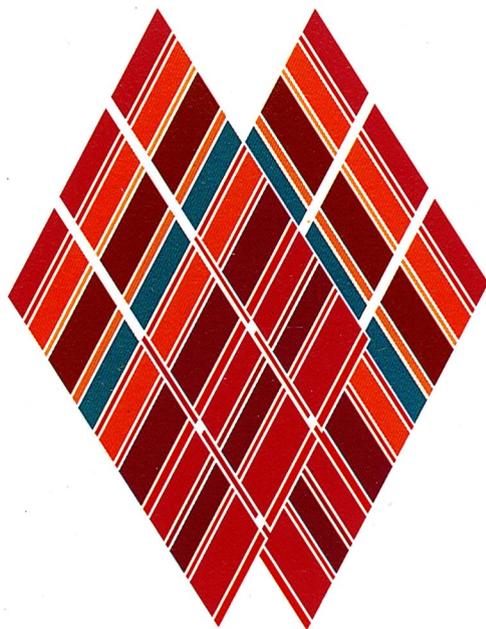


COMITATO INTERNAZIONALE PER LO SVILUPPO DEI POPOLI

# Resettlement and Rural Development in Ethiopia

Social and economic research, training and technical  
assistance in the Beles Valley

edited by **Paolo Dieci and Claudio Viezzoli**



**Franco Angeli**

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## 2. THE NEED FOR A GRASS-ROOTS APPROACH: THE CISP DEVELOPMENT PROJECT IN THE BELES AREA

*Paolo Dieci and Vittorio Roscio*

### **1. The situation in the Beles area at the time the CISP multisectoral programme was designed**

The objective of this report is to describe the general conditions in the Beles area at the time (May and June 1986) of CISP's on-site design of its multisectoral programme in support of the resettled populations and to illustrate the goals and the methodologies chosen, as well as their rationale.

This report does not set out to evaluate the results of the programme in the light of the theoretical and methodological structure it adopted, nor therefore will it draw any conclusions about the first years of work by CISP in the Beles area.

Moreover, it should be noted that at the time this report is being submitted (May 1990) the programme is still in progress and that the most significant results obtained to date are presented elsewhere in this book.

In the first half of 1986 the over-riding concern in the Beles area was the weakened state of the resettled populations due to the extreme hardship they suffered during resettlement and the difficulties they encountered in adapting to the new environment, which were obviously greatest during the initial period of residence.<sup>1</sup>

To put into proper perspective the situation in the Beles area in the

1. The issue of the conditions under which part of the Ethiopian population was transferred from drought-stricken areas to new settlement areas has aroused a wide-ranging and heated international debate. Certainly, the acute shortage of vehicles caused great hardship and suffering to the populations transferred, adding to the misery they had suffered in their former lands because of the drought.

period when the multisectoral programme of CISP was devised we should also be mindful of the discrepancy existing between the actual initial living conditions of the resettled populations and their expectations in this regard.<sup>2</sup>

The "Tana Beles Project", implemented by the Salini Costruttori firm under the direction of the Studio Pietrangeli, began operating in March 1986, executing an emergency work plan, especially in the agricultural and general infrastructure sectors (in particular the construction of a first road network to link the villages).

The emergency criterion also dictated initial actions by Ethiopian institutions, in particular the authority implementing assistance programmes for the resettled populations, the "Relief and Rehabilitation Commission" (RRC).

### *1.1 The resettled population*

On 15 May, 1986, when the feasibility mission of the CISP multisectoral programme in the area began, 22,924 family units had already been transferred to it, for a total of 75,344 persons. The average size of the families was hence approximately 3.3 individuals.

The composition of the resettled populations in that period by age and sex is given in Table 1.

The average population of the villages in the same period was 1,570 individuals, ranging from a minimum of 481 to a maximum of 2,617.

48 villages already existed in the area, mostly located near the banks of the Beles River and its tributaries.

### *1.2 The indigenous populations in the resettlement area*

In the first half of 1986, the Beles Valley area was administratively part of the Gojjam region and of the province (*Awraja*) of Metekel.<sup>3</sup>

2. In conversations held with several settlers in the planning phase of the Programme, it emerged that many of them thought that the Beles villages were already furnished with services such as water supply and roads, and that they would have access to fields already prepared for sowing. But all of these were however to be implemented after resettlement by the settlers themselves.

3. As explained further on in the text, this administrative subdivision was modified in course of 1989 when Metekel was upgraded to the status of a region.

Table 1 - Composition of the resettled population

Age Group	Males	Females	Total	% of total
0 - 5	6,484	6,390	12,874	17.1
6 - 14	8,502	8,190	16,692	22.2
15 - 30	11,409	13,537	24,946	33.1
31 - 55	11,267	7,497	18,764	24.9
Over 55	1,412	656	2,068	2.7
Total	39,074	36,270	75,344	100.0

Source: CISP Calculation on 1986 RRC data

The *Awraja* of Metekel was in turn divided into six districts (*woredas*), two of which -- Gubba and Dangur -- bordered on Sudan.

The administrative and economic centre of the Metekel province was the town of Chagni, located approximately 50 kilometres from the resettlement area.

During the first phases of the Italo-Ethiopian cooperation programme, in addition to the transferred populations, people from other areas of Metekel, and, subsequently, from other Ethiopian regions had begun to converge on the Beles area, attracted by new employment opportunities generated by the cooperation programme.<sup>4</sup>

Before resettlement, the Beles Valley was -- and still is to some extent -- inhabited by populations belonging to the *Gumuz* ethnic group, which have very different cultural models and customs from the rest of the Ethiopian population, as well as Negroid-type somatic features which clearly set them apart from the other inhabitants.

Precise data is lacking on the size and composition of this population in the area before and after resettlement.

For the *Gumuz*, the arrival of the resettled populations in the area, which was then mostly covered by dense bamboo vegetation and

4. In the period immediately following the transfers, voluntary movements of persons in search of work with the Italian cooperation programmes led to the establishment of an unplanned micro-settlement near the organizational headquarters of the "Tana Beles Project".

was almost entirely unexplored by anyone outside their ethnic group, practically coincided with their first contact with the administrative system of the Ethiopian state.<sup>5</sup>

Previously, the Gumuz of Metekel, who were also known in Ethiopia by the name of *Shanquella*, had depended exclusively on a traditional system of government which conferred authority on the elders of the clan, called *Ganzas*, who jointly constituted the executive body for the whole community.

The economy of the Gumuz population of Metekel was based almost exclusively on agriculture; hunting and fishing were a secondary pursuit.

The land was collectively owned, and every member had a right to use the land as needed. Cultivation and harvesting were performed by community cooperation organized by elected members.

The tasks of these leaders were in particular the organization of days of work for each person and the supervision of agricultural work. Hunting and the construction of dwellings were also managed in accordance with these methods.

With the arrival of approximately 75,000 settlers, a large part of the Gumuz left the resettlement area. Their exodus was prompted by radical changes in the environment, especially with regard to space, in which this group had constructed its socio-cultural organizational system.<sup>6</sup>

After 1985 the Gumuz who remained in the area began to live together with the resettled populations: the Kembata, Hadiya, Amhara, Wolajta, Oromo and Agew, from the regions of Sidamo, Wallo and Shoa, and, subsequently, groups formerly resident in Tigray.<sup>7</sup>

5. During the feasibility mission conducted in May and June 1986, this was confirmed by the local administrative authorities themselves in informal conversations in the course of planning the activities. The feasibility mission was led by Vittorio Baldioli (Ifagraria), Paolo Dieci (CISP), Gennaro Papa (Ifagraria) and Vittorio Roscio (CISP). Ifagraria provided consultancy services for planning the agricultural sector of the CISP programme.

6. While exact data on the presence of the Gumuz before and after the resettlement does not exist, several Gumuz villages were seen to disappear from several localities in the Beles area between June 1986 and October of that same year. In any event, for further information on the cultural and social organization of the Gumuz, see especially: Lipsky, George et al., 1967; Crawford, 1951; Pankhurst, 1968.

7. Unlike other settlers, those from Tigray were not present in the area at the beginning of the Italian cooperation programme; they were transferred subsequently, in the course of 1987, and created new villages.

### 1.3 Actions and national policies of Ethiopian governmental bodies

The activity of Ethiopian institutions in the first phase following resettlement concentrated on distributing basic commodities through the RRC and on restructuring the administrative system in the resettlement area.

Table 2 shows data on agricultural instruments and domestic goods distributed by RRC in the area up to 15 May 1986.

Table 2 - Agricultural instruments and domestic goods distributed by RRC

<i>Item</i>	<i>Number of pieces distributed</i>
Ploughs	10,162
Hoes	27,827
Axes	25,945
Shovels	28,923
Sickles	49,722
Other farm implements	9,857
Clothes for adults	174,858
Clothes for children	102,105
Blankets	38,934
Dishes	79,148
Frying pans	70,021
Water pails	35,847
Plastic bowls	72,043
Knives	102
Ladles	9,507
Forks and spoons	5,727

Source: CISP Calculation on 1986 RRC data

Data on the distribution of foodstuffs by RRC (as before, up to the middle of May 1986) are rather fragmentary. The first distributions were made with extreme urgency, as soon as the populations were resettled in the villages. In fact, the supply and distribution system for the products delivered to the settlers took shape as the first products were distributed in each village.

The list of the first foodstuffs distributed includes cereals, salt,

pepper, butter, oil, legumes, rice, biscuits, food supplements, soup mixes, powdered milk, sugar and canned fruit.

The programme of the Ethiopian institutions provided for the distribution of food to the population, with priority given to children, pregnant women and the sick, while awaiting the first harvests.

Moreover, the efforts of the Ethiopian institutions in the period we are considering were focused on organizing administrative, educational and sanitary services. Particular attention was given to cooperation with the three Italian programmes, namely, the Tana Beles Project, the health programme centred on the operation of a hospital (built by the Ethiopian government using construction materials available locally, especially bamboo), and the CISP multisectoral programme.

The Ethiopian administration followed five principal benchmark strategies for the development of the Beles area. These guidelines were based on five legislative provisions which constituted the context of the resettlement plans in the country beginning in 1975.

The first of these consisted of Proclamation No. 31 of 1975 which established the Public Ownership of Rural Lands. Under this proclamation the earlier system of land ownership based on a feudal order was abolished, and Peasants' Associations were introduced as the bodies responsible for the redistribution of land and for improving and managing services in rural communities.

Proclamation No. 71 of 1975 was the Peasants' Association Organization and Consolidation Decree, which established that all Ethiopian peasants must belong to these organizations. In practice, the Peasants' Associations are for all intents and purposes the basic organizational units of the Ethiopian government in the rural areas.

The structure of these associations provides for five levels of organization: local, *woreda* (district), *awraja* (sub-provincial), *kifle hagar* (provincial) and national. The villages first established in the Beles area were divided into six districts, each of them under the jurisdiction of a Peasants' Association. Administrative functionaries from Addis Ababa assumed the function of village leader.

Peasants' Association in Ethiopia are composed on average of approximately 25 members and have jurisdiction over an area of 800 hectares. Their principal functions are as follows:

- to redistribute land in accordance with government directives;
- to govern the use of land in accordance with national development plans. This function includes, for example, the management of reforestation plans;

- to administer and conserve all public property included in the area of their responsibility, with particular reference to soil, forestry resources and water;
- to establish juridical committees and local tribunals;
- to establish cooperative organizations, women's associations, and public safety committees;
- to build schools, clinics and other amenities and services in collaboration with the government;
- to assist persons who for reasons of age or health cannot cultivate the land assigned to them;
- to promote villagization programmes.<sup>8</sup>

The third legislative provision governing Ethiopian resettlement plans assigned to the Peasants' Associations the task of organizing and managing the tax system, and collecting taxes from the peasants based on their agricultural income (Proclamation No. 77 of 1976, entitled the Rural Land Use Fee and Agricultural Activities Income Tax).

The fourth provision was Proclamation No. 78 of 1976, which set up the Settlement Authority Establishment.

The task of this Authority is the planning and implementation of the resettlement plans, in collaboration with other Ethiopian institutions, particularly the RRC.

The Ten Years Perspective Plan (1984-1994), lastly, incorporated the resettlement plan into the framework of development of the country as a whole. Among other things, it establishes these priorities:

- to extend the cultivated acreages and rehabilitate the areas affected by drought;
- to expand the rural cooperative system;
- to expand the irrigation and technological modernization of agriculture in rural areas;
- to develop forestation and soil conservation;
- to develop healthcare and educational services.<sup>9</sup>

8. See in this regard: "Assistance to Settlement - Rural Settlement Schemes - Ethiopia", FAO, 1980.

9. See in this regard: "Ten Year Perspective Plan", Office of the National Committee for Central Planning, Addis Ababa, August 1984.

## 2. Goals of the CISP Multisectoral Programme

CISP's chief concern in the planning stage of the programme was to involve local communities in the planning and management of activities in support of the consolidation of the rural associations.

In practice, one of the principal goals established was to accelerate the development of the village as a productive entity endowed with its own social identity.

This goal was given priority because of the danger posed by the great demand for agricultural labour. It was feared that the villages might turn into mere residential centres with authorities in charge of mobilizing the peasants for work in the fields.

In other words, the main concern was that the emergency situation in the area regarding food, healthcare (and in this regard we should bear in mind the effects of malaria on the resettled population -- a disease that had previously been unknown most of them),<sup>10</sup> and their social conditions might give rise to an organizational system exclusively concerned with mobilizing the peasants to implementation programmes of which they had no knowledge.

The general assumption on which the CISP multisectoral programme was based in the first half of 1986 may therefore be summarized as a search for stable development conditions in the area by strengthening the socio-economic identity of the villages, taking into consideration the emergency situation and hence the need to obtain practical results in a short period of time.

One of the main features of the programme, which reflects its basic rationale, is the concentration of efforts within the village to consolidate its social identity and develop its economic and productive aspects.

The aim then was to reduce the temporary character of life in the villages, which stemmed from the dynamics of resettlement and the uprooting of the resettled populations from their regions of origin, by exploiting certain skills and abilities of the resettled populations and by promoting village leadership formation and its active introduction into the process of the overall structuring of the area.

Specifically, the programme sought to promote specific activities at the family and village levels through training and technical assistance in three sectors: agriculture and forestation, handicrafts, and child care and pre-school education.

10. See in this regard: Awash, 1988.

To develop these activities, initiatives were devised to reach the entire population directly and demonstration projects have been implemented which would suggest development ideas for the resettlement area.

### *2.1 The agro-forestry programme*

With regard to the agro-forestry sector, the objectives established for the first two years were to improve the family plots in every village, to develop small- and medium-scale irrigation by exploiting riverside sites, increasing the production and consumption of vegetables, and developing village reforestation plans.

During the first period following the transfer of approximately seventy-five thousand persons, a predominantly collective system of organization of agricultural work and of production ownership was in effect in the Beles area.

Collective land dedicated to the growing of cereal crops, partly by manual labour and partly by mechanized farming, was assigned to every village.

Farming these collective parcels was the chief objective in the first phase of the emergency plan. The area had not previously been exploited for agriculture (except marginally, from the quantitative point of view, by the Gumuz population)<sup>11</sup> and therefore reclamation and preparation of the land was required. The operations needed to put the collective parcels under cultivation were managed by the "Tana Beles Project" in collaboration with Ethiopian administrative authorities resident in the villages and with the central government system.

After harvesting, the products were stored in the villages (the "Tana Beles Project" was beginning to construct storage facilities in every village) and were then distributed to the peasants under a points system which took into account the number of days actually worked in the fields. This system is still in use, but village cooperative organizations are being planned which will be able to direct agricultural development by extending the participation of the peasants to every phase of the production process and the use of the products.

11. During the first period following the transfer of the population it was ascertained that the Beles area was mainly characterized by dense bamboo forests. We should note that the Gumuz consider agriculture as only one of the means of subsistence, along with hunting and fishing.

In addition, each family had (and still possesses) 0.1 hectare of land adjacent to its dwelling for family farming.

The CISP feasibility study identified some areas along river banks as particularly suitable for the development of small- and medium-sized irrigation projects. The forms of their utilization were not included by local planners.

The decision to concentrate technical assistance activities and training on developing family plots and plots along rivers was taken on the basis of a number of assumptions, after meetings with the newly-formed Peasants' Associations and, obviously, with the responsible Ethiopian authorities.

The first assumption was that the village communities and family units would immediately manage these plots effectively. This would have a positive impact on the level of adaptation of the settlers to their new environment, especially in view of the fact that some of them had abandoned property in their places of origin and had formerly possessed home gardens.<sup>12</sup>

The second assumption was that it would be possible to use labour not directly employed in reclamation work to cultivate cereal products and exploit the home gardens.

The third assumption was that it was necessary to provide a diet including vitamin-rich foods, especially fruit and vegetables.<sup>13</sup>

The fourth and last assumption was to assign a role in the consolidation of the rural associations to developing small- and medium-scale irrigation projects (that is, plots of land varying in size between two and ten hectares). With the irrigation projects, the Peasants' Associations, the Women's Associations and the Youth Associations could develop their own production and distribution activities, with the possibility of subsequently creating fully-fledged cooperative-type organizations.

For the exploitation of family plots the programme therefore began by contacting all the village Peasants' Associations, and jointly with them selected groups of seven Agricultural Extension Workers to be assigned to specific on-the-job training projects centred around family vegetable farming. In addition to distributing production inputs

12. This fact was directly verified by a mission organized by the Programme in December 1988 in the Sidamo region, in localities populated by Kembata and Hadiya groups. We should note that the reasons which the Ethiopian government advanced for the transfer of the populations belonging to these groups had nothing to do with drought but to over-population in the zones of origin.

13. In this regard see the work of P. Dieci published in this volume on the planning of home gardening activities in the CISP programme in the Beles area.

to families and supervising home gardening activities in the villages, one task of these groups, from the beginning, was to set up a demonstration home garden in every village from which the family units might gather ideas for farming in plots near their dwellings.

The village reforestation plans were designed to be part of a much wider forestry programme promoted under the "Tana Beles Project". Its goal, besides that of providing villages and family units with trees for embellishment and shade, was to sensitize the people, once again with the help of the agricultural extension workers, to the need to protect and make the best use of the forestry resources in the area.

For the development of irrigated areas, the method followed by the programmes focused on analyzing existing water resources and, in cooperation with the villages and representatives of the Ministry of Agriculture, identifying which forms of management the irrigation schemes might adopt.

Once it had been decided that these rural associations would be the appropriate bodies to manage and develop irrigation, their representatives were involved in intensive training programmes. These were accompanied by the first on-site operations, including the installation of motor pumps, digging channels and ditches and implementation the cropping plans.<sup>14</sup>

To complete this account of the objectives and methodologies followed in the agro-forestry sector of the programme, mention must be made of the criteria used in formulating the cropping plans. Three main factors were considered.

The first concerned the nutritional value of the crops, the second the populations' preferences and demands, and the third was based on fact-finding microstudies conducted by the programme in several of the settlers' areas of origin. Cassava was disseminated, for example, because this product is widely consumed by the Kembata population.

14. For the development of irrigated areas the Programme promoted forms of management centred on the following criterion. A group of peasants belonging to a Peasants' Association undertakes to exploit the irrigated area and to promote the marketing of the products. Subsequently this group keeps half of the proceeds, the other half going to the Peasants' Association with jurisdiction over the land being worked. This scheme is also being used in other zones of the country. In particular, a cooperative of this kind has been seen about 150 kilometres from the Beles area at Bure', on the road linking the area to Addis Ababa.

## 2.2 *The programme of development of artisan industry*

Without doubt, the main object of the strategies implemented in the Beles Valley was, for local planners, the development of agriculture, assisted among other things by a significant degree of mechanization.<sup>15</sup>

At the same time, one of the assumptions underlying the programme was that it would be difficult to accomplish enduring integrated rural development without off-farm social and productive activities to complement the process of exploiting and improving the land.

This assumption was based on three considerations. The first was that a lack of non-farm commodities might limit the vitality and dynamism of the local market. The second concerned the need for certain manufactured articles, domestic goods, and agricultural implements which, in the absence of local production, would increase dependence on outside help over time. The third resulted from the existence of specific off-farm skills within the village.<sup>16</sup>

These considerations constituted the frame of reference for formulating development plans in the craft and child care sectors.

With regard to the craft sector, the first step was to carry out of a survey of the villages to assess existing skills and identify the most urgent needs. The programme then developed training and technical assistance programmes in the sub-sectors of work on bamboo, iron and pottery, mainly targeting this last line of activity on the women.

At the level of activities planning, it was believed that the possibility of setting up a productive network generating income which could be included in the future in cooperative organizations was linked to the development of a local craft industry.

The programme therefore proposed to emphasize training activities and technical assistance, as well as supplying materials and working tools in the three previously mentioned sub-sectors, bearing in mind general goals such as:

- permitting improvement and growth of local technical resources;
- creating income-generating activities for the benefit of family units;

15. See in this regard: "Tana Beles Project", Ethiopia 1989, Salini Costruttori, and particularly the section on agriculture.

16. Beginning in 1986 the Programme began conducting regular surveys in the villages to obtain information on the activities carried out by the settlers in their areas of origin.

- reducing dependency on outside supplies of goods for domestic use and agricultural tools;
- encouraging women to participate in developing the area through activities directly fostered by them;
- supporting, over the medium term, the development of cooperative organizations, managed by the artisans, with a wide range of specialized crafts.

On the basis of these initial criteria, the programme then set up three training and production centres, while simultaneously instituting the first marketing activities in the area and fostering, through technical assistance and training, craft centres in the villages.

### *2.3 The pre-school education and child care programme*

The third sector of activity identified by the programme's feasibility mission was child care and pre-school education. There were two principal reasons for this policy choice.

The first was the need to support the schooling process by engaging children from four to six years of age in activities that would help them acquire the skills needed in primary school (for example, mastery of Amharic, which was unfamiliar to most of the children transferred to Beles but not belonging to the Amhara ethnic group).

A second reason concerned the advisability of setting up a network of child care services to improve child health through hygiene, health-care and nutritional activities provided by the kindergartens.

Here again, the programme took an initial popularization and demonstration approach, taking as its first objective the creation of a demonstration kindergarten which would also function as a training centre for nursery school teachers, all of whom would be chosen from among the resettled population.

This approach was based on the conviction that a successful demonstration project would encourage demand for grassroots educational activities for children in the villages. The programme was to respond to this demand by offering technical assistance to build kindergartens, train elementary school teachers, and organize educational and health-care activities at the village level.

## *2.4 The institutional framework within which the programme was developed*

For the design of the CISP multisectoral programme, and the implementation of its work during the first few years, it proved to be of fundamental importance to hold work and planning sessions involving both the rural associations in the village that had only just been resettled, and representatives of Ethiopian institutions directly and indirectly concerned with the development of this resettlement area.

The Ministry of Agriculture, the Ethiopian Nutrition Institute, the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, the Ministry of Education, the HASIDA (Handicraft and Small Scale Industry Development Agency), the National Children Commission, the RRC, and the WPE, as well as the Institute of Development Research of the University of Addis Ababa, together with their respective local, regional, and national representatives, put at the programme's disposition during its development and goals identification phase, materials and suggestions that profoundly influenced methodologies and operational content.

## **3. Factors in the identification of development ideas in the Beles Valley**

Beginning in the second half of 1989 the political and institutional status of the Beles area changed, partly as a result of the administrative Reforms carried out in the country.

By decision of the National Shengo, the Gojjam region was split into three distinct regions: West Gojjam, East Gojjam, and Metekel.

The administrative capital of the new region of Metekel, where the Beles area is located, was established in Almu Town.<sup>17</sup>

The administrative Reform included the Beles area, which is now divided into three districts under the regional development plan, which was itself articulated into priority sectors such as agriculture and animal husbandry, inland trade, industry, education, and health.

At the same time, Almu Town, the organizational centre of the Italian cooperation programme, took on the characteristics of an urban centre with commercial activities promoted from both within and without the area.

17. Almu Town, which arose initially as a logistical support base for the "Tana Beles Project", became progressively organized as an urban centre until it became capital of the new Metekel region.

In the villages local leadership began to emerge in the administrative field, trade and production.

Two years after resettlement, the villages came under the administration of the Peasants' Associations and their leaders, since the administrative authority of the officials previously sent by the government had lapsed.

For the purposes of overall stability in developing the area, in addition to a more decisive organization and diversification of economic and productive activities, it is necessary to define the resettled population's real self-reliance as an ongoing process and not just as a question of administration.

Self-reliance in this context obviously does not mean being an autarkic self-sufficient exception to the development rationale of the Beles area.

In other words, the fundamental problem on which future programme activities must be based is not to support local development independently of the national socio-economic system, nor would a goal of that kind be at all realistic.

One cannot ignore the fact that the development of the Beles area, like that of other Ethiopian regions, is dramatically linked to the possibility of finding effective solutions to the conflicts that have plagued the nation and caused so much bloodshed for years.

The central problem for future development of the area is how to effectively involve the settlers in the socio-economic dynamics of the valley bordering on the Beles River, and hence the nature and the intensity of this whole process.

In this context the expectations regarding the CISP multisectoral programme on the part of the population and of the local administrative officials have grown to such an extent as to make it a possible laboratory for working out solutions and feasible strategies for the entire resettlement area.

The growth of a local leadership permanently established in the villages, the development of cooperative organizations capable of the overall direction of productive activities and trade in competition with services and commercial centres brought in from other Ethiopian regions, and the establishment of the economic and social conditions that will allow the villages to support educational services, particularly for infants, have now become not just goals for the medium term of the multisectoral programme, but inescapable problem areas for the future development of the Beles area.

In this perspective two areas of the programme take on a new and

greater importance. One is training: this must be directed ever more incisively toward enhancing management and administration capabilities, and particular technical skills.

Secondly, it seems absolutely necessary to formulate a proper research strategy for interpreting and directing the social and economic dynamics of the area towards the general objectives mentioned earlier.

One other problems area, identified by the programme as one of its general objectives, is incorporating the Gumuz population into the development process.<sup>18</sup>

The Gumuz have a centuries' old familiarity with the area. This is a valuable development resource which should be more extensively exploited in the future.

Just to cite one small example, but one not with important practical implications, the Gumuz possess particularly useful information on the varieties of seeds that are most suitable for the valley's environmental and climatic conditions and on the system for reproducing the seeds. This information has already been profitably taken into consideration in the course of the first years of the programme.<sup>19</sup>

At the same time, the experience acquired regarding nursery school education and handicrafts indicates that specific training requirements are beginning to emerge among the Gumuz, largely as a result of their need to adapt to a socio-economic reality which is very different from the one they knew until four years ago. These can constitute a basis for making use of the specific contribution that the Gumuz can make to the future development of the Beles Valley.<sup>20</sup>

18. Although, as has been explained, part of the Gumuz population left the Beles area, in some villages the Gumuz live together with the settlers.

19. This relates particularly to varieties of legumes.

20. Reference is made in this case to the fact that training courses for artisans and running kindergartens are attended by a few representatives of the Gumuz people. As far as the kindergartens are concerned, it is also noted that periodic meetings between representatives of the Gumuz communities and programme staff are arranged to jointly evaluate the impact of these activities on the education and health of the children.

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## 10. LOCAL HANDICRAFTS IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BELES VALLEY

*Paolo Dieci*

### **1. General contents of the training programme for developing handicrafts in the Beles area**

When the CISP Programme for the Beles area was defined, a specific operational sector focusing on local handicrafts was incorporated for a number of reasons, most of which have already been discussed in other articles in this book, and which are summarized, at all events, in the Programme's general objective: to foster the development of off-farm productive activities based on the exploitation and enhancement of the settlers' skills and interests which they developed in their areas of origin.<sup>1</sup>

The feasibility mission identified the sub-sectors, mainly iron working, pottery and bamboo and woodwork. These sectors were defined in terms of the demand for manufactured products and services which could be provided using these techniques, access to the raw materials (in the case of iron this was possible because there is a large local building site, the "Tana Beles Project") and information acquired on the main off-farm activities practised by the settlers in their areas of origin.<sup>2</sup>

Training courses were also geared originally to trading activities, both in order to insert these into the training programmes and to

1. See in particular the essay by P. Dieci and V. Roscio.

2. The decision to include the bamboo sub-sector was very largely motivated by the need to use a raw material that is readily available, and at the same time to safeguard the existing well-established woodlands which have already been partly damaged by the agricultural extension campaigns. The local authorities also specifically requested this. For the use of the wood an agreement was subsequently concluded with the local authorities under which the Programme has been able to use some of the material formerly stored in the villages after the deforestation work connected with the agricultural campaigns.

experiment with the impact of the activities on the local markets before setting up any cooperative or pre-cooperative type structures.

Before the training activities were designed, the Programme identified the craft skills already existing in the villages, partly to ensure that the working techniques were not only preserved but also improved and exploited, using the ethnic and cultural pluralism of the resettlement area.

This survey also included identifying forms of handicraft work practised by the Gumuz population, which is the only long-established ethnic group in the area, in order to gradually incorporate some of its members into the training activities.

In the initial phase of the Programme three workshops were therefore set up, equipped according to the production needs and with all the necessary tools and instruments, and quarterly training courses for each subsector have been given there.<sup>3</sup>

### *1.1 Training courses*

The main objectives of these courses, each of which generally caters for 10 persons per subsector, were to make it possible to set up village handicraft centres, and to select the personnel needed to manage future cooperatives which would develop from the three workshops already mentioned.<sup>4</sup>

The training courses mainly comprised four modules one for each subsector, and dealing with different subjects:

3. Two craft workshops have been built measuring 150 square metres, for iron and wood and bamboo work, and another one 100 square metres in size for pottery work. The workshops are supplied with electricity produced by a generator and are fitted out with tools, workshops and stores. The pottery workshop has settling tanks and an oven to bake the pottery. The wood and bamboo workshop has tanks to treat bamboo in order to make the material more resistant. Alongside the workshops there is a display room for the products. In each workshop one area has been set aside for an office, and another one to store the raw materials. The Programme was advised by the Handicraft and Small Scale Industry Development Agency (HASIDA) with regard to fitting out the craft workshops and choosing the working instruments, including a number of traditional tools of Ethiopian handicraft. During 1987 a residential building was set up near the workshops in which trainees taking courses could stay during the week returning to their villages for the weekends.

4. The workshops, which were subsequently used as the offices for the cooperatives, were built in an area within the jurisdiction of village L5 near the administrative centre for the zone.

- theory, design and planning;
- research;
- production activities;
- marketing and bookkeeping.

The "theory, design and planning" component mainly dealt with the following subjects:

- basic techniques and tools for planning and design;
- organizing the workplace;
- organizing work in terms of role and function;
- rules of safety at work;
- the product life cycle;
- the technical and economic assessment of the end product.

The "research" component in the training courses was designed not only to exploit existing skills but also to encourage the acquisition of new productive skills both by improving the quality of the handicraft products already known, and introducing the production of new articles.

The "production activities" component is the one to which the greatest amount of time has so far been devoted in the training courses, and it has included such subjects as:

- using working tools;
- choosing, procuring and storing raw materials;
- maintaining working tools and instruments;
- repairing the manufactured items;
- techniques for working and decorating the articles;
- defining "prototypes", and the functional decentralization of labour.

Quite obviously this component is the one in which the subsectors differed the most.

The last component, namely "marketing and bookkeeping" was used to introduce the following subjects:

- analyzing market opportunities for individual products;
- organizing the marketing of products and transportation;
- registering income and expenditure, and managing the cash book.

During the first three years of activity, groups of 20-25 persons per subsector have established their production and commercial work in the laboratories in order to set up cooperative structures. The other trainees have been urged to set up village handicraft centres, and to periodically attend updating and specialization courses in the three workshops.

## **2. General features of the craftsmen living in the area**

In the months of July and August 1988 the Programme surveyed 13 villages in order to acquire analytical data on the general features of the craft work practised in Beles, and altogether 39 craftsmen were interviewed.<sup>5</sup>

This survey, which was conducted about 18 months after the start-up of activities in the sector, made it possible to record, albeit with a certain degree of approximation, a number of trends in the organization of handicraft work in the Beles Valley, and some of the craftsmen's emerging expectations and demands, and it was used in order to plan the ongoing activities.<sup>6</sup>

### *2.1 Age, sex and nationality of the craftsmen interviewed*

Table 1 provides the data on the age group and sex of the craftsmen interviewed. The nationalities of the respondents were as follows: Amhara 27, Kembata 6, Wolayta 2, Oromo 2, Hadiya 1 and Gurage 1. 21 of the 27 persons of Amhara nationality came from the Wallo Region and 6 from Showa. The 6 Kembata craftsmen came from Showa

5. The survey focused on the craftsmen working in the subsectors with which the Programme is dealing. Craftsmen from 13 villages representing the various resettlement poles in Beles were interviewed. More specifically, the villages were L130, L12 and L11 on the left bank of the Beles river, R4, R6, R7, R8, R9, RDS50, RUS50, RUS51, R49, and R46 on the right bank.

6. The CISP Programme in Beles began in September 1986 but the craft training activities, after the workshops had been created and furnished, only began at the beginning of 1987. With regard to the development of training activities to enhance technical skills, with particular reference to Ethiopia, the following works were consulted: R. Hakemulder and J. Last, 1980; Wolde Selassie Abbute, 1989; European Institute of Education and Social Policy, 1984; ILO, 1985; ILO, 1980; UNESCO, 1985. The publications of the Centre de Developpement Communautaire - Centre d'Etudes pour l'action sociale, Kinshasa, were of great help in particular.

*Table 1 - Age and sex of respondents*

	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
18 and under	2	1	3
19 - 25	2	4	6
26 - 40	14	4	18
41 - 50	7	3	10
over 50	2	-	2
Total	27 (69.2%)	12 (30.8%)	39 (100%)

like the Wolayta and Oromo craftsmen, and the other two Hadiya and Gurage craftsmen.

## *2.2 Educational level*

Table 2 gives the educational background by sex. To interpret these data one must bear in mind that the Ethiopian school system comprises 12 grades, of which the first six are the equivalent of primary education.

*Table 2 - Educational background of respondents by sex*

	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
No education	6	9	15
Having attended Literacy Campaign courses but not primary school	14	2	16
Second grade State school	1	1	2
Third grade State school	3	-	3
Fifth grade State school	2	-	2
Sixth grade State school	1	-	1
Total	27 (69.2%)	12 (30.8%)	39 (100%)

In the resettlement area, the Ministry of Education has attributed particular importance to promoting "Adult Education" by running "Literacy Campaigns" mainly to teach reading and writing in the Amharic language.

The Programme has taken account of this priority attributed to literacy by incorporating into the training courses the same literacy campaigns in order to enhance the craftsmen's managerial capacities.

### 2.3 Labour organization

The craftsmen's fields of activity by sex are given in Table 3.<sup>7</sup>

With regard to the main problems of adapting to the new geographical environment, 33 of the 39 respondents, or 84.6%, mentioned malaria as the main constraint on performing their production activities.

At the time the data was gathered, a farm labour organization system was being used in Beles under which each individual was required to work in exchange for food rations. The storage, conservation and distribution phases were managed by the village authorities after the harvest.

However there were some cases in which, because of particular needs of the villages or because of inability to work in the fields,<sup>8</sup> some people were directed to other functions by the village authorities themselves in exchange for the rations designed for the peasants.

Table 3 - Areas of craftsmen's activity by sex

	Male	Female	Total
Pottery	1	12	13
Iron	13	-	13
Bamboo and wood	13	-	13
Total	27 (69.2%)	12 (30.8%)	39 (100%)

7. This clearly shows that all the women interviewed worked as potters. This fits in with the long-standing national custom under which this particular craft activity is mainly practised by women.

8. This type of exception mainly related to people who were either sick or very old.

However, this labour organization pattern did not foster the development of off-farm professional specialisms. This situation seems to be confirmed in the data on the 39 craftsmen interviewed, only 4 of whom said that their only occupation was handicraft work, while the other 35 were mainly engaged in farming.

During the survey, information was gathered on the patterns of labour organization.

On this basis a typology was then defined covering the work carried out privately in people's own homes, the work performed in the village associations (the Peasant's Associations or the Women's Associations in the case of women), and in both.

More specifically, 9 of the 13 potters said that they worked in Women's Associations, 3 worked privately (of whom the only male was 1) and 1 worked in both.

As far as the blacksmiths were concerned, 10 said that they worked in the Peasant's Associations and 1 worked privately, while 2 gave no reply.

10 of the 13 wood and bamboo workers said that they worked in Peasant's Associations, while 3 of them combined this with private work.

#### *2.4 The destination of the products*

Within the group interviewed, products appear to be disposed of differently depending upon the particular craft. All the potters said that their products were marketed, compared with only 8 of the 13 blacksmiths, and only 3 of the 13 wood and bamboo workers.<sup>9</sup>

2 of the remaining 5 blacksmiths gave no reply and 3 said that their products or services are given away free to the Associations. This

9. This reply only referred to the destination of the articles in periods in which the craftsmen lived in the villages. During the Programme's training courses, products were normally marketed as a matter of course by the trainees themselves. At all events, it is mainly on the village markets that the craft articles are sold, on Sundays, and in a number of major markets. Of all the interviewees it was the residents in the villages on the left bank who said that they went to the weekly market (open on Saturdays) in front of the airport built by the Tana Beles Project near village L7 close to the regional hospital. The residents from the villages along the right bank of the Beles river, on the contrary, said that they went to the weekly market (also open on Saturdays) at Gel Gel Beles, just outside the resettlement area along the road to Addis Ababa (545 km away).

latter reply was also given by 10 bamboo and wood workers.<sup>10</sup>

It should be noted that only 4 of the interviewees said that they handled the marketing of their own products, and in most cases marketing was completely taken over by the Associations. 3 of these 4 were potters, who said that they personally earned 20, 15 and 10 birr per month from this activity,<sup>11</sup> and 1 was a blacksmith who earned 15 birr a month from the sale of his products.

Only 3 potters said that they were given a monetary incentive from the Associations.

Table 4 gives the data on the period dating back to when the craftsmen began their activity, showing the differences between the potters, the blacksmiths, and the wood and bamboo workers.

*Table 4 - Years of experience of the craftsmen interviewed in terms of craft*

	<i>Pottery</i>	<i>Iron</i>	<i>Wood and Bamboo</i>	<i>Total</i>
1 - 2 years	3	1	3	7
3 - 5 years	4	2	2	8
6 - 10 years	2	3	3	8
11 - 15 years	4	1	1	6
over 15 years	-	6	4	10
Total	13	13	13	39

### *2.5 Methods for learning handicraft techniques*

Most of the craftsmen interviewed (22, or 56.4%) said that they had learned their skills from another member of the family. 8 were potters, 11 blacksmiths and 3 wood and bamboo workers.

30.8% of the respondents, namely 12 persons, said that they had

10. It must be recalled the blacksmiths not only make specific articles (knives, buckets and pails, stoves, agricultural tools, etc.) but in Beles and elsewhere they are also involved in repairing agricultural equipment supplied to every Peasant's Association. Since 1988, with the commencement of the animal husbandry project in the area, the blacksmith's work has also been geared to producing blades for ploughs.

11. The American dollar is worth 2.07 Ethiopian birr.

learned their craft from other craftsmen in their areas of residence. 1 potter, 2 blacksmiths and 9 wood and bamboo workers belonged to this group.

Only 5 of them (12.8% of the total respondents) said that they had learned their craft techniques at the CISP training courses.

Table 5 provides the data on the ways in which the respondents learned their craft in terms of nationality.

*Table 5 - Method of learning craft by nationality*

	<i>In the family</i>	<i>From other craftsmen</i>	<i>From CISP courses</i>	<i>Total</i>
Amhara	14	9	4	27
Kembata	5	1	-	6
Wolayta	2	-	-	2
Oromo	1	1	-	2
Hadiya	-	1	-	1
Gurage	-	-	1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>39</b>

Table 6 shows the data on persons who had attended the training courses promoted by the Programme.

*Table 6 - Interviewees' attendance at CISP training courses by craft*

	<i>Pottery</i>	<i>Iron</i>	<i>Wood and Bamboo</i>	<i>Total</i>
1 Course	4	-	3	7
2 Courses	3	2	3	8
3 Courses	1	1	-	2
No Course	5	10	7	22
<b>Total</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>39</b>

It should be borne in mind that from the very beginning of the CISP Programme to the time the survey was conducted, 3 three-month training had been organized in each of these subsectors.

That some craftsmen attended two or three courses can be explained by the start-up of the selection process of future members of the Cooperatives to which reference was made at the beginning of this paper.

All the respondents were asked to state the monetary value of their products, independently of whether or not they could market them. It is interesting to note that whereas all the 17 craftsmen that had attended at least one training course gave a specific value, only 10 of the 22 that had not attended any training course replied.

### **3. Expectations of the craftsmen in the Beles area**

The 39 craftsmen interviewed were asked to give their main needs regarding the organization of their work in future. This made it possible to acquire information on the problems they felt most keenly and proposals for solving them.

This section deals with some of the comments made, quoting verbatim the remarks made by the artisans as faithfully as possible.<sup>12</sup>

#### *Interview no. 1*

Male, 35, Kembata, wood and bamboo worker, married with four children: I need tools to work. If these were supplied I could produce more articles of a better quality and could become famous throughout the area.

#### *Interview no. 2*

Male, 35, Amhara, blacksmith, married with one child: I need hammers, an anvil and other tools. If I get them I can work hard and improve every aspect of my life.

#### *Interview no. 3*

Female, 17, Amhara, potter, married with two children: At the moment I have no problems in finding raw materials or equipment. In future I want to work harder to maintain myself and have whatever I need.

12. It should be recalled that the interviews were carried out in the Amharic and Kembata languages.

*Interview no. 4*

Male, 36, Kembata, wood and bamboo worker, married with three children: I mainly need a set square and a flat saw. I want to produce more and better quality products to buy clothing for me and my family and to build myself a better house.

*Interview no. 5*

Male, 49, Amhara, blacksmith, married with three children: I need materials, particularly hammers and an anvil. I want to be able to work longer hours.

*Interview no. 6*

Female, 42, Amhara, potter, married with one child: I want a small potter's wheel and a sieve. I want to work longer and raise my living standards and that of my relations.<sup>13</sup>

*Interview no. 7*

Male, 46, Hadiya, wood and bamboo worker, married with no children: I need tools such as a yardstick and chisel and wood to work. I also need to take a training course to improve my skills and then to be able to buy clothing and food for my family.

*Interview no. 8*

Male, 28, Amhara, blacksmith, married with two children: I really need training. I also need tools. I could produce many things and become famous and also make this village famous.

*Interview no. 9*

Female, 35, Amhara, potter, married with three children: I need a sieve and a place where I can work with more room. I would like to work more and harder. I also need containers for the clay. In this way I could buy many things for my children, otherwise it would be better to give up making pottery and only work in the fields.

*Interview no. 10*

Male, 38, Amhara, wood and bamboo worker, married with two chil-

13. The potter's wheel was introduced into the area by the CISP Programme, which provided both pedal-operated wheels set up in the central laboratory and small hand-driven wheels which were given to the trainees at the end of the courses for the work they perform in their own villages.

dren: I need a saw, a working top and a yardstick. I would like to work more and sell my products to raise my living standards.

*Interview no. 11*

Female, 45, Amhara, potter, widow with three children: I need clay and sand to improve the potter's clay compared with what is available to me. If I had more I could work harder and better to help my children.

*Interview no. 12*

Male, 18, Amhara, blacksmith, unmarried: I have a great problem in obtaining raw materials such as iron and metal. I would like to be able to sell my products.

*Interview no. 13*

Male, 38, Amhara, wood and bamboo worker, married with two children: I need, a saw, a hammer and a working surface. I also have a problem in obtaining wood. If I could work better I could improve my health by buying food and improving my home.

*Interview no. 14*

Female, 40, Amhara, potter, married with four children: I need to find a quarry with better clay after which I could improve my living standards and buy the things I need for the home.

*Interview no. 15*

Male, 55, Amhara, blacksmith, married with one child: I need all my working tools. At the moment I have nothing. I know my job and would like to practise it to earn and better myself.

*Interview no. 16*

Male, 42, Amhara, wood and bamboo worker, married with four children: I would like to become a famous carpenter in the village and the Region, but I need time and tools such as a saw, a yardstick, a hammer, a chisel. I cannot go on like this without materials and equipment and without being able to sell my products.

*Interview no. 17*

Female, 46, Amhara, potter, married with two children: I need a larger container for water and potter's clay. I would like to improve my family's standard of living thanks to my work.

*Interview no. 18*

Male, 29, Amhara, blacksmith, married with three children: I need a vice, a hammer, and a file. With this equipment I could produce more and keep all my relations.

*Interview no. 19*

Male, 45, Amhara, wood and bamboo worker, married with three children: I need equipments such as a plane, a yardstick, a file and a hammer. I also need to take a course to learn more. I need this to improve my work and raise my income.

*Interview no. 20*

Male, 18, Amhara, blacksmith, married with no children: I need different types of hammers, a file, an iron saw and other equipment. I could produce many tools for the village and sell them on my own. I would like to live in a town with all comforts.

*Interview no. 21*

Female, 20, Oromo, potter, married with one son: My problem is finding good clay. If I could solve this problem I could help my family with my work.

*Interview no. 22*

Male, 44, Amhara, wood and bamboo worker, married with one son: I need an equipped workshop and wood to work with. I could produce more tools of better quality and help my family.

*Interview no. 23*

Male, 28, Amhara, blacksmith, married with two children: I need hammers and iron saws. I would like to use my work to help improve the Peasant's Association and secondly to improve my living standards in order to acquire everything that is not distributed to us.

*Interview no. 24*

Female, 29, Gurage, potter, married without children: What I need very much is good quality clay. I would like to allot, to enhance the security of my family and village.

*Interview no. 25*

Male, 51, Amhara, wood and bamboo worker, married with three children: I need equipment such as a hammer, file, saw and others. I also

need the cooperation of the village and raw materials. I would like to earn a lot of money with my work, to share the money with the village and keep something for me and my family.

*Interview no. 26*

Female, 20, Wolayta, potter, divorced with one daughter: I need good clay for my work. I would like to work more to acquire clothing for me and my daughter.

*Interview no. 27*

Male, 38, Amhara, blacksmith, married with seven children: I need a vice, a punch and iron. In this way I could live happily from my work.

*Interview no. 28*

Male, 29, Amhara, wood and bamboo worker, married with one son: I need paint and wood. My plan is to work more and better to become a famous carpenter throughout the area.

*Interview no. 29*

Male, 40, Wolayta, blacksmith, widower with two children: I need equipment and iron. I also need good food to give me the strength to work. I would also like enough time to work as a blacksmith. If I cannot get this it would be better to work like a peasant in the fields alone.

*Interview no. 30*

Female, 22, Kembata, potter, married with three children: My main problem is finding good quality clay. If I could solve this I could run my family and provide clothing and other commodities.

*Interview no. 31*

Male, 20, Amhara, wood and bamboo worker, married with no children: I need a vice, a flat saw, and a worktop. At the moment I am improving my knowledge, and in the future I shall work hard. I could also eventually teach others what I have learned and help my family with my work.

*Interview no. 32*

Male, 45, Oromo, blacksmith, married with two children: I need equipment like a file, and an anvil. I would like to work more to sell my products and improve my home and to buy more food.

*Interview no. 33*

Female, 25, Kembata, potter, widow with five children: I have a serious problem getting clay. I urgently need to get some so that I can work and help my children.

*Interview no. 34*

Male, 45, Amhara, wood and bamboo worker, married with two children: I need a worktop, a drill, and a vice. If I had these instruments I could apply my knowledge and help my village and my family.

*Interview no. 35*

Male, 36, Kembata, blacksmith, married with two children: I need an iron saw, a file, a hammer and other equipment. I would like to produce more to raise my income.

*Interview no. 36*

Female, 30, Amhara, potter, married with six children: I seriously need good clay to produce high quality pottery. I would then like to sell my own products and buy everything I need, particularly clothing.

*Interview no. 37*

Male, 30, Amhara, wood and bamboo worker, married with two children: My main need is working tools. Others have already acquired good equipment from CISP: I would like to work more and have a good income for my family.<sup>14</sup>

*Interview no. 38*

Male, 19, Amhara, potter, divorced without children: Mainly I need a workplace with a lot of room. I could apply my knowledge and teach others.

*Interview no. 39*

Male, 35, Kembata, blacksmith, widower, with no children: Even though I took a training course at Mandura I am not working because I have no tools. I therefore need tools to work and raise my standard of living.<sup>15</sup>

14. At the end of the first quarterly training course the Programme not only issued the diplomas jointly with the Ministry of Education, but also gave the trainees work boxes containing tools to be used in their villages.

15. Mandura is about 30 km from the last village in the resettlement area along the road to Addis Ababa.

Clearly, a number of constants run throughout all these ideas expressed by the 39 craftsmen interviewed, and they have been carefully examined during the ongoing planning process. The main point is the need for equipment and suitable work places. This has probably been aggravated by the way in which the transfers took place.<sup>16</sup>

There is also the fact that potters find it particularly difficult to get suitable raw materials, and often complain about the poor quality of the clay, which does not produce sturdy products. There seems to be a difficulty here mainly linked to their poor familiarity with the new environment in which they live and of the kind of soil present there.

To provide a practical response to these needs, the Programme carried out a survey in the area to identify the zones in which the soil is particularly suitable for potter's clay, with the possibility of building pottery production poles there.<sup>17</sup>

Another need which is often expressed by the interviewees relates to the need to devote more time to craft work, which is generally squeezed into the brief moments during the day when they are not working on the farms. In particular, the group of 39 craftsmen surveyed fully expected to exercise their own activities as an occupation, to earn money from it and be able to acquire goods such as the foodstuffs not included in their rations, clothing and home building materials.

Generally speaking, the need to practise their craft activities intensively was linked with their expectations to improve their quality of life.

#### **4. Possible ways of developing handicraft work in the Beles Valley**

According to the replies given by the group of craftsmen surveyed, the labour organization of the craftsmen at the time the survey was taken seemed to be strongly dependent upon the socio-economic system at the time, based on collective agricultural work and the distribution of food rations.

This being so, handicraft work was viewed as a supplementary activity to farm work, and only occasionally able to provide any direct supplementary financial benefits to the craftsmen in addition to his food rations.

16. In discussions before and after the survey from which these interviews were taken, many settlers said that they had left their areas of origin very hastily, and without being able to take with them their property, tools and other personal belongings.

17. See, in this connection, the essay by Adriano Leverone published in this book.

At the same time, the conditions were not suitable for craft specialization, and some of the craftsmen ran the risk of losing the technical skills they had acquired in their places of origin. In this case, reference was made to the shortage of time for craft work, and the lack of room and appropriate working tools, judging from the interviews reported in the previous section. In other words, the data confirmed the impression that no craft-based economic system exists.

In order to lay the bases to create one the Programme dealt with three problem areas.

The first was the specialization of the craftsmen in terms both of their technical skills and the organization of work and marketing. The second was the degree of "flexibility" of the local social and political system, and hence of the willingness of the local authorities to introduce novelties into the organization of labour and the management of local resources. The third problem area related to the marketing possibilities that actually exist in the resettlement area or areas bordering on it. These three problem areas were used as three separate spheres of activity and priority survey areas.

The extension of the training courses and the approach taken by them have made it possible not only to enhance the technical skills of the craftsmen, who have set up production centres in their own villages with the assistance of the Programme, but also to set in motion a specialization process for groups of craftsmen belonging to the three subsectors, who have already begun their first cooperative and pre-cooperative experiences focused on off-farm activities in the Beles Valley.<sup>18</sup>

These structures, which have also received legal recognition by the local authorities, have enabled their members to become self-sufficient in food and independent of the food rations, thereby giving them the possibility of working full time in their chosen craft without having to work on the farm lands.

The urbanization process which has taken place in the Beles area in relation to the promotion of Metekel to the status of a Region and of Almu Town to that of a regional capital,<sup>19</sup> with the resultant transfer of

18. This is followed by a description of the way in which the wood and bamboo Cooperative functions. The expression "pre-cooperative" in this connection indicates structures which operate like cooperatives, but are still awaiting their legal recognition.

19. During 1989, Metekel was promoted from the status of a Province to that of a Region, when the Gojjam was divided into three regions which included West Gojjam with its capital in Bahr Dar, and East Gojjam with its capital in Debre Marcos, in addition to Metekel itself with its capital in Almu Town.

offices, logistical facilities and administrative structures, has certainly had a positive influence on the marketing opportunities and on the structuring of new dwelling units in the villages which are suitable to accommodate domestic utensils and property that were difficult to house in the former *tukuls*.<sup>20</sup>

One of the Programme's objectives is to conduct a more thorough survey of the market potential for handicraft work in the future, and particularly to see whether it is necessary to set up sales centres outside the area, under the direct management of the Cooperatives.

The Cooperatives referred to here are mainly based on production and marketing groupings, while the work within the cooperatives is distributed on a functional basis depending on individual skills.

In the case of the wood and bamboo workers' Cooperative,<sup>21</sup> for example, which has taken the name of "ANDEGNA", which in Amharic means "The First", indicating that it was the first structure of its kind set up in the Beles area, the distribution of labour provides for the following functions:

- production, which is divided into production of wood items, bamboo items, and the preparation of timber pieces for the work;
- management, which incorporates the sub-functions of clerical work and recording orders, accounts and stores.

The distribution of the profits takes place within the Cooperative on the basis of a points system, which takes account of the number of hours worked and the quality of the performance, and these assessments are drawn up and approved by the assembly on a monthly basis. It is the president and treasurer's duty to carry out the instructions of the assembly.

In the first three months following its constitution, the Andegna cooperative, to which 24 craftsmen belong, distributed on average 100 birr per month to each member, and made a provision of about 1,000 to

20. Under the housing programme the "Tana Beles Project" built 25,000 new dwellings (see "Tana Beles Project", Ethiopia, 1989) with a bamboo frame, a metal sheet roof and walls made of mud and straw using the mixture known as *cikka* in Amharic. The new dwellings stand on foundations 25 square metres in size of which 17.5 square metres are covered, comprising the 3.75 square metre cooking area, and the main room, 13.75 square meters in size, in which many families have placed chairs, tables and above all boxes, which are used not only as table tops but also to protect food and clothing.

21. The Andegna Cooperative was officially inaugurated in the presence of representatives of the regional *Shengo* on 12th March 1990.

raise its capital. The average monthly revenue in this period was about 4,000 birr, with 600 birr a month being used to buy expendable materials.

This cooperative, which was created after several years of training activity, adopts its own rules and regulations within the framework of national regulations, including the assignment of points on the basis of which the craftsmen receive their income.

After March 1990 Ethiopia set about a fairly complicated process of revising the criteria for socio-economic planning, placing the emphasis on the need to make greater use of private enterprise, even in the rural environments, and to encourage the growth of the cooperative system in different sectors.

This being so, the local administrative and institutional system has been taking up an attitude whereby the production structures promoted by the Programme are considered as places of socio-economic experimentation.

One extremely strongly-felt need in an area like Beles, where huge quantities of foreign aid have been concentrated thanks to the commitment of Italian cooperation, is to exploit and extend those activities which can become self-sustaining in the future and at the same time generate supplementary income to complement the income from farming.

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## 17. CONCLUSIONS

*Paolo Dieci*

### 1. Foreword

It is not easy to draw any conclusions from this book, for two main reasons. Firstly, because the issues it deals with vary so widely, and are discussed both theoretically and historically along with other papers describing progress with the practical implementation and analysis of the results of the multisectoral Programme implemented by CISP. Secondly, there is the question of the political background against which the book has to be viewed. It comprises papers and articles mostly written between June 1989 and July 1991, and the political situation in Ethiopia changed radically throughout this period.

As for the comparative lack of homogeneity of the issues dealt with in "Resettlement and Rural Development in Ethiopia" is concerned, it must be stated at once that this was one of the book's intentions: the idea was to examine a cooperation programme, and then analyze general issues connected with it. It was while analyzing the methodologies employed to develop the irrigated areas and the home gardens, for example, that we developed an interest in examining the whole complex issue of criteria for planning agricultural development in Ethiopia, and the influence that the ideological assumptions and economic objectives might have on these criteria.

At the same time, the verification of the results obtained through the establishment of the handicraft production units suggested the need to take a historical approach to examining the impact of the craft traditions on the economy and on Ethiopian art.

This being so, the book also demonstrates the inherent complexity of any cooperation programme, in the sense that such programmes, as well as the policy and methodological choices that are connected with them, give rise to far more general theoretical and historical/political questions than the programme itself taken in isolation.

Hence the need to approach a programme from many different points of view, with consultants working on a truly interdisciplinary basis.

As far as the second set of difficulties are concerned, namely the rapid changes in the political situation in Ethiopia over the past two years, one might attempt the following "reading" of events.

In 1989, when the former government, based on the hegemony of the only political party (the Workers' Party of Ethiopia), saw that it had obviously lost its internal support, and in view of the changed international situation, it declared that it wished to introduce substantial political and economic reforms, moving in the direction of a "mixed" economy and gradually developing pluralism. But apart from the greater economic power acquired by the small farmers with the drastic reduction in the role of the Agricultural Marketing Corporations, these reforming intentions were never implemented during 1989, 1990 and the first half of 1991.

There are two main factors which accounted for this. Firstly, the incapacity (or lack of will) on the part of the government of the day to run the complex, and complicated, machinery of the State and the party in the declared direction. The resistance of the bureaucrats to the political and economic changes that had already been evident in the Eastern European countries were also felt in Ethiopia, without the citizens being given anything to enable them to understand what was happening in their country, let alone actually take part in it.

The second factor, which was to lead to the final collapse of the Derg government and then the installation of a new government promoted by EPRDF, was the simultaneous military advance of the opposition and the collapse of the "loyalist" army.

At the beginning of July 1991, the national reconciliation conference was held in Addis Ababa, and Ethiopia's political agenda was filled with critical issues that had never been discussed for 17 years: multi-party democracy, a negotiated settlement of the Eritrean problem, ways of drafting and deciding on a new democratic constitution.

## **2. Problem areas for the definition of development strategies in Ethiopia**

It is obviously impossible, as things stand at present, to even make a "guesstimate" of the effects on Ethiopian society of the political changes that led to the downfall of Mengistu Haile Mariam's govern-

ment and the installation of a transitional government.

What is certain is that the problematic context in which any development programme for Ethiopia has to be set, whether it is merely a national programme or one sustained by international cooperation, gives no cause for optimism.

According to the 1984 census, Ethiopia had a population of about 45,000,000 covering 1,222,000 km<sup>2</sup>, with an annual growth rate of 2.9%.<sup>1</sup> In 1990, life expectancy at birth was 45.5 years, while infant mortality in 1989 was 226 per thousand live births (UNDP, 1991). In 1989, the real average per capita income was \$119.02 (World Bank, 1990). And in 1988, Ethiopia's foreign debt accounted for 51% of GNP, which was 5.8 billion dollars (UNDP, 1991). According to some forecasts, by the year 2000 the cereals deficit in Ethiopia should reach 2,499,000 tons (Faught, 1988). A further factor of aggravation which cannot be ignored with regard to the completely fragile nature of the socio-economic structure of the country is the burden of military expenditure over the period 1960-1986, which rose from 1.6 to 8.6% of the GNP (UNDP, 1991). In 1986, the ratio between ODA for social investments and arms imports stood at 0.13 (UNDP, 1991).

There is no doubt that there are two factors that have had a negative impact on the history of Ethiopia over the past century (even though in reality they existed even earlier): famine and war.

Innumerable records exist to demonstrate this "historical" dimension of the problem of famine in Ethiopia, the earliest records dating back to the 9th century (Pankhurst, 1986). Between 1889 and 1892, one-third of the whole of Ethiopia's population is reckoned to have been killed by famine (Pankhurst, 1986).

In more recent times, 1974 was not only the year of Ethiopia's revolution, but also of a tragic famine on a momentous scale. In reality, as Ethiopian scholars have pointed out, the widespread dissemination of information about the 1974 famine was due not so much to the unusual nature of the event, but to the enhanced role of the mass media and the keener attention being shown by the industrialised countries than in the past to the reality of under-development.<sup>2</sup> The effects on the rural population of the country of the famines that had stricken Ethiopia in 1958-60 and 1966-68 were no less tragic than the 1974 famine (Mesfin Wolde Mariam, 1984).

1. The census data are given in: Henze (1988).

2. This opinion was voiced by Mesfin Wolde Mariam (1984).

Not only drought, but also the absence of storage and transport facilities, the failure to make widespread use of the water resources that exist in the country for irrigation purposes, the difficulty of effectively protecting harvests from plagues of locusts, caterpillars and other pests, and an increasing imbalance in the distribution of the population underlie Ethiopia's famines.

In the twenty year period from 1958 to 1977 it has been calculated that at least one *awraja* in Ethiopia was stricken by famine on 469 occasions in a whole year. The number of persons killed by these famines in Eritrea, Tigrai, Wallo, the northern areas and the southern areas of Shewa and the pastoral areas of Harerghe, Bale, Sidamo and Gamo Gofa, is put at 2.5 to 5 million. In 1959, in the region of Tigrai alone about 400,000 people died of famine. In 1973, in 5 *awrajas* in the Wallo region it is estimated that 20% of the 106,000 people resident population died (Mesfin Wolde Mariam, 1984).

The extent and the seriousness of the famine in 1983-84 provoked an unprecedented reaction throughout the whole world, mobilising people's emotions and solidarity in vast sections of the population.

In many parts of Ethiopia the rainy season runs from June to September. In 1983 and 1984 the rainfall was far below the expected levels during those months in the regions of Wallo, Tigrai, Bale, Harerghe and certain parts of Sidamo.

The rainfall recorded by the National Meteorological Services Agency in the period 21-31 July 1983 in the Gondar region, and the region of Eritrea and in parts of Tigrai, was 50-70% below normal. In the eastern zones of Tigrai and Eritrea, in the north-west of Harerghe and the lowlands of Arsi and Showa, in the north of Sidamo and the north of Gamo Gofa, rainfall in 1983-84 was 70% below the normal levels at various times (RRC, 1984).

In the Wallo region, following the 1983-84 famine, the number of people needing food rations distributed by the RRC in the absence of any other possible sources of sustenance was estimated to be 1,790,840 above that of any previous relief operation.

In Tigrai, the at-risk population as far as food security was concerned numbered about 1,300,000. In Eritrea 827,000 people were estimated to be in need of food aid.

In the Sidamo region in the period 1983-84, lack of food did not depend upon the climate in the same way as in other regions but rather, according to the official appraisal of the RRC, by the over-population of the area compounded by a moderate drought. At all events, in this region food aid was estimated to be necessary for 698,410 people.

In addition to the population urgently requiring food aid following the 1983-84 famine there were also the estimated 435,860 people in Showa, 419,120 in Harerghe, 376,500 in Gondar, 188,200 in Bale, 187,000 in Gamo Gofa, 72,360 in Arsi, in Keffa, in Illubador and in Gojjam and, lastly, 45,000 in the Administration of Assab (RRC, 1984).

It was after the 1983-84 famine that Ethiopia decided not only to implement food aid plans and soil conservation programmes for the most severely drought-stricken areas, but also to extend large-scale resettlement programmes.

From 1960 to 1974 the imperial government had in fact, albeit experimentally, embarked upon resettlement plans involving a total of 20,000 households (Sahale Mariam Mogus, 1982).

From the end of 1984 to January 31st 1986, 591,227 persons, accounting for 204,657 households, had been transferred from Tigray, Wallo, Showa, Gondar and Gojjam. In the latter case the transfers were carried out on a regional scale (RRC, 1984).

The aims of resettlement and the legislative framework under which this policy was framed have been analysed elsewhere in this book;<sup>3</sup> likewise, emphasis has been given to the heated debate that emerged around the resettlement programme at international level regarding the reasons for the transfers, the criteria for choosing the new areas to be settled, the conditions under which the transfers occurred and the quality of life of the settlers in their new areas of residence.

Naturally the work of the Italian cooperation in the Beles Valley also formed part of this debate, and conflicting stances have been taken up regarding it, followed subsequently by studies and analyses including this book.

During 1985, sacks of wheat were dropped by air to the famine-stricken regions of Ethiopia to be collected and distributed to the families there.

Even symbolically, waiting for food to arrive "out of the blue" summed up the situation of hundreds of thousands of Ethiopian families in those years.

Against this background, resettlement seemed to be one of the possible strategies for coupling the provision of relief to the famine victims with a reduction of the peasants' dependence on external aid, by extending the country's agricultural frontier.

However, a number of obstacles arose between this initial strategy

3. See, in particular, the article by P. Dieci and V. Roscio.

and reality, which seriously hampered the effectiveness of the resettlement policy.

The lack of any structures for first asylum, including facilities to deal with the expected health problems, compounded by a lack of an adequate knowledge of the territory chosen for the transfers, and above the effect that malaria would have had on this territory, were negative factors on the resettlement on the Beles Valley.

The one critical feature which has most seriously affected the resettlement strategy in Ethiopia has been the essentially coercive nature of the whole process, beginning with the first population transfers that were only marginally voluntary.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the locally planners made virtually no provision whatsoever for the settlers to manage their own production, or to be allocated any land of their own -- particularly in the period 1985-88 -- except for the 1000 m<sup>2</sup> home gardens for each household. As a result, the small farmers had no interest in staying in their newly settled lands.

The CISP Multisectoral Programme has endeavoured to introduce substantially novel features to these criteria, and the results are briefly summarized below.

Examining the problematic background to the development of contemporary Ethiopia, one cannot obviously forget the military conflicts in the country. Many factors explain these conflicts, because they vary in terms of their origins and development. One aggravating factor over the past 17 years has nevertheless been the lack of any kind of democratic system in which these conflicts might have been dealt with. In the absence of a "public" political dialectic between the various groups and movements in the country, the vast majority of the people have been unable to do anything other than sit back and watch the military conflict unfold. It is our view that one of the main duties of the new government which came to power in 1991 is to create systems for political participation and public consensus appropriate to the features and peculiarities of such a multiethnic population as Ethiopia has.

### **3. The main features of the multi-sectoral programme implemented by CISP in the Beles Valley**

In conclusion, here is a summary of some of the features of the

4. We were frequently told by settlers in the Beles Valley that they were forced to leave their home regions.

multisectoral Programme which might be used in the future developments of the work there.

The multisectoral Programme to support the resettled population in the Beles area was set in motion in October 1986 as an emergency measure; in other words, it was designed to attain certain short- and medium-term objectives to meet the immediate needs of the people.

In the planning phase, the main thrusts of the scheme were defined in such a way as to meet the immediate needs in an overall plan which would create a stable development process.

In general terms, the plan set out to place the settlers in conditions which would enable them to work out the development scenarios for the area, involving not only specific training plans but also helping to set up production structures in the agricultural and off-farm sectors, on the basis of which income-generating activities could immediately be developed. At the same time an ongoing system for monitoring the results was put into place, based upon a survey of the expectations of the people living in the villages, their requests and their needs.

One of the methodological approaches which may be emphasised here is the practice of carrying out fact-finding surveys not only to acquire detailed information on the impact of the technical assistance plans (for example, reconstructing the farmed areas in every village in the home gardens and the related cropping plans, or the monetary income earned by the craftsmen as a result of their training courses), but also to find out what the beneficiary populations themselves felt about the effectiveness of the schemes and how far they met up with their expectations.

The technical and socio-economic fact-finding surveys, to the results of which much of this book is devoted, were therefore the methodological instruments that were used to actively involve the village communities not only in implementing the schemes but also in planning them.

A second aspect of the planning which we would like to emphasise relates to the criteria for promoting income-generating activities. The schemes promoted in the agricultural and handicraft fields have made it possible to develop a number of private cooperative and pre-cooperative structures.

In these cases, the methodology followed was to conduct intense training activities before the cooperative and pre-cooperative groups were set up, taking account of the people's pre-settlement occupational experiences.

At the same time, in order to define the models for the cooperatives,

drawing on existing experiences elsewhere in Ethiopia, we felt that it was absolutely necessary to ensure that every member had a real economic and financial return from the beginning.

In the socio-economic reality of the Beles area, in the initial phase of any cooperative structure, in whatever sector it operates, it is difficult for every member to be able to reap any significant monetary benefits, if any profits that are generated are to be distributed among all the members of a Peasants' Association (and in Beles every Peasants' Association had an average membership of 500). In other words, a cooperative which is based upon the personnel belonging to the pre-existing Peasants' Association runs the risk of not meeting up with the economic expectations of its members, and at the same time it may not be able to take account of and use all the existing professional vocations.

In this connection, it should be borne in mind that the Peasants' Associations in Beles, in practice, were co-extensive with the villages, and they had grown up as the settlers had moved into the area, mainly depending upon the date of their arrival.

It is for this reason that, both in the case of handicraft work and agriculture, we opted for a cooperative model in which groups of persons belonging to one or more Peasants' Association pooled their efforts and divided the profits, establishing a contractual relationship with the Peasants' Association to which part of the profits were paid, on the basis of predetermined percentages.

Quite clearly, the number of members of each cooperative or pre-cooperative varies in terms of the scope of their productive activity, but in no case it is ever greater than the number which the promoters consider to be the maximum to ensure that the members have what they consider to be a satisfactory return. It is then the duty of the cooperative, once formed, to lay down the rules and procedures for the admission of new members who wish to join as the cooperative grows, and depending upon the new specialized personnel requirements.

A third part of the multisectoral Programme which we would like to emphasize here relates to the link between child care, pre-school education and child health-care. Here again, the book sets out the results achieved by the Programme beginning with the training of the kindergarten teachers and the promotion of village kindergartens.

In this sector, the Programme set out to promote a policy of dialogue and interaction between the institutions working in the area, such as the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Health, the Ethiopian Nutrition Institute and the Ministry of Agriculture (with regard to setting up

home gardens in the kindergartens). In a situation in which it is absolutely necessary to cater for urgent food and health problems, there is sometimes the risk of scattering energies and of having a plethora of institutions and organizations working in the area, which, while positive in itself, often leads to poor coordination.

In view of this risk, and to attempt to avoid it, the Programme's underlying aim has been to develop management committees around the kindergartens, to support them, with educational activities, including health and sanitation to be jointly planned by representatives of all the institutions in any way involved in promoting child education and health care.

This methodological approach also reveals a more general objective: to encourage dialogue on the substance of the projects between the programme and the local institutions. Development cooperation only has any meaning if it enhances rather than mortifying the technical and planning capabilities of the recipient country, at the same time fostering technical, methodological and strategic dialogue in various areas.

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Finito di stampare nel mese  
di novembre 1991  
dalla tipografia «**la casa della stampa**»  
Via Empolitana, 120/C  
00019 Tivoli tel. 0774/25766

Ethiopia, a country with a long and uninterrupted history, comprising diverse ethnic groups, languages and cultures, will continue to attract the attention of scholars in both the social sciences and the natural sciences. Linguistically and ethnically the country is "a museum of peoples and cultures" which, when adequately investigated, will contribute greatly towards our knowledge of the languages and peoples of the Horn of Africa. There is complete unanimity among people in various walks of life in general, and researchers in particular, that the problems of the peace, security and development of the Horn of Africa must be thoroughly examined and investigated. In order to do this it is vitally important to understand and fully appreciate the complex and interrelated geopolitical problems of the area generally, and the individual states that comprise it, particularly. The inescapable conclusion is therefore that intensive multi-disciplinary research must be launched urgently. This book, based on the results of implementation and research activities carried out in the Beles Valley, can be included in the framework of recent trends of Ethiopian studies.

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