

**A Gender-Sensitive Study of  
Perceptions & Practices in and around  
Bale Mountains National Park, Ethiopia**

**Fiona Flintan**

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**The International Famine Centre,  
University College Cork,  
8, Grenville Place,  
Cork  
Ireland  
Tel: +353-21-490-4330  
Email: flintan@eircom.net**

**WWF International,  
DGIS-WWF Tropical Forest Portfolio,  
Avenue du Mont-Blanc 27,  
1196 Gland  
Switzerland  
Tel: +41-22-364-9111  
Email: abjorvik@wwfint.org**

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report describes the findings of one in a series of studies which aim to assess the linkages between the issues of 'gender' and a DGIS-WWF supported 'integrated conservation and development project' (ICDP) set in and around the Bale Mountains National Park (BMNP), Ethiopia.

The project is still in its early stages, and therefore it was considered to be of most value if this particular study aimed to obtain a better understanding of the *local* socio-economic, political, cultural and environmental context in which the project will be set. The study placed a particular emphasis on gender issues, focussing on gender roles and differences in mobility, social organisation, current livelihood practices and perceptions/views of the Park and 'conservation'. Through understanding these differences and gender 'domains' it was anticipated that areas of intervention would be highlighted, so offering some direction and ways forward for the project, to take account of its objective of addressing gender issues and including marginal groups, such as women.

The study took place in four villages – Gojera, Karari, Gofingria and Soba – and one town – Dinsho – situated on the northern unfenced boundaries of BMNP. The research involved semi-structured interviews with village/town inhabitants and/or key informants; a survey of women traders in the market place; and the use of Rapid Rural Appraisal techniques such as mobility/resource mapping and transect walks.

The town and villages are currently undergoing a process of change and 'modernisation', with Dinsho slowly growing in prosperity and size. This is reflected in the recent input to the provision of services in the town, such as a new market and the community-supported project to supply mains electricity. Both traditional and modern systems of governance run concurrently, and religion and culture still play an important role in influencing people's lives. The majority of the local community are Muslim and Oromo.

The local communities live in a relatively harsh and often unpredictable environment. Local services are few and those that exist are poorly resourced. Agriculture is mainly subsistence barley farming, supplemented by vegetable growing, semi-nomadic pastoralism and the diversification of livelihoods. The grazing of cattle and collection of fuel wood from inside the Park's boundaries is illegal, yet it occurs on a regular basis. The increasing population of both people and cattle in recent years has added to the pressure on the Park and its natural resources. This is particularly the case for the village of Gofingria.

Women and girls are marginalised groups in the society. Large gender inequities exist in schooling, health care and institutional support. Women are mainly responsible for the household and men for agriculture. However women often work on the land as well, but despite this, gender stereotypical roles are encouraged by the local institutions. In addition, women's mobility is severely restrained and there is little formal support for

their organisation or ways to challenge the inequities they experience. Informally, the self-help groups or *iddir* that have been established, appear to offer an opportunity for providing 'space' to promote women's interests.

The BMNP was established in 1970, and since this time it has had a profound effect on the lives of those living in both Dinsho and the surrounding villages. During the time of the Derg (1974-91) many households were expelled from the Park, and today, attempts are being made to force similar evictions. This has encouraged a very negative view of the Park within the local communities and has added to their insecurity.

Indeed, the majority of the local communities see no benefits from the Park, yet incur costs from the damage of crops by wild animals and restrictions on the use of natural resources in the Park. A small number of the local population, that live in the villages close to the Park, do obtain benefits from it through employment as scouts or within the Ethiopian Wolf Conservation Project, and through the hiring of horses and as guides for tourists. In addition some awareness of the importance of the Park in protecting the local environment and biodiversity was perceived.

In conclusion, it is suggested that there are a number of areas that could be targeted by the WWF project for future intervention. These include the promotion of the growing of indigenous trees; support for the provision of local services in the villages; support through a micro-credit system; tourism; and the promotion of better relations between the Park and the local communities.

More specifically, in relation to women and the establishment of projects which target them, there are a number of existing institutions that already provide a good basis for moves forward. Firstly, the presence of supportive legislation, secondly the existence of self-help groups in some areas, and thirdly the beginnings of community support for increased gender equity. In addition suggestions for projects are made, focussing on a diversification of women's livelihoods. These range from handicrafts, honey and butter making to sustainable enterprises based on the planting of fruit trees and the collection of wild herbs and flowers. However, it is stressed that if such projects are to be instigated, WWF must be cautious not to add excessively to women's daily work load and to promote unwanted gender-stereotypical roles.

Finally, it is suggested that the most appropriate of the villages studied, for targeting by WWF as a pilot village for the project, would be Karari. Reasons for this include its geographical situation, the already existing support in the village and the need for resolving present conflicts with the Park.





# 1. Introduction

This study is the first in a series of studies which aim to assess the linkages between gender issues and a World Wildlife Fund (WWF) ‘integrated conservation and development project’ (ICDP) set in the Bale Mountains National Park (BMNP), Ethiopia<sup>2</sup>. The project is funded by the Netherlands government (DGIS), and is one of seven international projects which form the Tropical Forest Portfolio, coordinated by WWF International, Geneva. The project is managed by WWF Ethiopia, based in Addis Ababa, with a field office in Goba.

The project is still in its early stages. Since its inception in 1998, its immediate objectives have been to: *firstly*, strengthen the institutional capacity of the institutions involved in the management of Ethiopia’s important protected areas, with an emphasis on forests. This is to be achieved through support to the Ethiopian Wildlife Conservation Organisation (EWCO) and the Oromiya State Regional Bureau of Agriculture (the department responsible for the management of the protected areas in the region). And, *secondly*, to conserve and manage sustainable forest and wildlife resources in the BMNP and the adjacent Mena-Angetu National Forest Protection Area. This will be achieved through the adoption of improved and sustainable community-based natural resource management practices, with a focus on the four *woredas* (or districts) which overlap the Park and/or 2-3 pilot villages.

Due to difficulties encountered during the project start-up, it was decided that initially the emphasis would be placed on the first objective – so laying a solid foundation for the rest of the project to be built on<sup>3</sup>. As a result little has been achieved so far in relation to the second objective, that is, the part of the project involving the local communities and their natural resource use<sup>4</sup>. It is this part of the project that this study is particularly interested in, because it is here that gender issues and problems are most likely to occur.

As a result, and to avoid further delays in the research, it was considered to be of most value, if a pilot study was carried out in several villages situated on the boundaries of the Park to provide a better understanding of the local socio-economic and environmental context, in which the project is to be set. This would also provide baseline data for future research. In addition, it was expected that the study would give some indication of the suitability of the villages for further involvement in the project.

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<sup>2</sup> The objectives of this research project are to assess a) how gender differences influence perceptions and use of biodiversity and its conservation, in relation to particular livelihood strategies in local communities; b) to what degree does gender influence the participation of members of a local community in the planning, implementation and monitoring/evaluation of ICDPs, and why; c) what effect might the exclusion of marginalised groups, such as women, have on the successful implementation of ICDPs; and d) how might these exclusions be resolved, so that women, the communities and biodiversity conservation benefit.

<sup>3</sup> WWF Ethiopia (2000), *WWF Technical Progress Report – Ethiopia ET0026.03/January to June, 2000*.

<sup>4</sup> In fact just before this research took place a project executant was employed who during September set up the field office in Goba, so initiating this part of the project.

As such, the objectives of this pilot study were:

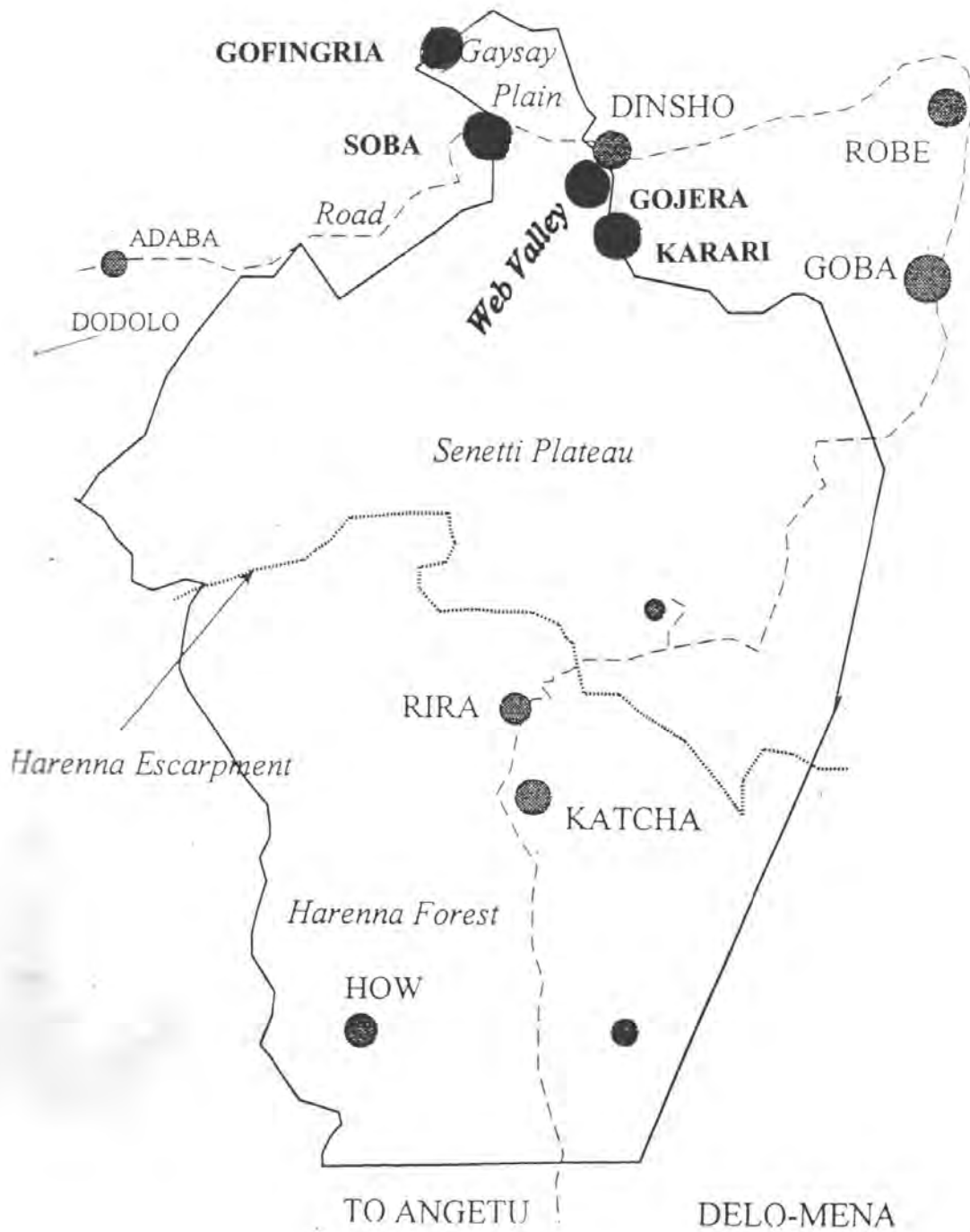
1. To gather background information on the local, political, historical, economic, cultural and social context within which the Bale Mountains National Park and the DGIS-WWF supported project are set.
2. To establish gender roles within households (including the decision-making processes), differing degrees of mobility between men and women and the presence of formal and/or informal means of support and/or social gatherings. In particular an understanding of the position of women in the local community and the household was emphasised.
3. To assess the degree of pressure on natural resources in and around the Park from the local people and their livestock.
4. To understand current livelihood practices in and around the Park and assess the possibilities for future expansion of such practices and/or suggest alternatives.
5. To assess the current perceptions and views of the Park (and conservation practices in general) including the presence of costs and/or benefits to the local communities due to the presence of the Park.

The study took place on the northern boundaries of the Park in four villages – Gojera, Karari, Gofingria and Soba – and one town – Dinsho – close to where the Park Headquarters are situated (see Figure 1). It occurred between the 6<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> September, 2000. The research team was made up of myself and two male guides/interpreters who came from the local area. It became clear during the study that in future it would be necessary to include a female interpreter in this team, as some women became shy and unwilling to talk in the presence of men.

Semi-structured interviews took place either in the respondents' place of work or their homes. Those interviewed in the villages (other than the Chairmen), a total of 16 females and 16 males - approximately 3% of the population (see Appendix 1) - were all chosen at random. An attempt was made to achieve a good geographical representation within the village boundaries. The interviews were based on a number of pre-prepared questions (as listed in Appendix 2), however these were readily adapted to reflect different circumstances and the people involved. Several other, more practical, Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) techniques were used including transect walks; resource and mobility mapping; and seasonal calendars. In addition a short, structured survey was carried out to question 41 female traders on the goods they were selling in the market. Finally, 14 people with key positions in the district/town were interviewed (see Appendix 3).

This document relies entirely upon the information gathered through the field work, other than the occasional footnote verifying data or providing additional information. The purpose of this study was to better understand the *local* viewpoint and has therefore relied almost entirely on the conversations, oral histories, observations and knowledge of the local people. It is recognised that some of these may have become distorted over time, by different circumstances or even through translation, however it is felt that its value should not be undermined because of this.

Figure 1 THE BALE MOUNTAINS NATIONAL PARK AND SURROUNDING VILLAGES



## 2. Dinsho – the District and the Town

### 2.1 The district - Sinana Dinsho

#### 2.1.1 *The history of the district*

Dinsho is both a district (or *woreda*) and a town – the two having separate administrative systems. They are found in the Bale administrative zone – one of 12 such zones in the Oromiya region. The district of Dinsho was established during the Italian occupation (1936-41) – the process being led by Tesra Beyene, who was elected by the local community to carry out the task. During this time, as Tesra Beyene (pers. comm., 2000) described, a Belgian sheep farmer acquired a large area of land between the then village of Dinsho and the Sanetti Escarpment/Plateau. The wool, from the purposively bred sheep, was to be used for blanket making and export to Europe. 43 households were removed from their land to make way for the farmer, though they were given compensation and/or rent in return. The farmer stayed for 4 years, after which he was forced from the land by the government due to not paying adequate taxes. His house (situated then on the site of the present Tourist Lodge) and land were seized by the authorities, who decided that the area should be kept under government control and protected for conservation purposes. By this time the forests - dominated by *Hagenia abyssinica* (*kosso*) and *Juniperus procera* (*tidh*) - and the wildlife around Dinsho village had started diminishing, and recent UNESCO missions to the area had encouraged such a response. In 1970 the Park was established, though even today, it is yet to be officially gazetted. Since this time, the Park has had a profound effect on the lives of both those living in Dinsho district and town.

Many of the people who had been moved from the area when the land was given over to the sheep farmer returned to their land after he left. On the establishment of the Park the people were originally allowed to stay. However, during the time of the Derg (1974-91), many households were expelled again from the area. Tesra described life under the Derg as extremely harsh – there was a general lack of privacy; too many taxes; too many associations and meetings; and forced labour. For example the whole community was forced to construct a water ditch to take water from the river to the agricultural areas in the lower lands. 17 people from the district were killed during this time (*ibid*).

#### 2.1.2 *Land use in the district today*

Today, the *woreda* of Dinsho is combined with Sinana (called *Sinanaa-Dinshoo* in *oromigna*). It is made up of 24 villages, 8 of which are within 10 kms of Dinsho town (Mustafa Abdulsamad, pers. comm., 2000). The district office can be found in Sinana.

**Table 1 Some of the villages of Sinana-Dinsho District**

| Village      | No of Households | Land Tax Paid   |
|--------------|------------------|-----------------|
| Ayidda       | 343              | 16750.00 Birr   |
| Gojera       | 189              | 10933.50 Birr   |
| Garamba      | 332              | 22172.50 Birr   |
| Soba         | 384              | 28815.00 Birr   |
| Karari       | 213              | 12533.00 Birr   |
| Gofingria    | 289              | 21202.00 Birr   |
| Zallo Ababa  | 305              | 17138.00 Birr   |
| Abakara      | 770              | 31010.00 Birr   |
| <b>Total</b> | 2825             | 160,554.00 Birr |

Source: Mustofa Abdulsamad, personal communication, 2000.

The Dinsho Agriculture Office is responsible for three of these villages – Karari, Zollo Ababa and Gojera. The Office Development Agent – Tesfaye Tollo Doyo (pers. comm., 2000) stated that Peasant Associations (PAs) are still active in the area and provide important divisions in the district. Currently, there are 7 PAs with, for example Zollo Ababa and Karari forming one, and Dinsho and Gojera forming another. These divisions also reflect the *kebele* divisions. The PAs exist as government demarcated areas of groups of farmers and rural dwellers. Though they may have been more active in the past, today it would appear that their main role is to act as a cooperative unit, for example, to buy bulk lots of fertiliser or to obtain credit. Tesfaye also suggested that Women’s Associations are still present in the area – a ‘leftover’ from the time of the Derg. They exist as a means of promoting equality and women’s rights; borrowing money for members of the group from the Development Bank, especially for widows; and to teach women handicrafts. Each group is made up of about 20 women. However, as suggested below, there appeared to be little knowledge or evidence of these Associations actually being active in the villages examined.

Agricultural extension is administered from the office. However there are no local female extension officers based there. Occasionally one comes from Robe/Goba to teach women ‘home economics’, which involves training in income-generating projects and natural resource management such as tree planting<sup>5</sup>.

Due to the altitude of the area (the majority of land being well above 1,500ms), the district is most suited to growing barley. It can grow well for four years without fertiliser, the yield from 1 hectare being approximately 6-8 quintals (sacks). However, with fertiliser, 18-24 quintals can be obtained. The cost of fertiliser to supply a sack of barley under these conditions is about 110 Birr – barley sells from 120 to 200 Birr depending on the time of year and its type/quality. 11 varieties are known to grow successfully in the area, though in recent years there has been a move to use the more ‘modern’ varieties at the expense of the traditional ones such as *maagee*; *qaxxee*; *kasalee*; and *samareeta*. This is despite the older varieties giving the same productivity, although a darker grain<sup>6</sup>. A couple of the varieties eg *faalibaye* are very resistant to frost so grown in the higher areas and *arussoo limaatii* and *akalalaas* are particularly resistant to lodging from eg hail. The most popular varieties grown are *arussoo limaatii* and *shamamee* (Tesfaye Tollo Doyo, pers. comm., 2000). Tesfaye Tollo Doyo is trying to promote a greater use of the traditional varieties, so preserving the agro-biodiversity of the area. He has, to date, received little support or interest in his endeavours.

## 2.2. Dinsho as a town

### 2.2.1 *The establishment of Dinsho town*

Dinsho town was originally a small village situated to the west of its current site. The original site remains marked by a solitary, aged eucalyptus tree. The village moved in 1934 EC(1941/2) (Tasammaa Hayiluu, pers. comm., 2000) and today Dinsho has expanded considerably from around the ‘old market’ site where the village first moved to; along the main road running between Goba and Shashamane; and more recently has been extended considerably by the building of approximately 60 houses around a new market site on the north side of the town. Several of the original huts still exist, however, the majority have been replaced by rectangular houses (rather than round) with corrugated aluminium roofs (rather than thatch).

The main street of Dinsho is made up largely of houses, shops, ‘hotels’ and tea houses. The shops are poorly stocked with few tinned and some dried goods such as spaghetti and plain biscuits. There is little evidence of a tourism industry, excluding the Wolf’s Den Café which offers trekking facilities including the hiring of guides and horses for trips into the Park. This business was started 2 years ago by Edriss Ebu, an employee of the

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<sup>5</sup> The female extension workers provided by the Bale Agricultural Zone office in Goba or from the district office in Sinana, work in conjunction with the Women’s Affairs Department of the Oromiya Agricultural Bureau based in Addis Ababa – headed by Tsige Wakjira. There are 480 home economics agents in the 12 zones of the Oromiya region. The Department also encourages the holding of gender workshops in the region and on request from the regional Planning Department provides input to agricultural projects (Tsige Wakjira, pers. comm., 2000).

<sup>6</sup> This darker grained barley produces a darker flour for eg injera – not so popular or fashionable today.

EWCP (Ethiopian Wolf Conservation Project), which is based in the Park. However, due to a lack of tourists coming to Bale in the last couple of years Edriss has only provided five clients with trekking services during this time (Edriss Ebu, pers. comm., 2000). Much trade in the town relies on the many trucks and vehicles which pass through on their way to and from the major towns in the area, and indeed, en route to Addis Ababa. A large number of children spend their time selling roasted barley or *kollo*, as well as bags of dried wild thyme picked locally, to the people travelling through.

A Town Forum was established in 1983 EC (1990/1) and a Town Office in 1988 EC (1995/6). A new Town Chairman was elected in 1983 EC – Ibrahim Jundaa, who is still in power despite there having been elections every 3 years. It was noticeable that during his time in office, considerable improvements have been made in the provision of services for the town (see below) and the people think highly of him. In 1990 EC (1997/8) the population of Dinsho town was 1,031 males and 1,168 females (including children). It was estimated that the population is increasing by approximately 60 people per year (Tasammaa Hayiluu, pers. comm., 2000). Last year the people of the town paid 145,121 Birr in taxes. This money remained in the town, rather than going to either the regional or federal government.

### *2.2.2 Local services – the schools, clinic, grinding mills, water & electricity*

#### *2.2.2 a) The primary and secondary schools*

The town has a primary and secondary school, as well as a Muslim school at the Mosque. The secondary school teaches up to Grade 10, so to attend Grades 11 and 12, children must go to the high schools in either Agarfa or Robe (between 25-30 km away). The secondary school was built in 1962 EC (1969/70) and the primary school was rebuilt in 1991 EC (1998/9), with support from the local community. Only 500 Birr is received by the primary school and 1,500 Birr by the secondary school, from the government, for books and teaching aids. In addition the government pays for all teachers. For example, a primary school teacher earns between 300 and 600 Birr (£30-60) per month (Alemayehu Terefe, pers. comm., 2000). Additional funds have been raised by the schools through community support and schemes such as the selling of eucalyptus seedlings, vegetables and cut grass from the playground area for livestock forage. Children are expected to provide their own exercise books and writing materials.

As the figures in Tables 2 and 3 show, attendance of girls is far below that of boys. The Head Teacher of the primary school, Hussein Tufissa (pers. comm., 2000) described how a recent report to determine why this is so concluded that there were a number of factors. These are, in order of influence:

1. Cultural reasons – it is preferred that girls get married at an early age rather than go to school.
2. Girls help families at home more than boys.

3. Girls are afraid of being raped on the way to school. [If a girl is raped she is more than likely to be passed over to her attacker for marriage as it is unlikely that any other man will want to marry her].
4. The long distance from home to school may be too physically difficult for girls.
5. Few prospects are seen or available for girls/women after their education – especially in the local area
6. Poverty – the lack of funds available to allow children to go to school for example, instead of working, means that girls are more likely to miss out. Boys tend to be educated first.
7. Boy's work and contribution to society is valued more highly than that of girl's.



**Table 2 NUMBER OF STUDENTS AT DINSHO PRIMARY/ELEMENTARY SCHOOL IN 1991 (EC) (1998/9)**

| Grade   | Kan Galmayaan<br>(Enrolled) |        |       | Kan Qaaxaamuran<br>(Dropped out) |        |       | Borumsaaf Kantaa'an<br>(Took examination) |        |       | Kan Dabran<br>(Passed examination) |        |       | Kan Kufan<br>(Failed examination) |        |       |
|---------|-----------------------------|--------|-------|----------------------------------|--------|-------|---|--------|-------|------------------------------------|--------|-------|-----------------------------------|--------|-------|
|         | Male                        | Female | Total | Male                             | Female | Total | Male                                      | Female | Total | Male                               | Female | Total | Male                              | Female | Total |
| Grade 1 | 64                          | 37     | 101   | 13                               | 4      | 17    | 61  | 33     | 94    | 46                                 | 25     | 71    | 7                                 | 6      | 13    |
| Grade 2 | 73                          | 43     | 116   | 5                                | 5      | 10    | 68  | 43     | 111   | 62                                 | 39     | 101   | 4                                 | 1      | 5     |
| Grade 3 | 76                          | 48     | 124   | 8                                | 10     | 18    | 72  | 38     | 110   | 58                                 | 38     | 96    | 4                                 | 6      | 10    |
| Grade 4 | 73                          | 42     | 115   | 9                                | 6      | 15    | 64  | 40     | 104   | 57                                 | 36     | 93    | 3                                 | 4      | 7     |
| Grade 5 | 68                          | 41     | 109   | 7                                | 5      | 12    | 61  | 39     | 100   | 52                                 | 27     | 79    | 6                                 | 12     | 18    |
| Total   | 354                         | 211    | 565   | 42                               | 30     | 72    | 326                                       | 193    | 519   | 275                                | 165    | 440   | 24                                | 29     | 53    |

**Table 3 NUMBER OF STUDENTS AT DINSHO SECONDARY SCHOOL IN 1992 (EC) (1999/2000)**

| Age | Grade 7 |        |       | Grade 8 |        |       | Grade 9 |        |       | Grade 10 |        |       | Total |        |       |
|-----|---------|--------|-------|---------|--------|-------|---------|--------|-------|----------|--------|-------|-------|--------|-------|
|     | Male    | Female | Total | Male    | Female | Total | Male    | Female | Total | Male     | Female | Total | Male  | Female | Total |
|     |         |        |       |         |        |       |         |        |       |          |        |       |       |        |       |

|       |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |     |
|-------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|----|-----|
| > 13  | 4  | 5  | 9  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | 4   | 5  | 9   |
| 13    | 5  | 4  | 9  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | 5   | 4  | 9   |
| 14    | 16 | 9  | 25 | 7  | 3  | 10 | 7  | 2  | 9  | -  | -  | -  | 30  | 14 | 44  |
| 15    | 10 | 7  | 17 | 9  | 6  | 15 | 12 | 8  | 20 | 1  | 4  | 5  | 32  | 25 | 57  |
| 16    | 11 | 4  | 15 | 15 | 5  | 20 | 8  | 9  | 17 | 4  | 7  | 11 | 38  | 25 | 63  |
| 17    | 9  | -  | 9  | 4  | -  | 4  | 4  | 5  | 9  | 12 | 3  | 15 | 29  | 8  | 37  |
| 18    | -  | -  | -  | 8  | 2  | 10 | 8  | 3  | 11 | 8  | 5  | 13 | 24  | 10 | 34  |
| 19    | -  | -  | -  | 3  | -  | 3  | 6  | -  | 6  | 3  | 1  | 4  | 12  | 1  | 13  |
| 20    | -  | -  | -  | 1  | -  | 1  | 1  | -  | 1  | 1  | -  | 1  | 3   | -  | 3   |
| < 20  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | 4  | 1  | 5  | 1  | -  | 1  | 5   | 1  | 6   |
| Total | 55 | 29 | 84 | 47 | 16 | 63 | 50 | 29 | 79 | 30 | 20 | 50 | 182 | 94 | 276 |

These factors were confirmed in the opinion of the secondary school's Deputy Teacher – Leykun Kebene Feleke (pers. comm., 2000). Both schools are attempting to encourage more girls to the schools by 'educating' the community and for example, giving girls more responsibility at school and providing separate sex toilets. This has been aided by recently introduced legislation such as the National Policy on Ethiopian Women in 1993 advocating gender equity (Alemayehu Terefe, pers. comm., 2000). Half of the 16 staff at the primary school are women, though at the secondary school there is only one female member of staff amongst the 11 employed. She teaches typing, part-time. This is due to the fact that there are just not enough female teachers available for secondary level teaching (Leykun Kebene Feleke, pers. comm., 2000).

Both schools have Nature Clubs which grow, sell and give away eucalyptus seedlings. The original seeds were provided by the Ministry of Agriculture. The primary school has, so far, grown and planted 500 trees within the school grounds, sold some to farmers and a number have been taken home by the children to plant in their 'gardens'. 250 Birr (£25) has been raised from sales and this will be reinvested into the project, with the aim of growing up to 40,000 seedlings in the future (Alemayehu Terefe, pers. comm., 2000). There is also a eucalyptus plantation in the town which was planted during the time of the Derg and is still being coppiced by the User's Association<sup>7</sup> (Temune Worku, pers. comm., 2000). The WWF-funded plantation mentioned in some of the WWF project documents was not known by those interviewed or found.

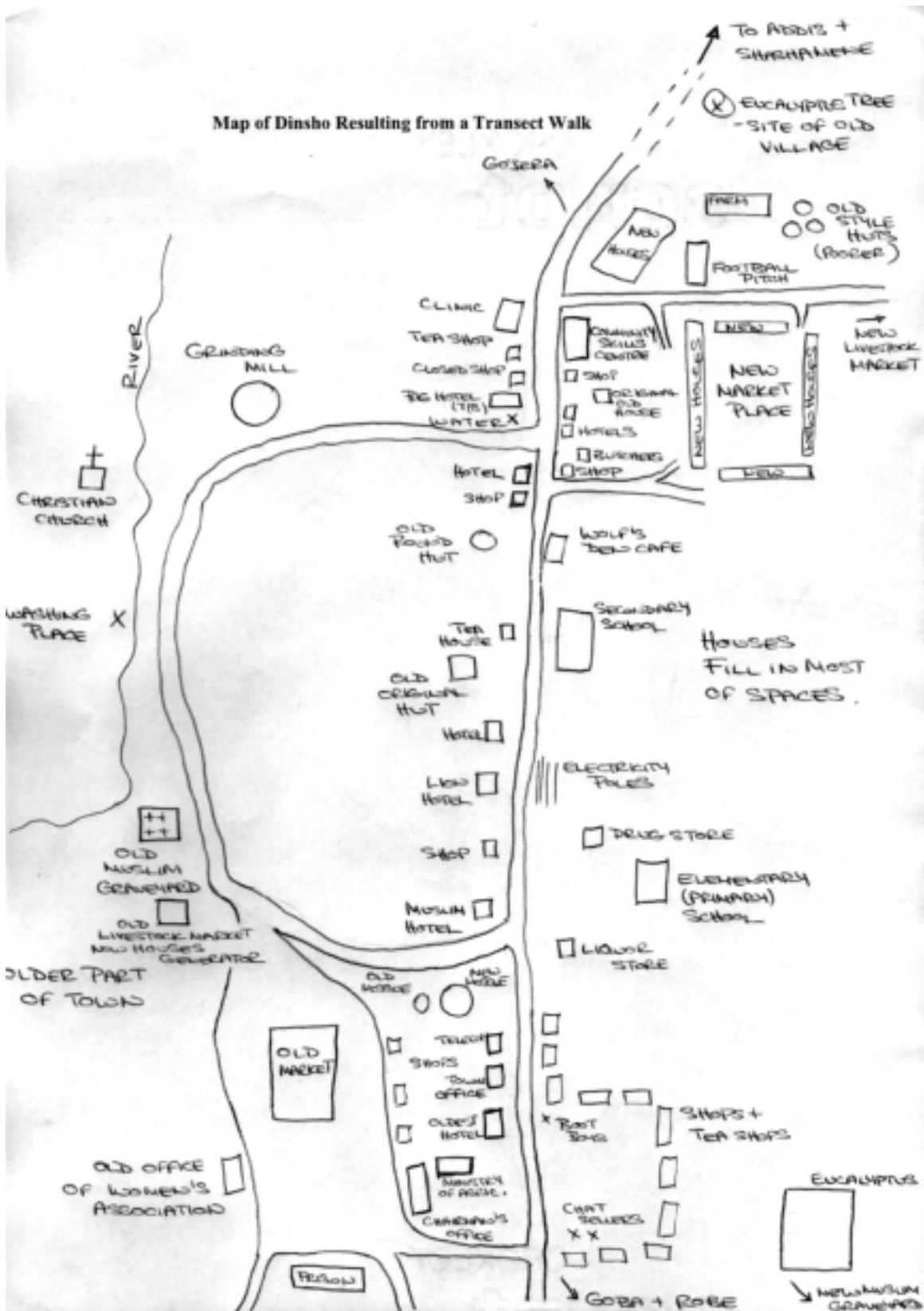
#### 2.2.2 b) The Health Clinic

A new clinic (as mapped in Figure 2) was built and given to the town by the Park in 1989 EC(1996/7) replacing dilapidated buildings built by the Ministry of Health some time before. However, despite the relatively new buildings, the clinic is very poorly stocked in both equipment and drugs. Many simple diseases and infections can not be treated there due to a lack of medicines and no reference books (Wako Kedir, pers. comm., 2000). A few minor operations such as male circumcisions are carried out by the clinic staff, however, more serious ones can only be made in Robe or Goba (25-30 km away)<sup>8</sup>. In addition, the buildings are already in poor repair, the clinic not having funds, for example, to mend broken doors. It was also suggested that the Park had promised to set up a water point for the clinic (which does not have running water at present) and to

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<sup>7</sup> It was not exactly clear who belonged to this 'User's Association'.

<sup>8</sup> It was stated that the clinic is not aware of female circumcisions taking place (Wako Kedir, pers. comm., 2000).



provide an incinerator. Neither have materialised, though work was begun on the incinerator but not completed.

There are no female staff working in the clinic and no mid-wives. Each village, it was suggested, has its own 'traditional' mid-wife. In addition, traditional medicines and treatments are still used in the rural areas. When staff are available, the clinic implements education and vaccination programmes involving visits to the surrounding villages, by motor-bike and other available transport. For example there is an EIP (Expanding Immunisation Programme) for vaccination against polio and measles, and meetings are held to educate people about AIDs and personal hygiene. The clinic was not aware of any cases of AIDs in the town. It was suggested that 10% of the women in Dinsho use contraceptive methods of birth control, however it was declared that men, generally, did not (Wako Kedir, pers. comm., 2000). This is despite there being a strong national educational campaign, via eg radio, to use condoms.

The clinic is visited by approximately 150 people a month. Medicines administered must be paid for by the patients as well as a nominal charge for examinations of 0.50 cents. The most common causes of deaths are due to diarrhoea related illnesses and respiratory tract infections. The most treated illnesses are those related to the removal of parasitic worms (*ibid*).

#### 2.2.2 c) Grinding mills

The town has two diesel-powered grinding mills (mapped in Figure 2), though only one appeared to be working at the time of this study. Both women and men may use the mill, though it is more often the women who do so. Queuing to use the mill may take up to a whole day. Use of the mill costs 15 Birr (£1.50) to grind 100 kgs of barley which takes approximately half an hour <sup>9</sup>(Temune Worku, pers. comm., 2000). People come to use the mill from all the surrounding villages, the delays from queuing meaning that they may have to stay the night in Dinsho and continue queuing the next day until their turn comes round.

#### 2.2.2 d) Water and electricity

Recently, water stand-pipes were introduced to several sites in the town, though washing is still done by the women down at the river. The town is however, still without electricity. This is despite main electricity lines running directly through the town from pylons set-up in the time of the Derg when Dinsho was considered too small to warrant electrification. It was rumoured that 'the Park' does not want the town to become electrified as this will encourage immigration into the area and more pressure on the Park and its resources. The Ethiopian Wildlife Conservation Organisation (EWCO) however, has donated 30,000 Birr<sup>10</sup> to the town project to electrify the area by the purchase of a generator and the setting up of poles and lines to take electricity to all households in the town vicinity. All town residents were obliged to contribute to the project – the poorest

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<sup>9</sup> Small amounts of barley are more often than not ground at home.

<sup>10</sup> It has not yet been possible to confirm this with EWCO.

only 2-3 Birr each, the richest up to 500 Birr. The total cost of the project is 50,000 Birr (approximately £5,000) (Tasammaa Hayiluu, pers. comm., 2000). The generator has already been purchased and work is currently underway to put up the power lines.

### 2.2.3 *The position of women and their roles in the community*

For women, it would appear that during the time the village/town was under the rule of the Derg, despite other hardships, their position within the community was more highly valued. The system instigated by the Derg offered greater opportunities for a more formal support of equal rights than is found today. For example, Women's Associations (as previously mentioned) were established to provide cooperative labour, working with and for the community. The Associations also enabled women a means of voicing their opinions, contributing to community decision-making and influencing local development. In Dinsho, the Association was led by Temune Worku who has lived in the town for over 30 years. She described how the women were forced to go to meetings at what is now the Community Skills Training Centre (mapped on Figure 2) as well as work on a cooperative farm and garden where they grew vegetables. Today, she suggests that no such Association exists (contrary to the belief of the Agricultural Development Officer) because there is no formal/government support for its existence. She suggested that only less formal systems of support for women exist, such as the 'self-help' (or cultural) groups present in some areas. These self-help groups, or *iddir*, provide support for women for example, in funding and organising weddings and funerals.

The Community Skills Centre still provides some opportunities for women to meet and learn new skills, focussing on art, home economics, and handicrafts, such as making stools and baskets. The Centre also offers training for men in, for example, carpentry<sup>11</sup> and metalwork. Approximately 50 women come from Dinsho to the Centre each year, and 50 from further afield (Temune Worku, pers. comm., 2000).

Women are heavily involved in buying and selling at the markets in Dinsho. A small local market occurs on the 'old' market site on Saturdays and a far bigger one situated on the 'new' market site, attended by approximately 3,000 people, on Tuesdays. Both markets suggested a friendly and enjoyed atmosphere. There was much amiable bartering and conversations being exchanged. As Appendix 4 shows the majority of traders at the larger Tuesday market came from the villages around Dinsho, some travelling as far as 25 kms. Most come to sell once a week, though others only come when there is 'a problem' and money needs to be raised to solve it.

Most women sell products from their farms or 'gardens' (the term used to describe the area close to their huts where it is usual for a range of vegetables to be grown). In addition, a number of wild herbs (such as the locally called *sukye*, *tenadem*, *hiticho*, *besobila* and *ariti* – see Appendix 5) were being sold, together with dogwood for flavouring the local beer (*talla*), grasses for basket making and castor oil seeds. In addition, there was a significant trade in goods such as spices, salt, coffee or maize flour,

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<sup>11</sup> It was suggested that because of this emphasis on carpentry and woodwork, more trees have been cut down in the area as a result (Alemayehu Terefe, pers. comm., 2000).

bought in bulk from eg Robe or Agarfa, and being sold at a small profit (see Appendix 4). Some of the women surveyed, were not aware of how much profit was being made on the goods they were selling, such as coffee. One 13 year old girl was selling 10m lengths of rope for 1 Birr which she had plaited herself. The money she raised would go to her family.

As Appendix 4 shows only women sold butter, honey, bamboo, herbs and clay pots. Only men sold livestock. Both men and women sold other goods, though the sale of grains tended to be dominated by the men, while the sale of other foodstuffs was dominated by the women. There were a large number of sellers of some goods and competition was therefore tough. For example there were approximately 150 people selling barley, 30 people selling salt, 40 people selling coffee beans, 25 people selling butter and 100 people selling potatoes. It is often the case that no sales may be made in the day.

A tax is administered by the Town Office on goods brought to the market for sale. Those people who attend on a regular basis pay a fee of 5 Birr per week. Irregular traders pay on the quantity of goods being sold – for example, 2 Birr must be paid on each cow and 3 Birr per quintal (sack) of barley. Small sales such as butter are not charged (Tasammaa Hayiluu, pers. comm., 2000).

There were very few handicrafts, such as baskets or carrying pots/containers, being sold in the market. It would appear that most women only make these for their own use.

#### 2.2.4 Religion and ethnicity

The majority of the people in Dinsho are Muslim with a small number of Christians. The newly built Mosque is a large and dominant building set in the middle of town, whilst the Christian church is tucked away behind trees and the river. Many Muslims and Christians will not eat from the same plate or stay in the same hotels. Within this study further differences were not investigated, however it seems likely that religion is a dominant factor influencing people's lives in different ways<sup>12</sup>.

The majority, if not all, of the people in the area are Oromo<sup>13</sup>. In the past the area has been a stronghold for the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF). The OLF has since dispersed

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<sup>12</sup> Indeed, a study carried out by the Centre for Development and Environment in Berne, Switzerland, in and around the Simien Mountains National Park, concluded that the differences between Christians and Muslims was the most important divide within the local communities. For example, important differences were reflected in the orientation of labour and off-farm activities – for example, Christians observe many holidays when they do not work and Muslims do not work in the fields on Fridays and on some special holidays. In addition Muslims tend to more involved in non-farm activities, though Christian women will spin cotton and sell to Muslims who will weave it (H. Hurni and E. Ludi, 2000, *Reconciling Conservation with Sustainable Development. A Participatory Study Inside and Around the Simien Mountains National Park, Ethiopia*).

<sup>13</sup> With more than 20 millions of persons, the Oromo are among the biggest African peoples. All the Oromo groups recognize a mythical common ancestor, named *Orma* and call themselves *ilmaan Orma* ('children of Orma'). They have a common (caminic) language, with regional dialects, and a very rich and

after its defeat by the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) to places as far away as the United States.

### 2.2.5 *The future for Dinsho*

The town is slowly expanding, encouraged by an eager Town Council to see the town establish itself further and increase in size so to gain more support from the region and/or federal governments. At a more specific level the immediate future plans for Dinsho are to finish its electrification, provide water pipes to the new market area and to build a bridge for easier access to the primary school (Tasammaa Hayiluu, pers. comm., 2000).

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complex traditional culture, with regional and local differences. For more information see Cheshire Home Asella (undated), *The Traditional Arts and Handicrafts of the Arsi and Bale Oromo*. Asella Pole for an Ethno-Museum Booklet printed within the framework of the Rainbow Project carried out the by the Cheshire Home Asella with the financial support of the Cassa Rurale di Arco/Garda Trentino – Banca di Credito Cooperativo – Arco (Trento) Italy.



### 3. The Village of Gojera

#### 3.1 Introduction

The village of Gojera is situated approximately 2 km from Dinsho town. The majority of the village is found inside the park boundaries<sup>14</sup> (as demarcated by the Derg in the 1980s). In 1992 EC (1999/2000), 189 households were officially registered (Mustafa Abdulsamad, pers. comm., 2000). It was suggested that these households could be as large as 20 people, which often include non-relatives and the majority had been there ‘for a long time’ (Abdulkadir-Nure, pers.comm., 2000). Immigration into the village is controlled to a large extent by the allocation of land by the Village Committee, headed by an elected Chairman. In 1990 EC (1997/8), 260 hectares were under cultivation in the village, 100 hectares were grassland, 250 hectares were settled and only 50 hectares were classified as forest (Tsfaye Tollo Doyo, pers. comm., 2000). It was suggested by one respondent that all the members of the village were Muslim.

#### 3.2 Agriculture

All the households interviewed grew barley and held livestock<sup>15</sup>. One widow was not able to disclose how many cattle she had as she stated that it was bad luck to count them. Other crops grown in the ‘garden’ areas were potatoes, carrots, beetroot, garlic, spring onions and 3 types of cabbage. One respondent stated that he grew garlic for sale in Shashamane (120 km away), sold at double the price of sales made locally. Farming is primarily subsistence and for example, cattle are only sold in times of hardship. One respondent stated that he sold their excess vegetables in Dinsho market. Men sell cattle, women sell dairy products, such as butter.

Most described their farming land as being close to their huts (within 10 minutes walk) however, one woman stated that her fields were in Mio – 10 kms away. This particular land was in the low lands, and she grew wheat, barley and oats. It is common practice for sheep to be taken from the area to Nazret, close to Addis Ababa, for sale prior to the major Ethiopian festivals, when the prices are particularly high. This journey is usually taken on foot and takes approximately one week.

Agriculture is mainly perceived as a male domain, and the household – female. Women will never plough – a social taboo. The two widows interviewed stated that their male relatives, usually their sons, carried out the ploughing for them. Though one of the widows explained that her son was unable to do so due to his being away from home, fighting in the war with Eritrea.

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<sup>14</sup> It should be noted that the Park boundaries are not fenced or marked.

<sup>15</sup> During the first 8 interviews carried out, the respondents were not asked the number of livestock they held other than cattle. Once the mistake was realised all respondents were accordingly asked about *all* their livestock and it became clear that large numbers of horses, sheep and goats were also held.

### **3.3 Gender differences at the household level**

Tasks to be completed by women during a typical working day centre on the three meals and their preparation – breakfast (beginning at 6am), lunch and dinner. These meals can take over two hours to prepare and complete – the traditional coffee-making ceremony contributing significantly to this time. One man, when asked what his wife did, stated ‘she feeds me’.

In addition, firewood and water must be collected by the women – though all respondents stated that both were found close by – as well as cleaning of the house including the removal of animal droppings, together with the grinding of barley and minding of livestock. Sometimes women help with sowing, weeding and harvesting, and one woman said that she took lunch to her husband in the field and brought back the oxen. Often children, particularly boys, are employed to mind the livestock – a cheap alternative to adult labour. One woman stated that none of her 11 children had been educated because they were needed to help on the farmland situated some way from the village.

One widow respondent suggested that women’s work was not appreciated by men. She felt very strongly that men do not believe that women work hard, however she felt a solidarity with women around the country who were all experiencing the same problems and difficulties.

The village’s close proximity to Dinsho allows possibilities for supplementing incomes with other livelihood opportunities, particularly for the men. One male respondent, as well as growing barley and owning cattle, also manages a ‘hotel’ (drinking and eating place) and works on the rabies eradication programme connected to the Ethiopian Wolf Conservation Project (EWCP). Another male (with 12 children) has worked as a scout for the Park for 29 years – when asked what he spent his wages on, he said food and cigars. No woman interviewed has employment in Dinsho, though at least two sell vegetables in the market. One married female, aged 16, stated that she never goes to Dinsho, despite only living 20 minutes walk away. The majority of men go to Dinsho every day. One male respondent stated that no handicrafts are made in the village, though one female stated that she makes baskets for her own use.

### **3.4 Decision-making processes at household and community levels**

The majority of respondents suggested that today, decisions concerning both the household and the land are made increasingly as a joint affair between the wife and husband. Even so, for example where barley is concerned, women are more likely to decide on the amount needed for household consumption, and men to decide on what is needed for seeding. Traditionally, this was not the case, with the husband making most, if not all decisions.

The Village Chairman, Adulkadir-Nure, has been in office for 9 years. He suggested that the legislation put in place by the government to promote gender equality has made some

positive differences to such issues. He said that within his village he tries to encourage such equity, for example by talking and explaining to people about the importance of gender equity and encouraging women to attend meetings. However, in his opinion, behind the doors of the houses and in the fields, he does not believe that gender equality exists. Indeed, one female interviewed, aged 16, has only been living in her house for 2 years. Originally, she had lived in Garamba (about 17 km away), but moved to Gojera when she was married. Her marriage was arranged by her parents – she played no part in the decision. She is illiterate and never leaves the vicinity of her hut and surrounding area. Another female respondent described women as the ‘centre pole’ holding up the hut/house.

Decisions for the community, as a whole, are made by the Elders<sup>16</sup> – aged over forty years old and all male – in cooperation with the rest of the community. Gojera with the rural areas of Dinsho form a *kebele*, over which the Chairman, Abdulkadir-Nure, has overall authority. His role is to manage the community, pass on any rules and regulations from the government, call meetings, collect taxes<sup>17</sup> and send requests to the government from the people. Village conflicts are resolved in two ways. Firstly, the ‘official’ way when a meeting is called for the whole community and led by the Elders. Alternatively, minor disputes, such as quarrels between neighbours, tend to be solved through mediation between one or two Elder(s) and the offending parties. Half of the women interviewed stated that they did attend village meetings (held at least twice a month) especially if a government announcement, such as new legislation, is being made. According to these women it is generally acceptable for them to air their views and contribute to the discussions. The Chairman confirmed that more men than women attended the meetings, due to pressures of time/work. Two widows said that they were too sickly to attend these days (though during the time of the Derg they more actively contributed) and one male said that he did not have time.

### **3.5 Community support and informal gatherings**

There would appear to be a large degree of community support in the village, with a widow stating that sometimes the community helped her with agricultural work and one male respondent was found working as part of a group building a house for a future resident.

It was found that there is little formal gathering of women on a regular basis. The women interviewed stated that they only meet other women in the village at funerals and weddings, and others beyond the village at the weekly market in Dinsho. An older woman described how she and others of her age sometimes gather at the river for a ‘rain-making ceremony’. In addition, it appeared to be common practice that women living close by to one another visit on a regular basis for socialising and coffee drinking. At

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<sup>16</sup> The Elders are the legacy of the traditional ‘age-set’ system of governance followed by the Oromo people in the past. Indeed, it used to be the only system before the introduction of democratic elections for Village Committees and Chairmen were introduced. Today, both systems appear to be running quite successfully side by side.

<sup>17</sup> For example taxes on land – these depend on the size of the holding.

least one women's 'self-help' group exists between neighbouring huts, giving support mainly for funerals and weddings, through finance and the loan of equipment such as plates and cups.

### **3.6 Views and perceptions of the Park and conservation in general**

In reference to views and perceptions of the National Park, it was suggested that, in general, government boundaries are respected. When asked whether they lived inside or outside the park boundaries, all, bar one female, stated that they lived outside, despite this not being the case in reality. The Village Chairman stated that most of his people did not use the resources in the Park as they had everything they needed beyond its boundaries – this was confirmed by several others. A number of respondents stated that cattle were only grazed outside the park, however through observation it was very clear that this was not true. If cattle are found illegally grazing in the park by scouts, a 10 Birr fine per cow should be enforced and the cattle should be taken to a holding camp until the fine has been paid. No one in Gojera stated that they had paid fines recently.

The majority of respondents stated that the park was “good”. “Good because it gave the government benefits” – and as one continued, “if the government benefits, then we benefit”. Indeed, the Chairman stated that it was the heritage of the country. However, two respondents stated that they hated the Park – one was moved out during the time of the Derg and both stated that they get no benefits from it.

One female stated that she collected wild plants – for medicinal and food purposes. In addition wood is used for furniture. Three of the males interviewed have employment in connection with the Park and/or the EWCP and this was reflected in their opinions that the Park provided benefits of employment, tourism and the hiring of horses. In addition, the fact that the Park had been responsible for building the Health Clinic in Dinsho was mentioned. One respondent, when pressed for the possibility of some environmental benefits from the park, suggested that if there was no Park, there would be no trees and then the land would become dry because there would be no rain. Conflicts with wild animals were described – particularly crops being eaten by the mountain nyala (*Tragelaphus buxtoni*) (evidence of which was seen) and the taking of livestock by hyenas (*Crocuta crocuta*). One hut supported a home-made wooden/string 'hyena-scarring' device. This made a high-pitched whistling noise when the wind blew.

Only one respondent stated that he had planted trees - eucalyptus trees - around his 'garden' area. This wood, when matured, would be used for such as building materials.

### **3.7 Changes perceived in the past and hopes for the future**

When asked about what changes had occurred in the Park over time, the male, aged 46, who had worked as a scout for the park for 29 years stated that today, the Park was in better condition than during the over-throw of the Derg (early 1990s). There were more trees and nyala could be seen in groups of 20 or more – a sight that would not have been

seen 10 years ago. Less people were caught for trespassing today, an occurrence more common in the dry season. People are still allowed to take their cattle to the mineral springs (or *hora*) in the Park, though they should follow the paths and not allow their cattle to wander.

In the future it was suggested by one male respondent that more support was needed for tourism in the area, and that this would bring benefits to all. He suggested that if there were more jobs for men then this would bring more money into the households to benefit everyone and provide a better education for the children. He was also open to the idea that community projects could be instigated that would specifically target women and encourage their participation. In addition, it was suggested by some that more public awareness was needed of the benefits of the Park and its wildlife, and community support could be given through the planting of eucalyptus trees and the provision of electricity. Two respondents stated that they did not want their children to follow them in working on the land, but would rather see them educated and getting jobs in Dinsho or elsewhere. One female respondent suggested that her dream/ambition was to go to Mecca (Saudi Arabia) with her [11] children.

## **4. The Village of Karari**

### **4.1 Introduction**

The majority of Karari village is found beyond the park boundaries, between 2-8 kms from Dinsho. However, approximately 30 households live inside the park. In 1990 EC (1997/8), 600 hectares of the village area were under cultivation; 900 hectares were grassland; 200 hectares were forested and 300 were considered as settled (Tesfaye Tollo Doyo, pers. comm., 2000). The total of households number 213 (Mustafa Abdulsamad, pers. comm., 2000).

### **4.2 Past and present expulsions and relocations**

All but one of the people interviewed, who were living inside the Park boundaries, had done so from before the time of the Derg, and their parents had lived there before them. The woman that had not, had moved to the area 12 years ago. One man had rented his land to the Belgian sheep farmer (previously mentioned) during the Italian occupation (1936-41) for 200 Birr per year. All had been moved out of the Park by the Derg, contributing to a total number of approximately 300 people having been evicted at that time. The majority were moved to a 'village area' but returned after about 12 years, once the government had fallen. The primary reason given for this move back into the area was that the land was their ancestral home.

Between 1-2 months before this study took place, the 30 households living inside the Park were again told that they must move out. A site has been allocated for their relocation about 2 kms beyond the boundary. A visit to the site suggested an area of a certain degree of inferiority to the village's present site, as far as its agricultural potential was concerned. It appeared less fertile, flat, rocky and dry. The huts when re-built would be positioned much closer together than they are at present. Only one plot had been marked out by a future resident.

### **4.3 Agriculture and other livelihood opportunities**

All respondents grew barley, vegetables (as above) and owned some form of livestock. The majority owned cattle, horses (used for transportation) and sheep. Mainly subsistence farming is practiced though some barley is sold for eg clothes or paying taxes. No respondents stated that they had been able to save money, and cattle are sold only during time of special need. When questioned on how cattle numbers are controlled, that is how over-grazing of the area is prevented – the reply from one male respondent was that the numbers are kept down because there is always a reason to sell one or two cattle – there are always financial problems that need to be solved by these sales.

One male respondent described the need to supplement his income by fattening sheep and trading coffee – bought from Barbere (one day's walk away) and re-sold in Dinsho. And a woman described how she and her husband hired a tea shop in Dinsho for 25

Birr/month which they opened on Tuesdays – market day. Another female described how she and her husband had brought the skill of honey cultivation from the Harena Forest (where they had lived previously) to the village. Hives have been set up on the rocky escarpments which overshadow the village. She sells the honey at the Dinsho markets at 8 Birr (80p) for 1/2 pint – honey is, in fact, considered a luxury good in the area. A third woman makes carrying vessels for her own use, but does not sell them. One male stated that he poached trout from the river in the Park<sup>18</sup>.

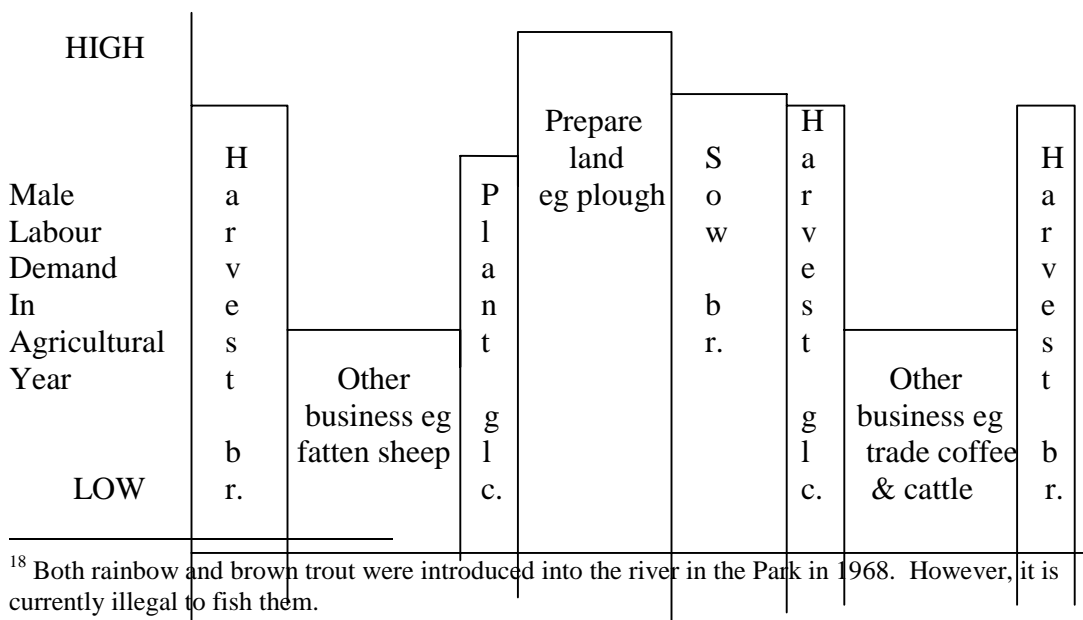
A number of people expressed the desire for more support to be given to such diversification through, for example, accessible credit to encourage trading and other business.

#### 4.4 The division of labour and natural resource use at the household level

The division of labour was as before – the male domain being the farm, the woman’s being the household as well as minding both children and livestock. A schematic graph (see below) shows the spread of agricultural labour demand throughout the year for one male respondent.

This labour demand peaks at the beginning of the rainy season, known as *ganna*. The area is fortunate in also receiving a small season of rainfall earlier in the year between March and April, known as the *bedhessa* (belg season) or *arfaasa*. This makes land preparation more easy. Women would appear to help with all agricultural work apart from ploughing, though one described how she brought the oxen back from the fields. Several respondents suggested that decision-making in the household was a joint affair – though it was not clear how true this is in reality.

#### The labour demand for a male during the agricultural year



Jan Feb Mar Apr May Jun Jly Aug Sep Oct Nov Dec

br. = Barley; glc. = Garlic;

The majority of respondents suggested that they travel some distance to collect firewood (up to 8 hours travelling to collect 2 days supply of wood) and water (at least 1 hour – further in the dry season). A respondent living in the more wooded area of the village stated that she collected both water and fuelwood from nearby. One male stated that it was illegal to cut fuel from the surrounding area, and instead heather roots were collected from further up the hill. Both males and females stated that they used plants from inside the park for medicinal and other purposes.

#### **4.5 Formal and informal gatherings**

The village has its own committee which regularly hold community meetings, more often than not outside in a field. This committee runs in conjunction with the more traditional governance of the village through the Elders. It was suggested by one male that, today, few women go to the village meetings – more went during the time of the Derg. One woman stated that she would go to the meetings if there was an election or if the authorities were attending. Another suggested that she would only go if ordered to and that she did not contribute actively to the discussions. However, in general it appeared that certainly some women did go to community meetings regularly and contributed to them. In addition, it was suggested that those who did attend passed on any important information to those who did not. Observation of a village meeting taking place during the research revealed that approximately 60% of the attendees were male. The females that were attending the meeting all sat together at the back of the group.

The Village Chairman, Abduro Abuba, described how in the past, the women in his village were not respected. However, today, many Committee members are more educated in human rights and equality – they pass on the information to the village. Personally, he is leading his village to move towards such equality, though he knows that in the household there is a long way to go. Indeed, those males questioned concerning their ability to read, stated that they were literate, however, the women who were asked, were not. One female respondent was one of two wives married to her husband – polygamy, though less common today, is certainly still present.

Women meet for weddings and funerals, and though women in the past would sometimes meet to perform a rain-making ceremony, this was no longer the case. At least three self-help groups exist in the village which generally meet once a month in a field nearby. One leader of such a group was described as “educated and older”. Women’s Associations existed in the past, however, it was suggested that this was no longer the case. They have become non-functional due to the lack of supportive legislation.

#### **4.6 Household mobility**



Several respondents stated that their children did not go to school – the reasons given were that there was not enough money available to pay for eg exercise books; it was too far to Dinsho; or the children were too young and would go in future. One male respondent stated that instead, his children read from the Koran, though the oldest girl in the family expressed a strong desire to go to school. One woman said her children did not go to the state schools, but to the Koran school connected to the Mosque in Dinsho. This school places a far greater emphasis on religious, rather than academic learning.

All the respondents regularly visit Dinsho, and go to Robe/Goba occasionally for business or to visit the hospital. The mobility of one female respondent and her husband is shown in Figure 3. One male respondent stated that he has children who have moved to Addis Ababa and one son in Sudan.

#### **4.7 Views and perceptions of the Park and conservation in general**

It was suggested by one male respondent that since the establishment of the Park, the populations of animals have increased. However at the same time the local human population has also increased and this has led to excessive pressure on resources and the decrease of the forests.

Those living inside the Park boundaries described how they had been told to move out of the Park in the last month or two. The authorities [in fact the Administration Office in Dinsho] had come to the village and removed some of the thatch from a number of huts, with the view that now the household would be forced to move. Each household must relocate its whole hut to the area allocated. No help will be given, nor compensation for such as lost crops.

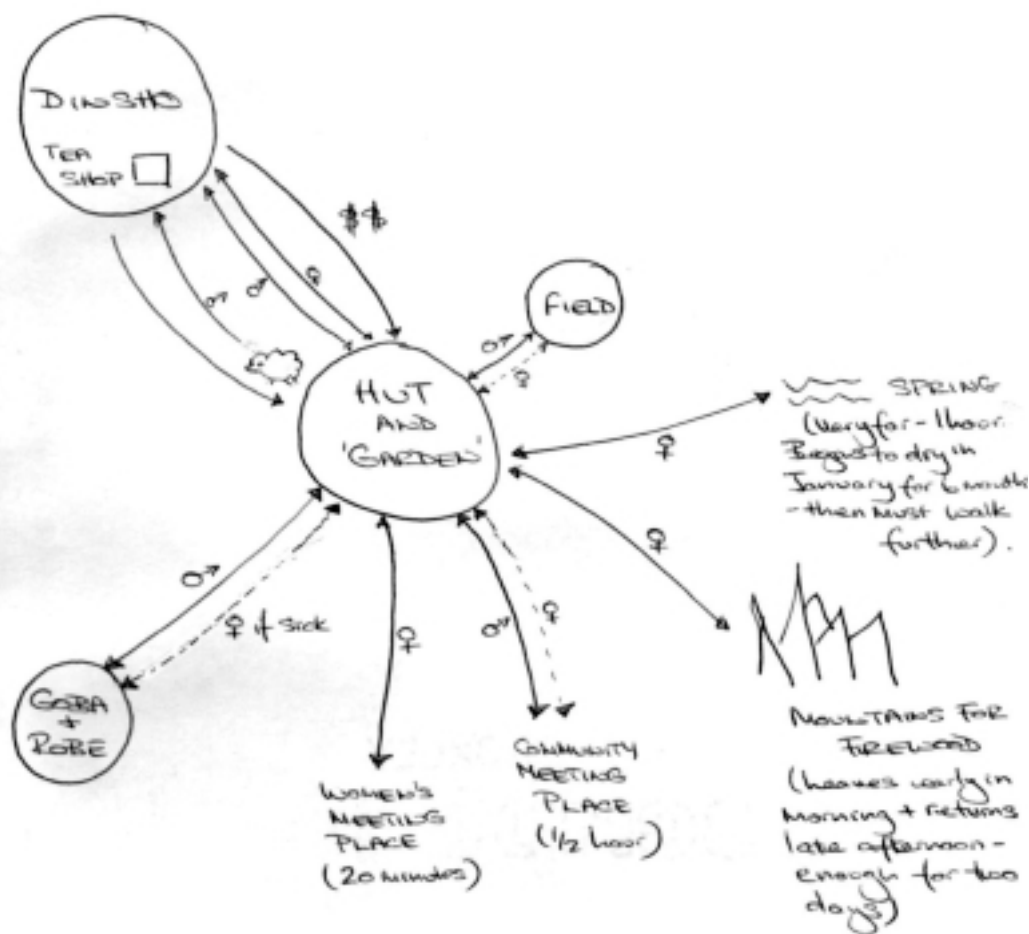
As before, the majority of respondents stated that the Park was ‘good’ – and particularly ‘good’ for the government. However, for many this would only remain the case if the residents were allowed to stay within the Park boundaries. If so, then they would protect the Park, if not, then they will turn against it. One male suggested that the new land allocated to them for resettlement was not fertile and that as a result, there would now be a shortage of land and food.

Most people stated that they received no benefits from the Park – as one man described, if cattle are found grazing in the park then they are fined 10 Birr per cow, yet wild animals come and eat their crops – it is hard for everyone in both ways. Though tourism was considered good, the people stated that again, they saw no benefits from it. Only one woman considered the Park in a positive way – she stated that the Park protects the trees which, when in flower, provide nectar for the bees and thus benefit the making of honey.

Two respondents stated that their land was not in the Park, even though one had been moved out of the Park during the time of the Derg and both had been ordered to move out

recently. There was no evidence of people actually making any moves to resettle and move their homes. The general response was that though those that had been told to move out would not directly fight the decision, they would show some resistance by not actually moving until physically forced to. The attitude was very much 'wait and see'.

Figure 3 Mobility and resource use map of a husband and wife in Karari Village



#### 4.8 Opportunities for the future?

The Chairman, Abduro Abuba, suggested that his people will only protect and respect the Park if they receive benefits from it. Those that do benefit, for example, from the hiring of horses feel good about the Park. He suggested that if a school (promised by the government, but not yet materialised) was opened in the village together with other public services, then the people would have a better knowledge and attitude. Many people have to make do with dirty and polluted water – they need clean water. In addition, support should be given for a eucalyptus plantation – this has already been discussed in the village and is greatly supported, however they do not have the funds for initiating it. Basically, he suggested, they need help.

When questioned whether he would support a community project that involved specifically the women in the village, one man replied that yes, this would be good. He continued that they [it was not clear whether he meant men/women/all] do not have these kind of opportunities at the moment, and it would be no problem for them [the men], if women were to get involved in such projects.

Conflicts with wild animals from the Park are common, and a number of respondents expressed the need for one member of the family to stay on guard during the night to prevent crops being destroyed by nyala, baboons (*Papio* spp.) and/or warthog (*Phacocoerus aethiopicus*). However, one man stated that the biggest problem is with hyena. He suggested that the hyena not only attack small livestock, but also horses and cattle. Approximately 20 livestock are taken from the village every week and this is increasing. These problems need to be addressed - compensation for lost livestock would not help them, the hyena need to be controlled.

One old man told a proverb - there was once a cockeral that the people wanted to kill. The cockeral said to the people, do not kill me, do not kill me. The people said why should we not kill you? The cockeral replied, I have three reasons why you should not kill me – one, I am not enough to feed all your family, two, I have just eaten bad things, and three, I trust you that we can live together in peace. To which the old man added ‘as we can with the Park’.

## **5. The Village of Gofingria**

### **5.1 Introduction**

The village of Gofingria is set on the northern boundaries of the Park, bordering the Gaysay Plain and between 6-8 kms from Dinsho. In recent years the village has expanded into the Park and would appear to be having a significant and detrimental effect on the wooded areas. The village was made up of 289 households in 1992 EC (1999/2000) (Mustafa Abdulsamad, pers. comm., 2000). 751 hectares were cultivated in 1990 EC (1997/8), with 800 hectares being grassland, 500 being forest area and approximately 300 being settled (Tesfaye Tollo Doyo, pers. comm., 2000). The area was found to be slightly more mixed in religion than in the previous villages, there being several Christians as well as the predominant Muslims.

### **5.2 Cattle - an increasing pressure on the land and resources**

Two of the households interviewed had moved to their present location within the last few years, though another stated that he had been there from before the time of the Derg (that is, excluding the period when all inhabitants in the area were evicted by the Derg). The majority owned more cattle than those people interviewed in the previously described villages. Perhaps this was due to the fact that grazing was to be found close by on the Gaysay Plain. Indeed, five of the respondents owned between 20 and 40 animals. One male specifically stated that he came to the area from Dinsho to breed cattle. And though some of the Plain is beyond the Park boundaries many take cattle into the Park to graze illegally. On questioning some boys herding cattle within the boundaries as to what they were doing taking the animals into the Park – they just shrugged their shoulders and kept silent.

Indeed, the cattle appear to play an intricate part in the majority of the people's lives – both economically and culturally. For example, one woman described how at the New Year, not only do they – the people – enjoy a large meal, but the cattle are taken to an area of better grass so that they too can enter the New Year with a full stomach.

One 70 year old male, who had lived in the village all his life (his land originally being owned by his grandfather) stated that though he breeds cattle at the moment (his current herd numbering approximately 40), he sees the need to intensify his barley and vegetable farming in the near future. This is due to the increasing pressure on the amount of grazing available from the recent rises in cattle numbers in the area. He maintains however, that there is still a much better profit to be received from cattle than other farming practices.

### **5.3 Other agricultural practices**

The majority of respondents have 'gardens' where they grow cabbage, garlic, spring onions and some potatoes as well as carrying out subsistence barley farming in the

'fields'. One woman living on her own did not grow barley but instead relied on her son to give her some grain. Garlic, for example, is generally sold in Dinsho and one respondent stated that he had just returned from an annual trip to Nazret to sell his sheep prior to the Ethiopian New Year. Two males suggested that they had been able to save money for use in harder and/or difficult times.

One respondent stated that he was growing/farming eucalyptus from seeds he had collected himself. Once the trees had reached maturity he will use the wood for his own use. He believes that there will be no market for selling the wood in the locality as the other people in the area have little interest in using eucalyptus when there is a large quantity of freely available natural wood. Another man described how in the past there had been too much rain in the area, then it had decreased, and now again there was too much. He said that the floods were destroying their crops during cultivation because the trees have declined as the local population has grown. On being questioned on what he saw to be the solution, he answered that it was to regenerate the forest by planting more trees. In contrast, one female suggested that she and the rest of the local population had made no changes or impact on their surroundings.

#### **5.4 Gender divisions in mobility and the household**

All respondents suggested that they go to Dinsho regularly. Reasons for this ranged from attending meetings to resolve land conflicts, selling vegetables and butter in the market on Tuesdays, to visiting the Mosque. Only one, a tailor, had a trade or business there (other than selling agricultural products). He and his wife owned a second house in Dinsho which they lived in when visiting/working there. One male respondent stated however that he goes to Agarfa (approximately 30 kms away) more often as food (other than potatoes) is cheaper there. The mobility/resource use of one couple is mapped in Figure 4.

Again the male/female role divide focussed on the men being primarily responsible for agriculture and the women for the household. One woman had her husband's brother and family living directly next door. One female head of household had relied heavily on her daughters to help around the house, until they had moved away due to getting married. She regrets that she had not been able to allow them to go to school due to the fact that they were needed at home. It was foolish, she said, as now they are living exactly the same life as she led. Two other women however, stated when asked, that they were literate – this was due to the fact that during the time of the Derg all men and women were forced to go to school. In addition to their daily tasks of cooking meals, cleaning out animal droppings, weeding and digging the garden, some women also made milk containers and baskets for their own use (the grass coming from further down on the Plain).

All those interviewed had attended meetings in the past and/or continued to do so. The women suggested that if they have an idea at the meeting, then they give it. At least two self-help groups exist in the area, which support women in financial difficulty and at times of weddings and/or funerals. Equipment such as cups and plates are also shared at

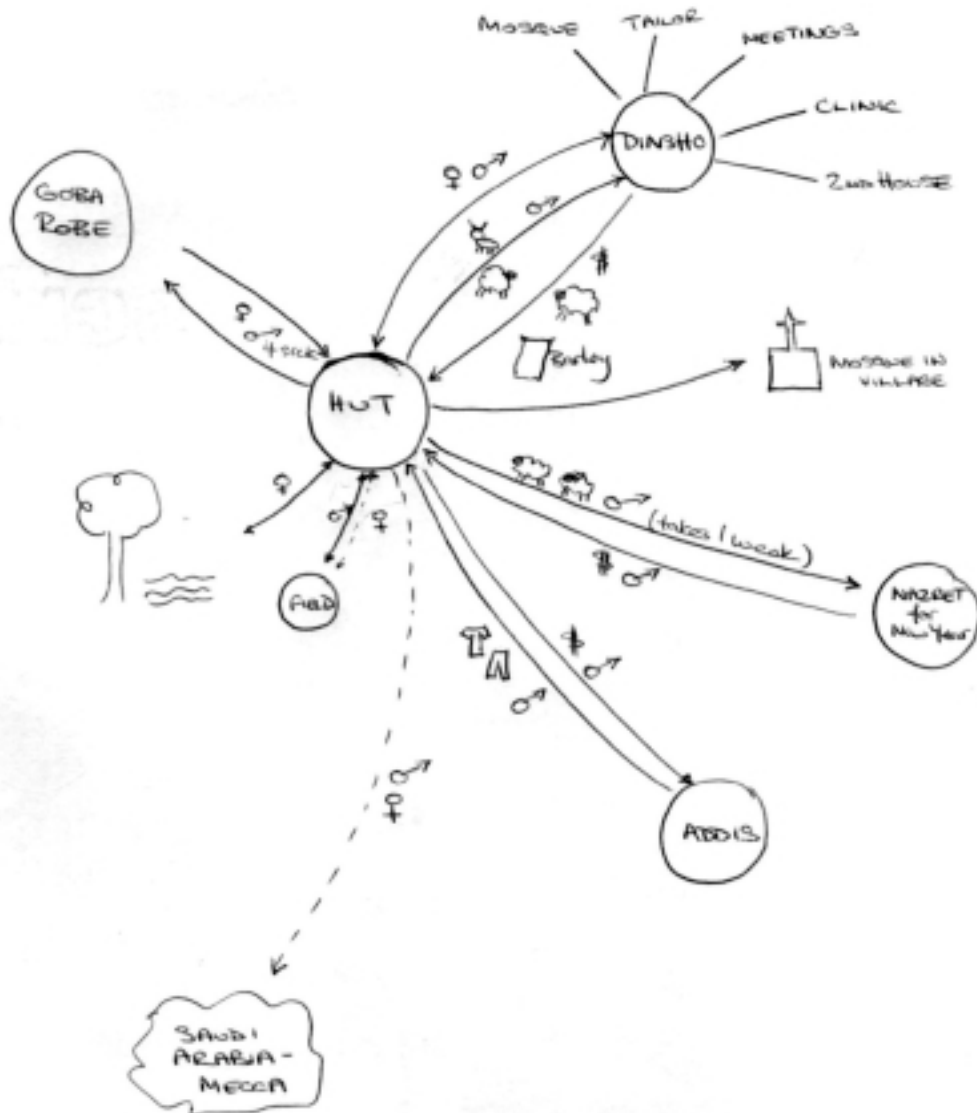
these times, as well as food. One particular group meets every 15 days, however, not all the women were aware of such groups existing. Women also seemed to spend a certain amount of their time during the day visiting and talking to their close neighbours.

All respondents stated that they collect water and fuelwood from close by, though a suitable place for washing clothes is to be found further away and during the dry season some of the springs dry up. It was clear from observation in the forest that little care was being taken to use the wood in a sustainable fashion – dead wood had not been collected and trees were cut down in a haphazard manner. Though one respondent declared that wood is not used for furniture, this was clearly not the case as we found ourselves sitting on a newly made hardwood bench. Wild plants are also collected and one person suggested that there are experts in the village that use the plants for medicines.

### **5.5 Views and perceptions of the Park and conservation in general**

Views of the Park were much the same as previously experienced in other villages, though people seemed more suspicious of our presence and questions in Gofingria. That is, they thought that we (the research team) may be connected to the Park and possibly be preparing the ground for their removal from the area. Again people suggested that they were not within the Park boundaries, though according to the official demarcation of boundaries they clearly were. Indeed, a number of them had been moved out previously, during the time of the Derg. And one woman described how she and her husband had lost all their cattle on being resettled at that time, though today, since her return to the area, life was good again.

Figure 4 Mobility and resource use map of a husband and wife in Gofingria





Generally, and once again reflecting the general pattern of ‘opinion’ in the area, the Park was viewed as ‘good’, good because the government said it was good. As one man put it – if the government likes it, then we like it. On several occasions the building of the Clinic in Dinsho by the Park was mentioned positively, as was the fact that if there was a medical emergency, the Park vehicle would drive the person to Robe/Goba (on the agreement that the fuel was paid for). It was noted that the men tended to be more positive about the Park than the women, and aware of environmental issues.

Recently, one respondent had been fined for grazing cattle illegally in the Park. In fact the total amount he had paid in fines during the last year was 1,500 Birr (£150). All those interviewed stated that they received no direct benefits from the Park, and as one female head of household stated, “we are neighbours but without benefit”. Problems with wild animals are experienced including jackals and hyena, which often take goats and sheep. In fact, the latter had also taken 6 calves in the last year, according to one male. This loss of livestock appeared to be more of a problem on the lower sites in the village. However, one respondent described how a mongoose (*Herpeste nyula*) had taken a group of hens from within the main part of the village on the top of the ridge. The children of the village had been looking after the hens to try to raise money for school exercise books through the sale of eggs. Complaints were also made about nyala and/or warthogs damaging crops. One man said that they could not grow potatoes in the area because of the likelihood of damage from warthogs.

## **5.6 Services in Gofingria**

There is no health clinic in Gofingria, instead the people go to Dinsho or Robe/Goba for medical treatment. There is a primary school and a number of respondents said that their children attended it. For secondary education children, generally, go to Dinsho and one person stated that his children go to Agarfa (both 2-4 hours journey away) where there is a high school teaching Grades 11 and 12. The children tend to stay in the towns during the week so enabling their attendance without a long journey home every day. One person stated that electricity in Dinsho was badly needed – it would help their children’s education, save fuel wood, and power the grinding mill. Even better would be the provision of a grinding mill in Gofingria, together with water stand-pipes.

## **5.7 Decision-making at the household and community levels**

Both female and male respondents suggested that decision-making in the household is a ‘joint affair’, though it was not clear how true this is in reality. From observation, the majority of women interviewed certainly appeared shy and timid, excepting, that is, the widow who was far more assertive, vocal and opinionated. Four of those interviewed were in polygamous marriages.

The systems of governance in the area again suggested the interlinking of new and old systems and/or institutions. One male described how the traditional system – involving the Elders – is used to solve problems that occur in the village, such as divorce or criminal acts. The more recently introduced ‘modern’ system including the Village Committee and Chairman, primarily concerns itself with the passing on of new legislation and government orders.

## **5.8 Future hopes and prospects**

As for the future, the majority of respondents stated that they hoped their children would not be working on the land, but would find better jobs in Dinsho and beyond. Those who showed some interest in their children following in their footsteps tended to be those who appeared to have a closer affinity to the land and their surrounding area, for example through showing some concern for the environmental degradation taking place around them. One woman suggested that she needed no benefits from the Park, but merely wanted to be allowed to stay where she lived. One young boy when asked what he wanted to be when he was older said he wanted to be an airline pilot, and one Muslim couple expressed their ambition to go to Mecca, Saudi Arabia.

## **6. The Village of Soba**

### **6.1 Introduction – agriculture and local services**

The village of Soba is situated approximately 10 kms due west of Dinsho. It is made up of 384 households who practice mainly subsistence agriculture (as described before). There is a primary school in the village, but no secondary – Dinsho provides the nearest. At least one of the male respondents interviewed had not been educated and was illiterate. He stated that his father had died at an early age and therefore he had had to spend most of his time helping his mother on her farm with, for example, the ploughing. Another respondent said that his wish for the future would be to send his children to school – at the moment he can not afford to.

The majority of the area is open pasture or agricultural land, and very little is forested. The main part of the village is situated outside the Park and either side of the Goba-Dinsho-Shashamane road. However, a small number of huts are found on the sides of an escarpment which are within the boundaries of the protected area. During the time of the Derg, the majority of those living within the borders especially those without cattle, had been moved to the main village area. Despite this, there was found again a denial by the people that they actually lived in the Park.

### **6.2 Recent forced evictions from the Park**

The majority of people and their ancestors had lived in the area for at least one generation, if not two or three, though one woman had moved to the area in 1969 EC (1976/7) when she had married. Just before this research took place a number of households found within the Park boundaries were forcibly removed from their huts and ordered to relocate them down to the main village area with their cattle. All those interviewed had either moved, were in the process of moving or were awaiting further action. One had simply moved to a hut further down the escarpment in the direction of the main village area, though in time he expected to be moved further still, and others were waiting to see what happened. The authorities had threatened to return the day before our visit, but there had, as yet, been no sign of them. The Village Chairman had tried to negotiate with the authorities but had had no success. In fact, the Chairman had ended up in prison himself for several days until his release two days before. The people said that the Chairman had done all he could to protect his people, to no avail – he had no power to do anything more.

One woman, having been evicted from her hut, was now living in borrowed tents, usually used for drying garlic. She, her crippled husband and 5 children had set up camp half-way down the hill towards the village. They had begun to mark out the site of a new hut there, however neighbours had told them to wait until the authorities had returned in case they were moved on again. She and her husband do not farm the land due to his

disabilities which he had received in the war with the Derg during their overthrow. Instead they rely on the war pension he collects – an amount of 93 Birr (approximately £9.30) per month. The youngest child in the family was sick at the time of our visit and had been taken to the Dinsho clinic. However, the boy had not improved and a journey would have to be made to the Robe/Goba hospital.<sup>19</sup>

Many of the respondents stated that the authorities had given them no notice before arriving with guns, horse-whips, physical violence and back-up from the local militia and Park staff to forcibly remove them from their huts. The majority said that they were not told why they had to move. Those who would not move were taken to the police station in Dinsho. The people described how on previous occasions they had asked for compensation for their loss of land and crops, however it had so far been refused.

One respondent however, explained that in fact, the authorities (the local Administration Office in Dinsho) had told everyone to move down to the village area two months ago. They had stated that the community was living in the Park, and the government had to protect it – hence they must be relocated. He described that this was the third time that the community had been moved in the last few years – the most recent being 6 years ago. As a result, he himself had invested in a second house in Dinsho so that he would have somewhere to live when the next eviction occurred. He had moved there a few days before, however his cattle and other livestock were still in Soba.

The problems involved in moving to the village area were explained – diseases between both people and animals would spread more easily and there would not be enough grazing. Several of those interviewed stated that if they and their cattle were forced to live down in the village, the animals would die.

### **6.3 Views and perceptions of the Park and conservation in general**

The attitude towards the Park was to be expected considering the recent events – though people felt that the Park was generally a good thing, they were very negative in reaction to their removal from it and hate was expressed for the authorities. One man explained that though the Park was bad for him personally, he could see its benefits for the Ethiopian people and visiting tourists. He admired the beauty of the Park and its habitats. Conflicts with wild animals such as nyala were cited as a continuous problem. None saw any benefits to themselves from the Park, though several understood that the government gained from it. One suggested that the Park was only good for illegal grazing and stealing trees.

Only one of the respondents had made any attempt to plant trees. Reasons given for this lack of tree planting included the fact that any seedlings planted were eaten by the

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<sup>19</sup> The generosity of the local people was quite remarkable considering their difficult circumstances and poverty. On numerous occasions we (myself and my guides/interpreters) were given barley porridge, hot potatoes, milk and coffee to eat. Even this lady whose circumstances were even more dire than many of the others, insisted that we shared a drink of milk with her.

roaming cattle. Two male respondents stated that they would plant trees in the future to save the natural forest, and eucalyptus had already been planted in the main village area.

#### **6.4 Gender differentiation at the household level**

The male/female domains in agriculture and household were very much as described previously. Both fuel and water were collected from nearby. Visits to Dinsho were made on a regular basis – for example one woman went every Tuesday to the market to sell milk and butter – in fact, she stated that her life depended on it. However, none of the males interviewed had other trades or business as found in other villages. Instead, they relied heavily on agriculture and one stated that he had just returned from taking 40 sheep to Nazret for sale prior to the Maskel celebrations.

In the past, during the time of the Derg, there had been a Woman's Association in the area, though there was not one now. None of those interviewed were aware of a self-help group existing in the village, though one woman suggested that there was an idea to start one soon.

#### **6.5 Future plans and prospects**

The future of the group interviewed is very uncertain, and this was reflected in their attitude and lack of plans. It seems likely that their forced eviction would continue and they would soon be removed from their present locations. Despite this, there remained a strong connection with the land, some of the men seeing their only future as being farmers. In fact one man suggested that, depending on the degree of control and involvement of the authorities in the area over the next few years, it is likely that after two years he will move back to the land from which he had just been evicted.

## **7. Analysis and conclusions**

### **7.1 Local society, politics, economics and culture**

#### *7.1.1 Systems of governance and local institutions*

The systems of governance in the local communities around Bale Mountains National Park are complex. Both traditional and modern systems exist and run concurrently. The traditional system remains rooted to traditional Oromo cultural practices, reflected in the existence of the Elders as the main authoritative body in the villages. However, it would appear that many traditional practices are no longer carried out. For example there was no further evidence found of ‘age-classes’ or *gadda* as can be found in other Oromo groups, such as the Borana, situated further south.

The modern system, based upon the election of Village/Town Chairmen and Committees appears to be democratic. The majority of both men and women interviewed stated that they had voted in the most recent elections. In addition, many spoke highly of their Chairman, both in the villages and the town. This was especially the case in Dinsho, where it was clear that the Chairman and his committee had had a profoundly positive effect on Dinsho in the recent provision of services and in promoting a strong community spirit amongst the people.

Though officially, it would appear that Peasant Associations (initially set up in the time of the Derg) still exist as government demarcated areas of rural people and their land, in practice their role appears to be little more than to act as cooperatives for buying goods in bulk or accessing credit for the farmers. At the same time, though it was suggested that Women’s Associations are still active in the district, there was no evidence of them in any of the villages visited.

It was clear that the local communities are undergoing a slowly developing process of ‘modernisation’. However, though people are certainly ‘changing with the times’, the more traditional ways of life still play an important part in people’s lives. Both culture and religion greatly influence the way people go about their daily business, for example the traditional coffee making process was carried out in all households visited, despite it taking at least an hour to complete. In addition, religion is very important. As stated above, the area is dominated by Muslims, whose devotion is reflected in a large number of ways. For example, Muslims were seen praying in the fields several times a day; a number of households send their children to the school connected to the Mosque rather than the state schools; and several respondents suggested that their ambition is to visit Mecca.

#### *7.1.2 Growing prosperity*

The growth of Dinsho since the 1930s has been greatly influenced by the town's position on the well used Goba-Dodola-Shashamene road. Though this particular road is of poor quality, the roads leading from Dodola and Shashamene onto Nazret and Addis Ababa are undergoing a large project of improvement. This can only aid the flow of traffic and trade through Dinsho and open up further opportunities for its prosperity, for example, through tourism - an industry that is poorly organised and/or resourced at the moment.

In addition, it was clear that the two weekly markets in Dinsho are a vital contribution to the welfare of the town, the surrounding villages and the local communities. The majority of respondents indicated that they regularly visit the markets either to sell or buy goods. They also offer an opportunity for men and women to come together and exchange news and information.

Dinsho appears to be a town that is moving forward with the times. The community spirit and support that exists is an important factor in this. This is reflected in the community's re-building of the primary school and its work in and financial contributions to the electrification project. However, the general opinion is that the Park resents this growing prosperity, and is concerned that continuing growth will encourage more immigrants into the area. This in turn has promoted resentment from the people, for the Park. Such resentments need to be resolved and a better working relationship between the Park and the community encouraged.

## **7.2 Gender roles and degrees of mobility**

### *7.2.1 Lack of opportunities and education*

Though life was certainly harsh during the time of the Derg (1974-91), the communist regime that was inflicted on the local population did allow some space for women to play a more dominant role in decision-making processes, both at the local and household levels. It also offered them greater opportunities to contribute and benefit from a more equal society than would appear to be available at this present time. For example, in the past, the Women's Associations set up by the Derg did offer a more formal means of support for women in times of stress or problems. In addition, the Community Skills Centre offered a means of attaining additional skills, and the fact that it was obligatory for all to go to school meant that the majority of girls were educated.

Today, however there are far more boys attending school than girls, at both primary and secondary levels. At Dinsho primary school, the number of boys who attended during the year 1991 EC (1998/9) was 63% and girls equalled 37% of total numbers; at secondary level the attendance of boys during the year 1992 EC (1999/2000) was 66% and girls equalled 34%. Cultural reasons have been given as the major reason for this divide, though it was suggested that things are improving. Certainly, there was support for more equality both in the schools and with the leaders of the local communities. It would appear that federal government policies have been an important factor in leading these changes. However, only if more opportunities are established for enhancing women's

economic contribution to the household, will their value beyond the garden fence be recognised and more encouragement for their education be observed.

In addition, many families cannot afford to send either boys or girls to school. Though education is free, a number of families said that they could not afford to pay for books. But more importantly, the children are needed to watch grazing cattle, work on the farm or in the home. Many of the households in the villages studied are sited some distance from Dinsho (up to 15 km), and only two – Gofingria and Soba have a primary school. Dinsho supplies the only secondary school (which it should be noted only educates up to Grade 10). It is therefore necessary for many children to spend their week staying in Dinsho if they are to be allowed to continue their education – for many families this is just an impossibility. The need for more schools or some form of education system in the villages was given as a priority for the future by many of those interviewed. In addition, the schools that exist desperately need more funds to improve their facilities.

### *7.2.2 Continuing inequalities in the local communities*

Within the primary school in Dinsho, 50% of the teachers are female, however in the secondary school, there is only one female teaching typing part-time. In addition, all positions of authority in the town and/or villages are held by men. No women are employed at the Health Clinic, nor are there mid-wives available, though it was suggested that each village has its own traditional mid-wife. The most common causes of death in the area are due to diarrhoea related illnesses and respiratory tract infections, the most treated illnesses are those related to the removal of parasitic worms. AIDs does not appear to be considered a serious issue, the Clinic being unaware of any cases in the town/villages. 10% of the women in the town are using contraceptive methods of birth control, however, it was declared that men generally do not.

In the past, the role of women in agriculture has been largely ignored. Though certainly, it is a male domain, women do however contribute greatly to it, getting involved in all aspects other than ploughing. In addition, many female heads of household were encountered. Though these do rely on male relatives to help with some aspects of farming, in general they carry out most of the work themselves. Despite this, there is no formal education or support for women in this area. There are no female agricultural extension workers based at the local agricultural office, and when female extensions do visit from Robe/Goba, they focus on home economics training.

### *7.2.3 Gender differences in mobility*

Women generally, are less mobile than men. Their work revolves around the home on a day to day basis, with occasional visits to Dinsho and when necessary to Robe/Goba. Very rarely will they travel further afield and in fact one female respondent stated that she never leaves the vicinity of her hut. Men however, not only go to their fields on a regular basis, but also to Dinsho – some stating that they go every day. In addition, a number regularly travel to Robe/Goba for trading purposes, and several make occasional trips further afield, for example when taking sheep to Nazret and/or Addis Ababa.



Horses are generally used for transport purposes. It was noticeable that where there was one horse between a man and woman travelling to town, it was more often than not the case that the woman would be riding it. However, women were often seen carrying heavy loads themselves, and even young girls were seen struggling with sacks of barley or flour, fuelwood and water. In addition, some of the female respondents stated that they spend a large proportion of their day walking to the fields transporting food for their husbands, collecting the harvest, and taking the oxen to and fro.

#### *7.2.4 Women's views of their marginalisation*

The majority of those interviewed gave the impression that it was a hard life for both women and men. However, one can not ignore the fact that women have far more tasks to complete in a day, many of which are extremely physically exerting. In addition, women's work-load is heavy all year round, whereas there appeared to be times in the agricultural calendar when men's work-load was less great. In addition arranged marriages are still very common and polygamy is still present.

Despite this, few women showed any strong feelings that they felt underprivileged or the dominated sex. They indicated that they do go to meetings and contribute to them. In addition, there seems to be a growing support for women to play a greater role in the community, gender equity being promoted at the Committee level in the villages. In the town, also, there is some support for women, for example there appears to be an increasing number of women working in the local businesses – for example in shops, hotels and liquor stores selling local beer – *talla*.

However, as has been indicated above, women certainly do remain a marginalised group, and a more in-depth study with female interpreters, over a longer period of time may confirm this further. For example, it was indicated that though women do go to meetings and say that their opinions and contributions are valued, they do not have power to really influence or direct any decisions made (Temune Worku, pers. comm., 2000).

The lack of resistance to such marginalisation and the absence of any organised movements to confront it, can perhaps be attributed to the long history of such marginalisation; the lack of legislative and government support for equality in the past; the strong Muslim religion in the area promoting male domination; the fact that many women are uneducated and illiterate; the relatively little contact that many women have with each other, other than their close neighbours; and the fact that women just do not have time or space to think beyond the provision of the next meal.

#### *7.2.5 Strengthening informal support for women*

However, though there have been no formal means of support for women, nor insurance against risks and problems, some informal support groups have grown. Their influence and role depends on local circumstances and since they are community level

organisations, they deal with relatively minor shocks that affect the household. It was not clear whether there were any church based groups present, however a large number of female respondents mentioned the presence of self-help groups or *iddir*. Originally developed as a 'funeral insurance system' only this century, *iddir* has been spreading rapidly across the country extending its scope of action towards sickness and health problems, unemployment, weddings and to promote relationships among members. It has thus developed into an important community-based social network, and perhaps may provide the means and 'space' for women to promote their interests and greater gender equity in future.

In addition, it is possible that women may rely on more 'subtle' strategies to promote their interests. Studies in other parts of the world suggest that where women are not prepared to challenge inequities in a confrontational or high profile manner, it may prove more successful if their confidence and involvement in the local society and politics is built up over time. Once their spiritual strength is established, the focus of support can then turn to training in more practical skills, health, literacy and agriculture. The advantages of such strategies are that they can result in strong undercurrents of change without being too confrontational, so that they do not attract unnecessary attention and opposition to the changes being made<sup>20</sup>.

### **7.3 Pressures on natural resources**

#### *7.3.1 Agriculture and cattle*

Agriculture in the area is dominated by the growing of barley. In recent years, there has been a move to plant fewer and more modern varieties. Attempts are being made by the local Agriculture Development Officer to keep the traditional varieties in use, so preserving the agro-biodiversity of the area, however he has been given little, if any, support. In addition, as population pressures on the land have increased, there has been a slight growth in the use of inputs such as fertiliser. However, due to high costs of such inputs and the low price of barley, such a move is not economically efficient. Dung is used on the fields as an alternative source of fertiliser, though much of this is lost due to the cattle being grazed far from the home.

The average number of cattle per household interviewed can be estimated as 17 (see Appendix 1), though numbers given by some respondents were as high as 30, 40 and even 50. Taking the number of households for the four villages as being 905, one can therefore suggest an approximate number of 15,555 cattle in and around the four villages. Though indeed, not all these cattle are grazed in the Park, a large number certainly are, despite this being illegal. In addition, households own sheep, goats and horses. The pressure on the Park and its surrounding areas is therefore great. This pressure has been recognised by some in the communities, and one respondent stated that, as a result, he would be reducing his cattle numbers in future and intensifying his arable farming.

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<sup>20</sup> See Regina Scheyven's work in Solomon Islands - Scheyvens, R. (1998), 'Subtle strategies for women's empowerment. Planning for effective grassroots development', pp235-253 in TWPR, Vol 20, No 3.

Cattle numbers are generally controlled by the occurrence of events that force people to sell them. The majority of those who own cattle stated that they are only sold in times of need – effectively they act as the people’s ‘saving accounts’ and a means of coping with the risks and problems of living in a relatively unpredictable and difficult environment.

### *7.3.2 Reducing the pressures on the forests*

The pressures on the indigenous forests are great. Despite it being illegal to remove wood from the Park, it occurs on a regular basis. Though there is more control over this in the villages close to the Park Headquarters, in the villages further away, for example in Gofingria, the forests are being heavily utilised in an unsustainable way.

Few people are planting trees, though the promotion of eucalyptus growing by the school Nature Clubs has encouraged this to a certain extent. This lack of tree planting is due to a number of factors, relating to poverty; a lack of control over the use of natural wood; a lack of foresight or care for the future of the land; the problem of roaming, grazing livestock; and perhaps most importantly, the continued lack of security that people have in relation to their land. All land is owned by the state and there is as yet, no means of introducing community tenure arrangements. However, experiments are being carried out in community forestry and supported in other areas of the region and indeed, the country. For example, the GTZ project in Ababa-Dodola is proving successful and in Addis Ababa, several NGOs – SOS Sahel, GTZ and Farm Africa – are involved in ‘round table’ discussions with the regional and federal governments in an attempt to encourage institutional and legislative support for such projects.

The electrification of the town should provide some relief for the need of fuelwood in the long-term. However, it seems unlikely that initially and in the short-term, any great decrease in the use of wood will be seen. Alternatives such as fuel-efficient stoves could be looked into, however, paraffin stoves have been available for sale in the town for some time, yet the majority of people still cook over the fire. Indeed, a fire also provides warmth, a gathering place, and soot which helps insulate the huts – these are advantages not easily replaced. Occasionally dung is used as a fuel source.

### *7.3.3 Increases in the local population*

The population of Dinsho is increasing by approximately 5% per year. The exact population of the villages visited during this study was not available. The number of households in the four villages in 1992 EC (1999/2000) were as follows – Gojera, 189; Karari, 213; Gofingria, 289; and Soba, 384. If one was to assume that an average household is 8 people (a conservative estimate as numbers in one household could reach as high as 20), then the population of the four villages equals approximately – Gojera, 1,512; Karari, 1,704; Gofingria, 2,312; and Soba, 3,072. From the interviews it would appear that the majority have lived in the area for at least one generation, however particularly in Gofingria there seemed to have been more recent immigration into the area. It would appear that the Village Committees regulate such immigration to a certain extent, and thus perhaps, have prevented further increases in population.

A number of people involved with the Park suggested that there are certainly more people living there today than, for example 10-15 years ago (Yilma Dellelegn, pers. comm., 2000<sup>21</sup>). When the Derg was overthrown, a period of what has been described as ‘anarchy’ (*ibid*) followed, when many animals were killed and the people evicted from the Park moved back in. Since that time, others commented that things have greatly improved and wildlife numbers have increased.

## **7.4 Current livelihood practices and possible alternatives**

### *7.4.1 The importance of the local markets*

The establishment of the new market area in Dinsho has greatly enhanced the possibility of opportunities to increase sales of produce and find alternative ways of earning a living. Many of the new houses surrounding the market square are rented by people living in the villages situated around Dinsho, who come to the town on market day to trade and provide services such as tea shops, tailoring or leather work.

Both women and men sell, buy and trade goods at the markets. There was a clear divide in the selling of some goods, for example only women sold dairy products and only men sold livestock. The trading of goods bought in bulk from eg Goba/Robe provides important supplementary income for many people, especially during the times of the year when there is more time available in the agricultural calendar to invest in such practices.

### *7.4.2 Moves to diversify and increase livelihood opportunities*

Few people invest time in making implements, furniture and handicrafts for sale. Traditional items are still very much in use, for example milk carrying containers which have a strong cultural significance for women. Indeed, some implements, such as these containers, are only made by women, others such as cow horn spoons are only made by men. However, all these tend to be made only for personal use. An exception was a man who made and sold traditional wooden bowls (from hagenia) used for serving barley porridge or *maarka* in.

In other ways, however, many local people have diversified from simply relying on farming into business and employment in the labour market as well. This appears to be more common amongst the villages situated closer to Dinsho – that is Karari and Gojera. Examples of such diversification include the ownership and/or employment in tea-shops and hotels, employment in the Park or the EWCP (Ethiopian Wolf Conservation Project), and trades such as tailoring. None of the women interviewed in the villages are employed in Dinsho, however several are involved in money making enterprises such as the production of butter and honey.

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<sup>21</sup> Yilman Dellelegn was Park Warden at BMNP for 7 years during the time of the Derg. He is now Wetlands Programme Coordinator for IUCN-Nairobi.

## 7.5 Local perceptions and views of Bale Mountains National Park

Since its establishment, the Bale Mountains National Park has overshadowed the lives and livelihood strategies of the local people of Dinsho and its surrounding villages. Many of those living within the boundaries of the Park and close to the Park Headquarters have been evicted from their homes and land on at least one occasion. That is during the time of the Derg, in the 1980s, when all inhabitants were moved out. Despite this many respondents continuously denied that they actually lived within the Park boundaries, even though the authorities had told them otherwise.

The evictions that are presently being carried out are leading to a very negative feeling towards the Park and ‘conservation’ in general. In addition the lack of support in resettling the people and the absence of any compensation for lost land and/or crops has added to their discontent and indeed their hardship. These continuous attempts to remove people from the Park has added to the insecurity that the people feel, and as a result it is not surprising that they do not invest time and resources in planting trees, for example. Little resistance has been shown by the people to the evictions other than their waiting until being forced to move, and then moving to an area close by rather than to the area allocated<sup>22</sup>.

The local communities see few benefits accruing from the Park. It is appreciated that the Park has built the new Health Clinic in Dinsho, however, the Clinic is very poorly stocked (in both medicines and equipment) and quickly falling into a state of disrepair having no excess funds for maintenance. Only minor operations can be carried out there, anything more serious involves a two hour journey to Robe/Goba, assuming transport is available. It was mentioned that in emergencies, the Park authorities will provide transport, on the understanding that the fuel is paid for. It would appear that the Park also made promises for further support to the Clinic (namely in the provision of an incinerator and a water supply), however, this has, as yet, not materialised. In addition, conflicts with wild animals were cited as a major problem to those living in the area, especially involving hyenas.

The Park is extremely badly resourced – the annual budget for this year is approximately 90,000 Birr (£9,000) (Diro Bulbula, pers. comm., 2000). The Park only employs 37 scouts and 8 other members of staff, and as a result patrols and control over the Park is only possible in the areas close to the Park Headquarters (Assistant Park Warden, pers. comm., 2000). The Regional government has stated that illegal settlers must be removed from National Parks and as such the authorities in Dinsho and the Park have been issued with instructions to comply with this as far as is possible (Diro Bulbula, pers. comm., 2000<sup>23</sup>). The attempts to remove households from the villages described above, is part of

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<sup>22</sup> Such ‘resistance’ could be described as ‘foot-dragging’ and can be likened to other forms described by James Scott (1985) in *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, New Haven, C.T.: Yale University Press.

<sup>23</sup> Diro Bulbula is Department Head of the Forestry and Wildlife Conservation Department, Oromiya Agricultural Development Bureau, Addis Ababa.

this process. However, the lack of resources available to carry out such a process effectively and the ethics behind it raises important questions as to whether it is the right approach. Perhaps the promotion of the WWF project and its emphasis on attaining both conservation and local development will open up opportunities for a different approach to be implemented.

## **7.6 Concluding suggestions**

In conclusion and in reflection of the points raised in this study, it is possible to make suggestions as to which areas in the local communities could be targeted for future intervention and/or support within the WWF project:

### *7.6.1 Promotion of indigenous trees*

Though the promotion of sale and distribution of eucalyptus seedlings by the school Nature Clubs and certain far-thinking individuals is certainly commendable, there would appear to be an opportunity for experimentation and investment in the growing of indigenous trees as well. Indeed, the UNCDF (United Nations Capital Development Fund) supported Sustainable Development Project based in the buffer zones of Simien Mountains National Park is carrying out work in this area. However, if the WWF project was to introduce such a project, there must be adequate long-term support and/or training to maintain it. This should include education about the care of the trees once they have been planted on the land, and ways to prevent their destruction by roaming livestock. Perhaps, this could be achieved in collaboration with Dinsho Agricultural Office. It should be noted that the Chairman of Karari village was particularly keen to receive support for planting trees.

### *7.6.2 Provision of local services*

There is a great lack of services in the villages studied – only two, Gofingria and Soba, have a primary school, while none have a secondary school, water-pipes, health clinic or grinding mill. As a result, the people have to travel long distances to use the services in Dinsho, and for example queuing to use the grinding mill can take more than a day. Where water is concerned, though it seems to be readily available from natural sources at not too great a distance for most people, there were complaints that during the dry season many of the springs dry up and often the supplies are polluted and/or dirtied by livestock.

It was suggested by several respondents that if the conservation authorities were to help provide such services in the villages, then the people would be more supportive of the Park. However, if this is to be the case, care should be taken in providing exactly what is promised – the people have been promised things in the past, whether by the Park or the government, which have not materialised.

### *7.6.3 Support through micro-credit*

Several of the respondents suggested that they would like financial support to diversify their livelihoods. One way of supporting this would be through a micro-credit scheme, and a recent series of workshops held by the UN in Addis Ababa in September, discussed this in relation to the Ethiopian context (van Oudenhoven, pers. comm., 2000<sup>24</sup>).

However, experience from India shows that though there are certainly benefits to micro-credit schemes – namely, it acts as an entry point to other activities; brings social cohesion; builds up social mobilisation; and the social impact of the whole activity can prove very effective – there are certainly negative aspects that need to be accounted for, understood and avoided. These include – the fact that the poorest of the poor are likely to miss out; banking principles and their application seem not to be practical and are alien to many people; economic impacts are not very positive; and livelihood integration must be linked to the savings and credit scheme (Satya Murty, pers. comm., 2000<sup>25</sup>).

#### *7.6.4 The possibilities of tourism*

There are certainly opportunities for promoting tourism in the area. At the moment it is happening in an unorganised and haphazard manner, with little if any advertising of the Park and its facilities. For example, the only information available on the Park in the Ethiopian Tourism Office in Addis Ababa is an out of date, poorly photographed brochure that provides no information on how to travel to the Park nor what facilities are available. In addition, the facilities in the lodge could be improved, for example the kitchen is in a state of disrepair, the Park generator is regularly breaking down and some of the stuffed animals in the lodge are looking a little ‘moth eaten’!

Admittedly, because of the recent conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea, there have been few international travellers to the country. However, even without these, there is a large ex-patriot community and an increasingly affluent population of nationals in Addis Ababa that could be targeted.

However, if tourism is to be encouraged, the infrastructure for getting to the Park must be recognised as inadequate and the problems involved overcome. For example, transport must be made available to allow people to travel from Robe/Goba where the airport is situated, to the Park. At the moment travellers must either use irregular and untimely local buses or hitch a ride on top of a truck. The Wolf’s Den Café has made some effort to overcome this by providing a transport service on request.

Also, links should be made with the other tourist attractions in the area, for example, the GTZ supported project at Ababa-Dodola. This particular project has been extremely well marketed with advertising leaflets distributed throughout Addis Ababa and in all the local hotels.

#### *7.6.5 Promotion of better relations between the Park and local communities*

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<sup>24</sup> Harm van Oudenhoven is Programme Officer for UNCDF, Ethiopia.

<sup>25</sup> Satya Murty works for Action Aid, India on micro-credit schemes in relation to farmers.

There appears to be a continuing rift between many in the local communities and the Park. There is resentment that some villages and households appear to be favoured over others in receiving support from the Park and that many promises have been unkept. To promote better relations, conflicts with wild animals need to be addressed, particularly the continuing problems with hyenas. In addition, there needs to be a better education programme on the benefits of the Park, moving beyond the view that the Park is only good, because the government says it is good. Lessons can be learnt from the work of the Ethiopian Wolf Conservation Project, which has done much work in promoting support for the wolf, and the domestic dog vaccination/castration programme that they instigate.

#### 7.6.6 Introduction of projects targeting women

There are a number of policies which support a more gender equitable society in Ethiopia. Not only is there the *National Policy on Ethiopian Women*, introduced by the government in 1993, but there is also a process underway to 'mainstream' the *Conservation Strategy of Ethiopia*. As a result of this there are a number of comprehensive documents being produced by the Environmental Protection Agency (led by Asmeret Kidanemariam) which provide a wealth of information and suggestions on how to address gender issues in connection with the conservation of natural resources and the environment<sup>26</sup>. These documents can be used as an official sanction on any moves to address gender issues and promote a fairer and more equitable treatment of women in the local communities.

As described above, there are no formal means of support for women at the community level. However, the system of self-help groups or *iddir* which exists in the area, offers an opportunity for building a more formal system based upon it. In addition, there needs to be more support for the attendance of women and their involvement in *all* community meetings. Though it would appear that women certainly contribute to some meetings through voicing their opinions and voting, it was not clear to what extent their views influenced any decisions being made. Opportunities also exist for promoting a better exchange of information and knowledge at the times when women come together, for example, at the market place, grinding mills, washing places and at weddings/funerals. If meetings are to be arranged specifically for women, or indeed for the community as a whole, perhaps these could be arranged to coincide with these occurrences/events.

Both the Village Chairmen interviewed – in Karari and Gojera – stated that they themselves promoted gender equity in their villages. Both were aware of the national policy for women. Indeed the general opinion seemed to support the idea that community-based projects could be set-up that would specifically target women and promote their participation. It was unclear whether this support would continue if such

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<sup>26</sup> See *Strategy of Mainstreaming Gender and Ensuring the Effective Participation of Women in the CSE Process*. Draft. February, 1999. Produced by PET Consultants, Kenya and GENESIS Consultants, Ethiopia. In addition, a document was produced reporting on a workshop held to review the above document. Unfortunately, the whole process has been held up by the illness of one of the authors (Asmeret Kidanemariam, pers. comm., 2000).



projects were put into practice, or whether such projects would perhaps be ‘hijacked’ by the male members of the community as they became more economically successful. However, such support certainly warrants strong attempts to promote, encourage and instigate such projects.

This leads to the question of what exactly should these projects be and/or involve. To answer this, there is first a need for more in-depth research to understand the many factors involved including where would be the best starting point and what has been successful in other areas. However, this study does raise a number of issues which could form the basis for such research and deserve further investigation, including:

1. There is a lack of handicrafts and hand-made household implements for sale – both for use by the local people themselves and for tourists. Admittedly, the tourist market has little to offer at the moment, however, in time perhaps this will be developed. There is therefore, the possibility of introducing support for handicrafts<sup>27</sup> (such as baskets, jewellery, pots, wooden items, storage containers and carrying vessels) – the making of which is already supported by the Community Skills Training Centre in Dinsho. Indeed many women already have the skills to make such goods, but only do so for their own use. A possible outlet further afield for such handicrafts could be the NGO bazaar held once a month in Addis Ababa.
2. A number of women make and sell butter, used both as a food item and for dressing hair. An ICDP being implemented in the Awash National Park by CARE is introducing support for butter making and other dairy products at a more commercial level<sup>28</sup>. Perhaps this is something that could be introduced in the villages around the Park, in conjunction with a micro-credit project for example, to support ‘set-up’.
3. Honey has been mentioned as a product produced in the area on a small scale. It is considered a luxury good and sells for a high price. Two of those involved in its production saw a direct relationship between it and benefits from the Park – the Park protecting the flowering trees producing nectar for the bees. There are many examples in other countries where such small-scale production has been developed, with the help of more productive and environmentally friendly hives, to provide a much more commercial enterprise. For example a long standing project has been running in Nyika National Park, Malawi<sup>29</sup>.

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<sup>27</sup> Such a project has been introduced in Agarfa, with Italian government support - The Agrafta Handicraft Pilot Project as part of the Arsi-Bale Rural Development Project (Roberto Calzà, pers. comm., 2000). Important lessons could be learnt from this project which is currently undergoing restructuring. A number of documents are available setting out the progress achieved so far, see *Evaluation of the first phase of the Agarfa Handicraft Pilot Project (September 1998-February 1999)* and *Hadda. Labour and income generation division on gender bases in household: the Priority Pas of Agarfa Woreda (Bale Zone) case*. Both are produced by the project which has offices in Asella and Addis Ababa.

<sup>28</sup> Shimelis Beyene, Project Coordinator, CARE Awash Project (pers. comm., 2000). Gender dimensions of the project are discussed in Muderis Abdulahi (2000), *Gender Dimensions of CARE Awash Conservation and Development Project*. A Paper presented on the gender workshop (Feb 11-14, 2000), Nazret.

<sup>29</sup> See - Banda, A. & H. de Boerr (1993), ‘Honey for Sale’ pp229-232 in Kemf, Elizabeth (Ed.) ‘*Indigenous Peoples an Protected Areas - The Law of Mother Earth*’ Earthscan, 1993; IIED/ODA, (1994), ‘*Whose Eden? An Overview of Community Approaches to Wildlife Management*’ London:International

4. As suggested above, there is a need for a promotion of the planting of trees for fuelwood and building materials, including indigenous species. It is also suggested that the possibilities of planting some types of fruit trees should be investigated. No fruit trees were seen in the area and the only fruit seen in the market were oranges, bananas and prickly pears, brought from the low lands. Though the climate is unlikely to be conducive to the growing of these particular fruits, there are several fruits that would be suitable, and could be grown in the garden areas around the huts.
5. In addition, a more efficient and commercial market in wild herbs could be instigated. Many of the women collect herbs for their own use and for sale in the local market, though it was unclear if these were sold further afield. Certainly the same herbs were seen for sale in the markets of Addis Ababa, though the source of them was not indicated. One herb - wild thyme - was dried and sold by children to people in the passing trucks and buses.
6. The same could be said for flowers. The Park and its surrounding areas are alive with a wide range of spectacular flowers, including everlasting varieties, especially after the rainy season (in late August-October). In fact this coincides with a number of the prominent festivals in Ethiopia including the New Year and Maskel. There appeared to be no trade in the flowers, so again, perhaps this is something that could be investigated further. Indeed, in many other parts of the world, such as the Brazilian savannas (or *cerrado*), the sale of wild flowers proves a very lucrative business. Such a trade however, as with the use of other natural resources, would have to be controlled so it was environmentally and indeed, economically sustainable.
7. There needs to be a greater promotion of the employment of women in the Park and in the businesses and projects connected with the Park. Though indeed the Park Warden is female, there are no women employed as scouts and/or guides. Two women are employed as cleaners in the Tourist Lodge. At the very least, there should be a concerted effort made by the WWF project to employ women in the jobs available, as is stressed in the project documents.

It is vital that any projects targeting women must only do so with a good understanding of how the work involved will be accommodated by them in their already very busy working day. Ways and means must be found that allow women to get involved in such projects without adding excessively to their labour or time. In addition care must be taken not to promote unwanted gender-stereotypical roles – it must be up to the women to decide what projects would be suitable for them and how best they could get involved. What WWF can do is to provide opportunities for this to happen, encourage ‘space’ for women to make the decisions, and support them in what they decide to do.

#### 7.6.7 A possible pilot village - Karari

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Institute for Environment and Development for the Overseas Development Institute; Mbanefo, S. (1993/4), ‘Hive of Activity’ pp5 in WWF News, Winter 1993/4

Finally, in an attempt to give some indication of which of the four villages studied would be most appropriate for targeting by the WWF as a 'pilot' village for the conservation and development project, it is suggested that **Karari** village would be the most appropriate. The reasons for this decision are several, but include:

1. The village is located reasonably close to Dinsho allowing both access to the opportunities that Dinsho holds for the local people and diversification of their livelihoods, as well as easy access into the village itself.
2. Many of the households are situated either close to the Park boundaries or, in fact, actually in the Park. Therefore the village and its people have a direct effect on the Park and its resources. Some of these households are being moved out of the Park and resettled outside the boundaries. The attitude to the Park is therefore extremely negative at the moment, and needs improving.
3. The Village Chairman is particularly supportive of developing more sustainable use of natural resources in and around the village.
4. There is a need for services in the village such as a primary school and/or piped water supply.
5. The Village Chairman and several of the people interviewed were supportive of the idea that gender equity was important and that projects could be developed that specifically target women. In addition, there appeared to be several self-help groups present in the area that could be used as a basis for women's organisation.
6. There appears to be a certain degree of diversification in many of the people's livelihoods that could be developed further, such as trading in goods, cultivation of honey, wooden pot making, and the provision of guides for the Park.
7. A number of people interviewed expressed the desire for more support to be given to such diversification through, for example, accessible credit to encourage trading and other business.
8. Conflicts with wild animals from the Park are common in the village, especially with hyena.

**Appendix 1**  
**People interviewed in the villages**

**Gojera Village**

| <b>Female/Male</b> | <b>Age*</b> | <b>No of Children</b> | <b>No of Cattle</b> | <b>Other Livestock</b>      | <b>Other Trade etc</b>                                     |
|--------------------|-------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| Female             | 40          | ?                     | ?                   | ?                           | No   |
| Male               | 35          | 3                     | ?                   | ?                           | Sells garlic in Shashamene                                 |
| Male               | 46          | 12                    | ?                   | ?                           | Worked as scout in park                                    |
| Male               | 50 ish      | ?                     | ?                   | ?                           | Chairman of Gojera/Dinsho Committee, also works as a scout |
| Female             | < 40        | 11                    | 20                  | ?                           |  |
| Male and female    | 26          | 3                     | 10                  | ?                           | He works for EWCP and has 'hotel'                          |
| Female             | < 30        | 6                     | 20                  | ?                           |  |
| Male               | 24          | 2                     | 20                  | 30 sheep, 13 goats, 10 hens |  |

|        |    |   |    |          |  |
|--------|----|---|----|----------|--|
| Female | 16 | 0 | 20 | 10 sheep |  |
|--------|----|---|----|----------|--|

**\* It should be noted that in general people do not celebrate birthdays, therefore it is likely that these ages are not entirely correct.**

**Gofringria Village**

| Male/Female    | Age            | No. of Children | No. of Cattle | Other livestock              | Other Trade etc                             |
|----------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------|------------------------------|---|
| Male           | 83             | 7               | 20            | 1 horse                      |   |
| Male<br>Female | 28<br>20ish    | 1               | 26            | 24 sheep, 10 horses          | Tailor in Dinsho and locally                |
| Male           | 22             | 3               | 5             | 1 horse                      |   |
| Male           | 70             | 15              | 40            | 10 horses                    | No  |
| Male           | 42             | 10              | 30            | 10 horses, 10 sheep, 5 goats | No  |
| Female         | < 50           | 12              | 20            | 20 sheep, chickens, horses   | Makes and sells butter in Dinsho            |
| 3 Females*     | 30; 40; and 23 | 6; 7; and 3     | ??            | ??                           | Make and sell butter & vegetables in Dinsho |

**\* The first two of these females were married to the same husband.**

### Soba Village

| <i>Male/Female</i> | <i>Age</i> | <i>No. of Children</i> | <i>No. of Cattle</i> | <i>Other livestock</i> | <i>Other trade etc.</i>               |
|--------------------|------------|------------------------|----------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Male               | 35         | 9                      | 10                   | 10 sheep               | No                                    |
| Male               | 18         | 0                      | 3                    | 0                      | No                                    |
| Female             | 40         | 5                      | 10                   | 4 sheep                | Sells butter & milk in Dinsho         |
| Female             | 23         | 5                      | 4                    | 3 horses               | Crippled husband receives war pension |
| Male               | 37         | 4                      | 30                   | 10 horses, 4 chickens  |                                       |

### Karari Village

| <i>Male/Female</i> | <i>Age</i> | <i>No. of Children</i> | <i>No. of Cattle</i> | <i>Other Livestock</i> | <i>Other Trade etc.</i> |
|--------------------|------------|------------------------|----------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| Male               | 80         | 15                     | 8                    | 15 sheep and horses    |                         |

|        |         |     |      |                           |                                      |
|--------|---------|-----|------|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Female | 30      | 3   | None | Some sheep and goats      | Tea shop in Dinsho opens on Tuesdays |
| Male   | Over 30 | 4   | 10   | 10 sheep & 2 horses       |                                      |
| Male   | Over 40 | 6   | 50   | 20 sheep & goats, 1 horse |                                      |
| Female | 50      | 9   | 5    | 17 sheep & goats, 1 horse | Makes butter & sells in Dinsho       |
| Female | 28      | 7 * | 6    | 4 sheep, 2 horses         | Cultivate honey & sells in Dinsho    |
| Female | 40      | 6   | 15   | 5 sheep, 3 chickens       |                                      |

\* It was not clear whether all these children were hers – she was one of two wives married to her husband, so some could have belonged to the second wife.

Calculated on the above Tables, the average household population is 8 people. However, it was suggested that household numbers could reach 20.

The average number of cattle per household = 17.

## Appendix 2

### Questions upon which semi-structured interviews were based

What is your age? How many children do you have?  
 How many wives do you have? What is your religion?  
 Are you literate?  
 Do your children go to school? If yes, where do they go to school?  
 How long have you lived here? What crops do you grow?  
 How much livestock do you have – cattle, sheep, goats, chickens?  
 Do you have any other trade/employment?  
 Do you sell your crops/livestock?  
 When and why do you sell them?  
 Do you sell things at the market?  
 Where are your fields?

How often do you go to Dinsho?  
 How often do you go to Robe/Goba/Addis Ababa?  
 Do you go to village meetings? Do you speak at village meetings?  
 Where do you meet other women?  
 Do you belong to a Woman's Association?  
 Do you belong to a 'self-help' group? If yes, what does the 'self-help' group do?  
 What do you do during the day?  
 Do you make any handicrafts?  
 What does your husband/wife do during the day?  
 Who makes the decisions in the household?  
 Where do you collect water and fuelwood from?  
 Do you use other resources eg plants from the park?  
 Do you live in the park?  
 What do you think of the park – is it good or bad? Why do you think it is good/bad?  
 Do you get any benefits from the park?  
 What further benefits could the park provide?  
 Do you have any problems with your crops/livestock and wild animals from park?  
 What do you think of the Ethiopian Wolf Conservation Project?  
 Have you been asked to move out of the park?  
 When were you asked to move from the park?  
 What will you do now you have been asked to move?  
 Do you plant any trees?  
 What would you like in the future for you and your children?

### Appendix 3

#### Key informants interviewed in Dinsho

| Name   | M/F | Employment and involvement in Dinsho  |
|--|-----|---|
| Tesra Beyene                                 | M   | Elected by community to establish Dinsho as a District and worked as park warden in 1970s |
| Temune Worku                                 | F   | Head of Women's Association during time of Derg.  |
| Edriss Ebu                                   | M   | Owner of Wolf's Den Café and Trekking Company. Also works for EWCP.                       |
| Alemayehu Terefe                             | M   | Teacher at Primary School   |
| Wako Kedir, Abubeker Sultan & Teshome Beyene | M   | Clinic technicians and workers.   |
| Mustofa Abdulsamad                           | M   | Works for Dinsho District Office  |



|                      |   |  |
|----------------------|---|--|
| Husseina Tufissa     | M | Head Teacher of Primary School                                   |
| Leykun Kebene Feleke | M | Deputy Head of Secondary School                                  |
| Getachew Gari        | M | Head of Regualtory Division, Bale zone Agricultural Office, Goba |
| Yilma Dellelegn      | M | Was Warden for Park during Derg, now works for IUCN in Nairobi   |
| Tesfaye Tollo Doyo   | M | Development Agent, Agriculture Office                            |
| Tasammaa Hayilu      | M | Administration and Finance, Town Office                          |

**Appendix 4 SURVEY OF PRODUCTS SOLD BY WOMEN IN MARKET ON TUESDAY 12<sup>th</sup> September, 2000**

| Product    | No selling product (Approximately) | Sold By* | Woman's Town/Village | No of Times Sell at Market | Income                                     |
|------------|------------------------------------|----------|----------------------|----------------------------|--|
| Maize      | 32                                 | M/F      | Abakara              | Once a week                | 5 Birr profit from a sack                  |
| Maize      | 32                                 | M/F      | Near Agarfa          | Once a week                | 5 Birr profit from a sack bought in Agarfa |
| Dried peas | 14                                 | M/F      | Abakara              | Twice a week               | 250 Birr per sack                          |
| Barley     | 150                                | M/F      | Near Agarfa          | Once a week                | 200 Birr per sack                          |
| Barley     | 150                                | M/F      | Near Agarfa          | 1 or 2 times a month       | 15 pots = 10 Birr                          |
| Barley     | 150                                | M/F      | Abakara              | Depends on problems        | 7 pots = 4 Birr                            |
| Barley     | 150                                | M/F      | Abakara              | Depends on problem         | 2 pots = 1 Birr                            |
| Barley     | 150                                | M/F      | Abakara              | Once a week                | 2 pots = 1 Birr                            |
| Barley     | 150                                | M/F      | Abakara              | Depends on problems        | 7 pots = 4 Birr                            |
| Tobacco    | 21                                 | F/M      | Soba                 | Once a week                | A handful = 25 cents                       |

|                             |    |     |              |                  |  |
|-----------------------------|----|-----|--------------|------------------|--|
| Tobacco                     | 21 | F/M | Gojera       | Once a week      | A handful = 25 cents   |
| Herbs (wild)                | 2  | F   | Maso, Agarfa | Once a month     | A bunch = 25 cents   |
| Clay pots                   | 13 | F   | Maso, Agarfa | Once a week      | Big pot = 2 Birr   |
| Clay pots                   | 13 | F   | Abarkara     | Once a week      | Big pot = 4 Birr<br>(bought for 2 Birr)  |
| Bamboo (grows wild in Hora) | 6  | F   | Soba         | Once a week      | 1 piece = 10 cents   |
| Maize – ground              | 6  | F   | Hani, Agarfa | Once a fortnight | 1 pot = 25 cents profit<br>(price = 1 Birr)  |
| Coffee (leaves & husks)     | 9  | F   | Abakara      | Once a week      | On 5 Birr, makes 2 Birr profit<br>(Price = bowl leaves = 50 cents, husks = 25 cents) |
| Twine for pots (wild)       | 3  | F   | Zallo Ababa  | Once a week      | 2 Birr for bundle.<br>Big pot = 40 Birr  |
| Spices                      | 20 | F/M | Zallo Ababa  | Twice a week     | Did not know, but buys and re-sells.   |
| Spices                      | 20 | F/M | Zallo Ababa  | Twice a week     | Buys in Robe for 20 Birr, sells 30 Birr a sack                                       |
| Grass (wild)                | 30 | F/M | Abakara      | Every 3 weeks    | Buys for 50 cents, sells at 1 Birr per bundle  |
|                             |    |     |              |                  |  |

|                                    |    |     |             |                        |  |
|------------------------------------|----|-----|-------------|------------------------|--|
| Grass (wild)                       | 30 | F/M | Zallo Ababa | Once a month           | 25 cents per bundle<br>Basket = 2 Birr   |
| Oranges                            | 8  | F   | Gofingria   | Once a week            | Buys for 15 cents, sells for 20 cents.   |
| Salt                               | 30 | F/M | Abakara     | Once a week            | Buys from Robe – profit of 10 Birr/sack  |
| Salt                               | 30 | F/M | Mio         | Once a week            | Buys from Robe – profit of 10 or 15 Birr/sack                                    |
| Coffee beans                       | 40 | F/M | Abakara     | Once a week            | Sells for 40 Birr/sack (did not know profit)                                     |
| Coffee beans                       | 40 | F/M | Zollo Ababa | Once a week            | Bought in Barbare. Makes 1 Birr/pot profit                                       |
| Coffee beans                       | 40 | F/M | Karari      | Once a week            | Bought in Dinsho/Robe, makes 25 cents/pot profit (sells at 3 Birr/pot)           |
| Rope - plaited (approx. 10ms long) | 4  | F/M | Abakara     | Once a week            | 13 year old girl, made rope herself, sells for 1 Birr – money goes to household. |
| Honey                              | 7  | F   | Karari      | Once a week            | Hive on rocks or trees. Sells for 10 Birr/pot.                                   |
| Prickly pear                       | 7  | F/M | Abakara     | Once a week            | Cultivates them. Sells 4 for 25 cents.   |
| Sugar cane                         | 20 | M/F | Manso       | Once a week            | Grows in Manso. Buys for 75 cents, makes 50 cents on piece.                      |
| Butter                             | 25 | F   | Warra       | When she makes butter. | 7 Birr for 1/2 lb.   |

|               |     |     |             |               |  |
|---------------|-----|-----|-------------|---------------|--|
| Butter        | 25  | F   | Manso       | Occasionally  | 7 Birr for 1/2 lb  |
| Potatoes      | 100 | F/M | Gojera      | Once a week   | 1 Birr for approx 3 lbs                                    |
| Potatoes      | 100 | F/M | Dinsho      | Once a week   | 1 Birr for approx 3 lbs                                    |
| Potatoes      | 100 | F/M | Abakara     | Once a week   | 1 Birr for approx 3 lbs                                    |
| Carrots       | 20  | F/M | Abakara     | Would not say | 25 cents for 1 lb  |
| Carrots       | 20  | F/M | Zallo Ababa | Once a week   | 5 Birr per sack profit. Also selling beetroot (1 Birr/lb). |
| Spring onions | 30  | F/M | Gofingria   | First time    | 25 cents per bunch   |
| Spring onions | 30  | F/M | Gojera      | Occasionally  | 25 cents per bunch, makes 5 cents profit.                  |

\* Where both M and F were selling goods, the gender which was most common is listed first.

Distance from Dinsho: Abakara = 10 kms; Agarfa = 33 kms; Soba = 10 kms; Gogera = 1-3 kms; Manos = 14 kms; Zollo Ababa = 3 kms; Gofingria = 8-12 kms; Mio = 15 kms; Karari = 2-3 kms; Warra = 16 kms.

## Appendix 5 USE OF WILD PLANTS IN AND AROUND BMNP – Incomplete

| Oromo Name | Common English Name | Latin Name                 | Use  |
|------------|---------------------|----------------------------|--|
|            |                     | <i>Helychrysum</i> ????    | Given to women after birth of child and to baby to protect against cold. Also smells good. |
|            |                     | <i>Schlerosys</i> ?????    | Given to women after birth of child and to baby to protect against cold.                   |
| 'Kosso'    |                     | <i>Haegenia Abyssinica</i> | Against tapeworm.  |
|            | Wild thyme          | <i>Thymus</i> ????         | Flavouring.  |
| 'Hiddi'    |                     | <i>Solanium</i>            | As a detergent, for washing clothes. Leaves can be chewed for stomach ache.                |
|            |                     | <i>Alchemelia sp.</i>      | For skin disorders eg when itching and dry. Mix with butter.                               |
|            | Forget-me-not       |                            | For sunstroke and sunburn. Put on face and also sniff it.                                  |
| 'Gora'     | Blackberry          | <i>Rubus</i> ???           | Eat them.  |
|            | Red hot poker       | <i>Kniphofia foliosa</i>   | Children drink the nectar.   |
| 'Chokersa' | Mint                |                            | For washing out milk containers.   |
|            | Nettles             |                            | Soup. Also dock leaves used for soothing nettle stings.                                    |
| 'Sukye'    |                     | <i>Lippia odoensis</i>     | Flavouring butter.   |
| 'Tenadem'  |                     |                            | Put in coffee for flavour  |
| 'Hiticho'  |                     |                            | Flavouring butter and good for colds.  |

|            |               |                              |  |
|------------|---------------|------------------------------|--|
| 'Besobila' |               |                              | Used in wat.                               |
| 'Ariti'    |               |                              | Women put in hair to make it smell good.   |
|            | Dogwood       |                              | Flavouring local beer – <i>talla</i>       |
| 'Bursa'    |               | Unidentifiable piece of root | Medicine – for headaches and/or sunstroke. |
|            | Type of grass |                              | Brushes and baskets (often dyed).          |
|            |               |                              |  |