two-fifth (known as **hulät tähamso**) of the yield to the owner of the land depending on the agreement reached between the two. Ato Tefera suggests that **shiyatch**, **kontrat** and **ats'mä rIst** dealings are relatively new and have spread in the village since the mixed economy policy of the **därg** regime. **Shiyatch** is a deal to rent a farm plot for a year; **kontrat**

is also a form of rent but it is for more than a year, **ats'mä rIst** is an outright sale of farm land. As will be shown soon, **mäggazo** and **shiyatch** are by far the most prevalent tenurial forms of the village.

The new tenurial forms (**shiyatch**, **kontrat** and **ats'mä rIst**) appeared in the final years of the **därg** regime after declaration of the mixed economic policy. Many informants agree that the occurrence of new tenurial forms is more and more open (there still remain a lot of constraints preventing them from being entirely overt²⁰) and widespread in 1991 and afterwards. Robertson distinguishes three levels of the dynamic process of sharecropping: at a single deal level, at a household one and macro level. Pointing to the dynamic nature of sharecropping at the macro level Robertson proposes that:

Phylogenic change is necessarily slow, responding to major changes in the structure of the economy, for example technical development, the expansion of the markets, changes in land-labour ratios or world recession. At this most inclusive level basic contractual features are often represented by the parties themselves as immutable, but in objective perception they are always subject to gradual change: the institution has a history. (1987:18)

Coming to the Godino case, **mäggazo** is very flexible adjusting to situations in rainfed and irrigated agriculture including to specific types of crops as we have already seen. Perhaps this is one of the factors conducive to the durability and prevalence of **mäggazo** in economic linkages of Godino. On the other hand, two sharecropping forms namely **yäkul arash** or **qixe qote** and **woläd agId** (discussed above in the history part of this paper) were dropped. Both of these sharecropping forms are not compatible with the changing land-labour ratios of Ada'a in general and Godino in particular. Land is

²⁰ **Shiyatch** and **kontrat** agreements are still conducted secretly and any Godino resident is hesitant to discuss them. Every individual tends to hide the size of land he is renting in or renting out. **Mäggazo** is preferred as a cover name for **shiyatch** and **kontrat**. This is due to the fact that there is no legal ground that allows any one to be engaged in such kinds of dealings.

increasingly a scarce resource the reality of which must be reflected in any sharecropping deal in Godino. **Yäkul arash** favours a partner who is contributing only labour in the deal whereas **woläd agId** benefits providers of credit. Thus, with increasing population pressure on farmland, **woläd agId** was adjusted to the situation by making the mortgage value of land higher as has been discussed earlier. **Yäkul arash** was however on the decline. In the end, the two dealings were totally abandoned after the land reform of 1975 which prohibited any form of lease, transfer and purchase of land. In the final years of the **därg** regime, **woläd agId** and **yäkul arash** were not resumed but new forms such as **shiyatch** and **kontrat** were introduced. **Ats'mä rIst** was, of course, not new since it was practised before the revolution.

The socio-economic situation of Godino can be considered accountable for the emergence of new economic links through the mediation of cash. Economic relations through cash are a consequence of processes of market integration of the Godino community whose cash needs and consumption trends²¹ are changing. But this unilateral explanation cannot describe the entire reality. As has been shown earlier in the thesis, these economic links also reveal increasingly high values of land, paralleling shortage of farmland in the village which is a consequence of high population pressure (what Robertson calls changing land-labour ratios). This mainstream development of Ada'a and of course that of Godino could be illustrated by other factors. One of these would be the relatively high cost of investment on irrigated plots which require cash ventures. Persons started leasing part of their plot so as to obtain cash to be invested on irrigated crops which were individually operated only very recently following the collapse of PC. This new trend is in fact encouraged by the leniency of government

²¹ The number of tin-roofed houses in the village could be a reflection of changing consumption trends and market integration. Besides, based on the findings of my survey of 401 households, 38 households have tape recorders, and 120 of them have a radio. These figures could be taken as an indication for the growing trend of new consumption items and cash needs in the village.

controls on the economy (sharecropping) and the market. Lastly, the overall changes in the country, specially the structural adjustment policy which put many civil servants out of work and the demobilisation of ex-soldiers contributed to the growing demand for farmland by urban residents²² who could only have access to it through rent by investing cash, because urban partners could not combine part of their resources (since they have no oxen in rural area) in the form of **māggazo**. Land rentals are conducive arrangements for urban partners.

Likewise, stock sharing arrangements are made in the village. One of these deals is called **ribbi**. Ato Tefera explains that **ribbi** is also a voluntary linkage between two households regarding the share of new born animals. Since grazing land is scarce in Godino, female animals are given on terms of **ribbi** to farmers in highland areas where grazing land is said to be relatively more abundant than in Godino. The host of the female animal (**ribbi** taker) is responsible to feed and keep the animal while entitled to benefit from by products such as milk, butter and so on. As long as he notifies any problem to the owner, he is not bound to pay compensation if the animal dies from disease or accident such as falling into a gorge. In **ribbi** arrangements, both owner and keeper are equally entitled to common ownership of a new-born animal. **Minda** is another arrangement according to which an ox is exchanged for grain or farm land. Endale states that an ox could be exchanged either for 2.5 quintals of **t'Iru** (**t'ef**, wheat and lentils) and **adäf** (chickpeas, beans, peas, and Red Sorghum etc.) crops. Instead of this, use right of one **qarxi** of rainfed land can also be exchanged for ox/en in one year. This indigenous classification of crops is an indication of local values that grades grains according to their importance as food and cash crops. **T'Iru** grains have high market

²² I have noted several cases of land rented or purchased by urban residents who have relatives or friends in Godino. For instance, three army officers purchased (**ats'mä Rist**) 2.5 **qarxi** of irrigated land in 1992 in the village and gave it in **māggazo** to Ato Techane (one of the rich persons) who operates the land and shares the yield with the holder of the land. Also see case No. thirteen.

value in comparison to **adäf** ones. Both groups of crop categories types are equally portioned to pay one year's service of ox power. Endale (see case No. seven) also explains that **arso arash** is a deal by which traction power of oxen is exchanged for labour. The rule stipulates that a labourer should plough a plot of the oxen owner for two days while using the oxen on his plot for three days in alternating manner. This arrangement only works for ploughing activities. **Maqanajo**, according to Endale, is a link whereby each of two households contribute an ox to make a pair which is used for traction power by the owners in moving the pair on to another after every single-day service. If one of the households is short of labour, the arrangement will be modified entailing payment to the one who is performing the task for two households. The following account exemplifies the point.

Ato Tessema and Ato Adem had paired each an ox to operate their field in turn after each day. Ato Adem is 65, unhealthy, has no son and could not operate all of his fields. By comparison, Ato Tessema is 48 and has a son who could help him in agricultural tasks. Therefore, Ato Tessema charges 5 **bIrr** for his services to plough Ato Adem's plot during the shift. In addition, Ato Tessema's son herds the stock of Ato Adem charging 2 **bIrr** per head per month.

5.2. Incidence of Tenurial Arrangements

Of the surveyed households, 260 (74.9%) are engaged in tenurial arrangements of one form or another. Only 87 (21.69%) households are not participating in interlinkages and only plough their own land.

In total, 399.72 **qarxi** (99.93 ha) is operated by other households in tenurial arrangements. Out of these, 318.16 **qarxi** (79.54 ha) are rainfed plots while 81.56 **qarxi** (20.39 ha) are irrigated plots. On the other hand, 478.21 **qarxi** (119.55 ha) is

given out in tenurial dealings. Out of these, 367.87 qarxi or 91.96 ha is rainfed land whereas 110.34 qarxi (27.58 ha) is irrigated ones.

Godino households could also be categorized by status of their interaction into the following forms of tenurial status.

- 1) Self-operators who use only their own plots.
- 2) Households who obtain all of their land from others through sharecropping or take (share in) part of their land from others.
- 3) Households who give (share out) all or part of their land.

Table 20: Participation of Surveyed Households in Tenurial Arrangements.

Status of linkage	No. of households	Percent
Only self-operator	87	25.0
Share in (all)	13	3.7
Share in (partly)	66	19.0
Share out (all)	68	19.5
Share out (partly)	110	31.7
Mixture of the three	3	.86
Total	347	100

Based on the above sharecropping arrangements, utilisation of farmland is circulating among households. Types of tenurial forms and the extent of their application could be shown in the following table.

Table 21: Tenurial Forms and the Corresponding Land Size of Surveyed Households in **qarxi**.

Tenurial Forms	Share out		Share in	
	Rainfed	Irrigated	Rainfed	Irrigated
Mäggazo	312.5	84.74	228.5	56.78
Shiyatch	33	16.64	76	11.98
Kontrat	13.33	4.48	6	7.68
Ats'mä RIst	8	3.2	2	5.12
Family gift	1	1.28	5.66	-
Total	367.87	110.34	318.16	81.56

As has been indicated, **mäggazo** is still the dominant form of sharecropping arrangement which is beneficial for holders of land. However, due to the increasing importance of cash in the life of the village, **shiyatch** and others newly introduced tenurial forms are expanding. The newly introduced tenurial dealings are favouring cash owners more than they do holders of land. These deals are cash-mediated, more impersonal and less-balanced in distributing risks. They resemble fixed rent in which the land owners' share does not vary in proportion to the yield. In normal circumstances, the yield of one **qarxi** outweigh its price in **shiyatch**, **kontrat** and **ats'mä rIst**. In these deals, the burden of risk in relation to production falls entirely on cash owners.

Tenurial dealings tends to be unstable due to competition among sharecroppers who are keen to maximise their land holding by providing better payments for land. As a result, those who are giving their plots in sharecropping dealings have options to chose better deals for their land. Therefore, sustaining one's contractual deals is a matter to be settled between giver and taker of sharecropping arrangements. This deal sometimes would be continued by paying tips in addition to formally agreed defrayments.

Mulusew W/Michael, 38 is landless and a recent settler of Godino moving from nearby Hidi village where he had a blood-feud conflict. He has two oxen and a restaurant. This is in addition to what he earns as a tractor driver of the SC. He operated various farm fields by hiring a labourer on a yearly basis. He receives land through different forms of tenurial arrangements. One of his clients in providing him with land is an old woman who doesn't have male labour. He rented 1 **qarxi** of rainfed plot for 200 **bIrr** annually. He informed me that he paid his client with a tip of 20 **bIrr** in addition to the rental cost without her request. He did this in order to maintain his rental deal. He said that in Godino there is covert competition among those who need land. Everyone is trying to rent land by offering a relatively better price than another. Therefore, tips and other forms of gifts are used to maintain Mulusew's contractual deal to protect him from competitive moves by others. Mulusew says that tips and better payment is required to establish and sustain one's engagement in tenurial arrangements in this cash oriented village.

Several of my conversations with peasants reveal that peasants also choose utilisers of their land on the basis of what James Scott calls social insurance. Scott states that:

Given a choice, the peasant preferred a system of tenancy or dependency in which the landlord/patron protected his tenant/client against ruin in bad years and officialdom which, at the very least, made allowances in periods of dearth. (1976: 41).

Feleqe Biqila describes how poor peasants often like to establish tenurial links with rich ones. He states that poor peasants visit richer households so as to disclose their intention of transferring their land in tenurial links. Poor households, transferring their land to rich ones establish close ties that guarantee them the support of the rich in bad times. In other words, they seek to tie themselves with the rich in patron-client relationships.

Ato Demise Dirriba, 53, is married and a father of four. He has no oxen and is a poor person. He has been transferring his 9 **qarxi** of rainfed plot in **mäggazo** to Ato Gonfa Dabi (one of the rich persons) for a couple of years. He himself has been working as a labourer of Ato Gonfa permanently for many years now. Ato Demise Dirriba's son also works

as a hired herder of Ato Gonfa. The relationship between the two households is one of a patron-client bond established and evolved over many years of relations not just the only link of sharecropping though. Various types of generous help are extended by Ato Gonfa whereas different forms of services are provided by Ato Demise's household.

In a similar way, persons temporarily gave over the use right of their plots to the **qallu** in sharecropping arrangements. Followers who are tied to a **qallu** in networks of relations are more likely to form economic links as well. For instance, Ato Aberra Kebede receives 18.28 **qarxi** of rainfed and irrigated land from eight followers through **mäggazo** arrangements. Due to the influential position of the **qallu** and beliefs associated with **ayana**, sharecropping arrangements between a **qallu** and followers of **ayana** tend to be more stable than those based on other kinds of relations such as neighbourhood. Those who have transferred their land to the **qallu** have never gone on the deal or reduced the arrangement to less than a couple of years.

Economic links in the livestock sector are not as extensive as they are in the farming sector. This is because oxen are scarce and the size of herd of other animals is not that big and can be tended by owner households. Only a few households are involved in the activity of **ribbi** (eight households of the survey transfer animals from the central part of Godino to highland areas where grazing is said to be relatively available) and **minda**. In the former case, 21 goats, 2 sheep, 4 cows, and 2 calves are involved in **ribbi** dealings. On the other hand, 26 oxen are provided by 16 households of the survey in **minda** dealings. The payment for **minda** depends on the choice of oxen owners either in terms of land or grain as has been discussed before. Households, who lack labour prefer grain (see case No. fourteen) over land which is a choice of cash or labour sufficient/surplus households (see case No. six). Oxenless and oxen-deficient households are the main beneficiaries of **minda** arrangements.

5.3. Social Bases of Interlinkages

Economic interlinkages evolve from localised social relations inherent in Godino village. Networks of social relations could not be confined to a certain locality. Thus networks of social relations outside Godino are also used to establish tenurial arrangement.

On one occasion, I was travelling to Godino with a passenger who was renting rainfed land in the village. This man (Ato Assefa) is a civil servant in a government office in Bishoftu and was brought up in Dirre village also part of Ada'a. He informed me that he has relatives in Godino who find him a rainfed plot in the village. Through his relatives, he rented one **qarxi** of rainfed plot for one year for 80 **bIrr**. They also follow up agricultural activities on his rented plot by hiring labourers and borrowing oxen from neighbours and so on. He came to Godino in order to ratify his dealing with the owner of the land by signing the contract and paying the rental cost.

Taking into account households involved in tenurial arrangements in my survey, households could again be categorized in terms of social relations which are the bases of economic links. The survey results indicate that the majority of economic links or 55.4% are based on neighbourhood. Neighbourhood relations are of various types ranging from day to day interaction (drinking coffee together onto daily basis) to that of joining the same **mahabär/sanbate** and **IddIr**. I have also classified interactions between a **qallu** and followers into neighbourhood links. Friendship is another category of relations in which age mates and closer ties have been treated. The findings of the survey about social relations which lead to economic links are summarized in the following table.

Table 22: Categories of Households in Various Social Relations Leading to Economic Links²³.

Type of relations	No. of households	Percent
Kinship	61	23.4
Neighbourhood	144	55.3
Friendship	24	9.2
External networks	31	11.9
Total	260	100

As is shown above, localised social networks are used by 226 households or 88.28% to establish economic ties both in farming and livestock sector. Networks outside Godino radiate to different areas ranging from neighbouring PAs as far as Nazreth and Addis Ababa.

Though neighbourhood relations are the dominant mechanism by which economic linkages are formed, the economic ties may not be stable reflecting the dynamic nature of the issue. This could be illustrated by the following example.

At the beginning of last year, Ato Tufa took 1 **qarxi** of irrigated plot to plant onions in a **mäggazo** deal with W/ro Qaneni. She is the mother of Feleqe Biqila who is close to Ato Tufa. In the meantime, Tufa was imprisoned for alleged attempted murder. Tufa's brother became the responsible person for the deal. When the onions were harvested, part of the yield was carried at night and hidden so that it could not be quantified when one-half of the yield was divided between the dealers after the cost of onion seedlings was deducted. Feleqe stated that more than half of the yield was hidden by sharecroppers leaving his mother an unfair share of only 600 **bIrr**. After this incident, W/ro Qanenei transferred her plot to another person.

²³ Categories of neighbourhood and friendship could overlap. Following the identification of my informants regarding friendship which could be based on factors such as agemate, sex and others. I prefer to categorize some relations as such separately from neighbourhood. Some persons are not only neighbours but also friends due to intimacy exhibited in their interactions. This option is also consistent to categories of local personal relations as identified by villagers.

This kind of tension is not uncommon in Godino where increasing importance of cash is given greater value than fair relations of neighbourhood. We can consider a similar example.

W/ro Gett'e transferred her .64 **qarxi** of land to Ato Belett'e (a neighbour) in **mäggazo** dealings the year before last year. W/ro Gett'e was not satisfied with the share allocated to her by Ato Belett'e. Hence she transferred her plot last year to Ato Zelalem, also a neighbour. Ato Zelalem planted onions and handed out over 400 **bIrr** as one-half share to W/ro Gett'e. He also presented her onions in addition to her normal portion. She was very much satisfied with the way the present sharecropper divided the yield. Ato Zelalem, at one moment, complained to Ato Belett'e about the animals which were trespassing a on his field. On this occasion, Ato Bellett'e accused him (Ato Zelalem) of taking away his **IkkIr** land enticing W/ro Gett'e. The fertility of the land was upgraded by planting leguminous crops earlier by Ato Bellett'e. The two persons also exchanged other insults. The cause of the bickering was not actually animals trespassing farm field but the competition between them for farm land.

On the other hand, persons (though richer) are not sought after to establish tenurial links if they are known to have a bad reputation in operating share-contracted land. Endale suggests that Ato Tilahun Asfaw (owner of a butchers and 4 oxen) is one of the richest men in the village but he is often not able to get sharecropping deals since he delays the planting period or performs the agricultural tasks poorly. Hence, Godino villagers do not opt for Ato Tilahun Asfaw. During sharecropping dealings, those who take land try to extend their holdings without due approval of land holders. This often manifests itself when a sharecropper is not able to use the land in a specified period during which he agreed to utilise it. Such cases could often lead to deliberations of PA court which refer the case back to elders. The next case is an example of this.

Ato Challa and Mitiku Lakew have known each other for a long time while living in the same neighbourhood. Ato Challa often undertakes agricultural tasks for Mitiku's mother on a temporary employment basis as a hired labourer creating closer ties between Challa and Mitiku. The avenue of this relation steered Ato Challa and Mitiku to enter into economic links. Thus, Mitiku rented 0.64 **qarxi** of irrigated land of

Chala for 200 **bIrr** in terms of **shiyatch** which allowed him to exploit it for a maximum of 6 months in the dry season. Ato Mitiku then planted onions which soon after failed due to lack of proper care and management. Desperate at losing his onions, Mitiku had the land ploughed by a tractor in preparation to plant sugar cane regardless of Chala's consent and recognition. Aware of this situation, Chala accused Mitiku of violating their agreement in the PA court which referred the case back to elders. The elders who were also attending the procedure during the signing of the rental deal as witnesses took over the case. Later on, Mitiku's mother joined the elders to negotiate between her son and Chala. Finally, it was agreed (with a formal signing procedure) that Chala would have one-half portion of the sugar cane allowing **mäggazo** rules, and Mitiku was permitted to pursue his plan on the plot in which he invested cash and as well as labour by hiring a tractor.

5.4. Factors of Interlinkages

Robertson states that:

The empirical facts, dare I say, suggest that sharecrop contracts are not determined exclusively by custom, nor the remote dialectical process of social structure, nor by the short-run strategic choices of individuals, but by combinations of all three. They reflect the access of different categories of people to productive resources, they are expressed by generalised norms in a locality from which they acquire the necessary social recognition and legitimacy, and they are sustained by individual negotiation, through which they are made responsive to the variable needs and capacities of the contracting parties. (1987: 16).

In Godino, differential access to productive resources could be related to factors such as labour, oxen, land, and cash which account for the persistence of sharecropping. The individual decision making process as regards sharecropping could be a reflection of norms pertinent to the locality. These are maximisation endeavour, cravings of the poor for patron-client relationships, control of water resources, drunkardness, and values of good sharecropping that will be discussed as follows.

5.4.1. The Developmental cycle

One of the factors accounting for variables in labour is the domestic cycle. Households at various stages of the cycle could have different reactions depending on available resources of labour and oxen at their disposal. Of the six households who lack labour represented in the sample some of them are in the third phase of the development cycle belonging to wealth strata of group I and II, 3 of them handover their land in sharecropping dealings (two of them to relatives). Two of these households operate their own plots (adding plots of other people through sharecropping) by employing hired labour. One of the households does not give out any plot since it faces serious land shortages. This can be illustrated by the following example.

Ato Belachew Anteneh (head of a labour scarce household and included in the sample) is 68, married and has no children. He was a member of the PC and currently holds 4.64 **qarxi** of rainfed and irrigated land, owns 2 oxen and two cows. He has close ties with Ato Mersha who is one of the rich men owning a mill in the village. In his present capacity, Ato Belachew has assigned Ato Mersha as guardian of all his property. Ato Belachew transfers four **qarxi** of his land in **mäggazo**, two of his oxen in **minda** and two of his cows in **ribbi** to Ato Mersha. He also provides 0.3 **qarxi** of irrigated land in **mäggazo** to Ato Takele who is a relative of Mersha. Abstaining from agricultural tasks, Ato Belachew lends money in the locality in order to offset what he loses due to lack of labour. Before last year, he lent 140 **birr** to a resident of Denema PA exacting 2 quintals of **t'ef** in February of last year.

Households in the third phase of the developmental cycle from the III wealth group strata are not included in the discussion. Their participation in sharecropping dealings are determined by key resource such as oxen which they lack. Households who have male labour despite being in the third stage of their developmental cycle manage their plots well if they are not affected by scarcity of resources. In this regard, 3 of the 6 households operate their own land while obtaining additional plots in **mäggazo** and

shiyatch from the wealth strata of group I. On the other hand, the remaining three households of wealth strata group II transfer part of their plots in **mäggazo** to others due to relative scarcity of labour and oxen. For scarcity of labour of group II, see case No. seven.

Ato Mamo Tenga (also in the sample) is 63, married and a father of five of whom three are boys. He was a member of the PC and has 8.28 **qarxi** rainfed and irrigated plots, an ox, two bulls, two cows, two calves, four goats and five sheep. He is serving as a guard for the compound of the NGO (VOH) in the village in exchange for a monthly payment of 1 quintal of wheat and two litres of vegetable oil. Since he was fully occupied by the job, he provided all of his plots in **mäggazo** except 0.3 **qarxi** of irrigated land which is utilised as a garden. All of his boys are employed as hired labourers on a temporary basis in the village. Since there is not much prospect for the NGO and loses his job, Mamo plans to operate part of his farm land by pairing his ox with other and is helped by his sons this year.

5.4.2. Female Headed Households

Another factor affecting degree of sharecropping is the type of household head. Female-headed households are handicapped if they lack male labour at their disposal. Of the 6 labour scarce female-headed households from wealth strata group I and II, five employ permanent hired labour whereas one entered an **arso-arash** arrangement (see case No. three). Two households (one from group I and another from II) take additional plots of farm land in sharecropping contracts as has been discussed in case No. ten and six. None of these labour-scarce households transferred their plots to others but they rather manage them effectively using hired labour. In contrast to these, six of female-headed households had male labour in their households. Of these, only two households supply part of their land in **mäggazo** (one of them leases out irrigated plots due to scarcity of cash as indicated in case No. three). The remaining four households handle

their agricultural tasks effectively (two of these households take more plots through sharecropping arrangements). The next abstract from case No. thirteen illustrates this.

Dinqitu Negere is 40, divorced and a mother of four, two of whom are boys engaged in agricultural tasks. She was a member of the PC and currently holds 10 **qarxi** of rainfed and irrigated land, four oxen, two bulls, one cow, and one donkey. Despite this being FHH, there is no scarcity of labour in the household. In addition to her own plots, W/ro Dinqitu purchased 1.28 **qarxi** of irrigated plots from two neighbours after utilising them for a couple of years in **mäggazo** deals with the owners. She also rented 6 **qarxi** of rainfed plots for 720 **bIrr** (each **qarxi** for 120 **bIrr**) from Harawa village last year through mediation of her relatives living there.

Considering female headed households in group III wealth strata, all the three labour-scarce households transfer their farm land to others through sharecropping mechanisms (see case No. four). On the other hand, all the three households in the same group who have male labour operate at least part of their plot. One of these households augments its small holdings by taking additional plots in sharecropping.

W/ro Gadise Gosa (represented in the sample) is 45, divorced and a mother of two. Her son was married and resided in the village helping his mother by carrying out agricultural tasks. W/ro Gadise was not a PA member and has only 2 **qarxi** of rainfed plots. She complements her income by running a drinking house of **farso** and **areqe**. She rented 2 **qarxi** of rainfed plots for 300 **bIrr** last year from Denema villagers who were related to her. W/ro Gadise utilised oxen power and labour of her son to plough her field.

5.4.3. Ownership of Oxen

Likewise, oxen are one of the most important variables of resources which involve households in various forms of economic linkages. If we look at the findings of the 45 sampled households, 10 Households (22.22% of the total and 33.33% of

group I and II) contract land in terms of **mäggazo**. Six of these households are from the group of the rich and four of them are from middle strata. Similarly, 12 households take Shiyatch land are from group of the rich, four from the middle group and only one household from group of the poor. Besides, six households (11.1% of the sample) supply oxen in terms of **mindä**. Three of these households are from group of the rich and three from the middle strata. Four of these households are among the labour scarce households. Two households of the middle strata from the labour scarce group provide their stock in **ribbi** arrangements. As was mentioned above in the case of W/ro Gadise, she was grouped in the poor strata since she has no ox/en. Shortage of land is, nonetheless, the main reason that involves her in land rental.

In a similar context, 20 households of the sample (44.4%) transferred part or all of their land in **mäggazo**. Different circumstances are responsible for the formation of these economic links. Scarcity of oxen, labour and cash are the main conditions under which 10 households (22.22% of the sample) of the poor strata transferred their plots in **mäggazo**. Labour and cash are the principal causal factors that lead seven of the middle strata households (15.55% of the sample and 46.66% of group II) to share out part of their irrigated plot to others in **mäggazo**. Cash constraints are an element effecting the transfer of irrigated plots in two households.

A case of controlling water resources is exemplified as follows.

All persons of Godino who are irrigating fields at Galiyy quarter obtain water from Wodecha river which is diverted into the field across Guwa Werko village. The water reaches Galiyy quarter if it has sufficiently irrigated the plots of Guwa Werko and if the villagers are willing to divert it. Often, villagers of Guwa Werko drain the water to their quarter creating an artificial shortage of water in Galiyy quarter. This is in a way a means of urging villagers of Guwa Werko to become involved in **mäggazo** dealings. Hence, households who have plots in Galiyy quarter share out their land in **mäggazo** to Guwa Werko villagers so as to secure

availability of water for the irrigated field. This was the case of Ato Hirpha, represented in the sample as rich (see case No. one) who transferred his plot to Ato Moges, a rich and influential person in Guwa Werrko.

Sharecropping dealings are one of the avenues for accumulation and maximisation of income in the village. Households which have no shortage of land, oxen and cash by the standard of the village, try to augment their income through sharecropping. For instance Ato Demmise (represented in the sample as rich, (see case No. one for details), has enough land, oxen and cash. Notwithstanding this, he strives to increase his income, by lending cash, renting land and sharing plots through **mäggazo**.

As compared to variables of constraints, drunkenness may have a greater impact. Drunkenness though is one reason for not being able to manage one's plots effectively. There are persons who are identified by villagers as lazy and drunkards. These persons (usually household heads) have ungratified needs of cash which are obtained at the expense of renting land.

Rorisa Dadi is 53, married and a father of six. He has a boy who performs agricultural tasks. He has 2 oxen and 2 goats (given out in **ribbi**). He was an ex-labourer of Ts'ähafi TILZaz and the PC member who owns 5 **qarxi** of rainfed and irrigated plots. He is known as a drunkard and lazy person. He rented 2 **qarxi** of his plot to neighbours one of whom is the owner of a drinking house which Ato Rorisa frequents.

In general, sharecropping has been regarded as a mechanism by which risk is dispersed among the partners. Robertson suggests that:

... capitalist farmers take a burden of risk on themselves by hiring wage labour or paying a fixed rent to the landlord (who thus enjoys a stable income), on the premise that neither sort of payment should vary in good or bad seasons. By contrast, share contracts establish that the uncertain return on investment will be shared in prearranged proportions by the parties... The level of rewards thus adjusts automatically not only to

variations in output but also to changes in factor and commodity markets...(1987:4)

Evaluating **māggazo** and cash-mediated tenurial forms in this perspective, it may be argued that they facilitate sharing of risks between partners in contrast to new tenurial forms which do not. On the other hand, all of them have a disadvantage in restricting the use of traditional agronomic practices. Due to the unstable nature of economic linkages, those who share in land under various arrangements are not interested to improve the fertility of the soil sowing **Ikki** crops. Both partners in the arrangements confirm this reality by claiming that they do not feel confident about the other.

Related to this is a situation which is a transparent reflection of lack of tenure security in the village. During my stay in Godino, there were rumours, hearsay, and claims about the would-be land redistribution. This rumour is so pandemic that it informally regulates the diffusion of cash-mediated recent land tenure forms specially **ats'mä rIst**. **ats'mä rIst** is confined largely to outright sale of residential and to a lesser extent to a few irrigated plots, but not rainfed plots lest one should be denied entitlement to them during land redistribution expected by many to be conducted in the future. If **ats'mä rIst** is transacted, the agreement is written and signed in terms of **kontrat**. The next case can exemplify this.

Ato Aschalew Sebisibe is 68, and a recent settler in Godino. He came to the village fleeing a blood-feud in his locality of Bulga. Through his daughter, who has been living in Godino for a long time, he purchased 6 **qarxi** of largely residential and irrigated plots from three persons of the village in 1992. Ato Aschalew purchased most of the land (5 **qarxi**) from Ato Tsegaye who was a member of the PC. Ato Tsegaye ran away from Godino and sold his plot because of the blood-feud confronting him in the village. Ato Aschalew then constructed his home in Godino and installed a diesel-mill which he brought. He informed me that the agreement of the **ats'mä rIst** deal was written in terms of **kontrat** for 40 years so that outright sale is not stated clearly in the deal. Ato Aschalew operates part of his irrigated plot which is not occupied by constructions and runs his business having become a resident of Godino.

In studying capital penetration in the Sudan, O'Brien finds that:

Social differentiation among the people of Um Fila had previously been principally cyclical and demographic... A failure to have several sons resulted in the persistence of this situational poverty throughout life. The accelerated penetration of the village productive system by capital in the 1960s and 1970s began to alter these conditions of differentiation. Inflation, expanding cash needs and the fragmentation of extended family units brought increasing pressure on people to adopt the calculus of returns to individual labour time. (1987:460).

This process partly coincides with socio-economic patterns of Godino since the role of cash is increasingly important in the productive systems of the village. Of course, there is no capital penetration of an economic scale comparable to Um Fila in Godino. The incidence of situational poverty has not significantly reduced due to cash infiltration which is not accessible to all. Cash, in fact, has been useful in hiring labour as was discussed in the positions of FHH and the domestic cycle in Group I and II wealth strata.

The cash value of land in terms of new tenurial forms shows significant variations. Standardization of rental prices was actually established and has been changing from time to time with a tendency of inflation in the price of land. The variation of rental or purchase prices of land depends on a myriad of factors: size, quality, location of the plot (distance), social relations of the dealers, bargaining capacity of the needy and others. Measurement of land is always a matter of approximation. The real size of one's plot is strictly considered in bargaining concerning the rental and purchasing price. Evaluation of soil types and fertility are part of the transaction, too. Normally, plots nearer to road lines, the market and the central part of Godino have a greater demand in the bargaining process. A number of cases collected during my field work and knowledge of key informants together depict the following picture of rental and purchase prices of farm land in Godino.

Table 23: Rental and Purchase Price of Farm Land in **bIrr**.

Land size	Price of Shiyach ²⁴		Price of Kontrat (two years)		Price of Ast'mä R1st ²⁵	
	1992	1995	1992	1995	1992	1995
Irrigated ShikarimetIr	40-50	150-200	100	400	500	1200
Rainfed One qarxi	60-90	170-200	120-180	280-580	400	1000-150

5.5. Liqa

Baker cited in Hill states that: "...the expansion of local debt may well be evidence of the rapid growth of a commercial economy rather than of any submission to rapacious creditors." (1986: 83). Usury is one of the diffused economic linkages in the village. This relation is more clandestine²⁶ than the current tenurial forms of Godino. It is a deal between a lender and borrower household through a mechanism by which the former advances cash to the latter who is liable to settle his debt in terms of grain fixed in proportion to payment. Such a deal is established if a lender and creditor have built some form of relationship living in the same locality. If a borrower is not known to a lender, one person should be included in an agreement as a guarantor who is recognized to be part of the borrower's network and resident of Godino. A guarantor is of course chargeable for the credit of a borrower if the debt is not settled in the

²⁴ One harvest time is included for short-cycled crops excluding sugar cane.

²⁵ I was only able to collect very few cases of **ats'mä r1st** on rainfed plots. Ato Kiros G/Igzi (a rich merchant and resident of Godino) purchased 2 **qarxi** of rainfed land from Ato Negash Lami who turned himself almost to a status of landless hired labourer by frequently renting his remaining land to others. Many of my informants actually claim that **ats'mä r1st** is rarely transacted on rainfed plots due to insecurity of tenure.

²⁶ Agreements between a lender and a borrower are reached after statements of the deal are clearly written and signed by the two dealers, a guarantee of a borrower and witnesses present on the occasion. As one of my sample of such agreements attached in the annex No. four-F shows, it is covertly stated as if a borrower takes grain not cash. The amount of grain indicated coincides with interest rates in the village and is agreed upon by the two dealers.

mutually agreed time. Credit is usually advanced in the hungry period (June to October) to be cleared at the time of the harvest. Usury is a distinct form of surplus appropriation which is potentially convertible to subsequent forms of land rentals altering requirements of labour. In the case of default, a borrower normally transfers the use right of his land for a fixed period as means of debt clearance (see case No. two and ten). Transfer of land in the form of rent is, nonetheless, a voluntary act agreed by a lender and a creditor in the normal procedure of endorsing a transaction.

In the present standards of usury in Godino, 70 **bIrr** of credit is paid in terms of two **madabariya** of **t'ef** whose weight ranges from 110-100 kg. At good times, 110 kg of white **t'ef** costs 300 **bIrr** whereas a red one, 220 **bIrr**. These prices indicate the high interest rate of usury which is 328.57% per annum for white and 214.28% for red **t'ef**. The type of **t'ef** which is paid to clear credit is agreed upon by the two parties during payment. Given its high rate of return as compared to other tenurial forms, there is competition among credit providers in the village leading to a fall in the interest rate. For instance, there were lenders who provided 80 **bIrr** for similar levels of repayment (two bags of **t'ef**) last year. Ato Kasa Beyene reports that a standard rate of credit in 1993 was 50 **bIrr**, in 1995; 70 **bIrr** and in 1996; 70-80 **bIrr** without altering the amount or form of repayment which has been constantly 2 bags of **t'ef**.

Out of the 45 sampled households, 10 of them (22.22%) were lending money last year. These households are equally distributed between groups of rich and middle strata each of which contributes five lenders. In the sample, the minimum cash advanced by a household amounted to 140 **bIrr** while the maximum one was equal to 500 **bIrr**. The ten lenders advanced credit to 22 persons, so that on average a borrower took 91.81 **bIrr**. Only two lenders out of the ten households provide cash for Godino residents. Most of them provide credit for peasants living in the neighbouring PAs such

as Denema, Guwa Werko, and Genda Gorba. The findings of the sample also testify to the fact that most beneficiaries of credit are peasants of neighbouring PAs. There was no borrower from the strata of the rich and middle households. Only 2 households (4.44%) of the sample borrowed cash in the strata of the poor in Godino last year.

As has been pointed out above, the conversion of credit into land rental is an outcome of a bargain between the parties. If a creditor is not strong enough in the bargain (often that is the case), he will be obliged to sell the usufruct rights of his land for a given time. A quarrel between a lender and a borrower is frequently brought to the PA court. The following case shows the strength of a borrower.

W/ro Sintayhu Debebe is 60, unmarried and has no children. She uses the labour of her brother and owns 2 oxen and 6 **qarxi** of land. She also contracts 7.64 **qarxi** of farm land in **mäggazo**. She runs a drinking house of meed (**T'äj**) and beer (**farso**). She lent 70 **bIrr** and 2 **qunna** of wheat Ato Alemu to Feyisa, 55, and oxenless in 1994. Consequently, W/ro Sintayhu charged Ato Alemu for his failure to pay his debt in the PA court and asked to utilise his 1 **qarxi** of land for a year in 20 June, 1995. Ato Alemu, on his part, strongly protested against her desire to take his land for a year and pleaded for an extension of the time to settle his debt. The PA court allowed an extension period of a month for Ato Alemu to clear his debt. The matter was settled in this manner due to the strong position of Ato Alemu Feyisa who repaid his debt in the form of two bags of **t'ef** and 2 **qunna** of wheat.

In a similar situation, credit could be paid in terms of cash equivalent to the price of 2 Bags of **t'ef** without lowering the interest rate. This also emanates from the strong bargaining position of a creditor who haggles to protect his benefit.

Ato Wondemagegne Teka is 30, a bachelor and middleman in the trade activity of horticultural produce. He owns 2 oxen and operates farm plots of his parents. He lent 70 **bIrr** to Ato Tadese Burqa (39 years old, married, owner of 5.64 **qarxi** of land and oxenless) in 1994. Ato Tadese couldn't pay his debt of 2 **madabariya** of white **t'ef** during the harvest of 1995. Ato Wondemagegne brought the case to the PA court accusing Ato Tadese of defaulting on 19 April, 95. Tadese argued against him by stating the fact that he couldn't clear his debt on time since he lost his

cow, which died of disease. Ato Tadese promised to pay his debt in terms of cash in November 1996 when his sugar cane will be harvested. Ato Tadese agreed to pay 300 **bIrr** for the debt plus 50 **bIrr** as a fee of compound interest through mediation of elders to whom the case was referred.

Normally, if payment of credit is postponed by one season, a borrower will be charged to pay his debt including compound interest. If a person borrows 70 **bIrr**, he is supposed to pay 3 bags of **t'ef** after the second harvest since he has received a second loan.

Takele Selomon is 26, unmarried and operates farm plots of his parents with their two oxen. He lent 70 **bIrr** to Ato Melese Tesfaye (45 years old, married, a leper, oxenless and owner of 6.28 **qarxi** of land) in 1994. Ato Melese was unable to pay his debt by 8 of January, 1995 as recorded in the agreement. By the end of May 1995, Takele brought the case to PA court so as to enforce payment of the debt. Ato Melese, on the other hand, defended the charge by declaring that he couldn't pay his debt since he was sick through mediation of elders. In the end, he came to terms by paying 3 **madaberiya** of **t'ef** (1 **madabariya** as part of a compound interest) on January 8, 1996. The problem was thus resolved in this manner.

In any case of default in clearing a debt, a guarantor (a resident of Godino and a person considered accountable as a debtor) is often charged in the PA court either to enforce payment instead of a creditor or to settle the debt by himself.

Ato Gurumu Bejiga, 65, married is a middleman in trade activities in horticultural produce. He has 4 oxen, and operates a farm through tenurial arrangements. He uses the labour of his son and hired labourer. In March 1994, he lent 70 **bIrr** to Ato Qubsa Jarso who lives in Ganda Gorba PA through a guarantor of Ato Gemechu Arsed (oxenless, and landless resident of Godino) who has closer ties to the debtor. Since Ato Qubsa couldn't pay his debt on time, Ato Gurumu Bejiga accused Ato Qajela on May 30, 1995 of failing to enforce payment of the debtor. Ato Qajela afterwards, asked for time so that he could contact the debtor and force him to settle his debt. The matter was finally resolved in this way.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0. COOPERATIVE LABOUR

Basically, forms and manner in which agricultural labour tasks are carried out do not result in significant transformations in Godino. This is primarily due to traditional techniques, tools and methods with which small holders of Godino have operated their field for a long time. Mainstream patterns of development characterizing agricultural practices of Ada'a in general and Godino in particular, however, have had an impact on labour issues. Integration of the crop-livestock sector, and specialization in a few crops accompanied by consistent extensions programs blended together to render labour inputs increasingly intensive as has been addressed earlier in this paper.

On this point Cleave has the following to say:

Peaks may actually be aggravated by the introduction of improved seed, fertilizers, and sprays, which increase yields - but at the same time encourage weed growth which may make good timing even more essential, and which certainly make additional demands on labour. (1974: 201)

This statement clearly fits with the situation in Godino where seasonal requirements of labour have been much more pressing than activities of irrigated plots representing a smaller size of the village's farmland.

Rainfed and irrigated activities of Godino entail two different forms of labour (though they share some similar qualities), organization and intensity. Through interviews conducted with peasants, the following sequence of crops have been sorted according to decreasing levels of labour intensity necessary for planting in the two agricultural classes.

Rainfed Agriculture: 1. t'ef 2. Wheat barley and maize. 3. Red sorghum. 4. Chickpeas and chikling peas. 5. Lentils, beans, peas, flax and fenugreek. 6. Haricot beans and Gesho.

Irrigated Agriculture: 1. Onions. 2. Tomato, Carrots, Red beets, cabbage. 3. Sugar cana 4. potatoes 5. Sugar beet and Gesho.

In both types of agriculture, a household a basic unit of organization upon which the bulk of productive tasks depends. The distinction between labour forms of the two agricultural classes lies in the presence of cooperative labour in the rainfed part and its absence in the irrigated one.

As confirmed by many of my informants, sending children to school does not significantly affect the availability of labour in households. In Godino, students spend half a day until noon in the elementary school in the dry season (September to June). Thus they undertake household duties in the afternoon. Likewise, students tend to be less interested now to pursue their education beyond the elementary level because of scarcity of jobs after completing high school (see case No. one). This is attested by the fact that few high school graduates are present in the village. Most of these persons are civil servants coming from other places.

On the other hand, emigration has had a negative impact in evacuating labour from Godino households, (see case No. fourteen). In the past 30 years, 13 (28.8%) households of the sample reported the emigration of 28 youngsters (17 sons and 11 daughters). Almost all of the daughters (10 of them) have married out from the village. Important causes of emigration are seeking job opportunities (9 migrants), education (5 migrants) and going to live with relatives (4 migrants).

6.1. Cooperative Labour Forms of the Past

Cooperative labour of Godino had at least three forms before the revolution: **däbo (kadhchisa)**²⁷, **jigi** (which is also called **qabo**) and **wonfal**. Defining cooperative labour, Moore states that:

It refers to the joint performance of a task, or a series of work group voluntarily organized by an individual of sequentially-related tasks, by a group of persons practising a minimal division of labour whose relationship to the beneficiary or beneficiaries, of their work is other than that of employer and employee. (1975: 271).

Ato Tsegaye (see case No. seven) defines **wonfal** as work group with a relatively smaller size than to **däbo** or **jigi**. By contrast, **wonfal** implies immediate reciprocal exchange of labour among members of a group and doesn't stipulate a feast after finishing the task.

Considering three forms of communal labour in their forms manifestations, they could be grouped into two categories (exchange and festive labour) following classifications of Erasmus. He suggested that:

The distinctions made between exchange and festive labour generally concern the degree of obligation to reciprocate labour as well as the quantity and quality of the food and/or drink served the workers. In the first case the obligation to reciprocate is very strong and any food or drink provided are usually considered ordinary fare... At festive labour parties the host wines and/or dines his worker guests in extra ordinary fashion, and his obligation to reciprocate their labour is not only weaker but in most cases obviated. (1971: 445-446).

²⁷ Ato Mulusew W/Michael, a recently settled Amhara who speaks **oromifa**, suggests that the Amharic equivalent of **kadhchisa** is **ras simmash** and that of **jigi** is **däbo**. He stresses that the mixing up of these terms and misconceptions springs from lack of understanding about the difference between the words in the two languages. Despite this claim, many of my informants do not conceive of such categories of terms in the two

In this respect, **wonfal** and **jigi** could be classified as exchange labour. In both of these work groups, the ethic of reciprocity was strong. Ato Tsegaye declared that the reciprocity of **wonfal** was quick and elaborate since everyone's task was carried out turn by turn by participants. Food was not considered to be part of **wonfal** and often members of **wonfal** had their own meals separately in their home. By contrast, food was an important part of **jigi** in which the ethic of reciprocity was also strong but not immediate as it was in **wonfal**. The food element in **jigi** was not as lavish as it was in **däbo**. Hence, it is preferable to treat it as exchange labour. **Däbo**, of course, may be placed in the category of festive labour.

6.2. Current Forms of Cooperative Labour

The present day forms of cooperative work groups in Godino do not retain the elaborative distinctions of the past. The old distinctions have now been blurred. Only three forms of cooperative labour are in use: **wonfal**, **jigi** and **Ilmäna**. All of these forms reflect utilization of reduced size of work groups in the village. **Jigi**, despite its reduced size, maintains its older form and character incorporating seemingly **däbo**-like forms of labour.

During my stay in Godino, I observed a work group which seemed like a **däbo** in its organization. The participants of the group, however, called it **jigi**. Ato Dingu Leta is a teacher and operates his parent's plot using his brother's labour. In May of last year, a work group organized by Dingu's affinal kins from neighbouring Qoftu village came and ploughed Dingu's field. There were 8 pairs of oxen (one of which was owned by Dingu and used by Dingu's brother). The work started at 8:30 in the morning and ended at 3:00 in the afternoon. All the participants were not known to Ato Dingu except for two who are brother's of his wife. The group members had their lunch in Dingu's house and left for their village in the afternoon. The responsibility of reciprocating the group labour would be that of Dingu's affines. The feast was not in any form and scale different from those organized for **jigi**.

Currently, feasting is commonly expected to be administered by the host who is potentially but not immediately liable to reciprocate with the same or different types of work. Usually, the ritual bread (**difo dabbo**), **farso** and **budenna** are served to participants. In the present circumstances, a **jigi** work groups involve 5 to 30 pairs of oxen for a task usually completed in a day.

Ilmäna, on the other hand, is a small size of group labour organized out of a core of networks of relations a person has. In this kind of work group, a host is neither expected nor does he prepare a feast on a scale commonly found in **jigi**. A host does, in fact, invite participants for lunch which is ordinarily modest and normally prepared in his house. Like **jigi**, reciprocity potentially exists in **limina** but may not be manifested immediately. Helping each other is an important element of **Ilmäna** labour. In **Ilmäna**, 2-7 persons could participate. The number of participants (size) does not qualify or set a standard for **limina**. Nonetheless it is usually smaller than **jigi** and element of feasting is weak.

Wonfal work groups have a similar size to **Ilmäna**. Like **Ilmäna**, special food is not served for **wonfal**. A host normally offers his colleagues ordinary food available in his home after a task is accomplished. In contrast to all other types of communal labour, reciprocity is immediate and more or less balanced among members of the group in **wonfal**. Each member of a **wonfal** group has his work finished, rotating labour to members in turns on a daily basis. Sometimes **wonfal** could also literally mean reciprocity, reflecting exchange of labour instead of the work group itself. For instance, there is **wonfal** in **jigi** implying an ethic of reciprocity in the work group.

There are other forms of cooperative labour which are performed for public benefit such as maintaining irrigation systems which are not part of the discussion. Labour was mobilised through **IddIr** in order to carry out supportive tasks for the

construction of irrigation schemes. **Iddir** are instrumental in enforcing attendance of all residents of Godino charging fees on absentees. Here participation is expected of all Godino residents since the benefit is common to all. Commenting the such types of communal labour, Moore comments that

A rather different type of communal labour occurs as a means of constructing and maintaining irrigation systems. Membership of the work force is usually determined by status as a potential beneficiary rather than community membership. (1975: 227).

Such type of labour is important in Godino for utilisers of the traditional irrigation schemes on the Wodecha and Belbella rivers.

My observation and conversations with peasants reveal that the main motivations for cooperative labour are the bottleneck of tasks, their urgency and shortage of key resources such as oxen and donkeys. Commenting on these points, Erasmus declares that "... The motivation for group work in such cases is to do in one day a job which can not be wait five ..." (1956: 450).

Mair is cited in Moore saying that:

... In many parts of Africa the introduction of the plough has permitted the cultivation of larger areas, but created an acute labour bottleneck for weeding, and so led to the expansions of festive labour. (1975: 279).

Also Goethals is cited in Moore stating that:

A form of labour exchange found in some areas, ... is the pooling between a number of households of their total endowments of labour, draught, power and other agricultural equipment. (1975: 279).

If we compare circumstances in the two agricultural forms of Godino, hired labour is commonly utilised for both of them whereas cooperative labour is almost non-existent for irrigated activities. The most obvious reason for this, as confirmed by my informants, is absence of bottlenecks in irrigation on a scale comparable to rainfed

agriculture. In fact, peasants, stimulated by competition, concur in planting onions after the harvest when cash is available for investment. Though this exerts some pressure, it does not create a bottleneck of labour in the village where irrigation fields still represent a smaller size of cultivated land. Transportation of crops, for instance, require an animal such as a donkey and this task is still handled by communal labour in the village. Donkey rent has not been introduced as it is done for oxen, a pair of which could be rented for 5 **bIrr**. Even this practice is not frequent and readily available to any in view of scarcity of oxen and bottlenecks of tasks during peak seasons.

6.3. Occurrence and Frequency of Cooperative Labour

Size is not an important indicator in categorizing a work group such as **jigi** or **wonfal** or **Ilmäna**. A festive atmosphere, however small it is, is associated with **jigi** especially **dabbo**, **farso** and **budenna** with **wot'** are important. During my stay in the field in the rainy season, I recorded all the 14 **jigi** in the central part of Godino. All of the **jigi** groups were organized for sowing. The smallest group had five pairs of oxen whereas the largest one had thirty. The average size of pairs of oxen was 12. The minimum hours spent in the work was 5 while the maximum hours was 8. Only 2 FHH (Female headed households) sponsored **jigi** work the remaining being MHH (Male headed households). All cooperative groups were purposely organized by households except one who incidentally asked for **jigi**. **Jigi**-sponsored households had at least 2 oxen except for three, two of whom lost their ox very recently during the last peak season. Overall, 7 of the **jigi**-sponsored households had 4 oxen and the remaining 4 had two and 3 had one each. This is an indicator of the relatively better economic position of **jigi**-sponsoring households.

Table 24 Background Information of Jigi sponsored Households in the last sowing period in central Godino.

Code	Sex	Age	oxen owned	No. of sons	status in sharecropping	Jigi size	Jigi paid	Jigi hours	composition of Jigi
A	M	55	4	1	Share in	16	4	9-2:30	5 kin + 10 neighbours
B	M	32	2	0	Share out	5	0	8:30-3:30	Novice and member of the same Tsiwa
C	M	30	2	0	Share in	11	2	9-2:00	4 kin + 6 neighbours
D	M	38	1	0	Share out	6	0	9-5:00	3 kin + 3 neighbours
E	F	48	6	0	Share in	7	1	9-5:00	1 kin + 5 neighbours
F	M	60	4	1	Share in	9	4	3-10:00	1 Kin + 7 neighbours
G	M	58	4	1	Share in	8	3	9:10-3:40	2 kin + 4 neighbours
H	M	43	4	2	Share in	30	6	8:30-2	8 Kin + 20 neighbours
I	M	53	2 ²⁸	0	self-operator	20	1	8:30-4:20	2 kin + 17 neighbours
J	M	53	4	1	Share in	16	2	9:10-2:30	4 kin + 10 neighbours
K	M	38	4	0	Share in	20	1	8:40-4:15	4 kin + 14 Adepts
L	M	28	2	0	Share in	9	1	9:15-3:20	All neighbours
M	M	33	2 ²⁹	0	Share in	6	0	11-5:00	3 kin + 3 neighbours
N	F	35	2	1	Share out	8	1	9:30-2:30	All neighbours
O	M	32	2	0	Share in	8	0	9:30-2:20	networks of affines
Background information of Limena-sponsored households during last seeding period									
P	M	43	0	0	Share out	6	1	9:30-8:15	2 kin + 4 neighbours
Q	M	60	0	1	Share out	4	2	9:20-2:30	2 kin + 2 neighbours
R	M	60	1	0	Share out	4	1	9-8:10	3 Kin
S	M	35	0	0	Share out	2	3	9:10-2	2 kin

²⁸. Ato Belachew had two oxen just before the organization of this Jigi which was called to help him since he has recently lost an ox by disease.

²⁹. Similarly, Ato Birru Qalbesa lost one ox because of disease just after the organization of this Jigi. Since he had already utilised group labour, he didn't call a new one for help relying heavily on labour and oxen of his relatives. He plans to request contribution of cash after harvest.

asting t'ef except two households were sharecropping (only one the main social mechanism) and evolved though **jigi** came from Godino from a neighbouring Yifru from Guwa Werko Ketaba came to attend

r not being mixed with **jigi** work in Godino. for a day if they are d cases, only two **jigi** households (34.2% of 347 **jigi** labour of ploughing

last year out of which 31 households delegated hired labour in their engagement. Although its occurrence is rare, households could also send their oxen alone for **jigi** tasks as was recorded for two cases. In a similar position, 7 oxenless households contributed their labour. These households benefited from using animals (oxen, donkeys, bulls and calves) which are lent to them in return for their labour.

Reciprocity is not immediate so long as there is no demand from a host. Even if it is forthcoming, it may not be paid back in similar and proportional tasks. There is no attempt at comparing quality and quantity of labour expended in **jigi** work. Normally, a day's work is reciprocated with similar tasks during one day in **jigi** regardless of type and number of hours spent. As has been indicated in the above table, hosts of **jigi** do not frequently participate in each others' labour group.

I recorded four groups of **Ilmäna** whose size was reduced to 2 participants (as shown in the table) losing much of its group nature. Size is again not a marker of **Ilmäna** group membership to help each other cope with the load of seasonal tasks in the absence of special feasts. The organizers markedly contrasted with that of **jigi** by their status of oxen ownership and share contracts. Their economic standing was much lower than hosts of **jigi**. In addition, participants in **Ilmäna** groups are basically drawn from kin groups and intimately related households who are in contact in day-to-day life. In contrast to **jigi**, information about requesting **Ilmäna** did not circulate in the village and passes without notice. **Jigi** and **Ilmäna** have common characteristic: labour is not immediately paid back in either of them. Labour doesn't rotate among participants quickly but only when a need arise. However **Ilmäna** work is organized by households with lower economic standing who get support from well-off households through inviting them to their work group or borrowing their oxen.

Erasmus discusses two types of reciprocity: immediate and delayed in festive labour. He states that "... the festive aspect being an immediate short-term form of reciprocity or reward while the labour itself constitutes a more detailed form" (1956:451). In the Godino case, both types of reciprocity occur in exchange labour. Delayed reciprocity of labour in **jigi** and **Ilmäna** is not week. Most of my informants confirm that there is **wonfal** in **jigi** and **Ilmäna** as well. Reciprocity is potentially strong and given informal recognition. To my knowledge, nobody refused to reciprocate when asked for help by a participant of his earlier **jigi**. If someone is engaged in pressing tasks when asked for help, he is likely to send a hired labourer to **jigi/Ilmäna** work instead of himself.

Even though they return labour if asked for help, beneficiaries of **jigi** labour are relatively well-off persons who could afford the feast by exploiting the opportunity of conducting their bigger tasks through group labour. Just as in share contracts, richer households are beneficiaries of **jigi** labour frequently organizing the group work and enhancing their political influence and prestige in the village. The following case illustrates this.

Ato Ma'reg Yifru, 43, married, completed high school and is a father of five children; in addition 2 relatives live with him. He has 9 **qarxi** of rainfed and irrigated land and 4 oxen. He hires a labourer and a herder on a permanent basis. He operates an additional 20 **qarxi** of irrigated and rainfed plots through share contracts. He used to work as the accountant of the Godino SC for a long period during the **därg** regime. He has utilised local means and ways (mainly the PA bureaucracy, cash, trade and oxen) and personal management skills to augment his income and built his status, political influence, and prestige in the village. His influence is very much felt there even in influencing views of the PA leaders. When I was doing field work, there were a lot of controversy about choosing a spot at which the Wodecha river could be diverted to irrigate additional plots. The chairman of the PA was in favour of one spot while Ma'reg was for another; both of them want to channel the water near their homestead. Committee members of the PA were also divided on the matter, most of them supporting the idea favoured by Ma'reg. At one meeting of Godino villagers, Ma'reg's clique very much opposed the chairman of the PA on many grounds, one of which being

the spot of diverting the river. In the meeting, Ma'reg was not present but the chairman told me that all of his opposers were a clique of Ma'reg. Given the influence of this group and divisions within the PA committee, the chairman was then obliged to leave his post relinquishing his plan. The influence of Ato Ma'reg is tremendous to the extent that many attend his **jigi** to rally around him or to show their loyalty. I understand that participants of Ma'reg's **jigi** appreciate the quality of food (**budenna**, **zigni wot'**, **dabbo** and **farso**) served to them. Ma'reg organized a **jigi** in which 26 households participated and provided pairs of oxen to sow **t'ef** on 8 **qarxi** of land. 7 of the participants were kin whereas 19 of them are neighbours and persons close to Ma'reg. Two of the participants contributed 2 pairs of oxen each. 8 households delegated their hired labourers and oxen for Ma'reg's **jigi**. Two of these households (the head of one is the chairman of a neighbouring PA and another is a rich farmer equally influential in a neighbouring PA) came from Guwa Werko. The work started at 8:30 in the morning and ended at 2:00 pm. The work was performed according to a division of tasks: some ploughed the land while others led animals on that part of the plot to level the soil. Then were broadcast seeds and fertilizer. Ma'reg was present to observe his guest-workers and supervise the task. Ma'reg never ploughs as manager of his farming enterprise. He also gathered a **jigi** of 21 persons for weeding and 32 persons for **agizo**. He reciprocated the labour of 6 households in ploughing, 5 in weeding, 7 in harvesting and 10 in **agizo** by sending his hired labourer, oxen and donkeys. He called another **jigi** before entirely reciprocating the former which is the case in most of **Jigi**-sponsored households. He hired 5 migrant labourers to harvest his crops.

In a similar case as that of Ma'reg, the **qallu** benefits from share contracts and cooperative labour. He organized a **jigi** of 20 households for the sowing period, 38 for weeding, 25 for harvesting and 40 for **agizo**. Participants of the **jigi** performed the task effectively singing ritual songs of **ayana**. In the majority of cases, this group labour was not repaid in equal and similar terms. I understand that the **qallu** sent his hired labourers and oxen to help his relatives and persons close to him. The **qallu's jigi** included a feast.

Cooperative labour is rarely practised in irrigated fields except for the following single case recorded during my field work.

Ato Birru Qalbesa, 33, is married and a father of two. He is an ex-soldier. He has two oxen and 2 **qarxi** of farm land. He additionally

operates 3 **qarxi** of irrigated and rainfed land through share contracts. Both of his arms were damaged by bullets which makes Ato Birru unfit to carry out agricultural tasks by himself. Consequently, he runs his farm enterprise by hiring a labourer on a permanent basis. In May of last year, Ato Birru organized a **jigi** of 19 persons to plant sugar cane on 1.5 **qarxi** of farm land. 9 of the participants were relatives while 9 of them were neighbours. The work was started 6 at AM and finished at 12 AM. The **jigi** group was offered food and drinks both at the field and at the host's home. The group labour is extended to Ato Birru in the form of help taking into account his physical incapacity to take part in agricultural labour. Ato Birru usually never reciprocates the labour others extend to him. Ato Birru is also admired for his good conduct which is a contributing factor of the high turn-out of **jigi** participants.

Imäna group labour, as has been indicated before, is carried out among households who are close to each other to. These households are usually relatives or neighbours who are interdependent on each other in developing collaboration of tasks among themselves. The following case illustrates this point.

Ato Metaferiya T/yes is 56, married and a father of four. He has 7.5 **qarxi** of irrigated and rainfed plot and one ox. He partially shares out his 1.28 **qarxi** of irrigated field to his neighbours in **mäggazo**. He performed the preparatory task of ploughing his land by pairing his ox with another and using labour of his brother. In order to sow **t'ef** on 2.5 **qarxi** of land he asked for help (**Imäna** work) from three households all of whom are his relatives. One of these households was that of a **qallu** whose boy has Ato Metaferiya, as god-parent. The **qallu** sent a pair of his oxen with hired labourer. The second one is Ato Zelalem (also a relative of the host) who came with his pair of oxen. The third participant was a brother of Ato Metaferiya. Ato Metaferiya was himself there with his oxen and smaller brother living with him. Ato Metaferiya also obtained 6 bulls and calves from his neighbours so as to level the plot with the animals after ploughing. Challa (affinally related to Ato Metaferiya) was present to help by leading the animals so as to tread down the soil. Ato Metaferiya undertook the task of broadcasting seed and fertilizer. The work started at 8:40 in the morning and ended at 2:00 PM. **Farso** and **dabbo** was served to participants in the morning in the field and lunch was provided in the host's house after the work. Ato Metaferiya only attended the ploughing task of the **qallu**.

A person's social standing could be affected negatively in abusing power in the PC/PA bureaucracy. As has been stated before, some MHH are hated for their bad performance of leadership during the **därg** regime. These households seem to lose their social standing which is necessary to organize group labour.

Ato Serawit Fiseha is 50, married and a father of five. He has 6 **qarxi** of rainfed and irrigated plots and four oxen. He held power in the PC, being a member of the WPE and had a bad record of performance in the village. He himself doesn't plough and neither can his son carry out this task. He often uses hired labour to operate his field. He also took 8.64 **qarxi** of rainfed and irrigated plots in share contracts of **mäggazo**. Last year, he participated in **jigi** labour of ploughing in two households by sending his oxen and hired labourer. This year, he called 26 households to undertake harvesting tasks. Only 1 person responded positively. He was then annoyed by the situation and hired 5 migrant labourers for the task failing to utilise food and **farso** prepared for **jigi**. According to my informants, the previous status of Serawit gave him a bad reputation. They also suggest that the person is inward and secretive in his day to day interactions with villagers who informally denied him access to cooperative labour.

The results of the survey of 45 sampled households indicate that cooperative labour is still in operation although its coverage of various tasks has been minimized. The results are discussed according to the agricultural seasons. However, it to be noted that 16 (35.5%) of the sampled households were found to be non-operators transferring their farm land to relatives or neighbours in sharecropping or land rental arrangements. 12 of these households are from the poor strata and 4 from the middle strata. 29 (64.4%) households of the sample are operators.

5 (7.28% of operators) households of the sample organized **jigi** for ploughing of whom 4 were from the rich group and 1 from the middle strata. For a similar task, only 2 (6.8% of operators) households utilised **IImäna** one each from the middle and poor strata. All of these labour groups were coordinated to carry out the last round

tasks of ploughing to broadcast seeds last year. 22 (75.8% of operators) households did not organize group labour to undertake similar tasks.

Weeding is one of a rare occasions when one can find group labour in the village. Only 2 households (6.8% of operators) organized **jigi** from the rich and middle strata. Likewise, 2 households called for **IImäna** from the middle and poor strata. 25 households (86.2% of operators) of the sample did not use group labour for such a task. Most of them employed hired labourers on a daily basis.

Harvesting is also a period when the use of group labour increased a little just like the sowing period. 6 households (20.6% of operators) utilised **jigi** during the period. 4 of these households were from the rich strata while 2 of them were from the middle one. In the same instance, out of 3 households (10.3% of operators) who asked for **IImäna** labour in the period, 1 was from the middle strata and 2 from the poor strata. The remaining 20 households (68.9%) did not mobilise group labour utilising family and hired labour.

Agizo (transporting crops from farm field) is the only seasonal activity which has not yet been penetrated by hired labour. 13 households (44.8% of operators) of the sample organized **jigi** this year. Out of these households (24.1%) arranged **wonfal** by pooling their labour and donkeys. For this task, group labour is circulated from one household to another in rounds after every single day. Feasts, though modest in their magnitude, were provided by hosts of a day's work. 6 households from the middle strata and 1 from the poor strata participated in this exchange of labour. Only 9 households (31% of operators) used their household labour to undertake **agizo** this year.

Threshing (**sirbi**) is a task usually reserved for the household but often performed by hiring one or two persons for one **qunna** of grain for a day's work. Women utilise **IImäna** labour though not frequently to prepare threshing floors. Except

for these few occasions, group labour is almost absent during threshing. Rather employing at least one person for a day's task paying one **qunna** of grain is a convention of performing this task both by poor and rich households. The following case shows the option followed by a poor household.

Challa Telila is 35, married and a father of two. He has no ox. He owns 5 **qarxi** of irrigated and rainfed land of which 2.5 **qarxi** he gives in sharecropping and land rental to others. He complements his income by occasional hired labour activities. He utilised **Ilmäna** labour during sowing period, weeding and harvesting. To thresh his crops, he borrowed oxen from his father and brother-in-law. After his wife prepared the threshing-floor, he employed one person paying 1 **qunna** of **t'ef** so as perform the threshing task together. The task was finished in a day. He himself performed the last round of threshing (**gird**) and piling of chaff in the next days.

6.4. HIRED LABOUR

The most significant agent which was, I argue, accountable for the spread diffusion of hired labour in the village is the horticultural enterprise of Ts'ähafi TIIzaz. It broke the down-grading bias against hired labour which still is a dominant prejudice of peasants in nearby villages such as Yerer Sillase (two hours' walk from Godino). One of the peasants from there (Ato Sisay) stated that no one is willing to work for another for payment in his locality. If one does that, he is looked down on by the community. Hence, this down-grading of hired labour pushes surplus labour out so that peasants can search for hired labour opportunities in peak seasons.

Greenfield and Strickson gives emphasis to the role of entrepreneurs by stating

that:

...individuals may create and innovate within their culture and societies and social systems and more specifically the way in which those social and cultural systems can be modified and at times transformed by innovative behaviours of individuals. (1981: 481).

Looking at the issue in this perspective, the role of the entrepreneurship cannot be neglected. In the beginning, hired labour was confined to entrepreneurship. Slowly, however, it encroached upon rainfed agriculture modifying traditional forms and norms of labour in that field. Policies of the **därg** collectivized irrigation activities leaving little loophole for hired labour in the sector. However, general patterns of crop/livestock integration, market interactions, changing consumption trends of peasants, growing cash needs, and increasing migrant hired labour in peak seasons actually took place in the **därg** regime. Although its size was very much curtailed due to reductions of landholding, cooperative labour was in use side by side with hired labour during periods of the revolution. Peasants who were alienated from their land by virtue of failing to deliver grain quotas to the AMC turned to being hired labourers adopting it as their survival strategy (see case No. nine). By 1990, after the collapse of the PC, irrigation activities became the main occupation of hired labourers. Payment on a daily basis, crop patterns of irrigation fields, types of tools and techniques of irrigation system, standards of shrecropping in **mäggazo**, as well as measurement of irrigation fields (**shikarimetIr**) virtually remain identical with those in use at the time of the enterprise. Developments after 1990 explicitly reveal the influence of the entrepreneurial traditions, feasible techniques of which were copied by Godino villagers. There is no need to say that reaction and responses of the market to selected crops types have been positive promoting a process which has been a continuing force since then.

In present day Godino, hired labour forms a significant part of farmers' income in the village. This labour is commonly found in both rainfed and irrigated agriculture. 91 households (22.6%) of surveyed households complement their income by hired labour with 115 hired labourers serving in the village. This is shown in the next table.

Table 25: Age and Sex Composition of Hired Labourers of Surveyed Households.³⁰

Age	Male	Female	Percent
10-15	1	8	7.8
16-25	25	15	34.7
26-35	17	1	15.6
36-45	16	7	20
46-55	10	2	10.4
56-65	12	1	11.3
Sum	81	34	-
Total	115		100

As is indicated in the table, 70.3% of hired labourers came from age groups between 15 and 45. In general, all the 91 households lack either ox or land or both generating an underemployed labour force. The use of the term has different application in various literature. Disguised unemployment (underemployment) is considered to cover elements like short working hours, unduly low earnings and low productivity. Unemployment is taken as complete absence of productive work. Wellisz cited in Dejene describes that "...disguised unemployment and unemployment constitute the waste of labour in less developed countries...[or] labour force underutilization" (1989: 32). In Godino, underemployment is the main source of hired labour. In some households, all of the members turn to be hired labourers as the following case illustrates.

Ato Qelemu T/Abb is 65 and a father of three. He has no ox but own 7.28 qarxi of irrigated and rainfed land. In the absence of oxen, he

³⁰. Five girls in the age group 15-25 work in Godino seedling station and three men (one in the age group 46-55 and two in the 56-65 age-group) work as guards of close area in the village.

transfers 6.64 **qarxi** of irrigated and rainfed land to others. He himself, his wife, two daughters (18 and 15 years old) and a son (22 years old) participate as hired labourers in the village.

To illuminate the dependency ratio, the age structure of the village is described in the following table.

Table 26: Age Structure of Surveyed Households.

Age	No. of persons	Percent
$x < 1$	16	.89
1 - 5	227	12.6
6 - 12	423	23.5
13 - 20	356	19.8
21 - 30	201	11.2
31 - 45	214	11.9
46 - 60	229	12.7
61 - 70	85	4.7
$x > 70$	27	1.5
Not reported	15	.83
Total	1793	100

In Godino it is difficult to say that children below the age of 10 are dependent without rendering services to their household. My observations and conversations with peasants reveal that children aged 6 and above serve their families in various tasks. In reality, only 13.55% of the population or children at 5 and below could be considered as totally dependent being only consumers. Children between 6 and 12 years old in fact cannot undertake agricultural tasks. As child labour is an important component of household labour, they could be engaged in diverse duties the most important of which

are herding, domestic duties, weeding, fetching fuel-wood, and others. These activities provide chances for both male and female household heads to utilise their time in areas where child labour could not be of use. Otherwise, if their time were spent in activities performed by children, there would be too tight a schedule to conduct agricultural tasks.

As I have attempted to illustrate earlier, hired labour is more dominant in irrigated fields than in rainfed areas. Hill categorizes hired labour into two classes: free and bonded farm labour. The former refers to temporary employment with an ease of mobility from one to another employer. The later refers to a situation common in India and also applied to West African labour activities. Hill defines bonded labour as:

...the only common feature being that they involve a contract between the employer and the labourer such that the latter undertakes to work full-time for the former for a specified or unspecified period. While it is often assumed that the labourer inevitably becomes to such a degree indebted to his master that he is unable to escape from his shackles and is a "debt slave", systems and circumstances vary greatly and some bonded labourers positively enjoy the security provided and are envied by day labourers. (1985: 113).

Hired labour in Godino could be divided into two broad categories: Permanent and temporary. A permanent hired labour labelled by Hill as "farm-servant" (locally known as **gäbäre**) undertakes all seasonal agricultural tasks including some household duties such as chopping wood. The labourer resides and consumes food in the household of his employer. Payment for his labour could be defrayed in terms of grain (3 quintals of grain and a small amount of cash). Or else, a labourer is granted the use of one **qarxi** of land in exchange for his labour. Payment in the form of grain is more common since land is scarce. In some instances, monthly payments in cash amounting to 50 **birr** are provided by households but the labourer does not live in his employer's household. Another type of permanent hired labour is that of children who are often hired as herders and provided with food and shelter by employer households. The

payment is generally 2 quintals of grain and a small amount of cash. If a hired herder does not reside in his employer's household, a salary of one **birr** per head of cattle is the norm. Permanent hired labour of Godino can be called bonded in a limited sense since a labourer is attached to an employer being dependent for his food and shelter. This doesn't include those who are employed permanently but do not reside with the employer. As will be discussed, permanent labour is not envied by daily labourers in Godino.

Temporary hired labour activities are divided into two: **kiray** and **kontrat**. **Kiray** refers to employment of labour on a daily basis whereas **kontrat** is a piece rate for a specific task which may or may not take more than a day. Temporary hired labour is much more utilised and widespread than permanent labour given the seasonal and fragmented nature of tasks in both types of agriculture. Lunch or **farso** is part of a temporary hired labourer's benefits which an employer provides if he seeks to reduce labour costs of employees a little. Rates of payment for hired labour are generally on the increase showing individual variation from the standard of the village in some instances. Standard prices of two contrasting years gathered from my key informants are listed below.

Table 27: Standard Rates of Payment for Hired Labour In Blrr.³¹

Activity	1992		1995	
	Kiray	Kontrat	Kiray	Kontrat ³²
Ploughing	3	-	5 or 6	-
Weeding	2	-	3 or 4	20-25
Harvesting	3	20-25	5 or 6	45-50
Dirdaro ³³	3	20-25	5 or 6	45-50
Planting sugar cane	4	-	5 or 6	-
Digging fields	4	-	5 or 6	35-40
Watering fields	3	-	5	-
Harvesting sugar cane	3	-	5	-
Planting onions	2	-	3 or 4	-
Cutting onions leaves ³⁴	-	1.50	-	3
Harvesting chickpeas	1.50	-	3	-

Nowadays, **kontrat** labour is preferred to **kiray** since labourers seek to accomplish a task as fast as possible to obtain another **kontrat**. **Kontrat**, in this way, increases the incentive to work to full capacity. **Kiray** tasks, on the other hand, could lag behind unnecessarily since labourers choose to extend their working days to increase their earning.

During field work this year, new rates of payment to harvest **t'ef** and wheat were standardized. Last year, 1 **qarxi** of wheat or **t'ef** was harvested for 35 **blrr**. Immigrant hired labourers set a uniform rate of 45 **blrr** for a similar task this year. Then, local hired labourers of Godino raised the rate of payment to 50 **blrr** since they

³¹ In every field activities, the provision of food or/and **farso** by employers reduces costs of labour by 1 **blrr** in **kiray** work. It could also reduce cost of **kontrat** or **kiray** depending on the agreement of the parties.

³² The piece rate of **kontrat** is 1 **qarxi** of land for rainfed and **shikarimetlr** for irrigated fields.

³³ **Dirdaro** refers to preparation of beds necessary to plant sugar cane in the village.

³⁴ The piece rate for cutting onion leaves of onion is a sack (known as **k'umt'a**) which weights 60 to 70 Kg.

don't need shelter or food. In order to standardize this rate, labourers closely followed up amounts of payment each one received. They threatened those labourers who were willing to work for less than the rate set in the village. In this way, most of the local labourers enforced acceptance of the price by employers.

The most important source of hired labour in Godino is local as opposed to external. The majority of hired labourers work on a temporary basis instead of on a permanent one. Results of the survey indicate that there are 30 permanent hired labourers and 35 hired herders in the village. 86.6% of hired labourers and 82.8% of hired herders came from Godino and neighbouring PAs.

Beneficiaries of permanent hired labour and hired herder are well-off households. The result of the survey of sampled households depicts that 11 households (35% of operators) employ hired herders whereas 9 of them have hired labourers. 10 hired herders belong to households 34% of operators in the rich strata and 1 belongs to the middle one. Likewise, 8 permanent hired labourers serve households in the rich strata and only 1 serves a household in the middle strata.

The use of hired labour is very much diffused. The number of households who have employed temporary hired labourer/s at least once in 1995/96 agricultural season could illustrate this fact. In the sample, 24 households (82.7% of operators) utilised hired labour. 14 of these households 48% of operators were from the rich and 10 (34% of operators) from the middle strata. 5 households (17.2% of operators) do not use hired labour. The distribution of these households are one from the rich, three from the middle, and one from the poor strata. On the other hand, 10 household heads (22.2% of the sample) participate as hired labourers in the village. These households are one from the rich, 2 from the middle and seven from the poor strata.

In Godino, temporary hired labour activities are preferred to permanent labour since it is a better source of income especially during peak seasons. In addition, most of Godino hired labourers have their own households with their own means of income with hired labour being one of these sources. The following case shows strategic choices of shifting between permanent and temporary hired labour in accordance with their seasonal advantage.

Ato Merera Gurgi is 38, married and has two children. He has no ox nor land. He was a resident of Sabatta area. He migrated from Sabbata because a local PC took his fertile plot. As a result, Merera migrated to Zuquwala area and became a hired labourer. He intended to return to his locality and became a member of the PC after he had owned oxen which were necessary to be accepted in the association. He was not successful in improving his life as a hired labourer in Zuquwala. He lost a child and divorced his wife. He became a guard for the Centre for Adult Education in Zuquwala. When Zuquwala lost its position in the governmental administrative unit which was shifted from sub-district to district during formation of PDRE, Merera became unemployed since his office was closed. He came to Bishoftu where he was employed in the Rehabilitation Centre for War Veterans. After again the formation of the TG, Merera lost his job since he was sacked. He then moved to Godino with his new wife from Bishoftu. He started his life as a hired labourer in the village. He lives in a house temporarily given to him without paying rent by a rich person in Godino. Merera switches between two forms of hired labour: temporary and permanent. He works as a temporary hired labourer when there is a high demand for labour during peak seasons. Otherwise, he becomes a permanent hired labourer when agricultural activities are slack. In April of 1995, he was permanently employed by a rich person for 60 birr per month. Merera was only provided with food when he spent his time ploughing. However, Merera didn't require shelter since he had a house. In the middle of June the same year, Merera left his permanent employment switching to part time activities.

Permanent hired labourers would eventually be able to establish their own viable household, unlike hired herders whose payment is directly received by their parents and expended for household consumption. This can be seen in the following case.

Ato Gudeta Fufa is 28 and a father of two children born out of marriage. He has been employed as a permanent hired labourer for five years in

exchange for 1 **qarxi** of land he was allotted to use so long as he stays in this position. Two of his children and himself have lived in his employer's household. By saving his income, he was able to purchase 2 oxen and exchange them for farm land in **minda** dealings. In addition, he rented land in cash. In this way, he operated 7 **qarxi** of farm land although he was a dependent hired labourer. He benefited from support of his brother who lives in Godino and ploughs Gudeta's plot. Gudeta managed to spare time so as to weed, harvest, and thresh his crops. In the end, Gudeta established his own household this year to lead an independent life.

There is a great deal of caution in employing permanent hired labourer coming from distant regions. It is usually preferred if a labourer has a guarantor. But it is difficult to obtain such labourer since he is a stranger to the village. Despite all this, a labourer is accepted if he is known to have served in Godino before. Caution is practised to safeguard against stealing which is claimed to have been performed by permanent hired labourers coming from distant places. As has been mentioned in case No. fourteen, Ato G/Michael knows that his labourer as employed in Godino before. He was suspicious of his labourer who had not disclosed his identity and destination, honestly. He was, however, too late in taking actions.

Hired labour activities are not despised in Godino. They are rather considered as one means of maximizing income among the poor. This can be shown by the following case.

Ato Shiberu Derese is 25, married and has a child. He has no oxen and nor land. He operates a small plot of his parents in addition to participating in hired labour activities. He told me that employment for a salary of 50 **bIrr** in the PA office is not worthwhile. He appreciates hired labour tasks which are very remunerative. He declares that he entered into contractual agreement of digging **shikarimetIr** irrigated plot for 30 **bIrr**. He accomplished the task alone earning 30 **bIrr** a day.

In a similar context, the following instance describes the presence of high incentives and intensity of labour in **kontrat** dealings.

Shiferaw Sisay is 38, married and has no child. He is an ex-soldier and only has 1.28 **qarxi** of irrigated land which he transfers to others in sharecropping arrangements supplementing his income by hired labour

activities. In December of 1995, he agreed to harvest two **qarxi** of **t'ef** in a day for 100 **birr** together with his friend. They started the task at 5:30 in the morning and finished harvesting task of both plots at 2:00 pm sharing equally the agreed sum between the two of them.

Hired labour could be found mixed with labour of relatives or neighbours which is not paid. This happens when an employer calls for help and makes up the remaining by hired labourers. This is illustrated by the following instance.

Ato Feleqe Biqila is 33, married and a father of three. He is currently the accountant of the SC. He has 6 **qarxi** of rainfed plots and two oxen. He takes **shikarimetIr** in **mäggazo** from his neighbour to plant sugar cane. For this task, he called two of his affines for help and hired four persons for a payment on a daily basis. All of them were served two cans of **farso** each (which costs 1 **birr** in Godino). The work was finished in a day and the four labourers were paid 5 **birr** each deducting 1 **birr** from each for **farso** they consumed during the activity.

6.4.1. Immigrant Hired Labour

Immigrant hired labour (the majority are temporary hired labourers) is a common scene of Ada'a during the harvest period. Immigrant hired labourers are found at that time in all major markets of Ada'a, mainly at Bishoftu market and bus station. During my stay in the field, I recorded 52 immigrant labourers in the central part of Godino. 20 Of these labourers (39.2%) are aged between 26-30; 16 of them (31.3%) are 20-25; 8 of them (15.6%); between 31-35; 6 of them (11.7%) are 36-40; and one is aged 53. 20 of these labourers (39.2%) came from North Shewa, 15 (29.4%) from Selale, 7 (13.7%) from Wello, 5 (9.8%) from neighbouring Chaffe Donsa district and 4 (7.8%) from Sheno. The majority of immigrant hired labourers' age ranges between 26-35 coming from Northern Shewa and Selale.

My conversations with immigrant hired labourers indicate that agro-ecological differences and underemployment are the main factors for seasonal movements of

labour. Almost all of the labourers confirm that harvests in their locality would be later than in Godino by at least a month. Since they don't have sufficient plots in their own locality, some often come to this area to complement their income by performing work which those coming from Wello call **shäk'äl**. Highland immigrant labourers (known as **dägäгна** in Godino) are thought to be industrious and are preferred by Godino villagers. The final recruitment is made after an agreement is reached between employer and employee/s on the rate of payment. Established links of hired labourers by working earlier in the village could also be exploited to obtain access to work (a crop to be harvested) as the next case shows.

I met five young labourers (aged between 20 and 25) on 24-11-95 in a field. They were harvesting the wheat of Ato Gezahegn Fantaye (68 years old, who owns 7.64 **qarxi** of land and 3 oxen). The labourers came with their sickles from a North Shewa locality known as Nach Gedel Sillasie in Sella Dingay. They came to Godino for a second time since there is no malaria here and their earlier employer introduced them to persons who needed hired labourers. All of them are deacons (**diyak'on**) of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, unmarried and have no farm land of their own in their locality, using their parents' plots. They also claim that the Ark of Gufti Mariam Church came from their locality which is why they like to come to Godino. Their earlier employer (Mamire Qelemework) is also a priest in Godino. The labourers state that a predominant crop of their area is wheat, the sowing period of which is in late August or early September and which is harvested in March. They also claim that those persons who have property do not go out seeking hired labour opportunities in their locality. They have many responsibilities of looking after their family, relatives and properties that tied them locally. Relatively, hired labourers of their area are free of many obligations related to family and property and are mobile. The five labourers primarily went to neighbouring Qoftu village and harvested crops on one ha of land. When I meet them, Ato Gezahagne Fantaye's plot (on which they contracted to harvest 1 **qarxi** of **t'ef** for 43 **blrr**) was their second job. Their duties also included piling of the crop (**mädäkän**) in the field. Shelter and food was provided by the employer. They intended to stay performing similar tasks until February. They wanted to move and work in a group because labourers act efficiently in groups. Secondly, there is no cheating in sharing their income among themselves. Lastly, the labourers think that they could, while walking from place to place, protect themselves from attack of outsiders who may try to snatch their money.

It is said that in places like Zuquwala and Mojo, hired labourers are occasionally beaten up and their belongings snatched when they are returning to their locality. Normally, hired labourers are supposed to bring their sickle and cover the cost of sharpening its blade during harvest. Seasonal migrant labourers could establish client relationships with employers for whom they work annually. This relationship may not, however, influence the rate of payment agreed between the two if there is a change of piece rate in the village as the next case illustrates.

Ato Gudisa Tolla is 53, married and father of three. He is an immigrant hired labourer coming from a locality known as Sirre in Gimbichu district. Ato Gudisa has developed a clientship working annually for Ato Desta Bitew (who has five **qarxi** of land and has no ox) for five years. Ato Gudisa was paid 70 **bIrr** for harvesting 3 **qarxi** of wheat before. This year, being aware of the current prices of the village, he asked for 45 **bIrr** to harvest 1 **qarxi** of wheat. The payment was not adjusted for the remaining 2 **qarxi** of crops (he worked the first one for the earlier rate of payment). Ato Gudisa threatened to abandon his task. After negotiations, Desta agreed to pay 40 **bIrr** for each of the remaining plots making a total payment of 103 **bIrr**. Ato Gudisa took 8 days to finish harvesting all Ato Desta's crops. Since ploughing, weeding and harvesting are not performed on Sundays, migrant labourers are expected to transport crops from fields to threshing areas on Sundays so long as they stay in their employer's household. Ato Gudisa did this task as well. Like in Northern Shewa area, harvest is late in Sirre. Ato Gudisa planned to stay in Godino until February. He was provided with food and shelter by Ato Desta for a week.

6.5. The Decline of Cooperative Labour

Godino villagers are aware of the penetration of hired labour in the village. One of my informants claims that hired labour has been in the village since her childhood. Most informants or 27 heads of households (60% of the sample) agree that the incidence of hired labour has gained momentum between 1988 and 1991 following the laxity of government control on the economy.

The decline of cooperative labour in Godino is merely a restatement of a reality confirmed by all villagers I have discussed the matter with. This claim could sometimes be exaggerated by older persons and care should be taken in evaluating the validity of the statements. Moore suggests that:

That such informants, tend to exaggerate the extent of the decline of cooperative labour appears likely in part on the basis of the knowledge that the old, and especially the old in rural societies, incline towards an unjustified nostalgia, particularly in respect of issues concerning the public or communal interest or the harmony of social relationships. (1975: 282).

Therefore, in order to avoid these biases, all of the sampled households were asked whether cooperative labour has declined. The result is almost uniform since 42 households (93.3%) confirm its decline. Only 2 households (4.4%) reported that cooperative labour has increased for **guura** (transporting crops from the field to threshing areas) and information is not available from one. Moreover, to identify the historical trends of cooperative labour, informants were asked about the difference in frequency of cooperative labour in the period after the revolution. The outcome is similar: 42 households (93.3%) reported that cooperative labour was more frequently utilised before the revolution than after. Only 2 households reported the opposite. One of these persons is an ex-labourer, chairman of the PC and from the rich strata of the sample who had no land of his own before the revolution. The other one is a young middle strata man who indicates increase of cooperative labour for **guura** tasks.

To describe changes in cooperative labour, the socio-economic conditions of Godino must be taken into account. Cooperative labour has been less-frequent, less-diffused, less-festive, less varied, smaller-sized, and has had delayed reciprocity which may not be repaid. Reciprocity is potentially strong but weak in reality in **jigi** and

Immäna since **jigi**-sponsored households organize new group labour before entirely reciprocating all labour expended to them in earlier **jigi**.

In stressing continuity and allocation of time in describing social change, Barth comments that:

To speak about change, one needs to be able to specify the nature of continuity between the situations discussed under the rubric of change. Change implies a difference of a very particular kind: one that results from an alteration through time and is determined by the constraints of what has been, or continues, in a situation. (1981: 111).

In Godino, decline of cooperative labour could be explained in terms of labour time devoted to it.³⁵

Since time allocation studies of labour have not been carried due to time constraints, it is impossible to demonstrate the contrast between household, group and hired labour. Based on my observation, it is assumed that household and hired labour cover much of the agricultural task in comparison to group labour.

Godino villagers attribute the degeneration of group labour to lack of cooperation and personalised motives of households at present. Out of 42 households of the sample that confirm the decline of group labour, 39 (86.6%) comment that mutual support and sympathy in the community have been declining, whereas 6 households (13.3%) declare that cooperative labour decreased significantly since size of land holding was reduced after the 1975 land reform.

³⁵ For this purpose, Ato Hirpha Kumsa (see case No. one) has been selected since he organizes **jigi** annually in peak seasons with remarkable appreciation. Yet, most of labour time spent by his household is not expended in group labour as discussed below. However, it has to be noted that group labour could not be simply compared to household and hired labour since their differences in terms of size and resource allocation are marked.

Household Labour
346 hrs (35.45%)

Group labour
25 hrs (12.8%)

Hired labour
504 hrs (51.6%)

Concerning the decline of cooperative labour, Moore forwards the following variables:

...(i) increased man-land ratios with no change in the relative size of distribution of forms; (ii) the emergence of an agricultural proletariat; (iii) greater availability of cash... (1975: 283).

In the case of Godino, the peculiarity of its history could not be disregarded. Hired labour was introduced in Godino in the early 1960s through Ts'ähafi TIIzaz's enterprise. This form of labour has been creeping to the rainfed agriculture as was discussed above. The expansion of hired labour was never curbed by restrictive policies of the **därg**. Even though irrigated fields were placed under the control of the PC, seasonal immigrant hired labour was obtainable during harvest. In addition, permanent hired labourers were employed by private farmers in rainfed agriculture of Godino. On the whole, local hired labour has been diffused, readily obtainable and unrestrained by government policies since the beginning of 1990s replicating and modifying standards commonly known in the Ts'ähafi TIIzaz enterprise.

More than anything else, the 1975 land reform, with its resident-based tenure, led to the allotment of small-sizes of land. The small size of land allocated to each household drastically reduced the requirement of big work groups. Each household of private farmers started to cover much of the activities with its own labour requiring small-sized work groups for activities performed in a short length of time such as sowing. Thus the 1975 land reform eliminated the weight factor of Erasmus (by reducing land-size) only leaving the time one which is to some extent responsible for the persistence of work groups in Godino. Related to this fact, what has been termed land-labour ratio by Moore is an important variable in Godino. The records of Ada'a testifies to mounting population pressure as is reported by McCann. Godino could not be an exception since the size of farm land has not changed for the past twenty years.

This trend has never been felt as much as at present when requests of application for land from the young have been crowding PA files. The presence of unemployed and underemployed peasants (not yet to be considered as proletariat) in the village facilitates the expansion of hired labour thereby shrinking cooperative labour.

Furthermore, urban-oriented consumption of the village, market influences and specialization in cash crops are all related to decreasing incidence of cooperative labour. This is so because these conditions are likely to be accompanied by personal motives and ambitions to maximise income. This includes cost and benefit evaluation of cooperative labour which is not preferred for quality of work and the reciprocal obligations which are somehow felt to be inconvenient. At this point it is worth noting what Ziche and Salih quoted in Manger suggested that: " ... cost-benefit calculations on the working of work groups in most cases contradict rational economic calculations " (1987: 14). This calculation is made both by the rich and the poor. The rich prefer wage labour for its efficiency and convenience which is free of reciprocal obligations. Similarly, the poor choose it since it is a source of income instead of working in **jigi** which they couldn't sponsor one for themselves. The findings of the sample reflect the fact that those households who witnessed the decline of cooperative labour also affirm the high cost of its feast as compared to expenses of hired labour. 38 households (84.4%) of the sample reported that hired labour is much better in efficiency of work and cheaper than cooperative labour. Only 3 households (6.6%) were in favour of cooperative labour whereas four households didn't respond. Market-oriented production is characterized by intensification of agriculture and cropping. This increases the demand for labour which is readily available in the labour market. In Godino, intensification of agriculture entails routine and frequented tasks which are usually accomplished by hired labour. Cooperative labour has never been utilised for more than

a day. Even if the task is not completed, as is likely to be the case, the next day duties are carried out by hired labour as is discussed in case No. seven. It is not common to engage cooperative labour for extended periods of more than a day. Market-oriented production of Godino necessitates the widespread use of hired labour by virtue of intensive agricultural activities.

Geschiere studying the Maka of Cameron states that:

...It is also not considered acceptable to introduce strangers into the village as wage labourers, because of the Maka emphasis on kinship - and notably patrilineal descent - as the main basis for living together. (1995: 505).

Godino represents the opposite of this reality. The heterogenous ethnic composition of Godino accentuate neighbourhood in place of kinship alliance as salient features of social organization. This emphasis on neighbourhood is rather a fertile ground for accepting outside hired labourers in the village contributing to contraction of group labour.

Lastly, the internal dynamics in the village mainly sharecropping, land rental and stratification narrow the span in which cooperative labour is utilised. As I have attempted to show earlier, the flow of resources (specially land) tends to be increasingly concentrated among the rich raising the quantity and quality of labour necessary in that group. As a result, the use of cooperative labour tends to shift from the community to those of the rich households who maximise their gain through frequent sponsorship of **jigi**. On the other hand, small-sized **Ilmäna** labour is preferred by the poor. This form of labour forfeits much of its group and festive character usually found in **jigi**.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

7.1. Summary

The mainstream development of Ada'a and the internal dynamics of the village interplayed to form and shape the socio-economic situations of Godino. The historical characteristic of 20th century Ada'a: mounting population pressure, intensification and expansion of farming, crop-livestock integration, exposure to urban markets, specialization in a few cash crops, changing consumption trends, state intervention and provision of external inputs have already left their marks on ox-plough agriculture of Godino. A similar period of internal conditions: mainly the enterprise of Ts'ähafi TIIzaz and competitions among households in search of personal gains have their equal share in characterizing the socio-economic contexts of Godino. These factors have resulted in the crowded settlement of the village, diffused hired labour in farming, diversified the ethnic map of Godino, extended the type and scale of trade activities, and perpetuated stratification of the community.

The internal situations favoured Godino to become a focus of interactions of surrounding communities. Its growing market, the clinic, the police station, the mill services, and linkage by road in 1972 to Bishoftu as well as Chaffe were all combined to generate an image of a small town for Godino in that part of Ada'a. Responding to demands of consumers, recreational services of food and drinks became one of the major occupations of Godino involving 173 households among the surveyed population.

Proximity to the town, nevertheless, didn't alter educational status of Godino household heads. Only 72 heads of households (17.9%) have attended classes at various levels.

The tenancy-based land tenure of the pre-revolutionary period prioritized status as the basis upon which benefits of group labour could be received. Landlords were the primary but not the only beneficiaries of bigger-sized **däbo** work group by sponsoring lavish feasts with weak reciprocity during peak seasons. **Jigi** was more diffused among small holders and tenants who emphasized reciprocity other than feasts as part of the arrangements.

The 1974 revolution and 1975 land reform transformed tenancy into resident and community-based forms of tenure. Dissension within the Godino community subsequently manifested itself along lines of status of oxen ownership and former involvement in irrigated fields. This rivalry between **domägna** and **gäbäre** for control of irrigated land gave rise to formations of three separate associations: the association of Ts'ähafi TIIzaz's ex-labourers, that of irrigation utilisers at Qambere quarter, and that of private farmers (mostly tenants and small holders). These internal cleavages were promoted by the **därg** policy of collectivizing agriculture leading to the exclusive utilization of irrigated fields largely by ex-labourers of Ts'ähafi TIIzaz. The ex-labourers, nonetheless, had to wait for the mixed economic policy of the **därg** in 1990 to disband the PC and become private beneficiaries of irrigated plots.

There are at least two impacts of the land reform on farm labour. It encouraged, as stated by McCann, small-holding intensifying application of chemical fertilizer, prominent achievements of extension services during the revolution, increased incidence of herbs demanding more labour for weeding. On the other hand, small-holding drastically decreased the need for large-sized group labour.

In Godino, a household, the labour base, is a productive, consumption and residential unit which at various stages of the developmental cycle. Households tend to be less viable economically at the first and third phases of developmental cycles due to scarcity of land and oxen in the former and labour in the later. Those in the second phase are economically firm. A good resource base of parental households assists the formation of viable households by children. Godino households could also be differentiated by their size: 60.8% of the surveyed households have 1 to 4 members, 31.6% from 5 to 8 and only 7.4% have more than eight persons. 27.4% households of the surveyed population are female headed differentiated by their labour resource. The generational depth of households are shallow. 55.1% of the surveyed population have two generations and 21.1% have three generations. Only two households have a depth of four generations.

Incorporating households of different ethnic groups, the social organization of Godino community has exhibited adjustments to new conditions. Inter ethnic marriages have spread breaking ethnic boundaries under within which members used to seek their spouses. Neighbourhood has been emphasized as a primary principle of organizing **mahabär**, **sanbete** and **IddIr**. These associations have played a positive role in forging social bonds of the Godino community which negates the imagined homogenous picture of a community portrayed in some anthropological literature.

Like other parts of the central highlands, the ox-plough system of productive activities is the main form and occupation of Godino households. The routine and seasonal tasks of rainfed agriculture side by side with irrigated field activities engulf household and local hired labour of the village. The traditional division of labour has exhibited little flexibility and change accompanying intensification of labour. The impressive change is the growing significance of cash in production gaining an equally

important position as oxen. By comparison, irrigated field activities are more cash intensive than rainfed agriculture.

The residence-based tenure of the Därg facilitated the distribution of farm land to 86.5% of the surveyed households allocating larger plots for members of the PA and PC. 347 households (86.5%) of the surveyed population have various ranges of rainfed and irrigated land with a mean holding of 1.41 **qarxi**. Sustaining use rights of farm land, however, required meeting grain quotas to the AMC in rainfed agriculture and active participation in the PC in irrigated agriculture.

Fertilizers and herbicide have been applied in Godino. Though their price is on the increase, fertilizers have been uniformly applied by all villagers in both types of agriculture but with different amounts of application. Herbicides are utilised only by rich and middle strata households. Fertilizers have served to promote the market-oriented crop production of the village facilitating annual shifts between **t'ef** and wheat. This practice has, nonetheless, undermined the traditional rotation of **IkkIr** (leguminous) crops in order to upgrade soil fertility. In 1994/95 season, eight leguminous crops covered only 11.65% of farm land, the main ones being chickpeas (7.7%) and beans (4.02%).

Favoured by the ecology, market and cultural preferences, **t'ef** is a conspicuous single crop which dominates rainfed agriculture in Godino followed by wheat. Last season, **t'ef** accounted for 55.1% of cereal production as compared to 32.67% of wheat. Stiff-strawed, long wheat varieties also created conducive conditions for the decline of planting **IkkIr** crops. Seven improved varieties of wheat are used to different degrees in the village. Tesfaye Tesemma reports that "Durum wheat is giving way to teff (*Ergrostis teff*) and new bread wheat varieties in central highlands of Shewa, where extensive wheat breeding activities have occurred since late 1960...." (1996: 32). In

Godino, the varieties are adopted because of their high demand (62.45% of surveyed households), high yield (24.25%) and consumption (13.28%). Similarly, irrigated fields are dominated by two crops: sugar cane and onions. The most important reason given for selecting these crops is high demand as reported for sugar cane by 44.7% of utilisers and onions by 40.38%. Onions are often followed by **t'ef** specially after the field is left open for two or more months known as **Tchiflik**. The role of middlemen is significant as brokers in providing yields to the market including the cost of harvesting and transportation. Competition for better prices among farmers is an ubiquitous phenomenon which the irrigation association committee failed to regulate despite several attempts.

The process of crop-livestock integration paved the way to sustaining a substantial size of livestock with the key role of oxen in operating farms. Oxen are a useful indicator for the existence of stratification since 132 (38%) of the surveyed households did not have oxen. The difference between thatched and tin-roofed houses and number of rooms have additionally been used to stratify households. Accordingly, the majority of thatched-roof houses (67.8%) are found among oxenless and oxen-deficient surveyed households. Only 54 (32.1%) thatched-roof houses belong to oxen-sufficient and surplus households. On the contrary, tin-roofed houses seem to be equally distributed between oxenless and oxen-deficient households which share 49.1% of them. The remaining half (50.8%) of tin-roofed houses belong to oxen-sufficient and surplus households. Of 201 oxenless and oxen-deficient households, 88 (43.7%) live in tin-roofed houses whereas 91 (62.3% of 146 households) oxen-sufficient and surplus households reside in tin-roofed houses. The difference between owners of thatched-roof and tin-roofed households to some extent reflect gradation in status. One may conclude that it may not be as strong an indicator of stratification as oxen ownership. This is due to the

changing consumption trend of the villagers who show preferences for tin-roofed houses over thatched-roofed ones. Based on subjective categorization of wealth by a key informant, six wealth groups have been identified, the largest of which are the oxenless and landless groups representing 50.8% of surveyed households.

The four main tenurial arrangements in the village, **mäggazo**, **shiyatch**, **kontrat** and **ats'mä rIst**, facilitate the flow of resources specially farm land which exhibits different level of utilization due to constraints: most importantly cash and oxen. Accordingly, 63% of surveyed households participated in tenurial links in one form or another. Those who share out part or all of their land are greater in number (178 or 51% of participants in tenurial arrangement) than those who take in land (only 79 or 22.7% of arrangements). Basically most economic links are localised in the village involving the majority of surveyed households (226 or 88.2% of households in arrangements). The dominant social basis of economic links is neighbourhood serving as a framework for 142 (55.4%) households in various arrangements.

As has been demonstrated by the outcome of my survey, **mäggazo** has been the prevalent arrangement which persisted over many years due to its flexible and risk-distributing quality. Following the mixed economic policy of **därg**, the new rental forms (**shiyatch**, **kontrat** and **ats'mä rIst**) have emerged and expanded. These deals are cash-mediated, more impersonal and less-balanced in distributing risks. They resemble fixed rent in which the land owners' share does not vary in proportion to yield. In normal circumstances, the yield of one **qarxi** of farm land outweighs its price in **shiyatch**, **kontrat** and **ats'mä rIst**. These contracts in general benefit cash owners rather than land owners. The current trends suggests that, due to changing land-labour ratios and competition of farmers for land, rental prices of land have been on the increase.

All the tenurial forms, however, negatively influence traditional agronomic practices since share contractors do not plant **Ikki** crops on the land they take in these arrangements. This trend is mainly caused due to a lack of mutual confidence between the partners in sustaining the deal. **Liqa** (borrowing) is similarly a source of commercial and non-institutional credit for needy farmers in and around Godino. The recorded interest rate is 328.57% for white and 214.28% for red **t'ef**. My findings support the view that **liqa** is one means of surplus appropriation and credit is mostly advanced to farmers in neighbouring PAs benefiting the rich in Godino as money lenders. Default of **liqa** may also be transferred by using farm land of the debtor depending on the consensus of the partners.

Rainfed and irrigated activities precipitate two different (though to some degree similar) forms of labour, organization and intensity. Traditional labour activities still remain the common characteristics of the two components of Godino agriculture. Bottlenecks of rainfed agriculture in the peak seasons necessitate the persistence of cooperative labour even though its decline is irrefutable. On the other hand, intensification of labour (instead of a bottleneck) in irrigated fields makes necessary the prevalence of hired labour. Household labour is the basic unit of organization in both forms of agriculture. It has been shown that emigration has had a more negative impact than schools in draining the labour potential of households in the village.

The current forms of cooperative labours (**jigi** and **Ilmäna**) exhibited delayed reciprocity or what Sahlins calls generalized reciprocity and decline in frequency which was confirmed by 93.3% of sampled households. Contrasting to their former character in pre-revolutionary period, both of these group labour forms are less-festive, and less-diffused. The thesis shows that **jigi**-sponsored households are wealthier than **Ilmäna**-sponsored ones. Alongside household labour, hired labour has been the significant part

of Godino agriculture, introduced in Ts'ähafi TIIzaz's enterprise and that it subsequently encroached into rainfed agriculture when conducive situations emerged after the mixed economic policy of the **därg**. The major source of hired labour is the local community: 91 (22.6% of the surveyed households) provide 115 temporary labourers (the majority of them being temporary labourers) employed in **kiray** (daily basis) and **kontrat** (piece rate basis). Immigrant labour is also a common feature of Ada'a in general and Godino in particular. Immigrant hired labourers exploit their free time in slack periods due to the existing agro-ecological differences between their locality and Godino. As has been shown, they are underemployed youths that seek opportunities by engaging in seasonal hired labour outside their locality. In general several factors have contributed to the decline of cooperative labour in Godino. The primary factors are reduction of land size after the 1975 land reform, changing land-labour ratio of the village that caused the generation of substantial local hired labour, greater availability of cash, the neighbourhood-based social organization of the village incorporating immigrant hired labour, and personalized motives and ambitions of households that undermine cooperation.

7.2. CONCLUSIONS

Agents of change that exert political, economic, and social pressure in Godino could be categorized into four main groups: the enterprise of Ts'ähafi TIIzaz, state interventions, urban/market interactions and internal dynamics of the village. All of these agents of change have had different degrees of impacts in the socio-economic realm of Godino. Hence, changes in the sphere of socio-economic issues could be simply presented as binary transformations: from organic to inorganic agriculture, from

subsistence to cash-oriented production, from labour to cash intensive agriculture, from open to closed economy, and from closed to open economic behaviour of peasants.

Exposure of Godino to continuous metamorphosis has generated flexible reactions that have been enriched, tasted and filtered by traditions through practical walks of life. Peasants have never been passive recipients of changes imposed upon them externally without exhibiting various levels of resistance in different forms. This has been a reality for Godino peasants. They were not, for instance, sympathizers of the cooperative policy of the **Därg**. The ex-labourers became enthusiastic members of the PC so that they could be exclusive utilisers of irrigated fields. However, they strongly detested the growing managerial role in their association including extraction of their produce by the state authorities. In many respects, the Godino peasants have adjusted themselves to the current socio-economic situation with due emphasis on their traditions though this is masked by the prominence of changing atmosphere. Peasants are still devoting a substantial part of their time, labour and resources to rotating ritual feasts of different types and scale. They make decisions concerning their resources not only on the basis of rational evaluation but also on the basis of traditions.

Many of my informants claim that mutual support and cooperation among households are in decline in contrast to situations in the past. This claim is in fact consistent with the degenerations of current forms of cooperative labours. In other words, the ideology called "moral economy" by Scott was more dominant earlier than it is now. Ensminger comments that moral economy

"refers to the ideology of guaranteed subsistence to all members of peasant societies... Even when brought on by exogenous economic forces rather than political manipulation, the transition from a system that resulted in more equitable distribution [moral economy] to one that does not [rational behaviour] may have ideological consequences that weaken legitimacy [moral validity]. (1992: 170-171).

There are still traces of moral economy in Godino. For instance, the rich are expected to be generous in providing credit and gifts; in preparing lavish feasts to relatives, clients and fellow villagers. There are numerous exchange of goods among relatives and neighbours that emphasize mutual supportive mechanisms. Concerning cultural changes in Africa, Bascom and Herskovits suggest that "Even where selectivity in the acceptance of cultural elements from outside is recognized, analyses of the contemporary African scene too often fail to grasp the fact that selection is additive and not necessarily substitutive." (1959: 6). The real conditions of Godino indicate that both ideologies of moral economy and rational behaviour blend to shape the economic precept of the village. There is no clear demarcation that shows the prevalence of one over another. Therefore, it is better to consider the situation as a continuum in which moral economy and rational behaviour provide the guideline to economic performance of Godino peasants.

The most prevalent ubiquitous influence in Godino is that of the market embedding interactions with socio-economic and political features of urban life. The Godino peasants have been responding positively to the demands of the market by their chemical inputs, produce, labour, farmland, types of houses and other consumption traits. It is hard to say that they have been coping with the challenges and demands of the market becoming beneficiaries of their produce transacted at reasonable prices. As has been demonstrated earlier, individual motives of maximisation have eroded the collective stand of the villagers in setting up and regulating the price of their produce. The Godino peasants react with the market in isolation failing to influence the price of crops which has been favouring the interest and preference of economically powerful

internal and external traders. Producers of irrigated crops are dependent on middlemen to sell their produce. Middlemen have more access to transport and the Bishoftu market due to their networks and cash resource.

Moreover, input costs of farming provided both by the government and free market have been inflated and have inversely affected prices of grain and income of peasants. These factors foster a situation where farmers are obliged to buy their chemical inputs and industrial outputs such as sugar, soap, and others dearly while selling their crops cheaply. These conditions have been aggravated by increase of payments for hired labour during last harvest. There has never been an increase of grain prices keeping pace with increases of input costs. These factors have had a cumulative negative effect on the subsistence income levels of farmers. The "free market" has not yet paid fair prices for the produce of farmers but has been supplying inputs at progressively inflated prices. Production has been significantly cash-intensive and cash-oriented but the return of produce has never matched to the anticipation of farmers. The Godino peasants have adapted to cash oriented production without coping with the challenges of the market owing to proximity of the town. Plattner explains that "commercialization of rural families usually varies inversely with distance from the center." (1989: 187).

Governmental development endeavours have to balance the pros and cons of extension activities. The adverse effect of totally supplanting traditional varieties of crops or landraces with improved ones have now been questioned. In this regard, Tesfaye finds out that:

It is also fairly well established fact that under adverse growing conditions, landraces display a greater potential for yield than the modern varieties which are more exacting in their requirements. The development of these materials to improve their competitiveness in this respect is, therefore, crucial to increase productivity for sustainable agricultural development in Ethiopia. (1996: 31).

Due to extensive extension activities in the area, new improved varieties of wheat have been the dominant pattern of crops in Godino leaving no rooms for local landraces. The new varieties partially contribute to the cash intensive nature of production in the village. The positive aspect of the new varieties have been given much importance neglecting seemingly less-adverse but potentially serious consequences of losing landraces and traditional agronomic practices such as **lkkIr**.

The more adverse consequences of impoverishment, I suppose, would come from internal tenurial arrangements which are vulnerable to external market influences. The economic history of Ethiopia could be seen as an interaction between urban-based parasitic landlords and food-supplier tenants as has been stated by Taye (1995). In many aspects, policies of the **därg** favoured and protected urban interests at the expense of produce of peasants. In Godino, interaction with the town has been the life-line of the village. The interactions based on transactions favoured the town (powerful cash owners) more than they did cash-deficient Godino villagers. The current manifestation of demands for farm land from the town could regenerate the control of farm land by powerful cash owners (replacing the old landlords) of the town.

Looking at internal situations, the current tenurial forms (**shiyatch**, **kontrat** and **ats'mä rIst**) speed up the process of stratification thereby exacerbating underemployment. Often credit requests and land rentals are made during the hungry season (August to October) in advance. These deals are usually renewed with the same contractor or another every time establishing structural dependence of oxenless and cash-deficient households on the well-off. This is a vicious circle of borrowing and land rentals. The vicious circle of dependency is aggravated by seasonal nature of income in rainfed agriculture. On a similar situation, Plattner states that "The demand of rural households for manufactured goods is income elastic both seasonally and in the long

run." (1989: 187). In Godino, government taxes, credits of inputs and personal credit of cash have to be paid immediately after harvest. This simultaneous claim on the seasonal resource of farmers, in addition to their own subsistence needs, make the situations worse. The vicious nature of the problem could also stem from oxenless and cash-deficient status of many households. Because of their vulnerable position, oxenless households enter into relations of vicious circle of dependency on share contractors. Those who try to operate part of their field have to delay seeding and threshing period, as well as plough less intensively since they receive oxen lately after most of oxen owners finished their seasonal task. This contribute to reduction of yield thereby to the vicious circle of poor agricultural performance. These factors makes the flow of resources (specially land) from the poor to the rich obligatory. In reality, it is impossible to curb the flow of resources in the village. It is not a solution either not to recognize and codify the current tenorial forms working in the rural areas. These tenorial forms have to be acknowledged and codified by the state in a mechanism which doesn't promote differentiation and divergence of the gap between the poor and the rich before it creates rural inequality and a need for a second revolution after 1974 with egalitarian edict.

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Bench marks illuminate local dynamics in the community over the past 45 years. These are highlights of outlines reconstructed depending on the knowledge of my informants and Jim McCanns' book (1995).

1. In the beginning of 1960s

- Wage labour was introduced in Godino through Ts'hafi TIIzaz 's enterprise.
- Settlement site of labourers and the market was transferee from Debbaso to Wajitu and central part of Godino.
- Clinic, elementary school, mill and police station were established in Godino by Ts'ähafi TIIzaz.
- The horticultural enterprise was expanded.
- High demand and price for t'ef.

2. Late 1960s

- Mounting population pressure.
- Expansion of farm land at the expense of grazing.
- Landlord's prohibited keeping of fallow land.
- Increasing price of farm land.
- Use of tractors and inputs inciting eviction of tenants and decreasing of labourers from the enterprise.
- Further intensification of labour and concentration on t'ef.

3. Beginning and mid of 1970s

- Continuation of population pressure, intensification of labour and concentration on t'ef.
- Final years for wage and corvée labour in the horticultural enterprise.

- Intensified extension activities.
 - In July 1973, the last **däbo** labour group organized by the enterprise of Ts'ähafi TIIzaz.
 - The final years of old land tenure and frequent big-sized cooperative labour.
 - Godino was linked to Bishoftu and Chaffe towns by road in 1973.
4. 1974-76 the first years of the revolution.
- Support for the 1975 land reform from small holders, tenants and wage labourers.
 - Banning of sale, lease and transfer of farm land.
 - dissension and rivalry between ex-labourers on the one hand and tenants together with small holders on the other for control and utilization of irrigated fields.
 - Ts'ähafi's labourers formed an association and controlled the irrigated field. Tenants of Qambere similarly established a separate association and became beneficiaries of irrigated fields of the quarter.
 - Private farmers of Godino cultivated most of the rainfed farm lands communally for two consecutive years except garden plots.
 - PA of Godino formed having private farmers as only members.
 - Communal labour at the community level was mobilized allocating shares of yield according to contribution of ox/en.
 - Household-sponsored group labour was suspended due to communal form of land holding.

5. 1977, the first and last distribution of farm land among private farmers at the community level of Godino.
 - Three levels of farm land allotments:
 - 6 **qarxi** of farm land for a bachelor.
 - 7 **qarxi** of farm land for a couple.
 - 8 **qarxi** of farm land for all families with more than two members.
 - Reduction of farm land drastically minimises the size of cooperative labour. Resumption of less frequent and small-sized cooperative labour among private farmers.
 - Formation of Godino PC incorporating the two associations in the irrigated fields.

6. 1981-89: government policies of cooperativization, villagization, delivery of grain quotas to AMC.
 - Expansion of land holding by **tāramaj** private farmers who had better access to oxen ownership and labour.
 - Shift of power from PA to PC (from **gäbäre** to **domägna**).
 - Expansion of PC's land holdings benefiting from cooperative-focused extension services.
 - Intensification of extension services, application of fertilizers and other chemicals through credit facilities of PC and SC.
 - Growing settlement of Godino through villagization accompanied by population pressure.
 - Increasing delivery of grain quotas to AMC along three levels of farmers with favourable price for **t'ef**.
 - Corvée labour of private farmers to PC, PA, REYA, and REWA.

- Frequent recruitment of youths for military services.
- Increasing seasonal immigrant hired labourers.

7. 1990-1992

- Mixed economic policy of the **därg**.
- Collapse of Godino PC and land distribution as well as property sharing among members.
- Leniency of government control on agriculture and the market.
- Predominance of hired labour in irrigated fields.
- New land rental and purchase dealings introduced.
- More requests for land from returned soldiers and youths of Godino.
- Specialization in onion and sugar cane in irrigated fields.

8. 1992-95

- Growing prices for land rentals, hired labour, fertilizers, herbicides and others.
- More applicants for land from among the youth.
- Decreasing number of households organizing **jigi** labour.
- Widening differentiation among villages.

Case 1: Rich household from 50 or under 50 of age.

Ato Hirpha Kumsa, 50, is married and a father of three children. He is living with his four family members in a three-room tin-roofed house. All his children were born from outside his formal marriage. He had a concubine from whom he took his children recently after he reached an agreement on the matter with his formal wife who is not fertile. Ato Hirpha was a labourer of Ts'ähafi TIIzaz and then a member of the PC in Godino. At present he is one of the well-off peasants in the village who has 7.6 **qarxi** of irrigated and rainfed land and is the owner of four oxen two bulls, one heifer, two cows, one calf, and three donkeys. He has good standing as a trust-worthy individual who has been serving as cashier of the PC and currently of the PA. Helped by his son and a hired labourer, he operates an additional 8 **qarxi** of farm land obtained from Ato Melaku Buta in **mäggazo** (one-third) arrangement. Ato Hirp'a and Ato Melaku were both members of the PC and had intimate relations which were established and evolved through living in the same locality for a long time. On the basis of this relationship, Ato Hirpha has been operating the plot of Ato Melaku (who couldn't operate it for himself due to his old age) for the past five years. The son of Ato Hirpha (Bocher Hirpha who is 18) prefers agriculture over education. He left school at grade seven because he assumed that there will be little chance of obtaining a job after completing high school. Thus, he actively participates in agriculture which is considered remunerative.

Ato Hirpha was unable to get water regularly for the plot in Galiyy quarter which could be irrigated with a diverted river coming from Guwa Werko. As a result, he (in **mäggazo**) passed one **qarxi** of irrigated plot to Ato Moges Ijigu who is a very rich influential man in Guwa Werko who could easily get access to watering fields found in Galiyy for fields in Godino. Ato Moges has good relations with Ato Hirpha (who is confidant of Ato Moges's son-in-law) and both agreed that sugar cane will be planted on the plot.

In performing agricultural tasks, Ato Hirpha and his son divided the plots and oxen between them. His son took one pair of oxen and tilled 5 **qarxi** of land by himself. Bocher ploughs 5 **qarxi** of Gonbore plot in four rounds including seeding. Ato Hirpha handled one pair of oxen and is capable of completing the preparatory work of ploughing for 2 **qarxi** of land. For the rest, he hired a labourer on a daily basis paying 5 **bIrr** in addition to delivering lunch. He participated in four **jigi** work groups. Two of the organizers were relatives of Ato Hirpha and the other two have close ties with him. Ato Hirpha himself went out to plough only to one of the **jigi** work groups organized by his relative and sent his son on his behalf for other work groups. Ato Hirpha himself organized a **jigi** for ploughing task of sowing **t'ef** on 28-11-87. Seventeen persons turned out finishing the job in half a day, three of whom had no oxen. Three of the participants were actually reciprocating Ato Hirpha's labour in previous **jigi** and only one of Ato Hirphas relative couldn't come to the **jigi** in view of engagement in his own plot. Five of Ato Hirpha's **qarxi** were covered by **boohai** wheat whereas nine by **t'ef** and two by peas and red sorghum.

Weeding was participated in by other members of the family including hired labour. His son, together with his aunt and his mother, weeded the wheat field by additionally hiring five individuals for three days paying 3 **bIrr** per day for each including delivery of lunch. Ato Hirpha sprayed 24-D herbicide on 6 **qarxi** of **t'ef** field. He was regretting this move because the chemical also affected **t'ef**. Afterwards, he and

a hired labourer removed herbs which were killed by the chemical. In order to rehabilitate chemically affected **t'ef**, he broadcast 50 kg of urea fertilizer more than he was planning to apply. For the other fields, he hired four labourers to weed herbs paying 3 **bIrr** a day in addition to lunch.

Just after completing weeding, Ato Hirpha hired a labourer coming from the highland area of Gimibichu. He pays 30 **bIrr** a month in addition to providing, shelter and food. The labourer is aged 16, unmarried and came to complement his income using differences of agro-ecological zone where harvest is relatively late as compared to Godino. In this way, Ato Hirpha, putting all of his labour potential, harvested his plot step by step. He hired two women and used those in his household to harvest peas and red sorghum. Ato Hirpha started threshing his wheat before completing the harvest task. He was doing that to call **jigi** for transporting (**agizo**) the crop near to threshing-floor and some amount of his yield necessary to prepare feast of work party. Soon, he organized a **jigi** of twenty eight persons eight of whom were relatives and twenty were neighbours and friends. They accomplished transporting the crop near to Ato Hirpha threshing-floor in a single day and concluded with the feast administered in the host's house. The task involved transport services of 15 donkeys.

Afterwards, Ato Hirpha's wife prepared the threshing-floor on which threshing and winnowing tasks were performing step by step for more than a month intermittently. Ato Hirpha participated in the threshing task mostly engaging his son and a labourer. Then the chaff was piled up near the threshing floor to be stored as reserve food of animals. Ato Hirpha was willing to apply the Global-2000 standard amount of fertilizer. Thus, following the instruction of the DA, he applied 50 kg of Urea and Dap for 1 **qarxi** of his plot sown with **boohai** wheat. For the other plots of **t'ef** and wheat, he used 20 kg of Dap and 5 kg of urea per **qarxi** which is still better amount than most farmers use.

In his garden, Ato Hirpha planted **gesho**, coffee, papaya and orange. Mainly with responsibility and activity of his son, Ato Hirpha planted sugar cane on the irrigated plot of Ato Melaku (for one-half share) in **mäggazo** arrangement last year. The ploughing activity was performed by his son. To plant seedlings in well-dug beds, his son and three hired labourers were engaged. The payment was 6 **bIrr** for each on daily basis. The task was completed in a day during the rainy season.

Case 2: A household of middle strata from labour-scarce group.

Ato Tareqgne Belew is 55, a widower, and a step father of an adult. He has an ox, a donkey and one **qarxi** of rainfed plot as he was not a member of the PA. Last year, he had an ox stolen which he couldn't trace and reclaim. He complements his income by engaging in trading sugar cane and **gesho** and money lending. At present, he lives alone in his three-room tin-roofed house, getting domestic services (mainly cooking food and fetching water) from the household of his step son (Ato Demeqe Zena who was a chairman of previous the PC with a record of poor management and a bad reputation).

Ato Tarek'egne is not actively participating in agriculture due to his old age. By pairing his ox with his son's in **maqanajo**, he prepared one **qarxi** on his turn while finishing the preparation task and the last round of ploughing of three **qarxi** for sowing by hiring labourers on daily basis payments of 5 **bIrr** from Godino during last season. He participated in the **jigi** organized by his step son for sowing **t'ef** last summer. Ato Tareqgne covered 2 **qarxi** of the plot under his utilization with **t'ef** and another 2

qarxi with wheat. In general, he applied 80 Kg of Dap and Urea (15 KG Dap and 5 kg Urea for a single **qarxi**) on his plot which he could purchase in the name of his son because he is not a member of the SC. The year before last, Ato Tareqegne lent 550 **bIrr** for six clients in nearby Denema village. During last year's harvest he was paid 8 quintals of **t'ef** (one quintal for a debt of 50 **bIrr**) in the form of usury except three quintals which was not paid by two of his clients in Denema. In exchange for the grain-debt, the two persons agreed to transfer use right of their rainfed plots (2 **qarxi** from one and one from the other) for one year. Consequently, Ato Tareqegne makes three **qarxi** of their plots under his utilization for one year after which he returns them to the official owners.

Ato Tareqegne hired three persons (3 **bIrr** each for a manday) to weed his **t'ef** plot while he sprayed two-cups solution of 24-D on his wheat field last year. In a similar move, he employed two persons (paying 50 **bIrr** for a single **qarxi**) in order to harvest his field in Godino. He provides food for labourers for weeding but not for those harvesting his field depending on the terms of the deal.

Using his donkey, he joined a **jigi** work group of transporting crops from field. The **jigi** work was organized by W/ro Dinqitu Negere (aunt of Ato Tareqegne's son's wife), Ato Gonfa Dabi (father of Ato Tareqegne's son's wife), Ato Demeqe (his son), W/ro Tesfanesh Berihun (neighbour), and W/ro Chaltu Degefa (neighbour). In turn, Ato Feleqe himself organized a **Imäna** work (smaller size of **jigi**) attended by six persons (four of whom were his relatives and two his neighbours) who finished the task in a single day.

In the end, Ato Tareqegne's threshing-floor was prepared by Ato Feleqe's wife. Ato Tareqegne managed to gather four oxen from relatives to beat the chaff out of grain on threshing-floor and employed one person for four days (paying him one **qunna** of grain from the type of crop threshed at a time) in order to complete the task. Then the chaff was piled neatly near the threshing-floor to feed his animals in the dry season.

Case 3: Household of Middle strata from labour-sufficient female-headed households group.

W/ro Tesfanesh Berihun is 35, a mother of four and lives with her family in a two-rooms tin-roofed house. She was married just six months ago. She had all of her children out of marriage. As ex-member of the PC, she has five **qarxi** of rainfed and irrigated plot. She has two oxen, one bull, one cow, one calf and two donkeys. In addition she prepares **arage** in her home and distributes it to drinking house owners in the village. She has one boy aged 13 who tries to participate in lighter agricultural tasks. W/ro Tesfanesh can read and write.

W/ro Tesfanesh's son undertakes preparatory tasks on two **qarxi** while the remaining land is prepared by an arrangement called **arso arash** in which a labourer distributes his task on his plot and on Tesfanesh's plot in a 3:2 ratio. For the last round of seed-covering task, W/ro Tesfanesh organized a **jigi** of eight persons who performed the task in a single day last season. All of her **jigi** workers were mobilised on the basis of neighbourhood. One of her neighbours had her oxen and performed the ploughing task. The combination of W/ro Tesfanesh crops were 2 **qarxi** of white **t'ef**, 1 **qarxi** of red **t'ef** and 2 **qarxi** of wheat for last year. W/ro Tesfanesh gives two of her irrigated plots (each with 0.64m area) to two of her neighbours in **mäggazo** in one-half share. She chooses to hand over her irrigated plots in sharecropping arrangements to others because she can't operate them herself owing to lack of labour and cash. In her compound, she operates a garden which is planted with sugar cane, **gesho**, coffee and

cabbage. On the other hand, W/ro Tesfanesh rents one **qarxi** of rainfed plot for 150 **blrr** for one year from her neighbour in order to cope with shortage of land she faces. She reciprocates **jigi** labour debts by sending her oxen and a hired labourer for a day to Ato Derese Berket's **jigi** work of sowing. W/ro Tesfanesh applies 20 kg of Dap and 5 kg of urea for each of the five **qarxi** of land last year. Before last year, the combination of her crops were 1.3 **qarxi** of **t'ef**, 2 **qarxi** of wheat and 0.64m of fallow rainfed plot. She was forced to leave her plot uncultivated because her **arso arash** was not willing to plough it because he finished his agricultural task after which he didn't need her oxen.

In the weeding period, W/ro Tesfanesh hired five persons (4 **blrr** for each) for two days in addition to labour of herself and two of her children. Her **t'ef** crops were weeded twice whereas that of wheat only once. During harvest, W/ro Tesfanesh hosted a **jigi** work of 20 persons all of whom are neighbours except one of her relative. The task was completed in a day after which a feast was prepared. Unlike most women in the village, W/ro Tesfanesh harvests both **t'ef** and wheat using a sickle. She is also supported by her two children and her new husband. Again, W/ro Tesfanesh organized a **jigi** of 15 persons (neighbours) so as to transport crops to the threshing-floor. Then, she has arranged reciprocal exchange of oxen power with her neighbours namely Ato Feleqe Ingida and Gete Gebru to thresh crops. Apart from preparing the threshing-floor, W/ro Tesfanesh also participated in threshing her crops together with her husband and son. In the end, the chaff was piled up and reserved for feeding animals.

Case 4: Household of poor strata from labour-scarce female-headed households group.

W/ro Kebebus Bekele, is 38, a widow and a mother of three children. She lived in a two-room thatched-roof house with her children until two of her children were taken by their father very recently. She was a member of the PC replacing her deceased husband and is the owner of 5.3 **qarxi** irrigated and rainfed plot. She is illiterate and has no oxen or male labour in the household. She has children by one of the rich men in the village, being a mistress. She gives her all land in **maggazo** and rental arrangement for neighbours (rainfed one for Ato Shimeles Terfa and irrigated one to Ato Asrat Qarshi) since she lacks cash and labour to operate it by herself. In addition to agriculture, she earns her income by engaging in retail trade produces of irrigated plots.

Due to her covert affair, W/ro Kebebus has had bad relations with the wife of her lover. Consequently, the wife had her husband and W/ro Kebebus cursed by the **qallu**. Hence, circulation of economic goods between W/ro Kebebus and her lover was banned due to the curse implicating subsequent misfortune on the two if they don't respect the rule. Avoiding the consequences of cursing, the lover couldn't help W/ro Kebebus who couldn't use the labour and oxen of her lover. She couldn't pass over her plot to her lover in **maggazo**, too.

W/ro Kebebus works as a hired labourer in weeding, planting and cutting of onions. Last year, she weeded for five days earning 3 **blrr** a day in addition to food. She also planted and cut onions for four days earning 3 **blrr** a day. The year before last, she borrowed 50 **blrr** and paid 50 Kg of **t'ef** last year postponing half of the grain-debt for this year. In the past, she tried to operate garden plants. Last year, driven by shortage of cash, she rented out her **shikarimetIr** plot for two years for 150 **blrr** to her neighbour. Her share from the yield of her rainfed plot is one-third. She complains that the utiliser of her rainfed plot was not willing to plant **ikkIr** crops. She

explains that utiliser of her plot suspects she will end the sharecrop dealing if he plants **IkkIr** crops. Thus, she is not satisfied with the way and type of crops rotated on her field which has a negative impact on the yield and her share. She plans to change the utiliser of her field for next season for the first time in the past eight years.

Case 5: Household of poor strata from labour-scarce male-headed household group.

Ato Bedada Balcha is 60, married and a father of two children. His daughter was married fourteen years ago and his young boy is residing at home. Ato Bedada lives with his family in his two-roomed thatched-roof house. He was a member of the PC and has 5.28 **qarxi** of rainfed and irrigated plot. He doesn't own an ox but has one bull and one heifer. His main income is drawn from agriculture though he is supported by his daughter. Ato Bedada's 20 year old son doesn't like to involve himself in agricultural activities familiarizing himself with the tasks of the butcher's in the village. The son is employed as a butcher in the village leaving his helpless father alone in agricultural tasks. Losing his potentially available labour in his home, Ato Bedada brought his grandson so as to impart agricultural skills to him and to secure future support of labour. In his present capacity, he couldn't operate all of his land. Thus, he transfers 3.28 **qarxi** of his plot in **māggazo** to two persons (his relative and neighbour). He tries to cultivate 2 **qarxi** of his rainfed plots.

Ato Bedada prepared his plots in two rounds by using oxen of his neighbour during the last season. For the final round of ploughing (third one), he exchanged two **abbifa** (amount of straw that could be carried by a donkey at once) of straw for a single day's labour and oxen power of four oxen. After treading the soil with his and borrowed animals, he broadcast **t'ef** on one **qarxi** near his homestead. He sowed wheat on another **qarxi** of his land. He utilised 50 kg of Dap and Urea for two **qarxi** of land.

Ato Bedada, helped by his grandson, weeded his plots. He performed this task twice on his **t'ef** field and once for the wheat. During harvesting period, he participated in 5 **jigi** work groups, two of which organized by relatives whereas three were by neighbours. Ato Bedada called 5 persons for **Iimāna** labour of harvesting his wheat field which takes 30 minutes walking from his homestead. The work was completed in a day which was concluded by ordinary invitation of lunch administered by Ato Bedada. He himself harvested his **t'ef** in seven days. He calls for help (**Iimāna**) for four persons so as to transport his wheat to home. He then threshed his crop by borrowing oxen from a neighbour step by step. He was of course helped by his wife in the preparation of the threshing-floor. He reserved his straw for future use of feeding animals and exchanging it for oxen power.

Case 6: Household of the rich strata from labour-scarce female-headed household group.

W/ro Tsehaynesh Tegegne is 48, unmarried, childless and a respected woman in the village. At the moment, her relationship as a mistress of Ato Shimeles has been open which gives him a chance to act as a quasi-husband without divorcing his first wife who is a mother of eight children. At the onset of this relationship, conflict erupted between Ato Shimeles and his first wife. With the mediation of elders, the relationship has been tolerated provided that it doesn't entail transfer of economic goods

from Ato Shimeles's household to that of W/ro Tsehaynesh. Recently, W/ro Tsehaynesh has become a member of the PA, receiving 8 **qarxi** of rainfed plot. She has six oxen, a bull, a cow, a calf, a donkey, and two horses. The two horses are used to pull a cart, the income of which is divided in proportion of two-third to the owner and one-third to a carter. W/ro Tsehaynesh also runs one of the renowned drinking houses of **t'äj** (meed) and **farso** in the village. Even though the main income of W/ro Tsehaynesh is not identified, she draws a substantial income from agriculture. She has three maids, a hired labourer and a herder living with her in a three-room tin-roofed house. She pays 2 quintals of **t'Iru (t'ef)** and **adäf** (beans, peas and so on).

Her hired labourer, a Godino resident, has stayed for five years serving routinely in exchange for one **qarxi** of land allocated to him by W/ro Tsehaynesh. The hired labourer of W/ro Tsehaynesh has developed a patron-client relationship with her. He is living with W/ro Tsehaynesh together with his son. He is not only serving her in agriculture but also in other areas where his help is required. He has been managing 7 **qarxi** of rainfed plot by himself, supported by his brother who performs the ploughing task for Gudeta, undertaking activities of weeding, harvesting and threshing. Gudeta has been allowed to operate his field regardless of the time consumed in this task. Gudeta utilises 5 **qarxi** of his farm land through rental and **minda** while allotting 2 **qarxi** of farmland from the PA. In addition to 8.3 **qarxi** of land she is officially entitled to, W/ro Tsehaynesh takes 8 **qarxi** of rainfed plot in **minda** and sharecropping arrangements. W/ro Tsehaynesh exchanges four of her oxen with four **qarxi** of farmland in **minda** dealings with two residents of Godino Known to her. She takes 1 **qarxi** of rainfed plot in **mäggazo** from her relative. She rents 3 **qarxi** of rainfed plot from nearby Denema the PA from persons who related to her as frequent visitors of her drinking house.

After Gudeta has completed the preparatory work, W/ro Tsehaynesh organized **jigi** work of 6 persons one of whom brought two pairs of oxen. The task was the last round ploughing to broadcast **t'ef**. All of the attendants were neighbours except one relative and one of them was a beneficiary of **minda** from W/ro Tsehaynesh. The task was concluded in half a day followed by a feast held in her home. W/ro Tsehaynesh reciprocated the labour of one of her **jigi** participants sending Gudeta with oxen. W/ro Tsehaynesh had 6 **qarxi** of white **t'ef**, 2 **qarxi** of red **t'ef**, 6 **qarxi** of wheat and 2 **qarxi** of chickpeas and chickling peas last season. On average, she applied 20 kg of Dap and 5 kg of Urea for a single **qarxi** of farmland. In harvesting, Gudeta, helped by two temporarily employed labourers for 50 **bIrr** per **qarxi**, completed the task. In order to transport the crop to the near by threshing-floor, W/ro Tsehaynesh called a **jigi** of 10 persons who finished the job in a day. The task of threshing was performed by her herder and a neighbour who worked for five days for a payment of 25 kg of grain (one **qunna** or 5 kg per manday). This is due to the fact that Gudeta is dividing his time between his crops and W/ro Tsehaynesh's task. As usual, the chaff is piled and reserved for feeding animals.

Case 7: Household of middle strata from labour sufficient male headed group.

Ato Tsegaye Sagni is 63, married, a father of one and a grand father of four, all of whom are living in a two-room thatched-roof house. The household has a common property of 8.5 **qarxi** (2.5 **qarxi** of land belong to the son) of rainfed and 1.28 irrigated plot. The son, Endale Tsegaye, is 27, a drop out of college and accountant of the SC mill house at the moment. He has participated in my study as enumerator and

key informant. Ato Tsegaye was an ex-labourer of Ts'ähafi Tilzaz and then member majority of Ato Tsegaye's income is drawn from agriculture though he gets some earnings from preparing handles of ploughshares. Both the father and the son support each other in agricultural tasks though the son is a little bit tight in performing his job in the mill house. Agricultural decisions are made in negotiations between the two but most of the new innovations and application of fertilizer is preferred by the son. The household has obtained a bull from its affinal group (from relatives of Endale's wife) on condition that Ato Tsegaye would plough a plot of his affinal group in addition to his own.

Due to relatively scarce labour and cash, Ato Tsegaye gives 2.5 **qarxi** of rainfed and 0.64 **qarxi** of irrigated plots in **mäggazo** sharing two-fifth of the yield from the former and one-half from the latter. Last season, Ato Tsegaye sowed **t'ef** on three **qarxi**, chickpeas on 1.5 **qarxi** and lentils on 1.5 **qarxi**. Endale left uncultivated the 0.64 irrigated plot in order to reserve it as **tchiflik'** plot for the next season plantation of onion. The son and the father made the preparation alternatively ploughing the **koticha** plot of **t'ef** in seven rounds and that of chickpeas and lentils in three rounds including the task of tilling to seed. Endale has sent their oxen without a plough-man to participate in **Jigi** work for of his friend, a priest of Gufti Mariam church in the village. They have also prepared 3 **qarxi** of **cari** plot of their affinal group on six rounds for **t'ef**. The household applied 50 kg of fertilizer (mixed 30 kg of Dap and 20 kg of urea) on each of the three **qarxi** plot. Pesticide (one cup of chemical in 15 litre of water solution) is also applied in lentils to protect them from **kish-kish** pest.

Since the **t'ef** plot was softened, considering on the incidence of weeds was very much reduced. Weeding was performed on the three **qarxi** of **t'ef** field in one round, except for two **qarxi** which was weeded twice. The chickpeas plot was also weeded once. Up to six persons (5 neighbours and one relative) were hired to weed the field in 4 days paying 88 **bIrr** (4 **bIrr** a manday) in total. For two days, Ato Tsegaye worked with labourers and Endale had no time to be engaged in this task.

During the harvest, four persons of Godino were hired to cut the **t'ef** crop dealing on contract basis of 100 **bIrr** for two **qarxi** and 55 **bIrr** for a **qarxi**. Ato Tsegaye was present to observe and follow up the task but his son could not. Food was not provided for the labourers as it was the case for weeding. To uproot or harvest lentils, a group of five neighbours were organized by **Ilmäna**, three of whom were women. They harvested lentils as much as they could in a day but the task could not be completed. It was considered too demanding to extend the work more than a day which was concluded with its proper feast. As a result, these same persons continued their job for a second day but with a payment of 4 **bIrr** for a manday and 20 **bIrr** altogether. Likewise, about 20 **bIrr** was spent to harvest chickpeas by hired labourers and unpaid neighbours. The neighbours (two women) were presented one **qunna** (5 kg) of chickpeas each. Ato Tsegaye participated in harvesting of chickpeas and lentils. To transport crops to nearly the threshing-floor, Ato Tsegaye has made reciprocal arrangement of group work (**wonfal**) among five neighbours who pooled 5 donkeys for the task. In each turn, the host is responsible to prepare a feast for members of the work group. To thresh **t'ef** crop, one person was hired for four days earning 4 **qunna** (one **qunna** per day). The yield of the **t'ef** is 12 quintals from the three **qarxi**. Ato Tsegaye and Endale threshed chickpeas and lentils. They have bought two piles of chaff for 150 **bIrr** in addition to their own which was placed neatly and reserved as future

feed for their animals. This year Ato Tsegaye received 1,300 **birr** as one-half share from the sale of sugar cane on his **mäggazo** plot from his sharecropper. Shortly after, he bought an ox for 900 **birr** to solve his shortage of oxen.

Case 8: Household of middle strata from under or 50 years old and recently married.

Ato Issubalew G/Kidan is 28, married and a father of one. Issubalew can read and write but does not have formal education. He lives in a two-room thatched-roof house. Issubalew was a PC member and married five years ago. He has 3 **qarxi** of rainfed and 1.28 **qarxi** of rainfed plot as well as an ox, a cow, a calf and two donkeys. The main income of Issubalew's household is derived from agriculture. His wife also prepares **farso** and **areqe** to complement their income. Issubalew's earnings come from hired labour activities of agriculture. He also switches to off-farm activities such as plastering mud on walls of houses. Issubalew transferred his 0.3 **qarxi** of rainfed plot in a long-term deal of **kontrat** for four years for cash value of 400 **birr** to his friend so as to cover treatment cost of his wife who was seriously sick last year. In addition, he gives his 0.64 **qarxi** of rainfed plot in a **mäggazo** arrangement to his intimate mill-owner villager for a year. The year before last, his land was covered with 2.3 **qarxi** of **t'ef** plot and 1 **qarxi** of wheat. Last year, the combination of his crop didn't change but he sowed **t'ef** on the previous wheat field and vice versa. He utilised his 0.64 **qarxi** of irrigated plot to broadcast wheat after the end of his **mäggazo** deal. Last season, he paired his ox to that of his neighbour Tibebu Faye using traction power of the oxen in rotation after a day's work. Issubalew prepares his **koticha** plot for **t'ef** in four rounds sowing at the fifth round. He prepares his wheat field in three and makes the last round of his ploughing to sow. He called two of his neighbours for **Ilmäna** labour on his last round of ploughing after which he invited his guests to lunch. He applied 10 kg of Dap and 5 kg of Urea for each **qarxi**. He weeded his **t'ef** crop twice whereas using herbicide 24-D on his wheat crop. For this task, he was helped by his 16 year old brother who is living with Issubalew's mother in the neighbourhood. During harvest, he accomplished the task together with his brother step by step. Then he joined the (**wonfal**) reciprocal arrangement of transporting crops to areas of threshing-floors with his neighbours. During his turn, he invited five participants of the work group to lunch. After the end of this activity, helped by his wife, he threshed his crops in a couple of days borrowing oxen from his neighbours for whom he did the same when asked. The seasonal duty came to an end, after piling chaff orderly for future use. Afterwards, he planted onions on his irrigated plot in January which will be harvested after four or five months.

Case 9: Household of poor strata from under or 50 years old group.

Ato Izra Kefyalew is 38, married and a father of four by two wives. He divorced his first wife who took responsibility of bringing up the two children by herself. He didn't help his children who are mature and participate as hired labourers in the village now. Since he was not a member of the PA, he had few **qarxi** of land and property from which his first wife didn't claim a share. He was then able to marry a second wife with whom he lives in a two-room thatched-roof house. Izra is illiterate. During the land reform, Izra was a hired labourer not having his own household. He didn't join the PA nor was he allotted a plot. After 1983, he was accepted to the PA following his application and allotted 5 **qarxi** rainfed plot. By 1989, he was deprived

of 3 **qarxi** of land and purged from the PA since he was not capable of providing grain quota of the AMC. Izra has 2 **qarxi** of land and a heifer. His main income is derived from his small plot, hired labour activities and off-farm tasks (specially carving out handles of farming tools). His wife complements their income by running a drinking house of **arage** and **farso**. The year before last, he borrowed 70 **blrr** from his neighbour to meet his cash needs and paid 1 quintal of **t'ef** last year.

Most of the time, he performs agricultural tasks alone on his small plot. Last season, he ploughed his **cari** plot in two rounds for **t'ef**. In the previous year, his plot was covered by wheat. He borrowed oxen from persons for whom he frequently works as hired labourer. Weeding task was accomplished by Sisay and his wife in two rounds. He also harvested his own crops in his free time when he was not occupied by hired labour duties in the village. He purchased two bags of fertilizer and sold one of them. He applied 15 kg of Dap and Urea for each of his two **qarxi** land. He did for other tasks, he transported his crops from fields helped by his friend and borrowing a donkey from a neighbour. Supported by his wife, Izra threshed his crops using oxen from his employer. He then sold half of his chaff for 70 **blrr** to his employer in various agricultural tasks reserving some amount for his heifer.

Case 10: Household of middle strata from labour-deficient female-headed group.

W/ro Lensi Kiflu is 54, a widow and a mother of four. After the death of her husband, she became a member of the PA retaining 8 **qarxi** of rainfed plot belonging to their household. She lives in a two-room tin-roofed house with her children. She has two oxen and a donkey. W/ro Lensi complements her income by running a drinking house of **arage** and **farso**. W/ro Lensi is illiterate. Two of her sons prefer to be engaged in trade activities of the butcher house rather than in agriculture. W/ro Lensi has a concubine to whom she begot a baby which died shortly after. This person facilitates ways for W/ro Lensi so that she could rent irrigated plot in nearby Harawa village. The year before last, W/ro Lensi lent 150 **blrr** to two Denema Peasants to be paid in terms of two quintals of **t'ef**. One of the peasants was unable to pay his debt last year. Consequently, he transferred his 2 **qarxi** of land for one year to W/ro Lensi. The combination of her crops the season before last was 3 **qarxi** of **t'ef**, 2 **qarxi** of **boohai** Wheat, One **qarxi** of Beans and 2 **qarxi** of chickpeas. During last season, it was 4 **qarxi** of white **t'ef**, 2 **qarxi** of red **t'ef**, 2 **qarxi** of Wheat and intercropped chickpeas and chikling pea on 1 **qarxi** of land.

To perform the agricultural task, W/ro Lensi hired one peasant defraying 2.5 quintals of grains for a year round service during last year. She sent her farmer to plough task of sowing to a neighbour who organized a **jigi** work of 15 persons. W/ro Lensi called four neighbours to undertake sowing task. Weeding was carried out by hiring four persons (4 **blrr** a day for each) for two days of work on **t'ef** crop. Food was not provided and her two daughters weeded with hired labourers. W/ro Lensi sprayed herbicide on wheat crops leaving other crops free of weeding task. During the harvest, she hired one person for forty **blrr** to cut **t'ef** and wheat crops in one **qarxi** of land. To transport crops from farm field (**guura**), W/ro Lensi organized a work group of 20 persons from her neighbourhood. The task was completed in a day and ended with a lunch feast administered by the host. After the threshing floor was prepared by W/ro Lensi, the task of threshing was continued intermittently for a month by a hired labourer. W/ro Lensi borrowed oxen from neighbours in a reciprocal arrangement. In the end, chaff was piled properly. She was also able to buy additional chaff from oxenless peasants in her neighbourhood for 90 **blrr**.

Case 11: Household of poor strata from labour-sufficient male-headed group.

Ato Teklu Wondwosen is 61, married and a father of six. He was a member of the PC leadership and thus has a low reputation in the village. He has 8 **qarxi** of rainfed and one **qarxi** of irrigated plots and a bull. He resides in a tin-roofed two-room house with his family. Ato Teklu can read and write. He has a son, 16 years old, who helps his father in agricultural tasks. The main income of Ato Teklu is drawn from agriculture which is also complemented by a 90 **bIrr** salary for guarding a closed area of Gudisa Gara in the village. He took one ox in **minda** (share oxen) arrangement from a neighbour paying 2 quintals of grain for the service. In February of last year, he sold his only ox so as to pay his debt of 150 kg of fertilizer. Ato Teklu transferred his 3 **qarxi** of rainfed plots in **mäggazo** to two neighbours for the past two years. He also rented (**shiyatch**) 3 **qarxi** of his land for 450 **bIrr** to a neighbour before last season. Likewise, he rented 4 **qarxi** of his land for 800 **bIrr** last season. He sowed 1 **qarxi** of **t'ef** and 1 **qarxi** of wheat and 1 **qarxi** of onions before last year. Last season, he planted 1 **qarxi** of **t'ef** and 1 **qarxi** of wheat. He used the plot of onions in the previous year to sow **t'ef** last season. Also, the **t'ef** field of the season before last was sowed with wheat last season.

Helped by his son, Ato Teklu prepared his plots by pairing his ox with that of a neighbour by an arrangement called **maqanaajo**. In this way, he ploughed his **t'ef** plot in four rounds and wheat in three rounds in last season. He called one of his neighbours in order to sow **t'ef** and wheat last season by inviting the helper to lunch at the end. Members of his family completed the weeding task on **t'ef** (in two rounds) and on wheat (in one round). He organized a **Ilmäna** labour of four persons so as to harvest **t'ef** and wheat. Again, he gathered four of his neighbours to transport **t'ef** and wheat crops to his homestead. With the help of his family, he threshed the crops and piled the chaff orderly selling half of it for 70 **bIrr**.

Case 12: Household of poor strata from labour-sufficient female-headed group.

W/ro Demequ Tolcha is 45, a widow and a mother of three, two of when are boys participating in agricultural activities. Her husband was a PC member who was replaced by W/ro Demequ after his death. She has 4 **qarxi** of rainfed and 1.28 **qarxi** of irrigated plots as well as a heifer. W/ro Demequ can read and write. She lives in a two-room thatched-roof house. One of her boys is hired as a labourer in the village on a permanent basis earning 3 quintals of grain and residing with his employer. Agricultural production is the mainstay of W/ro Demequ's household complemented by retail trade activities of horticultural products. W/ro Demequ herself is occasionally employed for lighter agricultural tasks such as harvesting sugar cane, cutting leaves of onions and so on.

Due to absence of male labour in her household, W/ro Demequ shares out 4.98 **qarxi** of rainfed and irrigated plots. Most of this land (4.34 **qarxi**) was given in a **mäggazo** arrangement to her brother. Only 0.64 **qarxi** of irrigated land was rented to a neighbour for 150 **bIrr** for one season. W/ro Demequ helped by her son, operates her 0.3 **qarxi** of garden plot intercropping sugar cane, cabbage, **corqa** and **baso billa**. Since, most of her land is operated by her brother, the share of yield is not strictly monitored following **mäggazo** rules. It is to be settled between the two households who are supporting each other.

Case 13: Household of rich strata from labour-sufficient female-headed group.

W/ro Dinqitu Negere is 40, divorced and a mother of four of whom three are sons. Two of the sons are engaged in agricultural tasks. W/ro Dinqitu can read and write and lives with her children in a four-room tin-roofed house. One of the rooms is utilised to sell drinks such as **arage** and **farso** which complement the income of the household. The main income of the household derives from agriculture in which W/ro Dinqitu participates actively as an ex-PC member and then private farmer. W/ro Dinqitu has 2 **qarxi** of irrigated and 8 **qarxi** of rainfed plots. She owns 4 oxen, two bulls, one cow, and one donkey. By 1988, 0.64 **qarxi** and in 1995 0.64 **qarxi** of irrigated plot was purchased by W/ro Dinqitu in the form of **ats'mä rist** from her neighbours. Both of the plots were previously operated by W/ro Dinqitu in **mäggazo** dealings. Before last season, she planted 1 **qarxi** of onion, 1 **qarxi** of Sugar cane, 5 **qarxi** of **t'ef**, 2 **qarxi** of **boohai** and **inkoy** Wheat, 1 **qarxi** of chickpeas. Last season, she sowed **t'ef** on 2 **qarxi** of wheat and 1 **qarxi** of chickpeas field of the previous year in addition to 4 **qarxi** of land obtained by renting. She also broadcast wheat last year on 2 **qarxi** of land, **t'ef** and 1 **qarxi** of onion field the previous year and 2 **qarxi** of rented land last season. She intercropped lentils, chickpeas and chickling peas on the **t'ef** field of 1994/95 season. There is no change in crops of irrigated fields. Ploughing task were performed in five rounds for **t'ef** on **koticha** soil in 1994/95 but three rounds on the same soil and crop last year due to reduced incidence of weeds. Ploughing task for wheat on **koticha** soil was performed in three rounds for the past two consecutive years. Fields of leguminous crops were ploughed twice. Weeding for **t'ef** was carried out in two rounds whereas the herbicide 24-d was sprayed on wheat field.

W/ro Dinqitu called 3 of her neighbours to sow **t'ef** which was completed in a day. She also participated in a sowing task for wheat on the field of a husband for W/ro Dinqitu's brother's daughter. The duty was similarly finished in a day after which lunch was served. To weed her **t'ef** field, she employed 4 persons in addition to participation of W/ro Dinqitu and her children in the task for 3 days. To harvest **t'ef** crops, she organized a **jigi** of 17 persons who finished the work in a day and were invited to a meal by the host. She employed 3 immigrant highlanders paying them 45 **bIrr** for one **qarxi** to harvest the remaining crops. Part of the field was harvested by her sons. She organized a **jigi** of 20 persons from neighbourhood to transport crops to the threshing-floor. After accomplishment of this task, lunch and **farso** was served for **jigi** work members. Task of threshing was undertaken slowly by her sons reciprocally exchanging oxen with relatives and neighbours, The chaff was in the end piled properly as future feed of animals.

Case 14: Household of rich strata from labour-deficient male-headed group.

Ato G/Michael Indeshaw is 68, married and lives with his wife in a two-room tin-roofed house. His son went to Germany twenty-eight years back from where he never returned nor had any links with his family. Ato G/Michael was a member of the PC and retired before the collapse of the association. Ato G/Michael has 0.64 **qarxi** of irrigated and 2 **qarxi** of rainfed land, 5 oxen, two heifers, 2 cows, 2 calves, 6 goats, 3 sheep, and 3 donkeys. He rented four **qarxi** of rainfed plot for 550 **bIrr** from Denema village. Before last season, he lent 150 **bIrr** to three residents of Denema exacting one quintal of **t'ef** last year in the form of payment postponing payment of 1 quintal for this year. He hired a labourer on a permanent basis from Harawa PA paying 2 quintals of grain and 50 **bIrr** annually. He also has a hired herder from Godino

village. Ato G/Michael transferred 0.64 **qarxi** of irrigated plot to his neighbour in terms of **mäggazo**. The combination of his crops the year before last and the following year was unchanged being 4 **qarxi** of **t'ef** and 2 **qarxi** wheat. For this, he used 2 **qarxi** for white and red **t'ef** consecutively and exchanging the other 2 **qarxi** of **t'ef** with 2 **qarxi** of wheat. Ploughing task were carried out in four rounds for **t'ef** on **koticha** soil whereas three times for wheat. Two rounds of weeding was undertaken on **t'ef** field whereas the herbicide 24-D was sprayed on wheat field. He gave one ox to his neighbour in **minda** charging 3 quintals of grain for the service. One of his oxen died this year falling from the hill.

Mostly Ato G/Michael operates two **qarxi** of rainfed plot located near to his homestead leaving the greater portion of the task to his labourer. Just before the onset of harvest last season, the labourer of Ato G/Michael disappeared stealing some of his property. Soon after, Ato G/Michael himself became sick and incapable of performing the harvest task. Harvesting of his crops was finally done by Ato Negash, a relative of Ato G/Michael living in the village. Ato Beltt'e Habtamu harvested Ato G/Michael's crops partially hiring labourers and partially by his household members. Subsequently, Ato Belett'e organized a **jigi** work of 10 persons from his neighbourhood to transport Ato G/Michael's crops to his homestead. Lunch was then served by the wife of Ato G/Michael for participants of the **jigi** work. Afterwards, part of the crops necessary for consumption was threshed by Ato Belett'e helped by Ato G/Michael's wife who prepared the threshing-floor. The remaining part of the crops were reserved until Ato G/Michael felt better. Ato G/Michael finished the rest of the threshing task by himself and hiring his neighbour for three days paying 3 **qunna** (15kg) of grain. The last job of the season was concluded by piling the chaff properly.

Case 15: Household of rich strata from labour-sufficient group.

Ato Derese Bereket is 61, married and a father of three. He was an ex-labourer of Ts'ähafi TIIzaz and then member of PC. He has 6 **qarxi** of rainfed and 2 **qarxi** of irrigated plots. He owns 4 oxen, 2 bulls, 1 heifer, 2 cows, and one calf. He lives with his family in a four-room tin-roofed house. Ato Derese is illiterate. The main income of his household is derived from agriculture which is complemented by sales of **farso** and **araqe** run by his wife. Due to its relatively high cost of investment of intensive labour, he shared out 0.64 **qarxi** of irrigated plot to his neighbour. On the other hand, Ato Derese took 5 **qarxi** of rainfed plot from a relative and neighbours in **mäggazo** for the past two years. He often lent money to Denema villagers. Last year, he lent 210 **bIrr** to two persons exacting 3 quintals of **t'ef** as debt payment. His irrigated 0.64 **qarxi** of land was intercropped with sugar cane, cabbage, **baso billa**, and **t'äj sar**. He planted onions on his other 0.64 **qarxi** of irrigated plot. For the past two years, the combination of his crops were 6 **qarxi** of **t'ef**, 2 **qarxi** of wheat (**dashen**) and 1 **qarxi** of chickpeas. He was making a shift between **t'ef** and wheat planting **lkkIr** crop when the farm field was affected too much by weeds. Ploughing was done in four rounds to the maximum for **t'ef** in mixed soil of **koticha** and **gonbore** whereas it was made in three rounds for wheat. Weeding was conducted in two rounds for **t'ef** and only once for wheat.

Ato Derese actively carried out the ploughing task helped by his 18 year old son. Last season, he gathered a **jigi** work group of 8 persons who are his relatives and neighbours so as to accomplish the sowing task of **t'ef**. The task was undertaken in a day which was concluded by provision of lunch. He hired a labourer in order to plant

Crop Names of Godino

English	Scientific Name	Oromifa Equivalents
Teff	Ergrostis teff	Xafi
Wheat	Triticum	Qamadi
Landrace	-	Qoraxe
"	-	Nyaranqole
"	-	Looko
"	-	Setakuri
"	-	Aybo
"	-	Inkoy-buhee
New Variety	-	Inkoy
"	-	Buuhce
"	-	Dasheni
"	-	Isreli
"	-	Laqachi
"	-	Keniya
"	-	Garado
"	-	Qorix
"	-	Sartini
Barley	Hordeum	Garbo
Red sorghum	Sorghum Vulgare	Masiya dima
Lentils	Lens esculenta	Mishira
Field peas	Pisum Sativum	Atara
Horse beans	Vicia Faba	Beqila
Chickpeas	Cicer arietinum	Shumbura
Maiz	Zee Mays	Boqolo
Chicklingpea	Lathyrus Sativus	Gayo
Soy beans	Glicine hispida	Adanguare
Haricot beans	Phaseolus vulgaris	Boloqe
Rape seed	Brasica napus	Jumma
Sunflower	Helianthus antiquorum	Sufi
Sweet potato	Ipomoeo batatas	Mixaxis
Irish potato	Ipomoea batatas	Dinicha
Sugar cane	Saccharum officinarum	Shankora agada
Local variety	-	Nac Agada
Improved variety	-	K'ay Agada
Onion	Allium cepa	qulbi dima
Garlic	Allium ursinum	Qulbi adi

Tree melon	Carica papaya	Papaye
Green Pepper	-	Corqa
Cabbage	Brassica oleracea	Rafu
Banana	Musa paradisiaca	Muz
Tomato	Lycopersicum esculentum	Timatimi
Worm wood	Artemisia afra	Ariti
African tea	Catha edulis	Chati
-	Ocimum lamifolium	Dama Kase
Buckthorn	Rhamnus prinoides	Gesho
Lemon grass	Cymbopogon citratus	Xajisar
Herb of grace	Ruta chalepensis va. tenuifolia	Xena adami
Arabian Coffee	Coffee Arabica	Buna



Plate 1: Tredding of the soil in Jigi work group.

Tractor of Godino SC



Plate 2: Jigi work of ploughing



Plate 3: Tractor of Godino SC



Plate 4: Lunch after Jigi work in the host house



Plate 5: Cattle market in Godino



Plate 6: Hired labourer working with his employer in the field



Plate 7: Market



Plate 8: Hired labourer spraying the 24-d herbicide on a wheat field



Plate 9: Hired labourers weeding



Plate 10: Sugar cane plantation



Plate 11: The Wodecha river dam diverting part of the river to farm fields



Plate 12: Channel of Wodecha river leading to farm fields



Plate 13: Harvested onions in Belbela Quarter



Plate 14: Diversion of Belbella river to farm fields

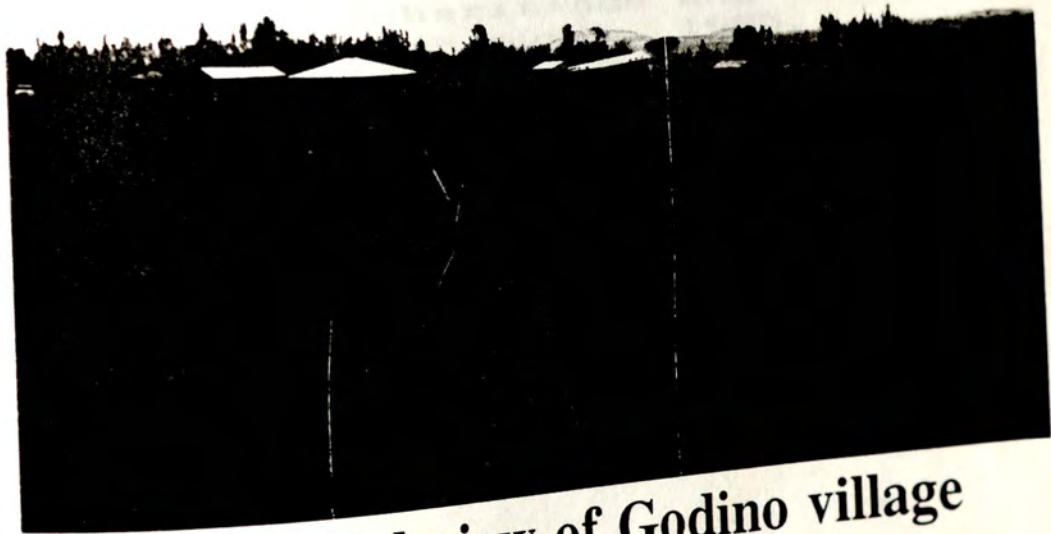


Plate 15: Partial view of Godino village

9742-2363:87

Q. 1/1:

Q. 1/1 = 4/11: 1/10/95: 0/1/10/95: 4/1/10/95

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A. Letter of the PA intending to prohibit Inheritance and to deprive farm land from owner, 1995.

የገዢዎች: 29ቀን-5ኛ-9/98

አገልግሎት: ቀበሌ: ገበያ: መ/ሥራ: አመራር: አገልግሎት:
የሥራ:

አመልካች: ነጻ: መ/ሥ: ዘላለም: አዳኝ: የመጠንክራት
መ/ሥ: ቀን-98 = 1ኛ ስ: ቆይቶ: ገዢ: አገልግሎት
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ገዢ? = የሥራ: ገዢ: ገዢ: ገዢ: መጠንክራት: ገዢ
አገልግሎት: የሥራ ገዢ = ገዢ = ገዢ: ገዢ: ገዢ: ገዢ
ገዢ: አንድ ገዢ ገዢ: ገዢ: ገዢ: ገዢ: ገዢ

አመልካች:

የገዢዎች:

ዘላለም: አዳኝ =

የገዢዎች ገዢ =

ዘላለም: አዳኝ =

የገዢዎች ገዢ =

29/5/98

B. AGREEMENT of ~~S~~ Selling a House, 1998.

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 0000: 0000. 0000. 900000. 920. 0000: 0000
 0000: 0000. 0000. 0000: 8000: 35 09: 9000
 0000: 0000. 0000: 0000: 0000 150 (0000: 0000
 0000: 0000/0000: 0000000000: 0000: 0000000000000000
 0000. 00000000: 900000: 0000000000.
 1) 0000: 0000. 0000.
 2) 0000: 0000000000.
 3) 0000: 0000000000: 0000: 000000. 000000. 0000000000000000
 00000000 0000000000.
 0000 0000000000: 0000

C. Agreement of renting irrigated land, 1996.

Handwritten header text in Amharic script.

Main body of handwritten text in Amharic script, including names and titles.

Handwritten signature or name in Amharic script.

- List of handwritten notes or items in Amharic script, numbered 1, 2, 3.

F. Agreement of borrowing cash, 1994.