

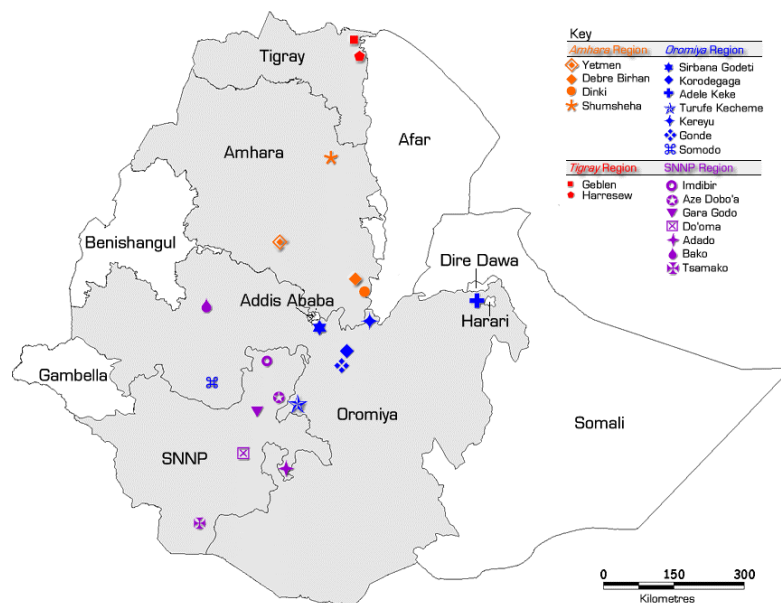
Hunger, Poverty and 'Famine' in Ethiopia: Some Evidence from Twenty Rural Sites in Amhara, Tigray, Oromiya and SNNP Regions.

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I. Introduction

This working paper presents some empirical findings related to hunger, poverty and 'famine' based on data collected in twenty rural sites in the Amhara, Tigray, Oromiya and SNNP Regions of Ethiopia between July and September 2003. The purpose of the paper is to make available the details of research responses which are being used as a basis for analysis and conclusion presented elsewhere in summary (see for example WED Briefing No 1). The information was collected as part of the WIDE project, which is one of three projects which make up the Ethiopia Wellbeing in Developing Countries Research programme¹. The programme focuses on poverty, inequality and subjective wellbeing in Ethiopia and consists of: WIDE² (an historical study of twenty rural sites); DEEP³ (an in-depth study of four of these sites plus two urban sites planned to take place between May 2004 and September 2005); and ENTIRE⁴ (a study of the wider insecurity regime in Ethiopia in which these sites are embedded).

Figure 1: Map of the Twenty Sites



Between July and September 2003 a pair of researchers, one male and one female, spent time in each of the 20 sites asking questions organised into eight Modules:

1. Introduction to People and Society
2. Social Structures and Dynamics
3. Site History
4. Policy Regime Interfaces
5. Crises and Local Responses

¹ See www.wellbeing.org for more information on the ESRC financed Wellbeing in Developing Countries Programme which focuses on four countries: Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Peru and Thailand

² Wellbeing and Illbeing Dynamics in Ethiopia

³ in-Depth Exploration of Ethiopian Poverty

⁴ ExploratiON of The Insecurity Regime in Ethiopia

6. Grounding WeD-related Concepts
7. Changes in Wellbeing and Inequality
8. Revisiting People and Society

Module 5, Crises and Local Responses, consisted of four protocols. Protocol 1⁵, the basis of this paper, was entitled 'Exploration of men's conceptions of and responses to drought and famine' and was asked only of men by the male researchers. The women researchers asked women the questions contained in Protocol 2, 'Exploration of women's conceptions of and responses to child malnutrition, illness and death'. The other two protocols, on HIV/AIDS and conflict were asked of both men and women.

The paper is organised under four headings. In Section 2 we describe the twenty sites and the research methodology. Then we present some conclusions and the data which informs them. Section 3 is about experiences of famine and hunger. Section 4 describes reports of how communities try to cope with hunger; and Section 5 summarises some opinions related to interventions to overcome hunger. Section 6 concludes.

II. The Sites and the Research Methodology

1. Brief descriptions of the sites

The 20 WIDE rural sites are located in the four main regions of Ethiopia, which together, represent the bulk of the country's population (86%): Amhara (26%), Oromia (35%), Southern Region (19%), and Tigray (6%). The distribution of the sites is as follows: 8 in Oromia, 6 in the Southern Region, 4 in Amhara and 2 in Tigray. Although the Southern Region therefore seems over-represented it contains the greatest diversity, particularly in linguistic and ethnic terms since about half the 80 or so ethnic groups in the country reside within the Southern Region.

The sites were selected mainly on the grounds of existing household survey panel data in 18 of the sites, and village studies undertaken in 1995 in 15 sites, which allows us to build up a picture over time. Six of the sites were selected in 1989 for household surveys by the International Food Policy Research Institute on the grounds that they were food deficit areas. The Economics Department of Addis Ababa University together with the Centre for the Study of African Economies added nine more sites in 1993 to cover the major livelihood systems to be found in Ethiopia. Three further sites were added by the economists who were revisiting in 1999 to include more cash-cropping areas. The 18 panel sites provide data going back over 15 years for the first selection, 10 years for the second selection and 5 years for the last selection. As the selected sites did not include pastoralist communities, which make up 10 percent of the population, two sites in which WED Ethiopia team members had done in-depth anthropological research were added in 2003.

Sites in Tigray Region

Harresaw

Located in the Eastern zone of Tigray Region in Atsbi *wereda* Harresaw is a highland site on the eastern escarpment. The main production is cereals notably barley. Livestock sales, migration and the salt trade are the major sources of additional income. The site used to produce a regular surplus but has become vulnerable to famine.

Geblen

Located in Tigray region, Geblen is a highland escarpment site producing cereals, notably barley. Cash is obtained by selling livestock and labour migration. The site is vulnerable to famine.

Sites in Amhara Region

Yetmen

Located in Amhara Region, East Gojjam Zone, Enemay *wereda* Yetmen is a mid-altitude site

⁵ The Protocol is reproduced in the Appendix

producing cereals, especially *tef* and wheat. Cereals, livestock and their products are the main sources of cash as well as some trade and migration. The site is fairly rich

Debre Berhan

The four sites near the town of Debre Berhan are in Amhara Region, in Basso and Worana and Debre Berhan Zuria *weredas*. The area is a highland cereal producing area that is generally self-supporting.

Dinki

Located in Amhara Region, North Shewa Zone, Tegulet Wereda, Dinki is a small lowland site producing mainly *tef*, maize and sorghum, with some fruit around the river. The site is vulnerable to famine.

Shumsheha

Located in Amhara Region, in the Lasta area, Shumsheha is a lowland site near the airport of Lalibela Town. The main crops are cereals and pulses, with limited irrigation. The area is vulnerable to famine and many people migrate out in search of work.

Sites in Oromiya Region

Sirbana Godeti

Located in Oromia Region in the fertile Ad'a plain Sirbana Godeti are two mid-altitude road-side villages producing cereals, notably *tef* and pulses. *Tef* is the major cash crop and livestock and their products are also traded. The area has been a surplus producing area linked to nearby markets and is fairly prosperous.

Turufe Kecheme

Located close to the town of Shashemene in Oromia Region, Eastern Shewa Zone, Turufe Kecheme is on the edge of the Rift Valley. The main products are cereals, pulses, oilseeds and vegetables. The site produces cereals and vegetables, notably potatoes which as sold as cash crops as are livestock. The site has become rich due to its linkages with Shashemene and involvement in the market economy.

Adele Keke

Located in the Oromia Region, Kersa Wereda, Adele Keke is a middle altitude site which produces a variety of cereals and vegetables and the cash crop chat. It is by the roadside near the town of Alemaya that provides a ready market and the site can be considered to be fairly rich with some very wealthy inhabitants. The site has regularly been affected by rain failure and in bad years is dependent on food aid.

Arsi Gonde -Odawata

The site of Odawata is located in Oromia Region, Tiyo Wereda of Arsi Zone. Cereals and pulses are produced as well as vegetables on irrigated land. The site is within a agricultural surplus producing area and is fairly well off.

Bako – Oda Haro

Located in Oromia region, West Shewa Zone, Bako Tibe Wereda the site of Oda Haro is mainly a maize producing area, as well as other cereals, pulses, oil seeds, and *chat* for cash crops. The area is relatively wealthy.

Somodo

Located in Oromia Region, Jimma Zone, Mana Woreda the village of Somodo is a mid altitude site producing cereals, pulses and *enset*. Coffee is the most important cash crop and some villagers are involved in trade, and the sale of livestock products. The area is fairly prosperous.

Kereyu

Located in Oromia Region among the pastoral Kereyu this site is a lowland area which has been affected by the introduction of irrigated farms and the establishment of a park. The Kereyu rely largely on their livestock although some sedentarisation and cultivation has been taking place. The

Kereyu have found their livelihoods becoming more vulnerable in part owing to externally induced pressures.

Korodegaga

Located in Oromia Region, Arsi Zone, Dodota *wereda*, Korodegaga is a lowland area by the Awash river. The main crops are maize and *tef*, as well as pulses. The main source of cash are livestock and firewood sales. The Oromo population is only partly settled, and the site is vulnerable to drought despite some irrigation, and malaria poses a major problem.

Sites in SNNP Region

Adado

Located in the Southern Region in Gedeo Zone, Adado is a middle altitude site within the *enset* growing area. Coffee is the major cash crop. Both hoe and ox-plough agriculture are practised to produce a wide variety of crops and livestock. The site is within the area of the Gedeo people and can be considered fairly rich, although it was hard hit by the drought of 2002.

Imdibir

Located in the Southern Region in the Chaha Gurage area near the town of Imdibir Haya Gasha is a mid-altitude site producing *enset*, maize, and vegetables. The main cash crop is eucalyptus trees. The site can be considered to be fairly well off.

Aze Deboa

Located in the Southern Region in the Kambata area, Aze Deboa is within the highly populated *enset* growing area. Cereals, pulses and vegetables are the main crops, and cash is obtained through sale of livestock and their products, as well as Eucalyptus, *chat* and coffee, as well as through trade and migration.

Do'oma

Located in the Southern Region, North Omo Zone within the Gamo area Do'oma is a lowland site set up initially as a resettlement project in 1985. The main production is cereals notably maize and the main sources of cash are cotton production and weaving and trade in livestock products. The site relies on irrigation but is vulnerable to drought.

Gara Godo

Located in the Southern Region, Wolayta Awraja, Bolosso Wereda, Gara Godo in a densely populated middle altitude site within the *enset* growing area. The main other crops are maize, vegetables, and fruit. Trade and migration are the main sources of cash together with sale of coffee and livestock products. The site is vulnerable to famine.

Tsamako

Located in the Southern Region, South Omo Zone, the Tsamako site is an agro-pastoralist lowland site relying partly on traditional irrigation. The main crops are sorghum and maize and livestock are important sources of cash. The area has been vulnerable to drought.

2. What the data can and can't tell us

The twenty case studies described above are not 'representative' of Ethiopia as a whole and the conclusions cannot be generalised on the basis of indications of statistical significance. However, they have been chosen at different points in time to represent the major livelihood systems and the similarities and diversities that they show are indicative. Our planned research under the ENTIRE project, using secondary sources, will help us to demonstrate how each site fits into the wider regional and national pictures.

The research methodology is experimental. Social science graduates were provided with a protocol of questions to guide the research and trained in how to use it. They were expected to pursue all the

questions in the protocol but could choose how to do this, and could follow up interesting leads using their own initiative.

It must be remembered that the data in this report comes from answers to questions posed by men to men; the women's voices will be presented in a forthcoming paper on the effects of hunger and poverty on pregnancy and childbirth, and child malnutrition, illness and death. Each researcher was asked to conduct a 'joint interview with at least one knowledgeable elder and one younger more literate man.' However, most of the researchers reported at the analysis workshop held in September 2003, that it was very difficult to get agreement in a joint interview, so they resorted to two separate interviews, sometimes with individuals, and sometimes with small groups.

We believe that our information has the following strengths:

- The data has an unusually wide coverage since it provides information on 20 sites in four regions over a large area of the country.
- It covers a range of agro-ecological zones, different production systems, sites that are integrated with the market and ones that are more remote, and at least twelve different ethnic groups.
- The data also provides for cross-site comparison to consider similar and contrasting site variables since the same range of questions were asked.
 - For instance did more market integrated sites suffer less?
 - Did sites with *enset* production suffer less?
 - Did pastoralist sites suffer more?
 - Are coping strategies different in food deficit from surplus/cash crop areas?
- The data can be related to the existing data from the village profiles and the household surveys to provide greater time depth, comparison with large samples, and how perceptions may have changed over time.
- The data provides a subjective view of actors which might provide evidence of differences by age, wealth, and social status.
 - We had asked for informants to be contrasted by age, and this was done in half the cases
 - We had given a choice to researchers as to whether to interview individuals or small groups. Only 4 out of 20 interviewed groups.
 - 7 of the cases indicate the wealth status of informants
 - 6 of the cases give us information about the social status of informants, including a butcher, kebele leaders, traders, a farm employee, a former soldier, and a student.
- Since the data was first collected unprompted and then prompted, we may be able to get a sense of how people understand the questions or what their initial reactions to the issues are without prompting.
- The data gives us a sense of attitudes towards food aid, food for work and Employment Generation Schemes.

There are also limitations:

- In terms of representativeness within the Ethiopian context the data considers the four large regions, but not the smaller and outlying regions.
- The research does not have sites in the borderlands, notably in the East, and far West. The smaller agro-pastoral regions: Afar, Somali in the East and Gambela and Beni-Shangul Gumuz are not represented.
- The data does not offer any urban perspectives⁶
- There may have been some road-side bias in that most of the sites are fairly accessible.
- The data has only been asked of 2 individuals or groups in each site and was asked of men. It therefore cannot be said to be representative of the community.
- The choice of informants was left to the researchers who did not always follow the suggestions in the protocol.

⁶ Although we will be working in two urban sites during the DEEP project and will add these as WIDE sites.

- We had asked for contrasting selection of informants by age but this was followed in only half the cases, and in two cases only one interview was carried out.
- Out of 7 cases where the wealth status of informants was mentioned only one is a poor informant.
- An analysis of differential viewpoints will be rather limited since only 2 individuals/groups were asked in each site.
- Responses to questions might have been prompted either by concerns of not being critical of the current government (especially about the contrast between the regimes) or in terms of assumptions that answers could bring aid (notably questions about food aid, food for work, EGS)

One interesting feature of this kind of data is how the apparent contradictory views, hesitations, statements, answering the question “wrongly” etc can help to rethink the questions and their relevance. Rather than being simply poor data to be excluded they are often revealing. So for example as discussed below many respondents were reluctant simply to attribute deaths to 'famine'.

III. Famine and Hunger Experiences

1. Famine deaths: 1973/1984/1994

'It is difficult to say that an individual has died due to famine, although there were deaths [in 1994]' Somodo

Interpreting the data

Table 1 has been constructed from responses to Questions 6, 7 and 8 (see Appendix) which asked if there had been any cases of persons who died due to famine in the community during the well known famines in 1973, 1984-5 and 1994-5. The above quote from Somodo suggests that a simple positive answer about deaths is somewhat subjective and arbitrary since whether the deaths are a direct result of famine is not easily determinable. In Korodegaga more than 20 people died in 2002. Although there was no clear diagnosis, it was assumed they had died of malaria, though, as the researcher points out people are less able to resist at a time of famine. This suggests a need for caution in talking about “famine deaths”. The statement from Shumsheha: “There ought to be, but I am not sure”, as well as one of the responses from Aze Deboa: “I don’t know” can be read as expressing uneasiness with a simple yes/no answer. Most interestingly in six cases the two individuals/groups expressed a different view on whether there were deaths or not in what at first might be thought to be an obvious question where both views cannot be true. In two of these cases (Dinki and Adele Keke) the older group said there were no deaths in 1994/5 whereas the younger group said there were. Are we to assume that the younger generation is better informed about deaths? Or are the older generation more cautious about attributing deaths to famine?

In two other cases the status of the informants is not identified but the remaining two cases also raise questions. In Korodegaga, both informants were chairmen of the peasants association under the Derg. So do we suppose that the one who said there were deaths in 1984-5 knew better since he was in office at that period? Yet he did not respond to the question about deaths in 1994 whereas the other chairman who was in office earlier answered the question in the affirmative. Given that we know that the deaths in 1994 were malaria related, was the former avoiding attributing these to famine and therefore a more cautious and hence more reliable informant? The last case of Aze Deboa is the most perplexing. Both informants were described as “middle adult young man”. The first said that there were famine related-deaths during all three periods. The second claimed that there weren't in 1973 and in 1994 and he did not know about 1984. Do we assume that the second informant is less knowledgeable since he did not know about 1984 or that he is more cautious and therefore more reliable? Rather than ignoring what appear to be inconsistencies, which often get excluded as “errors” in the data when quantitative analyses are produced, we prefer to interpret these as challenging the very questions and the assumptions behind them. Trying to assess number of deaths which has been a

key preoccupation both in the media, given its sensational value, as well as in “famine studies”, may no longer be as relevant and useful a question in understanding famine. As one informant from Tsamako put it: “People suffered from poverty, yet I know of no one who died”. Rather than deaths, our focus should be on understanding coping strategies and differential impacts in particular the link with poverty explored later on.

Table 1: Famine deaths

Region	Site	1973	1984/5	1994/5
Tigray	Harresaw	Yes, many people died.	The most severe famine - we can't bury the dead body properly.	There was not much death because we got aid. Many children died..
	Geblen	No	Yes	No, because food aid has been there throughout
Amhara	Yetmen	No	No	No
	Debre Berhan	No	No	No
	Dinki	No	Yes	1) No 2) Yes
	Shumsheha, Wollo	Yes: '30 men'	Yes	There ought to be, but I am not sure.
Oromiya	Sirbana Godeti	Don't know	No	No
	Turufe Kecheme	No	Yes	No
	Adele Keke, Harerghe	No	1) No 2) Yes.	No
	Gonde, Arssi	No	Yes	No
	Bako, Oromiya	No	Yes	No.
	Somodo, Jima	No	It is difficult to say that an individual has died due to famine, although there were deaths	No
	Kereyu, Oromiya	No	1) Yes 2) No	No
	Korodegaga*	No	1) No 2) Yes	Yes
SNNP	Adado, Gedeo**	No	No	No
	Imdibir Haya Gasha, Gurage	No	No	Yes No
	Aze Debo'a, Kembata	1) Yes 2) No	1) Yes 2) I don't know	1) Yes 2) No
	Do'omaa	Do'omaa did not exist	Yes: mainly babies and children	No.
	Gara Godo*** Wolayita	Not sure	Yes	Yes
	Tsamako	Yes	No	People suffered from poverty, yet I know of no-one who died.

* More than 20 people have died in 2002 as a whole. The causes of the deaths is not clearly known. The assumption is that they died because of malaria which people can not resist at a time of famine.

** In 2003 people died of famine

*** Recurrent drought from 1999 – 2003: the names of people who died in 1999/2000, and July 2003 were provided.

Findings

If we consider the famines in the past 30 years only four sites (Yetmen and Debre Berhan in Amhara, Sirbana Godeti in Oromia and Adado in the Southern Region) had both groups of informants say there were no famine related deaths in any of the three major famines. In comparing the three famines it is clear that the 1984 famine is perceived as death-related over a wider range of sites (14 as opposed to 4 in 1973 and 6 in 1994). The 1984/5 famine affected most of the communities in the study. Only two Amhara sites, one Oromiya site and three SNNP sites were unequivocally not affected while there are people in each of the remaining fourteen sites remembering deaths at that time. In contrast only four sites are identified as suffering famine deaths in 1973, the two most definite being in Tigray and Wollo. In 1994/5 deaths are reported from 6 sites, with people in the two Tigrayan sites suggesting

there would have been more without food aid. This suggests that had there not been aid the situation would have been much worse.

There is diversity in the trajectories of the sites. Harresaw (Tigray), and Shumsheha (Wollo) were affected in 1973 and continued to be so. Some sites, particularly in Oromiya, were only affected in 1984, while others, Dinki, Korodegaga and Gara Godo also suffered in 1994/5. The 1994/5 drought particularly affected SNNP sites, which could be an indication that the drought prone areas of the country often assumed to be largely the North and East are now increasingly including larger areas of the South

The research was conducted between July and September 2003 when drought and death had hit again. For the first time Adado in the south was affected, while Korodegaga and Gara Godo reported deaths with Gara Godo claiming recurrent drought from 1999 to 2003. In the next section we analyse reported trajectories of harvests and hunger during the EPRDF era.

2. Harvests and Hunger during the EPRDF era

Respondents were asked to rate the past 12 years since the EPRDF came to power in terms of food security, the proportion of the community affected and number of months of food insecurity for the average family. Researchers in fourteen of the sites provided enough information to construct graphs showing changes reported in the sites (see Appendix). These graphs are not quantitatively accurate but have been imaginatively constructed from reports from one or two individuals or small groups. It is important to be aware that respondents informing incoming researchers, especially in famine-prone sites, may have agendas that they think to pursue through manipulating the information they provide. With all these caveats we believe that there are some interesting things to be gleaned from these data. We will consider them by region⁷.

Sites in Tigray

Harresaw

In 1992 conditions in Harresaw were relatively good (around 40% of the population affected by food insecurity for an average period of 3 months) and they improved considerably in 1993 (the site's best year). However the 1994 famine struck hard creating food insecurity for around 80% of the population for an average of 10 months. 1995 and 1996 were again good years; 1997 was a bit worse and 1998 a bit worse again. There was an improvement for 1999, 2000 and 2001 in terms of harvest and fewer months of food insecurity, but the proportion of the community affected was reported as around 80%. 2002 saw a return to the harvest situation in 1997 (average family affected for 8 months) but this was reported as having increased to 12 months in 2002 (affecting around 80% of the community).

Geblen

In 1992 most people in Geblen were affected by food insecurity for most of the year: around 90% of the population were reported as food insecure for almost 10 months of the year. A small improvement in 1993 was set back in 1994, although respondents did not suggest that 1994 was much worse than it had been in 1992. The years 1994 to 1997 saw a gradual improvement followed by a setback in 1998; however things were still better than they had been in 1994. Things were much the same until 2001 which was Geblen's best year: around 40% of the population were affected by food shortages for an average period of 4 months. However, respondents report a very bad year in 2002: worse than 1994. The harvest for 2003 had not been brought in but they reported 'optimal rain' and seemed hopeful.

Sites in Amhara

Yetmen

⁷ In this section we provide a brief summary of the findings: we are planning more detailed comparative analyses in the future.

It was reported that in 1992 10% of the community were affected by food insecurity but that the average family had no months of food insecurity. By 1997 the proportion affected had risen to 20% but there was not a regular 'hungry season'. This proportion rose to around 40% in 1998 and 50% in 1999 and then there were two bad harvests in 1999 and 2000 as a result of which the average family suffered food insecurity for two months while the proportion affected rose to around 70%. 2002 was a better year and 2003 better again. No hungry season was reported for these years and in 2003 the proportion affected by food insecurity had dropped to around 30%.

Debre Berhan

Generally the report that came from Debre Berhan was that the problem was not rain but frost. The majority were affected with food insecurity in 1991. Whether the lack of data is due to the fact that the communities have not been affected by food insecurity or the failure of the researcher to follow up is not clear.

Dinki

Dinki is a site that suffers from unpredictable rainfall and has been receiving food and other aid from NGOs and government for some years and responses to questions such as these must be treated with some care. The researcher presents responses to the questions from two small groups which are identical in all respects. These responses suggest that in 1992 around 25% of the population were affected by food insecurity. This rose to around 65% in 1995/6, fell back in 1997/8, rose again in 1979, dropped again in 2000 following which it rose to almost 70% in 2001, and 75% in 2002 and 2003. The average number of months of food insecurity stayed at around 4 months until 2001; in 2002 and 2003 it rose to 12 months.

Shumsheha

In 1992 the Shumsheha harvest was rated about average, slightly more than 60% of the community were reported as affected for an average period of five and a half months. An improvement in 1993 was disrupted by the 1994 drought: almost 80% of the community was affected for around seven and a half months. The period 1994 to 1997 saw improvements every year: by 1996 less than 30% of the population were affected and the average period of hunger had fallen to two months. From 1997 there was a gradual deterioration until 1999: the average period of hunger returned to that in 1992 (6 months) but a lower proportion of the population was affected (50%). From 2000 things have improved slightly: in particular the proportion of the population affected by food insecurity has fallen to around 40%.

Shumsheha is a *kebele* which is very near to Lalibela: the airfield is situated within it. It is possible that the work opportunities arising from the investment in tourism has played a part in the slight increase in food security found in Shumsheha, despite population growth and pressure on land.

Sites in Oromiya

Sirbana Godeti

The Sirba research return offers responses only for the years 2001 to 2002. In those years food insecurity is reported to be minor, the proportion affected minor and the number of months of food insecurity is not specified by either of the respondents. This return is similar to that from Debre Berhan and raises the same kinds of question.

Turufe Kecheme

There is no data at all from Turufe. This is a site which suffered badly in the 1994 famine but which otherwise reports no problems or food aid. The site is 20km from the town of Shashemene and since 1992 has gradually become 'rurbanised'. What has been said about Debre Berhan applies here too.

Adele Keke

The same is true of the Adele Keke return. In 2000 it is claimed that no-one was affected by food insecurity; in 2001 1080 people were affected; in 2002 it was 1504 and in 2003 5378. There are also similarities here with the Dinki return. Separate groups of older and younger men provided

information that was identical except for a difference of 1 person for 2003. Like Dinki Adele Keke is a site where the rains can fail completely and it has a history of regular food aid. Unlike Dinki it produces a cash crop (chat) which, in a good year, can provide many inhabitants with a fair income.

Arsi Gonde- Odawata

The Gonde data was not suitable for producing a graph. Food security is rated good between 1992 and 1994, very good for the next two years, and good for 1997. 1998 is a bad year: 55% of the community are affected between June and December. 1999 is also bad, though not so bad: 40% of the population are affected for the same months. The following year is excellent in terms of production but 'the price fell down'. Neither 2001 nor 2003 are rated, while 2002 is 'satisfactory'.

Bako- Odaa Haro

Between 1992 and 2001 the food security situation in Bako improved considerably, but there were blips in 1995 and 1999. In 1992 around 20% of the population was affected by food insecurity for an average period of 3 months. In 2001 it was reported that no-one was affected. The 1995 figures are 35% of the population affected for an average of 4 months. In 1999 around 25% of the population were affected for an average of 4 months. However the years 2001 and 2002 show a sharp increase in food insecurity so that in 2002 it is reported that around 80% are affected for an average period of 4 months.

Somodo

Between 1992 and 2002 the report from Somodo suggests an overall small decline in food security. There was some worsening reported for 1993 (around 25% of the population affected for an average of five and a half months). The best years were 1995 and 1996 (around 10% of the population affected for one and a half months). The worst year was 1999 (around 65% affected for six and a half months) followed by improvements for 2000 to 2002 (around 50% affected for 5 months). However 2003 saw a sharp increase in the proportion affected to 80%.

Kereyu site

The Kereyu information is limited to a response to the first question concerned with rating the years in terms of food security. The response shows a gradual decline from 1992 to 1994, a slight improvement in 1995, a plateau from 1996 to 2000, a slight decline to 2000 and a sudden drop in 2002 and 2003

Korodegaga

Korodegaga is another site with erratic rainfall, which has consequently depended on food aid at different periods in the past. The reports do not suggest that 1994 was a particularly bad year. The years between 1992 and 1995 did not see much change, with 1995 being the worst (around 5% of the population affected for an average 8 months). 1996 was a very good year: no-one affected, but from then things deteriorated, at first slowly in terms of proportions affected (around 10% in 2001). However this leaped to 70% in 2002 and more than 80% in 2003, while the average number of months of food insecurity grew from 6 months in 1997 to over 10 in 2000 and 2001 to 12 in 2002 and 2003.

Sites in SNNP

Adado

The food security situation in Adado stays roughly the same until 1998 with the best years being 1992, 1995 and 1998 and the worst 1993 and 1996. In 1998 roughly 20% of the population were affected with food insecurity with the average family suffering particularly for one and a half months. However from 1998 a steady decline is reported so that by 2003 around 65% of the population is affected and the number of months of food insecurity for the average family is 6 months. This goes with reports of famine deaths in 2003 (see above).

Imdibir Haya Gasha

No data at all.

Aze Debo'a

The graphs for Aze Debo'a look very similar to those for Adado. Food security is high in 1992 and 1993, then there is a deterioration to 1996. In that year it is reported that around 20% of the population suffered from food insecurity and the number of months of insecurity suffered by the average family was a little over seven. 1998 was a good year; only 5% of the community affected with the number of months a little over two. After that the decline continues but much more steeply. In 1999 50% of the population were affected and by 2003 this had risen to 80% while reportedly the average family was food insecure for 12 months.

Dome'a

This is a site where food security has improved over the 12 years, particularly since 2001. Dome'a was a (voluntarily) resettled village established in the mid 1980s which suffered numerous problems and which in its first years was highly dependent on aid from UNICEF (Bevan and Pankhurst ed). In 1992 it is reported that around 65% of the community suffered from food insecurity and the number of months of food insecurity for the average family was 7 months. By 2003 the reported proportion had fallen to around 10% and the number of months to five. In between there was an improvement (best years 1994 and 1995) and a decline (worst years 1996-1999). The explanations provided by respondents for this improvement are provided below.

Gara Godo

Gara Godo, in Wolayita, is the site that presents the worst case over the 12 years, although it must be remembered that this community has been dependent on food aid for many years (see below). In 1992 a little more than 50% of the community are reported as being food insecure with the average family suffering it for around four and a half months. The months decrease (with a small blip in 1996) to three and half months in 1998, and the proportion of the population affected remains much the same except for a sharp increase (to 75% in 1994). This percentage is returned to in 1999 and is stable through 2003 apart from a fall to a little less than 70% in 2001. During this period the number of months of food insecurity falls to 5 in 2002 but then rises to seven and a half in 2003.

Tsamako

As with the other pastoralist site (Kereyu) there are only ratings of the years in terms of food security. The years 1992 to 1995 were the best. Things became very bad in 1996 and remained so until 2001 which saw some improvement. There was further improvement in 2002 which was sustained in 2003.

Summary

In terms of food security over the period 1991-2004, people in most locations reported a bad year or two, especially between 1999 and 2003, and some report continuous problems. Given significant variations between locations and regions, the data suggest the need for caution in generalising over the entire country. Nonetheless, it is clear that 2002 was a bad year in much, though not all, of the country, while the trend for 2003 seemed fairly good when this research was carried out in August.

3. A comparison of food security under the three regimes: Imperial / Derg / EPRDF

'In the Imperial period there was excess product but it was taken by the *Balabat* (governor); during the Derg there was sufficient produce, but it was taken by the Agricultural Market Corporation; under the EPRDF there is increased production, and we hear about famine in far away areas' (Gonde).

Interpreting the data

The first question asked was 'Compare food security under the three regimes: Imperial, Derg, EPDRF'. The response from Harresaw identifies an important distinction between harvest quality (food production) and food security – whether people have enough to eat. The data from Bako points to a difference between the harvest per head of population and the lack of sufficient harvest as a

whole. The response from Sirbana Godeti is also interesting. The respondent said there was famine *in the North* in Imperial and Derg regimes, but that famine was minor under the EPRDF; however, the situation in Sirbana Godeti is completely the opposite: “We have only seen famine during the EPRDF regime”. This is indicative of a trend that of famine affecting areas that had not previously been affected as noted in Table 1 for Gedeo. The quote mentioned at the beginning of this section from Gonde shows that a simple assessment of food security cannot be limited to production alone, since the policies of the regime in terms of surplus extraction are also critical. Likewise, the informant from Turufe refers to the landlords in Imperial times and the government quotas under the Derg. In addition the questions of population size, land availability, land access and productions practices are referred to. Under the imperial system there were few people and the landlords controlled access, under the Derg people got land, under the EPRDF there is land shortage, despite inputs and increased production.

Comparisons between regimes are not easy and one informant from Tsamako prefaced his statement that things have been worse in recent years with the caveat “it is difficult to compare”. Moreover there are also problems of bias: the tendency to see the past as a golden age both in terms of nostalgia of the older generation and the lack of direct experience of the younger generation. Moreover, political motivations either in favour or against the current government cannot be ruled out as affecting people’s statements. So for instance the statement from Sirbana Godeti “We have only seen famine during the EPRDF regime” comes from a former Derg soldier. The two cases of disagreements between informants are also interesting. In both cases the first informant sees food security as worst under the EPRDF and the second suggests it is under the Derg. For Gara Godo we have named informants but no sense of their status, for Somodo the informants are not named but the first is elderly and the second a young man. Can this be interpreted as the older man having a less favourable view of the present?

Table 2: Comparison of Food Security

Region	Site	Regime comparison
Tigray	Harresaw	Food production: 1 Imperial; 2 Derg; 3. EPRDF Food security: 1 Imperial; 2 EPRDF; 3 Derg
	Geblen	1 Imperial; 2 Derg; 3. EPRDF.
Amhara	Yetmen	1 Imperial/Derg; 2 EPRDF
	Debre Berhan	1 Imperial; 2 Derg; 3. EPRDF.
	Dinki	1 Imperial; 2 Derg until 1984; 3) Derg since 1984/EPRDF
	Shumsheha	1 Imperial; 2 Derg; 3. EPRDF.
Oromiya	Sirbana Godeti	Famine <u>in the north</u> in Imperial and Derg regimes; during EPRDF famine minor. <u>We have only seen famine during the EPRDF regime</u>
	Turufe Kecheme	Imperial: small population; sufficient production- exploited by landlords Derg: got land; production good (except 1984); quota to government EPRDF: fertiliser/highbred seeds; increased production; not enough land
	Adele Keke	1 Imperial; 2 Derg; 3. EPRDF.
	Arsi Gonde Odaawata	Imperial: excess product but taken by <i>Balabat</i> (governor); Derg: sufficient product, but taken by Agricultural Market Corporation; EPRDF: sufficient product we hear about famine from far away areas
	Bako	Harvest per head of population: 1 Imperial; 2 EPRDF; 3 Derg Insufficient harvest: 1. Imperial; 2 Derg; 3: EPRDF
	Somodo	Disagreement: 1) 1 Imperial; 2 EPRDF; 3. Derg 2) 1 Imperial; 2 Derg; 3. EPRDF
	Kereyu	1 Imperial; 2 Derg; 3. EPRDF (not much difference Derg and EPRDF)
	Korodegaga	1 Imperial; 2 Derg; 3. EPRDF
SNNP	Adado	1 Imperial; 2 Derg; 3. EPRDF
	Imdibir	1 Imperial; 2 EPRDF; 3. Derg
	Aze Debo'a	Food security is progressively decreasing; more people affected and problems worse
	Dome'a	Imperial: no Dome'a 1. EPRDF; 2. Derg
	Gara Godo	Disagreement 1) 1 Imperial; 2 EPRDF; 3. Derg 2) 1 Imperial; 2 Derg; 3. EPRDF

Region	Site	Regime comparison
	Tsamako	Difficult to compare, however, things are worse in recent years: 1996-2000 (for almost five yrs) there was serious food insecurity compared to other periods.

Summary

On the whole food production and consequent food security is perceived to have declined: the Imperial regime was ranked best, the Derg second and the EPRDF regime third in nine of the sites and a generally worsening situation was noted in two other sites. However, an informant from Haresaw noted that food security during the EPRDF regime has been better than the Derg even if food production was worse and if this distinction had been made respondents from other sites may have agreed with this view.

Explanations of the differences

The second question asked was 'What explains the differences? First ask without prompting then check about rainfall, drought, pests, supernatural reasons, punishment for illdoing, government policies, etc. Table 3 summarises the explanations provided by respondents after prompting.

Table 3: Explanations of the differences

Region	Site	What explains the difference?
Tigray	Geblen	Decrease in rain & livestock; increase in population; food aid
	Harresaw	Decrease in rain; now depend on food aid
Amhara	Yetmen	Population increase; decrease in land size including grazing land; loss of soil fertility; shortage of fertiliser, weather; inputs price
	Debre Berhan	Shortage of land
	Dinki	Decrease in rain
	Shumsheha	Population growth; decrease in land size; increased conflict; Government policies
Oromiya	Sirbana Godeti	Weather change
	Adele Keke	Failure of rain
	Bako	Irregularities in rain; increase in population; problem with debt; increase in productivity; people knowledgeable; more land cultivated
	Turufe Kecheme	End of exploitation and quotas; increased population; insufficient land; market freed people to produce much
	Gonde	End of exploitation and quotas
	Somodo	Quality of the land; religious nature of the people; drought; high rate of population growth; 'the government's problem associated to fertiliser'
	Kereyu	Shortage of rainfall for a long period; government land and development policies; people are living out of God's way
	Korodegaga	Irregular rain; reduction in wild fruits; reduction in cattle and trees
SNNP	Adado	Increase in population; not enough land; increase in plant and human diseases; people lose the work habit; reduction in yield
	Imdibir	Today there is good governance.
	Tsamako	The rains start and then immediately stop
	Dome'a	Food aid arrives earlier; Highbred seeds – production of more food crops; irrigation canals are maintained better; NGOs help the people.
	Aze Debo'a	Increase in fertilizer price; land won't grow crops without fertilizer;
	Gara Godo	Population increases, land shortage, rain failure, planting of eucalyptus tree resulted in drought, pests, animal disease increments.

In their answers respondents explained both increased food insecurity and increased food security. The explanations for increased food insecurity can be summarised as follows:

- Weather mentioned as a cause of increased food insecurity in 12 sites;
- Increase in population mentioned as a cause of increased food insecurity in 8 sites;
- Decrease in land size mentioned as a cause of increased food insecurity in 7 sites;

- Quality of land / need for fertiliser mentioned in 4 sites;
- Inputs prices mentioned in 2 sites;
- Decrease in livestock/grazing land and/or animal diseases mentioned in 3 sites;
- Irreligion mentioned in 2 sites
- Mentioned once each: increase in conflict, problem with debt, reduction in wild fruits, reduction in trees, increase in plant and human diseases, planting of eucalyptus trees led to drought.

Explanations of increased food security were as follows:

- Food aid mentioned as a cause of increased food security in 3 sites
- Also mentioned once : increases in productivity, people knowledgeable, more land cultivated, market freed people to produce more, highbreed seeds, irrigation, NGOs help people

Government policies were mentioned critically in 3 sites and approvingly in 3 sites.

IV. Effects on the Community

In this section we consider the effects of drought, famine and food insecurity on people and communities. In part 1 we look at coping strategies, in part 2 at how different kinds of household members are affected, in part 3 at the links between famine and poverty and wealth, and in part 4 at how famine relates to conflict.

1. Coping strategies

These are considered under the headings of sale of assets; work; depending on other people; looking for other sources of food (market, government, NGOs); changing diets; and distress migration.

Sale of Assets

The main reported strategy for asset sales was the sale of livestock, though in famine conditions, prices in relation to grain plummet as noted in the quote above. People also sold household assets, gold and 'even land'. In a few locations, trees, firewood and charcoal were also sold with women playing a key role.

Table 4: Sale of assets

Region	Site	Sale of assets
Tigray	Harresaw	Sell livestock and other assets
	Geblen	Sale of livestock and property Sell wood and charcoal
Amhara	Yetmen	Sale of eucalyptus tree, sheep, cattle and even land
	Debre Berhan	
	Dinki	Sell cows, oxen, various household implements like agalgie, seiecha People sell goat, cow, ox and various household implements like bed, gan kurbet, cups made of clay etc
	Shumsheha	Selling livestock and other assets
Oromiya	Sirbana Godeti	It is the beginning of the yr and the situation is not yet serious
	Turufe Kecheme	Turufe only faced famine in 1984. Then many people faced problems Sale of livestock and house utensils with very less price. The livestock became thin and bony. Just at the beginning of the famine they were sold with less price. However in the middle of the famine, who would buy them?
	Adele Keke	Sale of assets to rich people
	Gonde	Selling cattle
	Bako	Sell livestock and other assets including gold this year
	Somodo	Selling sheep and goats.

Region	Site	Sale of assets
	Kereyu	Selling livestock that has survived the drought at cheap prices
	Korodegaga	Almost everybody started to cut trees for charcoal and fire wood. Especially the women involved in carrying the firewood to the nearest cities for sell. They became the backbone of their families. Sell livestock and other assets The price of livestock became so low. They also died because of drought.
SNNP	Adado	
	Imdibir	If there are buyers, we are willing to sell during famine times. When you face a problem, you will sell
	Aze Debo'a	Sell livestock
	Dome'a	Selling cattle, small livestock and other belongings.
	Gara Godo	Renting their land with contractual base (3 -4 years) Sending children away to be employed as servants
	Tsamako	Sell animals and look for grain in exchange

Work

Migration was reported as the main work-related strategy, including rural and urban migration, seasonal and daily wage labour, work on state or private farms, and hiring out children to work as herders or domestic servants. Wage labour for richer households within communities was reported as being limited to shorter crises; when things get worse, people go further, notably to towns. Seasonal labour migration for harvesting and coffee picking is a normal strategy and only intensifies under famine conditions. Irrigation is new and limited to a few locations and there is not enough water to go around. Petty trade was mentioned only in one case in Gara Godo

Table 5: Work

Region	Site	Coping Strategies – Work
Tigray	Harresaw	Migration Seasonal wage labour Going to a place where there is good harvest for labour work irrigation.
	Geblen	Migration (for jobs or begging) Begging – yes, but far in towns.
Amhara	Yetmen	Migration for work in town and rural, Yes, most of the affected persons go out in search of seasonal labour Seasonal wage labour
	Debre Berhan	
	Dinki	Daily labourer in the community to better off households Daily labour outside the community/migration to town/seasonal daily labour Many physically weak people beg in Menze, Tregulet, Rasa and Bereket Poor households send their children to neighbouring highland and middle-land areas - they are paid annually Onion farming at Dinki / irrigation – a very few people have tried but the water is drained.
	Shumsheha	Wage labour Migration, particularly to Raya, Gondar
Oromiya	Sirbana Godeti	It is the beginning of the yr and the situation is not yet serious
	Adele Keke	People go to urban areas to work as a day labourer
	Turufe Kecheme	Turufe only faced famine in 1984. Then many people faced problems It became common to see many people begging, especially old people.
	Gonde	Seasonal labour in 'Beqejo' and 'Mekro'
	Bako	Weeding for those contracting land Working as a daily labourer at Bako Migrate to Limu to pick coffee Using irrigation: this is now practised by a few people Send children to town or rural areas (herder) – for free or 150-200kg maize per year Some old and disabled beg

Region	Site	Coping Strategies – Work
	Somodo	Migration in search of work During bella (lack of food for a short time) people work for others. During shantu (lack of food for a long time like a year) people migrate to other areas, particularly urban areas
	Kereyu	A few people engage in collecting citrus fruits on Merti sugar plantation. There are a few people who cultivate maize using irrigation water (two to three times a yr). Children will leave to migration areas with camel until the parents have recovered from the effects of the drought.
	Korodegaga	Irrigation, since 2000 Some have gone to the nearest state farms for seasonal wage labour.
SNNP	Adado	Migration increases; children migrate No of beggars increases Seasonal wage labour increases
	Imdibir	Seasonal wage labour - it is also practised in the past, not because of famine, but because it is essential [for our livelihoods]
	Aze Debo'a	Send children away for 5 months or 3 years They go for seasonal wage labour to Metchara for about a year and Thasiemie and Alaba for about 4-5 months
	Dome'a	Some people beg in Wacha town Some migrate to the nearby weredas including Kamba and PAs such as Shela. Recently irrigation has become an important solution to reduce the harm of famine and drought in Dome'a PA.
	Gara Godo	Daily labour in the nearby towns or farms. Seasonal migration for temporary work on private and state farms. Petty trading Renting their land with contractual base (3 -4 years) Sending children away to be employed as servants
	Tsamako	Begging

Depending on other people

This can be subdivided into three: (1) sharing, borrowing and begging from friends and relatives; (2) borrowing from moneylenders and NGOs, and (3) begging professionally and stealing.

Borrowing food was reported as being common, especially from relatives but also from neighbours and the rich. But relatives may not be able to lend, and the rich may now be less willing. In some locations, children were sent away to relatives in other places. Borrowing money for food purchase from the community, town traders and government agencies was reported. But interest rates are often high and credit difficult to get in times of famine.

Table 6: Sharing, Borrowing and Begging from Friends and Relatives

Region	Site	Coping Strategies – Sharing and Borrowing from Friends and Relatives
Tigray	Harresaw	Borrow food
	Geblen	Borrow from neighbours or relatives from far who are better off. Send children away to relatives who have food to eat Ask relatives for help
Amhara	Yetmen	Ask for help if there are rich relatives Sending children away
	Debre Berhan	
	Dinki	Borrow food from better-off households Those with family in the lowland areas borrow grain until good day comes
	Shumsheha	Borrowing food Asking for help from relatives
Oromiya	Sirbana Godeti	It is the beginning of the yr and the situation is not yet serious
	Adele Keke	Borrow food or cash from relatives and friends until food aid arrives

Region	Site	Coping Strategies – Sharing and Borrowing from Friends and Relatives
	Turufe Kecheme	Turufe only faced famine in 1984. Then many people faced problems People with relatives in town fled to there. Others with better relatives tried to get assistance from them. Some people used to give (borrow) to their close relatives if they had extra food. People used to ask for help, let alone from their relatives, but from anybody that was better than them.
	Gonde	Aid from relatives
	Bako	Borrow from friends and relatives
	Somodo	During bella (lack of food for a short time) people receive aid from relatives and the rich.
	Kereyu	Ask help from relatives in and outside the area/country - not often, since only a few people have relatives with enough resources. No more borrowing but free gifts expecting reciprocity.
	Korodegaga	Ask help from relatives – local and living in other areas.
SNNP	Adado	Food and other borrowing increases Relatives from near and far come seeking help
	Imdibir	We send children to better off relatives If there is a willingful relative, we will ask him to assist us
	Aze Debo'a	They ask help from relatives up to 3-4 quintals of grain
	Dome'a	Relatives help each other
	Gara Godo	
	Tsamako	Look for food from relatives Take aid from those who have more

Borrowing money for food purchase from the community, town traders and government agencies was reported. But interest rates are often high and credit difficult to get in times of famine. In some sites credit is not available.

Table 7: Borrowing from commercial lenders and NGOs

Region	Site	Coping Strategies – Going into Debt
Tigray	Harresaw	Borrowing from the rich
	Geblen	Borrow from Dedebit micro-finance More frequent borrowing to buy grain, or buy livestock at the end of the dry season to start new farming.
Amhara	Yetmen	Borrow grain, money with high interest They used to borrow food grain Credit but difficult to get in time of famine
	Debre Berhan	
	Dinki	Borrow food from better-off households Credit is owned by traders who come from Alyou Amba
	Shumsheha	Borrowing food Credit
Oromiya	Sirbana Godeti	It is the beginning of the yr and the situation is not yet serious
	Adele Keke	Try to improve situation by buying food from traders
	Turufe Kecheme	Turufe only faced famine in 1984. Then many people faced problems No credit
	Gonde	Borrowing grain and paying back at 100% interest Borrowing money
	Bako	Credit from government and villagers (arata 100% interest))
	Somodo	During bella (lack of food for a short time) people borrow money.
	Kereyu	Credit - Some people take cereals from merchants in Merti and Addis Ketema towns. Usually just a small amount.
	Korodegaga	Borrow food No credit
SNNP	Adado	Food and other borrowing increases
	Imdibir	If there is someone who lends money, we will take it
	Aze Debo'a	They take credit from farmers up to 100 birr

Region	Site	Coping Strategies – Going into Debt
	Dome'a	Borrow food Credit on an equal basis
	Gara Godo	Borrow money and food with (high) interest.
	Tsamako	Credit not available

Begging was mentioned both locally and in nearby or distant towns, especially by the old and disabled. Theft of livestock and crops was also reported though in Kereyu, both begging and intra-community stealing were culturally condemned, particularly in times of misfortune

Table 8: Begging Professionally and Stealing

Region	Site	Coping Strategies – Begging and Theft
Tigray	Harresaw	
	Geblen	Begging - yes, but far in towns.
Amhara	Yetmen	No begging Theft widely practised in time of famine
	Debre Berhan	
	Dinki	It has been observed that people used to steal cattle, grain, goats and sheep Very poor people are involved in begging around Ankober Muslims ask alms going to Nazareth and Christians Nazareth and Addis Ababa
	Shumsheha	
Oromiya	Sirbana Godeti	It is the beginning of the yr and the situation is not yet serious
	Adele Keke	
	Turufe Kecheme	It became common to see many people begging, especially old people. Theft, especially food. Although people used to steal in the night before the famine, during the famine people used to steal in the day-times.
	Gonde	
	Bako	Theft of cattle 'meat was cheap then'
	Somodo	
	Kereyu	People take citrus fruits and sugar cane from Merti sugar plantation, but not often. Begging is not common among the karrayu Theft during periods of misfortune is taboo.
	Korodegaga	Begging – yes Theft – yes
	SNNP	Adado
Imdibir		No begging
Aze Debo'a		They steal maize, enset, coffee, bananas and sweet potatoes
Dome'a		Sometimes there is theft – taking crops from the granary Some people beg in Wacha town
Gara Godo		Begging enset and food crops
Tsamako		Different types of theft Begging

Looking for Other Sources of Food

Respondents from 10 sites reported looking for food aid from government and sometimes NGOs. In two sites that we know to have received food aid it was not mentioned.

Table 9: Looking for Other Sources of Food

Region	Site	Coping Strategies – Looking to Government and NGOs
Tigray	Harresaw	Food aid from the government.
	Geblen	Food aid (not mentioned)
Amhara	Yetmen	

Region	Site	Coping Strategies – Looking to Government and NGOs
	Debre Berhan	
	Dinki	Food aid
	Shumsheha	Food aid
Oromiya	Sirbana Godeti	It is the beginning of the yr and the situation is not yet serious
	Adele Keke	Appeal to government for food aid
	Turufe Kecheme	Turufe only faced famine in 1984. Then many people faced problems No food aid
	Gonde	
	Bako	Food aid
	Somodo	During shantu (lack of food for a long time like a year) people request aid from the government
	Kereyu	Look for aid from Gos and NGOs
	Korodegaga	Food aid
SNNP	Adado	
	Imdibir	
	Aze Debo'a	
	Dome'a	Asking for food aid through the woreda administration.
	Gara Godo	Ask for relief from local community representatives, from NGOs and other government bodies.
	Tsamako	Food aid (not mentioned)

Changing Diets

Reduced consumption and meal frequency and changes in diet were reported to be common. In cereal cropping areas, this meant a change from cereals to vegetables and pulses, notably cabbage and potatoes, as well as low-status foods such as the cabbage tree and less wanted types of barley. In *enset* [false banana] growing areas, people ate the root not usually consumed, and in pastoralist areas, a move from milk to cereals and blood was mentioned. Wild foods were also consumed although in some locations these are rare and limited, or sought only by the poorest.

Table 10: Changing Diets

Region	Site	Coping Strategies – Changing Diet
Tigray	Harresaw	Wild food: we eat cabbage (itamle) feed animals 'beles'.
	Geblen	Wild food: beles (from July to September) They rarely or do not eat injera, but bread, beles, kunti, and the meal reduced from twice to once a day. Looking for wild foods - Tetie, Hamli adri Usually consume once a day and even elders may forfeit a meal of the day. Change food to root and seeds (kunti, tati'e)
Amhara	Yetmen	Reduce the regular consumption of food Return to toasted pulses in time of famine from crisis From injera to toasted and boiled pulses Looking for wild food in rare case
	Debre Berhan	
	Dinki	Those with poor physical strength eat wild fruits and roots Eat various wild foods like inkoy, agram, shea, kega, gudere, kuikual Gudere, kundoberbere, kulkual, enkoy, antariya - all these are eaten for the time being
	Shumsheha	Looking for wild foods
Oromiya	Sirbana Godeti	It is the beginning of the yr and the situation is not yet serious
	Adele Keke	
	Turufe Kecheme	Turufe only faced famine in 1984. Then many people faced problems Ate <i>enset</i> . Some wild fruits were highly consumed.
	Gonde	Eating unwanted foods – local cabbage, malt, potato, barley that is unwanted by the factory

Region	Site	Coping Strategies – Changing Diet
	Bako	Barley is grown in case rain is late Good year = breakfast, lunch (snack) and supper; Bad year = coffee/breakfast, something for supper Change food – maize to potato, buy prepared food, low quality bread; wild food – maize stalks and cabbage (raffu) Reduced consumption for elders
	Somodo	Reduced consumption
	Kereyu	Milk was their staple food but was replaced with cereals. They eat only breakfast and dinner.
	Korodegaga	Changing type of food: papaya - 6 months; maize - 2 months; wheat - 3 months Look for wild foods – only a few types Gommen that grows with small rain was the main food. No wild foods at present except a few types.
SNNP	Adado	Forced to eat the same thing again and again Eating of wild foods
	Imdibir	The parts of enset which are not usually eaten are eaten during famine times.
	Aze Debo'a	People plant drought resistance crops and crops that ripen in a short period Restricted consumption Eat food usually not eaten – roots of enset
	Dome'a	Consuming food of low status. People collect the leaf of Shiferaw Enset products from highlanders.
	Gara Godo	Planting of sugar potato, godere, enset, which are famine plants. Planting cabbage Looking for wild foods like dokma
	Tsamako	Look for wild foods called "kuyto" & "sarko" People used to drink animal blood During good times there are cabbages, milk and meat. During famine times, these food become less available. There are two types of wild food called Suraka and Kuyato

Distress Migration

This was reported from 5 sites.

Table 11: Distress Migration

Region	Site	Coping Strategies – Distress Migration
Tigray	Geblen	
	Harresaw	Distress migration – leaving the area
Amhara	Yetmen	Distress migration
	Debre Berhan	
	Dinki	
	Shumsheha	Distress migration
Oromiya	Sirbana Godeti	It is the beginning of the yr and the situation is not yet serious
	Adele Keke	
	Bako	
	Turufe Kecheme	
	Gonde	
	Somodo	During shantu (lack of food for a long time like a year) people migrate to other areas, particularly urban areas
	Kereyu	
	Korodegaga	Distress migration – only a few
SNNP	Adado	
	Imdibir	
	Tsamako	No distress migration - only people look flood recession area Caltillati [?]
	Dome'a	
	Aze Debo'a	
Gara Godo		

2. Differential impacts within the household

This section relies on three questions:

Are women affected differently (by famine) from men – in what ways?

Are older people affected differently – in what ways?

Are babies affected differently – in what ways?

It is important to remember that these are answers from men.

Women

In most locations, men thought that women were more affected. Reasons included that they feed their husbands and children before themselves and need good food while pregnant, giving birth and breastfeeding. Others suggested that they are weak but work harder than men, and stay and support the family while men can look for work locally or migrate. In two locations, it was reported that women walk far to get food or off-farm income. Seven respondents claimed that all are affected equally.

Table 12: Women During Famine

Region	Site	Are women affected differently from men? In what ways?
Tigray	Harresaw	The women suffer much because she wants to feed her children and husband. If there is no less food she will give them. If there is famine the man will go to other places but the women remain at home to suffer the famine with their children. If there is shortage of food at home the one who suffers is the woman. They give priority to her children. A man will go and get some food for himself.
	Geblen	Yes, because of being helpless and having more children would be more burden. No, it is all the same
Amhara	Yetmen	Yes, the farmers agree that the women are affected differently from men. Because when they distributed the limited small amount of food to family members, they are finally found themselves with no extra food and forced to pass the night without having dinner. At the same time, when they give birth they need additional food for recovery but in time of famine they can not get adequate food. Therefore the women are affected differently from men Yes, because women are responsible to feed and distribute food to family members. In time of famine where there is a small amount of food, the women distribute the small amount of food to family members and mostly they do not get food even of equal as their members of food
	Debre Berhan	No
	Dinki	Women are more affected because she feed first for her children and for her husband what has been there in the household Yes, because they feed their husbands and children first what has been prepared.
	Shumsheha	Women are affected highly and differently Women are affected. In the community, it is common for men (husbands and young people) to migrate to far off places in search of wage labour. It is common for the women to remain at home with their children. The economic hardship and burden is usually on such women who have nothing to eat and nothing to give to their children.
Oromiya	Sirbana Godeti	Some women headed households are more affected
	Adele Keke	Women are affected more than men because they breast-feed children. Women in our society are more affected because they don't have resistance. (because in the society it is the women who work harder, compared to men).
	Turufe Kecheme	It affects women and men equally. It doesn't choose. Yes, it is because women are not as strong as men physically. They also become weak due to childbirth and other jobs. They also spend most of the time around the house however men can go anywhere and look for something to eat.
	Gonde	Yes - Because at any time of birth they need food and they can't find any. They also lose much of their blood at these time. They also engage in many works, such as collecting firewoods. Even after time such hard works, they give priority if eating to their kids. Yes, because they breast-feed their kids.

Region	Site	Are women affected differently from men? In what ways?
	Bako	(smiling). Men do the ploughing which needs more energy. They do not stay at home. They may migrate in search of employment, risking their life. Many more men died than women during the 1977 famine - he can only remember two women who died then. Women are most affected. The men may migrate and survive. The women often remain with the children. They always give priority to their children. They buy food and bring it home for their children. Worry itself devastates them. They often eat less - proverb - 'women eat their belt.' [?]
	Somodo	Yes. They give priority to their children and husbands No. All people are affected equally.
	Kereyu	Yes. Men have an additional burden imposed on them due to the drought. They have to move a long distance to get pasture and water for their cattle. Yes. Women are responsible for fetching water and grass for cattle where it is available.
	Korodegaga	They are affected differently because during the drought women are engaged in off-farm work like collecting and selling fire-wood and charcoal. Yes, the burden of collecting fire wood and selling it in cities and the making of charcoal rests on the shoulders of the women. The whole family depends on the women for food.
SNNP	Adado	Women suffer more because they breast feed their babies and they are busy with household tasks. Yes - because they breast-feed their babies. Busy with household tasks. Because they become weak physically.
	Imdibir	They are affected equally Everyone becomes hungry, there is no difference.
	Aze Debo'a	Yes, women are more vulnerable because they give their own food to their children. However, men can move to other places and work for rich men so they can feed themselves there Yes, women usually give priority to their children and husbands. In addition, women are breast feeding and shouldering the responsibilities of the household and family.
	Dome'a	Women walk longer distances to buy crop food. no difference
	Gara Godo	Yes. Women are responsible for the food to their children more than men. Hence, women do not eat before their children, but man can get food somewhere else like in hotels, tea houses etc. Because he can get income by being a daily labourer in the near towns and satisfy his need. Women are affected differently than men, women are moving here and there to get household food.
	Tsamako	Yes, both women and children will be affected differently. They will be made to look for food both for themselves and their family. Yes. Women are weak, they remain at home with their children. Men on the other hand will move from place to place and will be better off than the women.

Older People

Most respondents thought older people were more affected, mainly since they cannot move around to look for food or work and cannot participate in 'food for work' programmes. Other reasons given were that they lack teeth to chew food, that they need food more frequently during the day and that when food is served young men can eat faster.

Table 13: Older People During Famine

Region	Site	Are older people affected differently? In what ways?
Tigray	Harresaw	The older men have no-one to look after them. Most of their children will be married and are concerned about their wife and children. Young people will work in communal labour works and gain food aid but the older people can't do so.
	Geblen	yes, because they cannot go far for options of survival (begging, daily labour, relatives support etc.) because they are too weak Yes, because of being helpless and having more children would be more burden.
Amhara	Yetmen	No It is not known much
	Debre Berhan	

Region	Site	Are older people affected differently? In what ways?
	Dinki	Yes, they can't fend for themselves as opposed to the younger generation. Yes, because old people can not go here and their because of the declining physical power
	Shumsheha	The old and incapacitated do not have the physical efficiency to struggle for survival, older people are much more affected than younger men. Older people are affected highly and differently
Oromiya	Sirbana Godeti	Yes, the more elderly cannot do wage labour or other income generating activities.
	Adele Keke	Yes, because older people can not go out and seek food like the younger ones. And because they don't participate in food for work programme. Older people are more affected than younger people because they don't have strength compared to younger people.
	Turufe Kecheme	Yes, because older people are physically weak.
	Gonde	Yes, because of their age they need food at higher frequent rate in a day.
	Bako	Young men are less affected. Old people cannot migrate, immobile. When food is served, young men eat fast. They do not need water while eating like older people. In 1977, the older people died. Obviously. Old men cannot migrate to other places. They do not have chance [?] to be employed in the towns.
	Somodo	Yes. The younger people suffer a lot in order to help themselves and the older people. Yes. The elderly are unable to migrate in search of work and get money.
	Kereyu	No Yes, because they do not move from place to place as youngsters do. They have to wait for the [hand outs?] from the younger people.
	Korodegaga	Same entered for K and T Kecheme – check Older people are affected differently because they could not eat 'kolo' and 'kita' like the youngsters. They could not get milk and butter to eat 'melka' - porridge. They are also unable to move from place to place for wild food.
SNNP	Adado	Yes, because they are weak to be engaged in any work. Yes, older people are affected more than younger people because the younger are stronger enough to earn something for a living.
	Imdibir	No The old people have experience to prevent drought but the younger generation suffer a lot
	Tsamako	Yes, the young people have the chance to move around and look for means, but this is difficult for older people and so they will be affected differently. Yes, because old people rely on the assistance of others to survive. Yes, the older people cannot move easily, thus they experience problems.
	Dome'a	Older people are more affected. Older people who have no children and relatives are affected differently because they couldn't get food (or income) through wage labour; they could not transport food (food aid) from distant areas.
	Aze Debo'a	Yes, because they do not have teeth to chew foods. Yes
	Gara Godo	Yes, older people are affected more than younger ones. Because the youngsters are looking for different types of incomegenerating activities as a daily labourer in the rich farms and cities so that they can gat their daily needs. Yes. Elder people are affected more than younger ones. Because the youngsters may go to the state and private farms and even to towns to get daily labour and hence get their daily need more easily than the older ones.

Babies and Children

All respondents recognised that babies were worst affected due to their regular need for milk, the problem of milk supply from hungry mothers, their inability to eat famine foods and food aid, and their lack of resistance to diseases. Other factors mentioned included lack of care when mothers search for food, sell wood etc., and inability to afford medical fees.

Table 14: Babies and Children During Famine

Region	Site	Are babies affected differently? In what ways?
Tigray	Harresaw	Yes, since children are not strong to force problems, their mother will work on communal labour and can't protect them well. They can't resist the problem. Famine will hurt them much.
	Geblen	Yes, they are more vulnerable to malnutrition because of lack of milk from hungry mother or no livestock etc. Yes, because they could not be well fed in the famine. That is why many children died in 1985.
Amhara	Yetmen	Yes, babies affected differently because in time of famine the mothers would not feed them with adequate breast milk as they do not take adequate food. Moreover, the babies do not eat what the adults take such as toasted pulses and others. AS a result the babies are differently affected Yes, babies are differently affected. Because they cannot resist hunger and at the same time they do not think that the family is run out of grain. Moreover because of lack of food, the mother would not have adequate breast milk and the babies are affected differently
	Debre Berhan	no answer
	Dinki	Yes, because they are easily susceptible to various than the other age groups due to food shortage. Yes, if food is minimal mothers can't breastfeed their babies.
	Shumsheha	Babies are affected differently.
Oromiya	Sirbana Godeti	Yes
	Adele Keke	Babies are more affected than other because they don't have resistance. Moreover, they are more affected because it is them who are attracted quickly by diseases. Yes, because they don't take different kinds of food aid and the mother don't have enough milk at that time.
	Turufe Kechemo	Babies are highly affected because of disease and having nothing to eat. Their mothers also can not breastfeed their children since the breast has no milk. Since babies are very small who do not care for themselves and since they are not yet strong they are affected differently.
	Gonde	Yes, they can't resist famine. They can't feed themselves and at a time of drought they can not get sufficient food. Yes, they need food again and again and again.
	Bako	They are the first to be affected. Children do not know the season and the time. There were cases where people committed suicide as they could not bear to see their starving children. For example, in 1977 children were abandoned. A judge adopted an abandoned baby and gave him a name, Haileselassie-Yishalal. The person was imprisoned by the time the derg officials came to know the name of the child. The man with the controversial name is living in Tivee. I tried to get him but failed. Yes, children are most affected. They need food now and then. They need good quality food. Both are impossible under such circumstances.
	Somodo	Yes. They can't eat everything available. Yes. If they have a problem, they can die quickly.
	Kereyu	Yes. They do not get enough milk. Their families cannot afford to buy milk for them. According to Karrayu culture, cereal foods are not recommended for babies. Yes. They do not get milk due to the drought.
	Korodegaga	Babies are affected differently because there is no milk. The mothers could not feed them breast milk as they don't get enough food. They don't get the proper care because their mothers go to fetch fire wood and making charcoal. Yes, babies need more care and during the famine mothers could not take care of their babies because they are engaged in different activities to feed the family
SNNP	Adado	Yes. Their parents are not capable of affording medical fees. They are not well-fed by their mothers. There is a problem of a lack of resistance to different diseases because of malnutrition. Yes, since they are not strong physically they can't resist any hardship.
	Imdibir	Their body becomes paralysed, have skin problems Yes, when a baby is hungry, he always cries, mother is not able to breastfeed
	Aze Debo'a	Yes, lack of milk. Mother's breast milk is not sufficient Yes, children usually need milk or other nutritious foods if they don't get it they will be affected.
	Dome'a	It is obvious (clear)! Babies are more affected.

Region	Site	Are babies affected differently? In what ways?
	Gara Godo	Yes. Because babies need more food than adults but in the time of famine the food that given to children are dramatically reduced and babies are malnourished. Then babies are affected physically and are vulnerable to various disease types such as malaria, trachoma, TB etc Yes, babies are affected more than the other people. Because babies are dependent upon the other famine affected people and these affected people are sometimes being so selfish, thus babies are affected.
	Tsamako	Babies face serious problems. They have little resistance [?]. Even in the distribution of the available food the children receive a small proportion compared to the young people. Yes, babies are more affected than others. They have little resistance. They cannot survive under famine conditions. Babies have little resistance. If they can't get milk, they will be affected very quickly.

Food Allocation within the Household

We went on to ask 'If food consumption is reduced in the household, who is given less to eat? Respondents in most locations agreed that food reduction is not equally distributed although who gets less first was viewed differently. Most mentioned adults, but women and children were also mentioned in half the locations, the elderly in five locations and those not working in two locations. In one location there was a ranking of those who get less first: hired people, old people, children, women, young people, men.

Table 15: Food Allocation within the Household during Famine

Region	Site	If food consumption is reduced in the household who is given less to eat?
Tigray	Harresaw	1. A woman and children. 2. The parents, because they give priority to their kids.
	Geblen	1. The adults eat less. 2. Parents
Amhara	Yetmen	Those who are working should be given more and the old and children should be given less to eat
	Debre Berhan	
	Dinki	1 Adult people because children can not control hunger. 2 Adult persons in general give priority to their children. Above all mothers eats less.
	Shumsheha	1. Women 2. Women, because they have the burden of childrearing and home activities and they provide what is to be consumed by their children, husbands and other household members. This is why women are labelled as 'mirake dendanna' - their saliva is thick and serves as food for them.
Oromiya	Sirbana Godeti	
	Adele Keke	1. Children because it is believed that they do not need much since they can easily be satisfied. 2. The head of the household and his wife.
	Turufe Kecheme	1. Mostly we try to distribute the available food equally. However, babies and small children get better and grown-ups will be given less to eat. 2. If the food in the house is small, adults are given less. Children and weak people get more.
	Gonde	1. The elder will get less and the kids will get much. Women give priorities to kids and then to male parents and at last the women will get food. 2. elders (are given less to eat).
	Bako	1. Adults eat less. In his case - in 1984, he had 2 wives, their children were served first. One injera [?] for three. 2. Children eat first, others are served second and less. Those working in the fields eat properly. The elderly and women are served last as they do not work in the fields.
	Somodo	1 Wife - eats a lot less Husband - eats less Children - eat better. 2. Hired people, old people, children, women, young people, men [hired people get less first, then old people, then children etc.?)

Region	Site	If food consumption is reduced in the household who is given less to eat?
	Kereyu	1. Children and females are given less. Men and older people have priority. It is adults and younger people who are given less food. 2. Adults and younger people.
	Korodegaga	1. The mother. She distributes the food to all the family members and she eats less or the left 2. The mother. She eats last every sharing to the members of the family. Sometimes she could skip a meal. over.
SNNP	Adado	1. It will be reduced equally, this means all will share the suffering. 2. Children because it is believed that they do not need much since they can easily be satisfied.
	Imdibir	1. Food consumption didn't decrease. Everyone eats equally 2. Everyone eats equally
	Aze Debo'a	1. Children 2. Mothers
	Dome'a	1. The young, members of the family. 2. Less food given to elders and children
	Gara Godo	In the time of the famine a very reduced amount of food is given to mother and father. But children and young are given much more than the elders. However the mother in the household is given much less than the father in the household. The most affected section are women who are responsible to their children. 2. The child are given less to eat. The mother's share is also reduced dramatically.
	Tsamako	1. Our tradition is to share the available food during both good and bad times. 2. People share what is available. 3. Both at normal times and during difficult times we share what food we are able to obtain

3. Poverty and Wealth Dynamics

This section depends on answers to two questions:

Is drought and famine connected to poverty? If so in what ways?

Do some people get richer in famines? If so how?

The connection between famine and poverty was generally recognised. Most picked up on the progression from drought to famine to poverty; a few identified a causal link from poverty to famine.

Table 16: Famine and Poverty

Region	Site	Is drought and famine connected to poverty?
Tigray	Harresaw	Yes, if there is famine you loose everything and you will be poor. If you are going to sell your beasts no-one will buy with a good price. They are the same. If there is famine there is poverty. The drought will kill his animals.
	Geblen	Yes, in times of drought there is famine which finishes all resources leading to poverty. Poverty in return creates vulnerability to famine. Yes, if there is drought there is famine, then poverty.
Amhara	Yetmen	Yes, drought is connected to poverty. Because it reduced the level of productivity and the farmers are forced to sell cattle or other property or they take loan with high interest. In times of drought the farmer will lose most of his property with a very cheap price. As a result the farmers are impoverished by drought Yes drought and famine are two sides of the same coin in the community. If there is drought the farmers will sell domestic animals, borrow cash with high interest because the farmers have no that much extra profits. They are poor, because of poverty they are easily affected by drought and famine and lose their little property in this time
	Debre Berhan	-
	Dinki	Yes, of course, drought and famine result to poverty. If there is drought people and cattle starved that is famine the end result which is poverty. Yes, if there is drought there is famine because during drought season no crops are sown or crop failure will occur, this results in famine. The end result of this is poverty.

Region	Site	Is drought and famine connected to poverty?
	Shumsheha	Yes, because in Shumsheha, frequent and recurrent drought and famine have always been the cause of our impoverishment. Yes. In our community, agriculture is the sole important means of livelihood. Agriculture is fundamentally rainfed. For a long time there has been a shortage of rain, rain has been unreliable and irregular. These events were the basic factors that have a lot to do with poverty.
Oromiya	Sirbana Godeti	Yes, for instance, there was some signs of drought in the last two years and there are also signs of poverty.
	Adele Keke	Yes, drought and famine are related to poverty because if it only when you are poor that you will get hungry. If you are not poor you won't be hungry because you can buy food. Drought and famine is not connected to poverty.
	Turufe Kecheme	Yes, it is because during famine people sell or loose their assets , their cattle in order to survive. They were highly connected. Because of drought, famine comes, because of famine people and livestock die. In order to survive then people (?) including selling anything. In times of famine food items are highly expensive and until this money (?) people buy food.
	Gonde	If there is poverty one will be vulnerable to famine. If there is enough money one will not be exposed to famine because he can buy the necessary things from other places. There is no factors (industry) - which means that people have no job opportunities to make money. No irrigation
	Bako	Absolutely. For the poor it is devastating. For eg a peasant may sell the livestock, may be ox. Then he can't plough the land properly or may share crops. If not enough, contract the land - that is how death starts. When the rain is late or stops early, the harvest may not cover the cost of fertilizer and other inputs. Hence, sell the main asset to pay the debt. In 1977 a person they call by name sold 18 cattle. He could not get any help from his brother. The one who brought the cattle was his own brother. He still has not recovered from the effect. Yes, but not for all. When there is a drought, the cattle are sold, including the oxen, to purchase grain. They then become poor since they do not have oxen to plough the land. They may sell assets like gold which can't be bought, resulting in poverty. Poverty and marriage [?]
	Somodo	Yes. There will be fewer crops due to drought and the poor will suffer as a result of famine. Yes. The poor destroy forest to use and sell firewood and charcoal. This can lead to drought and famine.
	Kereyu	Yes. People become impoverished since they have lost most of their livestock wealth due to the drought. The drought in turn has exposed many people to famine. The people who have lost their cattle due to the recurrent drought are suffering from absolute poverty. Yes. Many people have lost their cattle due to drought. Drought has in turn exposed these people to poverty and the impoverished people are the first to be affected by poverty.
	Korodegaga	The drought will be followed by famine which forces people to sell their cattle cheaply. Cattle will die of the drought. People will have no crop. All farmers who are forced to sell their cattle cheaply because of famine that has resulted because of the drought, they become poor. Yes, drought will result in famine and death of cattle which will end up in poverty.
SNNP	Adado	Yes Yes, If there is a problem of drought the land will not give yield because of this there will come poverty. If there is drought there will not be any grazeland for cattle.
	Imdibir	Yes, when there is poverty, the extent to which drought comes to existence is very high.
	Aze Debo'a	Yes, due to lack of rainfall, if there is famine there is poverty Yes. If the population is affected with famine it will become weak and they cannot work properly. This in turn brings poverty. Due to frequent drought, people lose most of their food through repeated sowings of seeds that could help to prolong life in the coming seasons
	Dome'a	In most cases they are unconnected. Rich farmers who have oxen cultivate more; they manage to produce drought resistant crops including metate (sweet potato), cassava (mita boya), cocoyam (boyna). Thus they benefit more and could resist survive in the period of drought and famine. Yes, because drought and famine impoverish because people sell their assets and cattle.

Region	Site	Is drought and famine connected to poverty?
	Gara Godo	Yes, drought and famine are causes of poverty but they are not directly connected to poverty. If one farmer who had accumulated resources by saving and if he tries to change his natural environment he might not be impoverished. Yes, because drought and famine are caused by poverty and poverty causes famine
	Tsamako	Yes, people have animals as sources of wealth, therefore, when people lose their cattle due to drought and famine, they become poor. It may well be related. The people will lose. Besides they cannot manage to get food. The relatives will restrain from giving them help and this will cause poverty. Yes, a bad drought and famine will kill animals and thus it is related to poverty

In thirteen locations, at least one of the respondents said that people get richer during famine. While some mentioned that the rich lost more livestock, better resistance by the rich was also noted. Moreover, in the post-famine period, the rich may be able to capitalise on having survived better. The potential for food aid as a source of enrichment was mentioned and individuals were identified who bought property at low prices and lent food and money at high interest rates, as well as traders, local officials, and militiamen manipulating food aid through corruption, nepotism and theft.

Table 17: Famine and Wealth

Region	Site	Do some people get richer in famines?
Tigray	Harresaw	No, the rich are the ones with cattle or sheep. The drought will kill his animals. No
	Geblen	Yes, those who were rich can survive the famine and buy livestock and property at cheaper prices from the hungry. Yes, there are some people who are economically better and get the opportunity to buy livestock and other resources from the poor for profit. Land is abundantly available for them for sharecropping.
Amhara	Yetmen	It is not that much known and asserted in the locality It happens sometimes. When a farmer borrowed 100 birr from rich farmer in time of famine. The poor farmer has to return it in the form of grain mostly sell - 100kg in time of harvesting. This is more than 100% in profit. In this way some rich farmers are getting richer in time of famine
	Debre Berhan	No
	Dinki	No, during famine years people share what they have, even wild fruit. Yes, they borrow money or grains based on interest
	Shumsheha	There are some lucky people who get richer in famines. They produce a lot and become richer. This is, however, very rare. During famines, there has always been food aid. There are some people who manipulate the aid through corruption and nepotism. Some get a lot of aid for their own personal benefit. This is true for kebele officials and administrators. They and others become richer during famines in a short cut way. ◇ - Some people may produce a lot - Corruption - particularly those who become employees or staff members of food aid organisation (eg commission). Short cut wealth.
Oromiya	Sirbana Godeti	Not at all
	Adele Keke	Yes. Traders get richer during this time. Some militia men who are stifling the food aid also get richer. Traders get richer during famine because they buy grain from other area and sell it to the farmer at high price.
	Turufe Kecheme	No. Nobody lets others get richer and himself (?). Nobody
	Gonde	Yes, some people store food and sell it in higher prices in times of famine. the interest rate for borrowing money or grain is 100%. So those who lend the money will be richer.
	Bako	Yes. The poor sell whatever is valuable. Sell cattle, contract land or barter it with grain. The rich are the ones who gain Yes, people in the town get richer. They like such happenings. They can buy the animals at a very low price. No relatives would like to help. When such a season sets in, there will be much talk about the price of maize and the poor listen scared. They take grain as arata [?]. They buy cattle from the poor. They take them as dependants with their land.

Region	Site	Do some people get richer in famines?
	Somodo	The kebele officials - corruption in helping the people No
	Kereyu	There are people who became rich by purchasing [cattle?] at a cheap price and selling them at an expensive price. There is not a single man among the pastoralists who became rich. In fact there are merchants in the towns who became richer by purchasing the pastoralists livestock at a cheap price and selling them at an expensive price in other areas. These people also sell cereals and other food items to the drought affected people at a high price.
	Korodegaga	I don't see anybody getting richer in famine. Yes, in 1992 E.C. people who had enough money began to buy maize cheaply. Finally when rain was not enough and people were exposed to famine the maize owners started to sell it with high profit.
SNNP	Adado	There is no such case here. No
	Imdibir	If everyone is in famine, who is going to be rich [?] No
	Aze Debo'a	Yes, by storing crops and selling those crops when the price increases. Yes, by increasing the price of crops
	Dome'a	No Yes, those who have more (larger) land, oxen, better labour source benefit because they produce more (land + labour + oxen + irrigation); crop price increases in the time of famine; labour becomes cheap.
	Gara Godo	Yes, because they lend money and food with interest (high interest rates). By renting their land up to 3 -4 years In the time of Derg and now officials use money and feed crops to (personalise ?) Yes, some rich people get more richer in the time of famines because the poor take loans from them by double profit (arata) for consumption to buy food for the household, to pay for health expense, to buy fertilized seeds, etc. The source of (?) the money lenders (arata abedaarimoch ?) the interest is calculated based on the agreements between the lender and the loan taker. If the loan taker fails to return on the agreed day, the lender takes over the land, oxen and other assets.
Tsamako	In normal conditions, goats are exchanged for two sacks of grain. When there is a shortage of food, goats will be exchanged for only one sack. No. However, during the famine the price of grain becomes high compared to the price of cattle which is sold in exchange for grain.	

4. Famine and Conflict

This section depends on answers to the question:

Have famines led to conflicts? If so give examples.

In more than half the locations, conflict was reported as a result of:

- theft of livestock, grass, food, stored crops, and in one case armed robbery and burglary;
- competition for resources – water and firewood;
- reduced tolerance resulting from lack of food;
- disputes over food aid;
- and repeated demands and refusals.

Yet respondents in seven locations reported no conflict.

Theft was said to take place at night and on the way to market. Famine was also reported as potentially leading to conflict within households

Table 18: Famine and Conflict

Region	Site	Have famines led to conflicts? If so give examples
Tigray	Harresaw	Some people steal (grass ?) from their neighbours. It will lead to conflict. In earlier times. Because the strong will take from the weak. But now there is no much conflict.

Region	Site	Have famines led to conflicts? If so give examples
	Geblen	The practices of theft by the youth, sharing of scarce water (gurhame sparkling water), are some sources of conflicts in the time of famine. Yes, though it is not good to give names, we had bad conflict among neighbour because their young children stole livestock.
Amhara	Yetmen	No
	Debre Berhan	
	Dinki	Yes, If the ones have something to eat, the have-not will ask them to borrow them grains or money. If the response in negative conflict might occur and the result of which is robbery or theft. If there is famine conflict may occur in the household between husband and wife and this leads to divorce.
	Shumsheha	Yes - people want to be the first to be helped. Famines, as detailed earlier, result in food aid. This food aid has always been a source of conflict, particularly between those who seek aid and those who provide aid, in terms of who, what and how much should benefit.
Oromiya	Sirbana Godeti	No
	Adele Keke	No
	Turufe Kecheme	Yes, there will be conflict between people who have and who have not. Those who do not have (?) they to steal from the 'haves' and when they protect it for themselves there would be disappointment and people kill each other. Yes, famines led to conflicts. If somebody has nothing to eat are the others are having some, especially in famine time when the person has no option he seems to the persons who have and tries by any means to get-by. It is during famine that theft occurs.
	Gonde	Yes, if there is famine there is theft. Some people will steal crop from someone's store. Cattle might also been stealed.
	Bako	Not conflict, but theft was common. In 1977 and 1987 theft was prevalent due to this. A PA wide meeting [?] was called to identify the thieves. About 300 individuals suspected of theft were imprisoned. At this time the Woreda Administrator was Tilatum Cadissa. A checkpoint was built at 4 points in every PA. Previous conflicts can be reconciled. Famine results in consensus, interdependence. Famine encourages theft - thefts occurred twice whilst research was underway.
	Somodo	No
	Kereyu	No
	Korodegaga	To overcome famine people engage themselves in collecting firewood and making charcoal. This time conflict arises between different groups. In 1985 E.C. there was conflict between the Chore (Oromo) and the Korodegaga because the Choreoromo crossed the Awash River to cut wood from our vicinity. The incident resulted in clash.
SNNP	Adado	Yes, People with problems do not usually have tolerance for things so there will always be quarrel between each other. Yes, when there is no food to eat people are forced to become thieves, there will be conflict between each other and they can't tolerate thieves.
	Imdibir	No
	Aze Debo'a	Yes, if people exposed to famine, they will go for theft. In that case there would be a clash between those who have and those who have not Yes, if person does not get food, after working hours in the family he becomes angry and quarrels with this wife, children and cattle. He lacks patience.
	Dome'a	Yes, three out of four people may steal crops from a granary Yes, It is because of repeated demands and refusals. The poor ask more and more (to borrow food...), the have reject (refuse). This sometimes creates conflict.
	Gara Godo	Yes. Famine has led to conflicts. The thieves and robbers are engaged in taking (robbing) the property of others. And there is an incidence of 1 -2 that unemployed armed individuals are robbing the individual property (house) during the night time and when people on the way to their houses from the markets. Yes, in 1984/5 some people are taking sweet potato and other food items in their farm people then the owner may kill them. For example in 1992 and 1997 a woman was killed when she stole sweet potato from her brother's farm.
	Tsamako	No such conflicts among the Tsamako, we are a peaceful community.

V. Policy Interventions: Food Aid/FFW/Employment Generation Schemes

In this section we present answers to questions about famine-related policy interventions under the headings of Food Aid, Food for Work, and Employment Generation Schemes.

1. Food aid

This section derives from responses to the questions:

When had the community received food aid? Describe how it happened. (Table 19)

What have been the positive aspects of this, and for whom? (Table 20)

What have been the negative aspects of this, and for whom? (Table 20)

Was distribution fair? If not what was the problem? (Table 20)

Food aid has become increasingly pervasive. Regular dependence on it was reported from nine communities, in one case going back many years, in others beginning around 2000. Patterns vary both between locations and within locations over time. In one case, food aid in 1983-4 was too late; in 1994, it was insufficient to go round and was looted; and in 2003, it was targeted to the most needy.

Table 19: Incidence of Food Aid

Region	Site	When did the community receive food aid?
	Harresaw	From 1994 on. The government arranged a programme called 'food for work'. We make development works and get aid.
	Geblen	Always! The number of eligible for aid depends on the food shortage. In critical times, all members of a household may get 12.5 kg in a time (monthly or more). It has been there since 1985: the poorer gets in principal more shares
Amhara	Yetmen	None
	Debre Berhan	None
	Dinki	From January 1995 (E.C.) food aid was provided: every person except old and physically weak persons should involve in development activities like terrace, ditch, and road construction to get food aid. Though the ceiling food aid differs among the gots 12.5 kilos are given per individual. Before that an NGO had given us when we participated in road and terrace construction.
	Shumsheha	Every year: usually from Megabit to Yekatit. Even in seasons where food is relatively secure, the community receives food aid through different intervention programmes (eg food for work).
Oromiya	Sirbana Godeti	None
	Adele Keke	Older men: The community have been recipient of food aid for a long time. Younger men: every year: It has helped the whole community. If there was no food aid we would all have been dead or we would have become labourers
	Turufe Kecheme	We never received food aid. However, only once I remember that we were given in 1984 1 litre of food oil and 2 kilos of maize from the Catholic Mission.
	Gonde	None
	Bako	In 1983 there was no rain. Though reported, no response. Many people died and they ate the barks of trees. They were unable to plough the land as the food aid was too late. 1984 on quota basis. It was too late. Later all obtained food aid In 1994 besides rain, there was pesticide which consumed the crop. An assessment was made regarding the condition of the peasants. Few people obtained the food aid, the majority was looted, resulting in imprisonment. The rain came late then. 2003 the rain came late. Most affected obtained food aid in three rounds - those with no assets to purchase grain, those with no relative to assist them.
	Somodo	During the Derg regime, corn and barley was distributed to the poor.
	Kereyu	The community received food aid in 1994-5. People were allocated 12.5 kg of wheat or maize per person for one yr. The distribution was based on food for work. The community also received food aid in 2002. During both periods the Karrayu district government officials were responsible for distributing the food.
	Korodegaga	1980 We received tinned food and milk; 1984 we received wheat. 1998 - 2003 continuous food aid is being supplied because of the drought through the report of the executives.
SNNP	Adado	None

Region	Site	When did the community receive food aid?
	Imdibir	In around 1987/1994? from the CRS and CRDA. The people starved to death
	Aze Debo'a	In 1973
	Dome'a	Beginning from times of UNICEF's program (1985) until these days. Food aid was provided by the UNICEF and then by DPPC. Food aid declines in 1990s E
	Gara Godo	Aid is provided from February to August. We have received aid from Rada Barna, World Vision, Oxfam - UK, and the DPPC due to the recurrent drought and famine affecting the village from 1984/5 onwards. The kebele officials tell the woreda the extent of the famine and affected people and aid agencies are asked for aid.
	Tsamako	I don't remember the earlier one, but between 1999/2000 and 2001 there was food aid for the people.

Particularly in the nine locations that have suffered from chronic food insecurity, food aid saved people from death, reduced indebtedness, and prevented forced sale of livestock, and dependence on outmigration and wage labour. But respondents also mentioned negative effects of food aid, including long-term dependency, making people lazy and reducing reliance on self and God. Moreover, aid may be late, insufficient and faraway.

In four locations that are occasionally dependent on food aid, it was reported that some people sold aid to buy cigarettes and the narcotic *chat*, that merchants may be affected as the grain price was low, and that there may be misuse. In most of the chronically food insecure locations, distribution was perceived as not being fair because of corruption, nepotism, inefficiency, delays or incorrect reporting. Other reasons mentioned included discrimination against the 'rich', older or poorer, people 'cheating' the system through double registration and high NGO salaries.

Table 20: Good and Bad Things about Food Aid

Region	Site	Food aid		
		Positive aspects	Negative aspects	Was distribution fair?
	Harresaw	Food Hole will secure us with water.	The aid is late. FFW takes a lot of time; no time to work in our farm. Get aid at Atsbi almost 20km from Harresaw.	No. They say the rich must not get aid. But even those who are called rich have nothing to eat.
	Geblen	Survival	Long term dependency on food aid.	No: committee chooses selves, relatives and friends
Amhara	Yetmen	No food aid	-	-
	Debre Berhan	No food aid		
	Dinki	Food for the landless and physically weak (older people)	It makes a person develop aid mentality. It makes a person lazy. It was so late.	No: committee screens eligible - unfair selection and numbers of household members not considered.
	Shumsheha regular food aid	For the genuinely needy people, food aid has been essential - helped many to survive.	Some ingenuine people (able bodies and working people), have become dependent on food aid.	This depends on the distributors and local administrators. Sometimes distribution is fair; when they become corrupt, so does distribution.
Oromiya	Sirbana Godeti No food aid			
	Adele Keke	Survival: if there was no food aid we would all have been dead or we would have become labourers.	Because of food aid people are no longer relying on themselves and God. They have become dependant upon other people.	No: some do not receive food proportional to their family members while others do. Kebele officials do not transfer the name of the people who are affected quickly and correctly to the woreda officials.
	Turufe Kecheme	No food aid		
	Gonde	No food aid		

Region	Site	Food aid		
		Positive aspects	Negative aspects	Was distribution fair?
	Bako	Survival and helped overcome indebtedness	Maybe merchants affected because grain price was low	1984 – no: people who were not eligible obtained food. .1994 – no: e.g. Melese Tadesse was imprisoned at Ambo - about 75,000 Birr was deposited in his name in the bank. 2003 - it is expected to be fair - distribution is done under close supervision of elders and administrators. The first and second round is really fair. They follow it with care... Another opinion- favouritism common; not distributed on the basis of family size
	Somodo During the Derg regime, corn was distributed to the poor.	People were able to get food to eat.	Limited help Some people sold the aid in order to buy chat and cigarettes	No. Distributors were corrupt - they favoured themselves and those who have close relations with them.
	Kereyu	It saves lives and has helped people not to have to sell their cattle in order to purchase food.	Not enough It has created dependency. There are a number of people who wait for food aid instead of looking for other survival opportunities	OK
	Korodegaga	People are saved from death that results from famine.	For those lazy fellow who depend on the food aid it has a negative aspect. Hard working farmers want a permanent aid to pull them from this type of life for ever.	Some people say some men are registered in more than one kebele. Some complain that households with equal numbers of families don't get equal food aid. Some don't get because they were not registered when the list of affected people was sent to the wereda.
	Adado	No food aid		
SNNP	Imdibir	The drought affected people benefitted a lot.	Some people hate to work because they get food without any effort	Yes
	Aze Debo'a	It decreased death rates among the affected population	Those who have distributed the food aid could sell it	It was fair
	Dome'a	UNICEF's food aid helped farmers establish permanent settlement at Dome'a Survival. Food for work encouraged some development activity.,	Some people prefer to get food aid instead of working hard in their farm. However, in most cases food aid has been provided in the food for work programme.	No: some elder and poorer people complain they couldn't get fair amount of food even though the government and donors provide the food.
	Gara Godo	Poor, highly affected people are selected by the kebele officials. Sometimes food aid is given to the poor by food for work agreements.	Amount is so small and that it is not sustainable. It created a dependency syndrome. People are aspiring to aid even in good seasons.	No: some officials select the beneficiaries on the basis of their close associations and kin relations. People complain that the aid agencies like Oxfam are paying high salaries for their employees while the nutrition food provision a child for a month is only 4.5kg. This is not fair.
	Tsamako	It saved people from difficulties and enabled the community to survive.	None	Yes

2. Food for work

Food aid was generally reported as being linked to ‘food for work’ programmes. Benefits mentioned were that people could work locally rather than having to migrate, that some of the work is useful (soil conservation, ponds, forest development and encourages a work spirit, and that people participate in their own development. The major constraints were conflict with labour needs and people’s own priorities at peak times, low payment rates, and late arrival of the food. Other points mentioned were that not everyone is involved, and that the work is often compulsory and results in disincentives for individual and community initiative.

Table 21: Food for Work

Region	Site	Food for Work			
		FFW Programme?	Benefits	Negative aspects	Fair?
	Harresaw	From 1998 on.	We work development works like terracing which keeps our soil.	The food is less - they reduce the aid. We spent much time on work we have no time for our own farm.	No. Everybody will get aid, meaning those who work. But since those who distribute the aid reduce the crop we should get, they use the remain one for themselves.
	Geblen	For the last 10 years, food for work was underway (road construction, soil conservation, terracing etc.)	Soil and water conservation lead to development	The food after work comes very late, sometimes 3 months. This is very difficult for the poor. It affects the productivity of the farmers. Food for work is usually programmed in the very important farming days and seasons.	No. Those related to the leadership are favoured.
Amhara	Yetmen	No FFW			
	Debre Berhan	None			
	Dinki	Every week, two times in the morning, from 7.00 to 10.00. People involve in terrace, road, golenta (ditch) construction to protect the soil or the crop from erosion Road construction All of these are done 2 days a week for 3 hours in the morning.	People involve in the community's development activities. For every person who has involved in the programme. The distribution is not free of charge therefore it gives a sort of confidence because people render their labour services.	People work 8 times in every month but they get only 12 kilos if they have no other household members. Besides, they give up their work to cover the times so as to get food aid. People forced to give up to participate on their tasks whenever there is community development work.	No, I have mentioned the reasons above. Yes, because the work is for the community.

	Site	Food for Work			
		FFW Programme?	Benefits	Negative aspects	Fair?
	Shumsheha	Since 1990, when the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (EDC) initiated food for work programme.	Food for work is positive in the sense that it encourages and initiates the local people to fully or partially participate in their own development. 1 - It encourages people to develop a work spirit 2 - It helps people contribute their own share for their own affairs and development	Negatives aspects arises when people seek for an incentive (food) before they will involve themselves in any development programs that benefit the community. It is bad for people to wait for an incentive before they work for their own well-being. They could have done it out of self-initiation. Although it is everyone's responsibility to work for his own well-being and development, food for work has created a sort of dependency syndrome, unless people are given food they are not willing to work.	-
Oromiya	Sirbana Godeti	None			
	Adele Keke	The community is engaged in food for work programme whenever there is food aid distribution.	You can get food. Because of food aid programme people, especially those who are capable of working, Have been able to receive food. Because of this people have not left the area due to drought, and train becoming labourers.	None	The food for work programme is not fair because the amount of food a person is small compared to the energy he spends.
	Turufe Kecheme	No FFW			
	Gonde	No FFW			
	Bako	Yes in 1985 with Mekaneyesus Church In 1975 - but was shortlived. For two years, then many people did not survive well - post famine wheat, cloth, butter, oil etc. was provided for the most affected.	It was done post famine. It assisted those who were unable to recover fully from the famine. Blankets, powder milk, flour and other items were provided. Many people who were highly affected survived.	None	The Ferenji were involved in the selection of the beneficiaries. They provided blankets and sugar as well as powder milk. The Ferenji who came to the area are called Rutte [?]
	Somodo	No such practice.	It would be good if there were such a scheme as the poor would be able to get help by working for the community.	No negative aspects	

	Site	Food for Work			
		FFW Programme?	Benefits	Negative aspects	Fair?
	Kereyu	In 2002/3. They dug water wells in their villages.	Water is available for people and livestock.	The wells are not covered with concrete. As a result, children and animals are getting inside the wells. The water wells are not constructed well. They have no cover and a number of children have died by climbing inside the well	No. Because water supply was not the prime problem the community was facing. The community needed road construction, but the woreda administrators were not willing to do this.
	Korodegaga	In 1977 when UNICEF organised the people to engage in 'food for work' programme. They used to get 35 -60 birr according to the number of family members. From UNICEF to the regional RRC in 1981 - in building the irrigation canal up to 1984 E.C. Starting from 1991 up to now we are working on eradicating the partininyum weed. The coordinator is the DA of the P.A .recently. Mostly we pull out the weeds (partinium) which have covered the community as a whole. We make terracing, we maintain roads.	The people will develop the attitude of working for a better life. Work before food type attitude will develop. he positive aspect of this is that the people think that whatever they get as food ais is the outcome of their labour. This positive aspect is for the whole community.	Some people hate the work. They want to collect the food without any labour. These lazy peasants don't come to work with different excuses. They simply seek that their quota of food comes every month There is no negative aspect of 'food for work'	No, some people don't appear for work. The duration for the work is very small. Those absents should not have their food aid. But they get their quota every month. No, those who are absent from work with lame excuses get the food aid because the kebele are not firm on this.
SNNP	Adado	In 1994/1995 for a road construction.		It makes people be dependent on food aid.	No it was not. The amount of food given was not enough and the people did not ask enough of it.
	Imdibir	CRS's food for work programme.	We were able to handle and manage the home properly	None	It is fair, we need that food for work should come to the area
	Aze Debo'a	During the Derg period. 1995 (1987 E-C). Those who are registered as poor get food. If one works for five days he/she will get 25 kilos of grains. For those who are unable to work, get food free.	Afforestation and making terracing. Those who get food prolong their lives	Young students left school due to such activities. In the name of poor, leaders register themselves and relatives. They collect more kilos of grain and sell it to merchants. In many ways they are beneficiaries of it.	No, because the amount of labour employed and the provision of crops are not proportional. It was not fair due to reasons cited in Q23

Site	Food for Work			
	FFW Programme?	Benefits	Negative aspects	Fair?
Dome'a	In most cases	Irrigation canals are maintained. The road from (Insacha ?) to Morea has been maintained. Several trees are planted with the food for work programme. It saves human lives and encourages (promotes) development activities.	It diverts the interest of (attention of) farmers from farm work to food for work activities. Farm production declines.	Sometimes fair, sometimes not fair. Sometimes some people get food without hardworking, other people complain because they gain small amount though they work harder.
Tsamako	I remember that the 1996 food for work programme was run by a lady called Elsa - she was from a religious organisation - she also provided a health service and she conducted religious [meetings?] Under the food for work programme, we [?] which enabled us to dig holes for keeping water Food for work is a recent development. It begins by digging holes for water. The people walk to food for work when they were told that there will be Huja (work) [?]	The people will seize the opportunity Yes, it was valuable as people dug water wells ("dalba" - local name). The water will serve for the animals and [people have a means of obtaining food?] It is not important as such. However, the water will serve for animals. The money is not as such important to us, it is not significant.	None It was temporary and I find it difficult to cite any problems. No problems	It is not valued as such. However, the one who works gets the resources. It has no more value. It is not important as such.
Gara Godo	Food for work is taking place in the time of famine. The famine affected people are selected to get food aid and are requested to do a work to get wheat in the form of farm aid. The objective is to develop the culture of work and to develop their kebele. But in the process of aid people section there is a big bias among the officials. The village community of Gara Godo are engaged in food for work in drought seasons. For example, in the year 2003, the people are engaged in planting (afforestation) programmes in the village to get 50kg of wheat from DPPC. Those people also provide wood for construction of bridge Gara are given wheat. - Bridge construction	It may avoid dependency syndrome on the part of the people who are aided. It facilitates development and culture of work in the kebele poor people. It has positive side-effects because the people feel that food is theirs. At the same time this process of food for work develops the habit of work on the people rather than being independent. On the other hand the food for work programme are also part of the community development and hence it may lead to sustainable development to the area and the people.	The people who are engaged may be obsessed and spent their total time to cultivate and farm their land. Hence, in the community year those people may repeat the same problem and become dependent on aid agencies again.	Yes, there are a number that some kebele officials select, those people who participate in food for work to share the food aid together secretly. Thus the process of selection is still in bias. Yes, because people who are poor, not have farm land, enset, oxen, and other physical assets are engaged in food for work, thus it is fair to say that 90% of the participants are poor.

3. Employment generation schemes

Employment generation schemes, with labour paid in cash, were reported in four locations that are regularly dependent on food aid. They include road and other construction, terracing, irrigation, tree nurseries and a coffee-processing machine. The advantages mentioned were the cash, environmental rehabilitation and avoiding migration. Negative aspects were projects such as an airport and irrigation schemes taking people's land and the coffee-processing machine poisoning the water.

Table 21: Employment Generation Schemes

Region	Site	Employment Generation Scheme			
		Has there been?	Positive aspects	Negative aspects	Fair?
Tigray	Harresaw	No. Only the chairman of the PA got salary from the government.	peace	drought	-
	Geblen	It is very small, run by the Catholic Church in road construction and terracing. World Vision had road construction program. In both cases farmers are paid cash for their labour services.	Some people can get some money by working in it. It contributes to development and payment for the farmers.	none	Yes No. It is highly biased. Most of the relatives of the administration committee members themselves get the employment.
Amhara	Yetmen	No			
	Debre Berhan	No			
	Dinki	No			
	Shumsheha	There have been some Employment Generation Schemes in the community, for eg Food for work program, Airport Construction and Road Construction Schemes. Airport construction and irrigation schemes were some of the employment generation schemes. Now there are no EGSs in the community.	Many people had the opportunity to find employment (eg as daily wage labourers, guards etc.) and this has helped many to generate some income	In one scheme, the land of many farmers was taken in order to build an airport. Although some of these farmers were given a great deal of money (as much as 30,000 Ethiopian Birr per peasant), they have become landless once and for all. For some, yes, because construction has taken away some of their land. Although a lot of money was provided as compensation, people still complain and prefer land to compensation money.	In terms of economic development, of course it has been fair. It is up to the individuals to invest a great deal of the money they receive in compensation to become rich. But extravagancy and especially alcoholism has made many peasants end up in poverty.
Oromiya	Sirbana Godeti	No			
	Adele Keke	No			

Region	Site	Employment Generation Scheme			
		Has there been?	Positive aspects	Negative aspects	Fair?
	Turufe Kecheme	No			
	Gonde	No			
	Bako	No			
	Somodo	Not yet			
	Kereyu	No			
	Korodegaga	No. But now people are buying water pump in groups and are ploughing more land. They need seasonal labour work.. This way they are generating employment.	The community is initiated to ask the kebele and the woreda Administration to help them in establishing another irrigation scheme.	Nothing	The work has been fair.
SNNP	Adado	No			
	Imdibir	No			
	Aze Debo'a	No			
	Dome'a	The Zafe Agro-industry (private company founded in the surrounding area of Dome'a) has created employment opportunities for many people (both male and female) about 50% of the youth get benefit from these opportunities.	Members of the community generate income, some manage to buy oxen to promote their farm; some men work as guards during the night, work in their farm in the day time.... Girls also generate income to buy clothing and other things.	Zage Agro-industry offers job opportunities but it reduces the amount of irrigation water which negatively affects peasant farms. It also reduces the land from Dome'a	no

Region	Site	Employment Generation Scheme			
		Has there been?	Positive aspects	Negative aspects	Fair?
	Gara Godo	<p>Yes, there are 2 projects (schemes) that people involve themselves to get income and employment namely;</p> <p>1) coffee processing machine - project set up by an individual investor - around (?) people are employed seasonally.</p> <p>2) Tree farms - around 15 - 20 employees are involved.</p> <p>Yes, there has been a daily employment income generation scheme established by Red Barna in 1980, called seeding and afforestation centre. Now Red Barna has delivered in the ministry of agriculture. The people are engaged in the activities and get 4kg of wheat per day.</p>	<p>Yes, because poor people can get income and employment easily in their kebele without going for (leaving their home areas).</p> <p>The community work and get money</p> <p>It is a means of getting income</p> <p>The community develop the environment</p>	<p>The by-product of the coffee processing machine poisoned the running water, and the by-product has a bad smell and causes diseases to the community.</p> <p>This has also been reported to the woreda officials to solve the problem but yet there has not been any measure taken by the authorities concerned.</p> <p>no</p>	<p>It is not fair for the health of the employee and the locals. At the same time the payment by the enterprise is not fair compared the time/hour is from 2am to 5pm and paid for 5 birr daily.</p> <p>Yes, the officials of the Centre may select their close friends, relatives, kins and associated to participate in the activity.</p>
	Tsamako	No			

VI. Conclusion

Our general conclusions are:

1. That we should be talking about hunger and poverty rather than 'famine';
2. That people and communities affected by hunger have a considerable understanding of the processes involved;
3. Individuals and households are actively engaged in struggles to survive and prosper;
4. Food aid is an important response to the threat of famine, but there are problems in the way it is delivered.

APPENDIX

MODULE 5: PROTOCOL 1M – CONCEPTIONS AND RESPONSES TO FAMINE

Respondents:

Joint interview with at least one knowledgeable elder and one younger more literate man.

Note details about the interviewees' statuses.

Q1. What are the local terms for drought, famine, food security?

Q2. In what ways do the local terms have connotations different from the English?

Q3. Rate the past 12 years since the EPRDF came to power in terms of food security (column 2), the proportion of the community affected (column 3), and number of months of food insecurity for average family (column 4)

Year	Rate	Proportion affected	Number of months
1992			
1993			
1994			
1995			
1996			
1997			
1998			
1999			
2000			
2001			
2002			
2003			

Q4. List community responses to famine and food insecurity

Q5. First ask without prompting then check for reducing consumption (amount and frequency), changing type of food, borrowing food, selling livestock and other assets, looking for wild foods, sending children away, seasonal wage labour, credit, asking help from relatives, begging, theft, distress migration leaving area, irrigation, other?

Q6. Have there been any cases of persons who died due to famine in the community in 1973? If yes mention at least one by gender and age categories

Q7. Have there been any cases of persons who died due to famine in the community in 1984-5? if yes mention at least one by gender and age categories

Q8. Have there been any cases of persons who died due to famine in the community in 1994-5? if yes mention at least one by gender and age categories.

Q9. Compare food security under the three regimes: Imperial, Derg, EPRDF

Q10. What explains the differences?

First ask without prompting then check about rainfall, drought, pests, supernatural reasons, punishment for illdoing, government policies, etc

Q11. Is drought and famine connected to poverty? If so in what ways.

Q12. Do some people get richer in famines? If so how

Q13. Are women affected differently from men – in what ways?

Q14. Have famines led to conflicts? If yes give example(s)

Q15. When had the community received food aid? Describe how it happened.

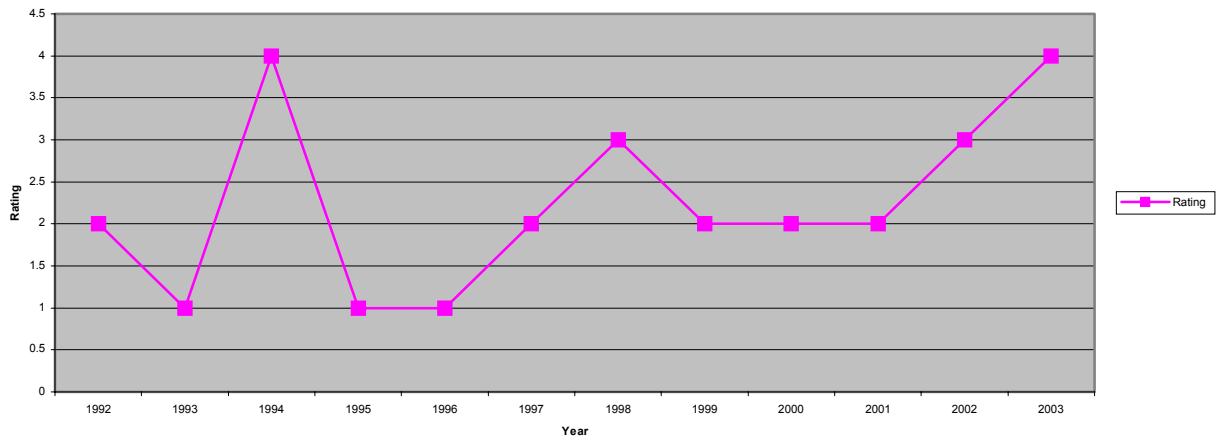
Q16. What have been the beneficial aspects of this, and for whom?

- Q17. What have been the negative aspects of this, and for whom?
- Q18. Was distribution fair? If not what was the problem?
- Q19. When has the community engaged in food for work? Describe terms.
- Q20. What have been the positive aspects of this, and for whom?
- Q21. What have been the negative aspects of this, and for whom?
- Q22. Was the food for work fair? If not why not?
- Q23. Has there been Employment Generation Schemes in the community? Describe.
- Q24. What have been the positive/useful aspects of this for the community?
- Q25. What have been the negative aspects of this for the community?
- Q26. Have these been fair? If not why not?
- Q27. If food consumption is reduced in the household, who is given less to eat?
- Q28. What is the pattern of livestock grain ratios in times of famine?
- Q29. Can you give examples of when it has been bad?
- Q30. Are there any wild foods used in times of food shortage? if yes list
- Q31. Has there been a decrease in the availability of some? if so which
- Q32. Is there seasonal labour out of the area (or into the area) becoming more common?
- Q33. Is this related to food insecurity? If yes in what ways?
- Q34. Do you know of individuals/families who left the area to settle elsewhere spontaneously?
Is yes give examples, who, when, where?
- Q35. Did any return, if yes give examples of circumstances
- Q36. Do you know of individuals/families who left the area to settle elsewhere spontaneously?
If yes give examples, who, when, where?
- Q37. Did any return, if yes give examples of circumstances

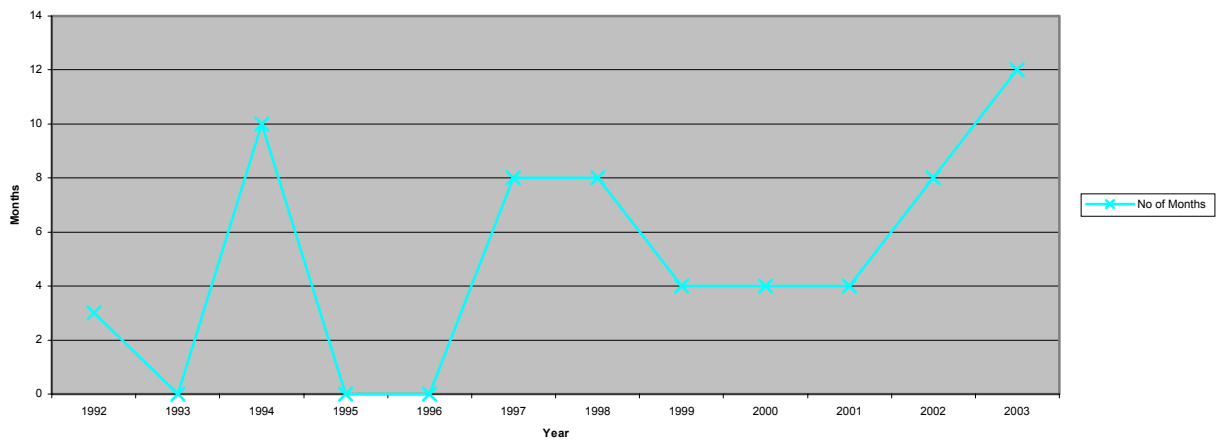
Use this space to comment on the Protocol – does it work? any problems? suggestions for improvement

Tigray Region

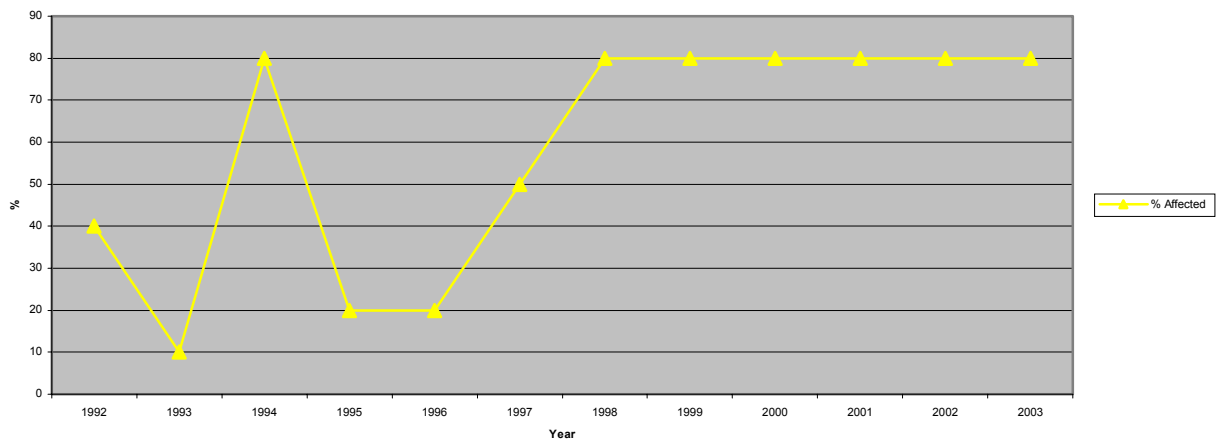
Harresaw



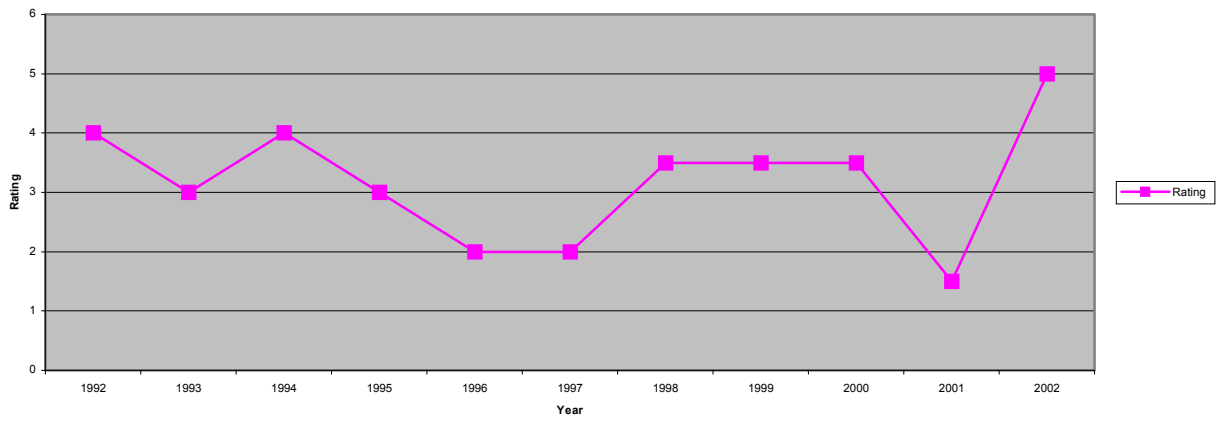
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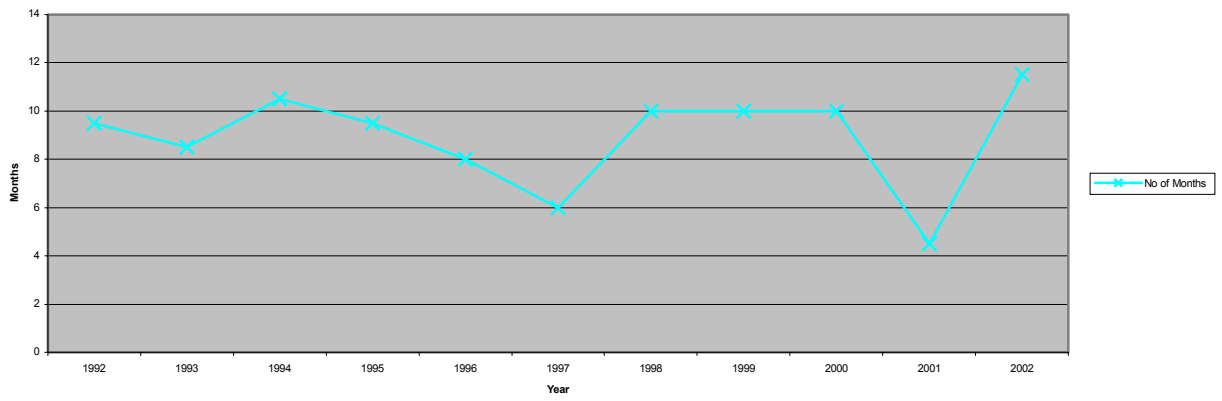
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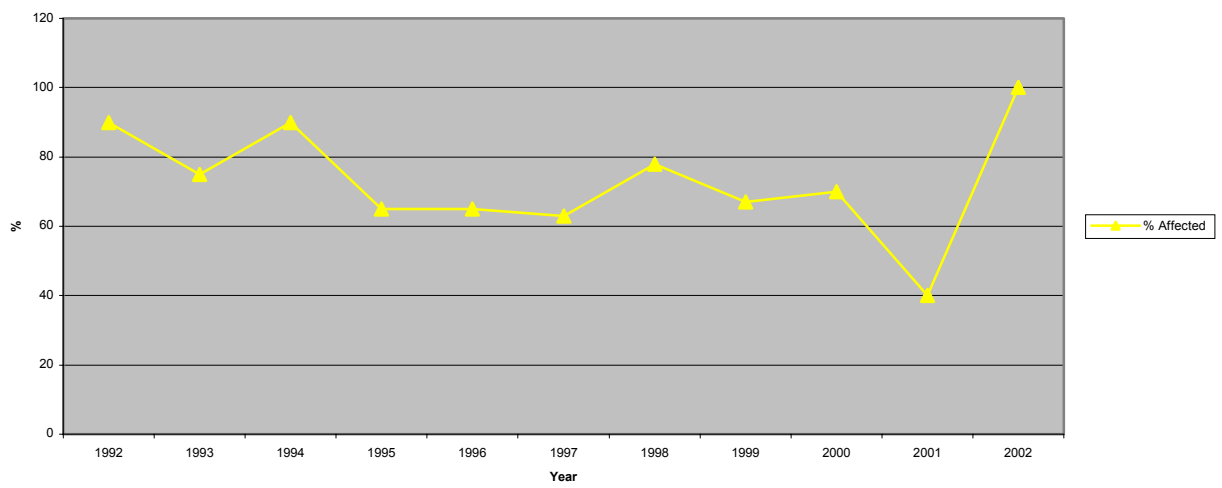
Geblen



Geblen

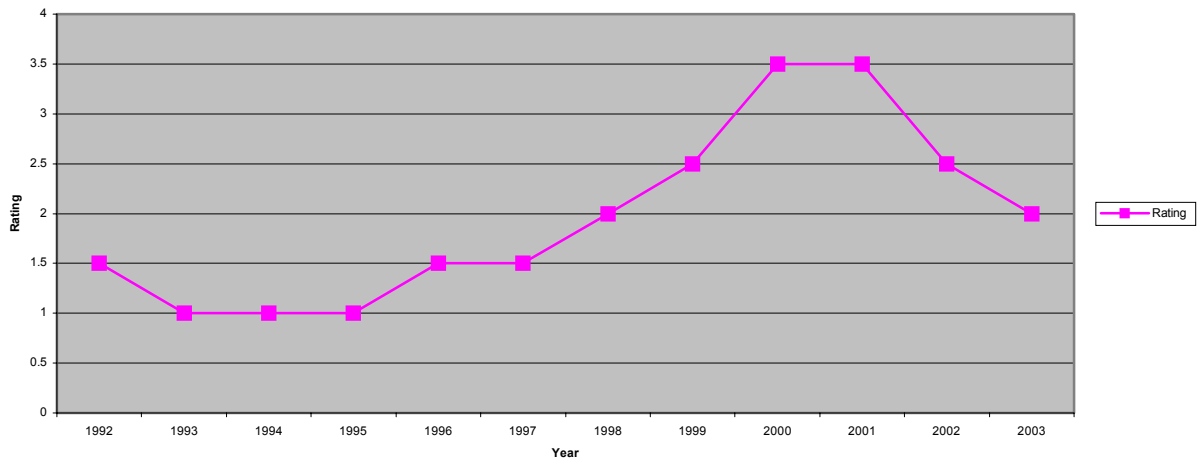


Geblen

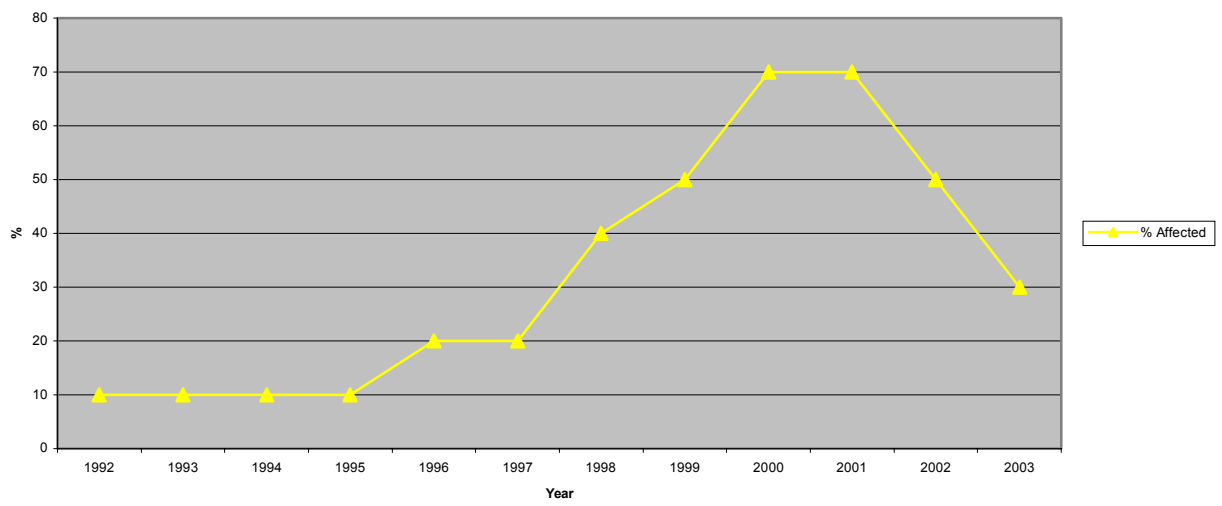


Amhara Region

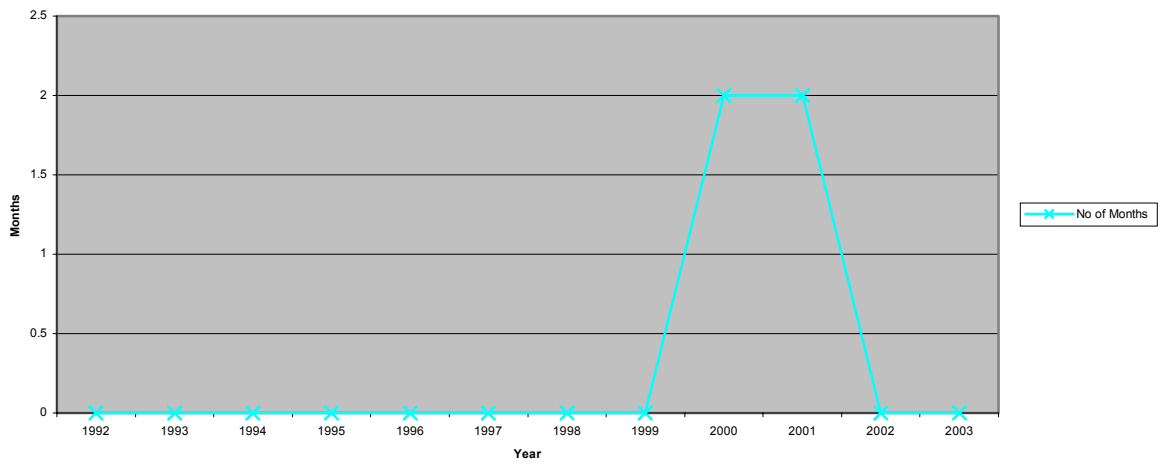
Yetmen



Yetmen

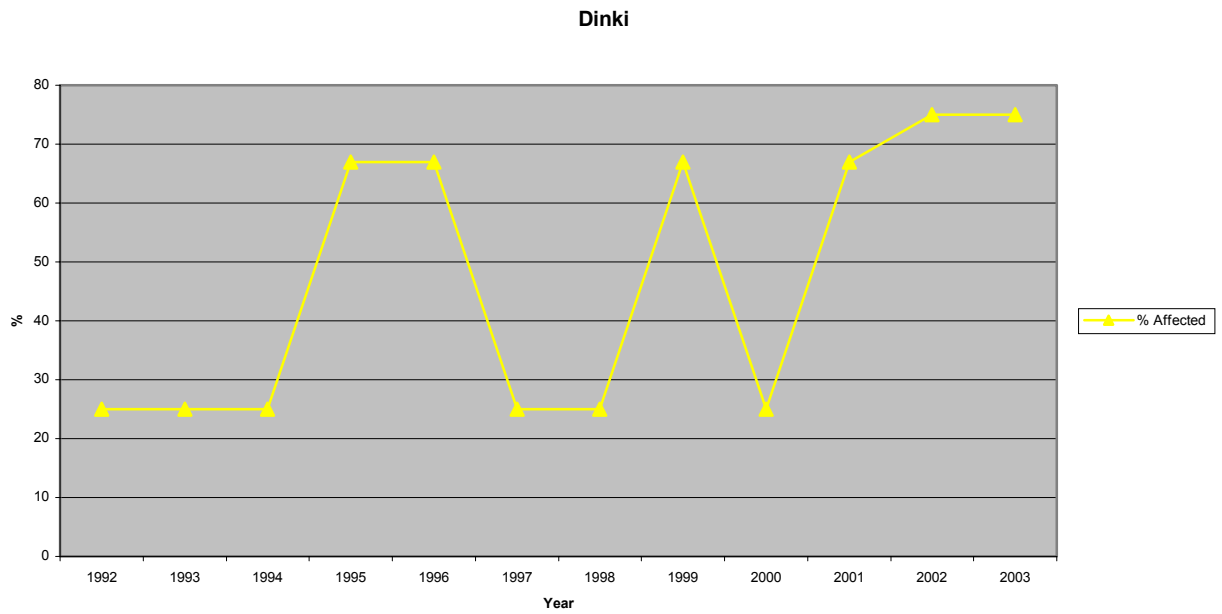
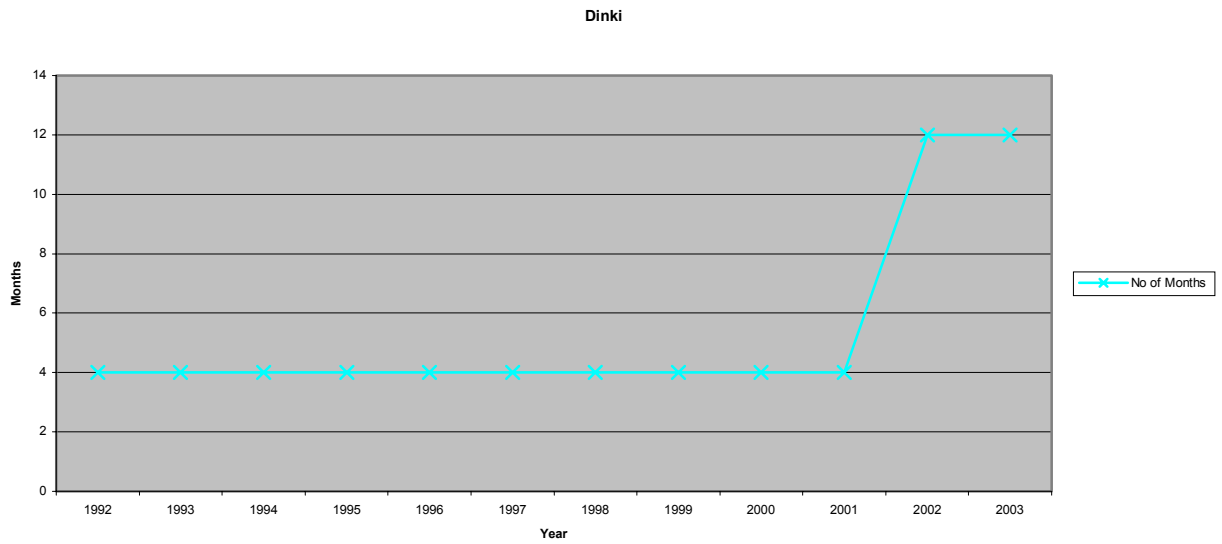


Yetmen

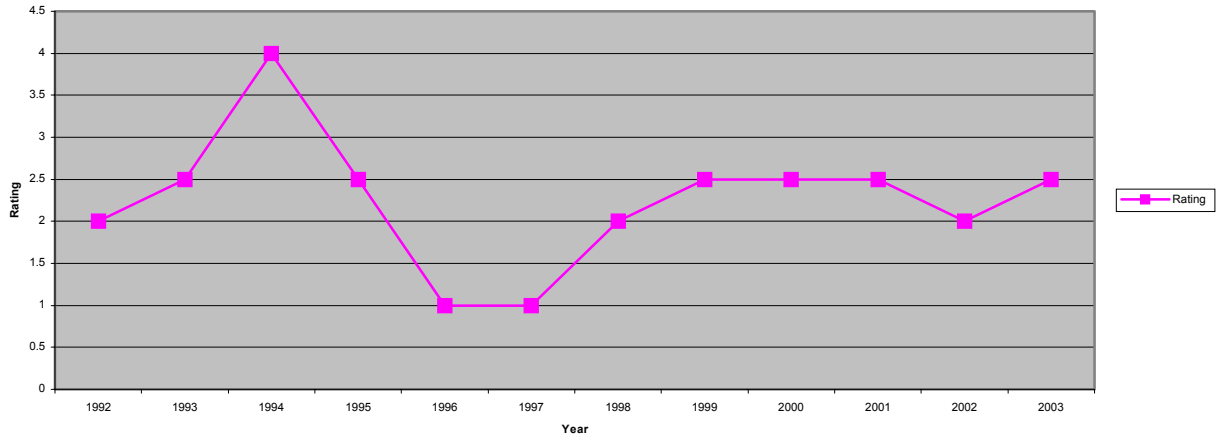


Debre Berhan

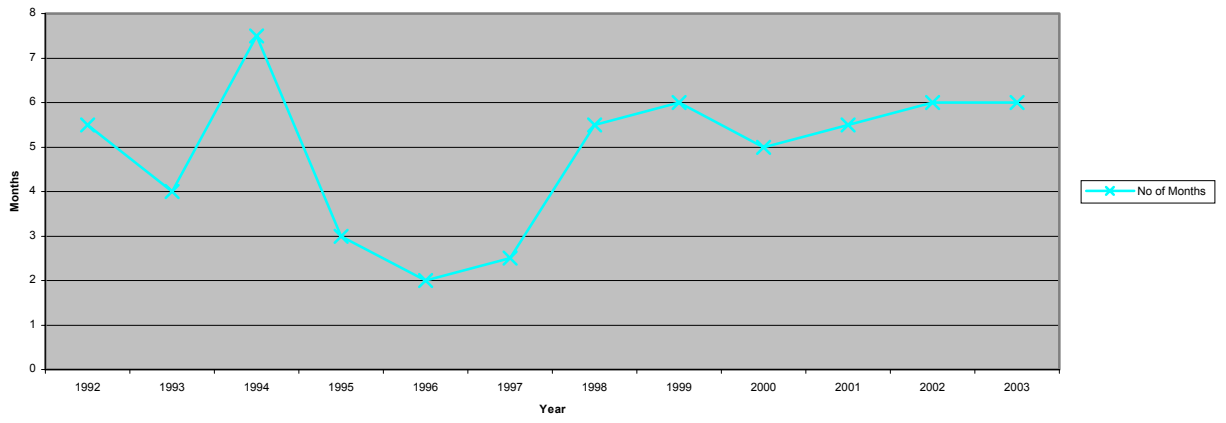
Year	Rating	Proportion Affected	Number of Months
1991	majority affected		



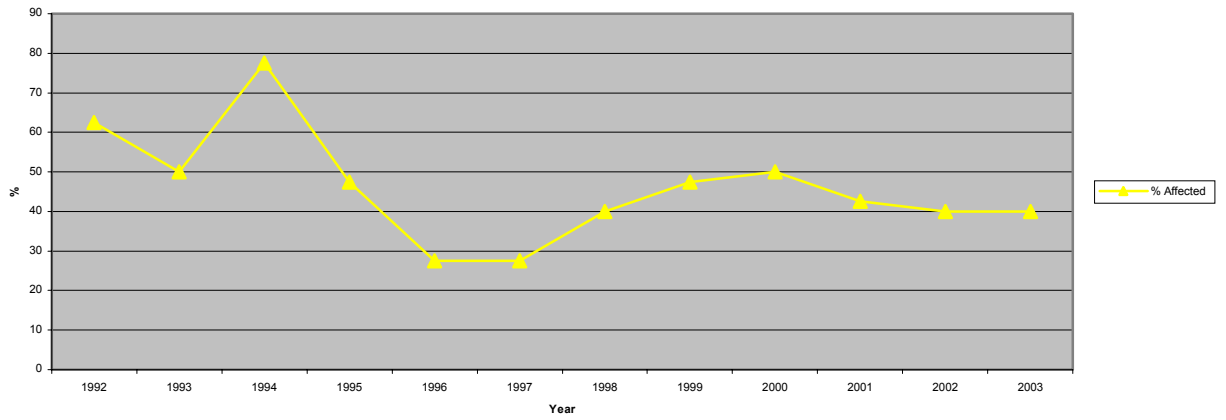
Shumsheha



Shumsheha



Shumsheha



Oromiya Region
Sirbana Godeti

Sirba na Godeti	Respondents: young man		
Year	Rating	Proportion Affected	Number of Months
2001	minor	minor	not specified
2002	minor	minor	not specified
2003	minor	minor	not specified

Sirba na Godeti	Respondents:		
Year	Rating	Proportion Affected	Number of Months
2002	[?]	minor	not identified
2003	[?]	minor	not identified

Turufe Kecheme

no data

Adele Keke

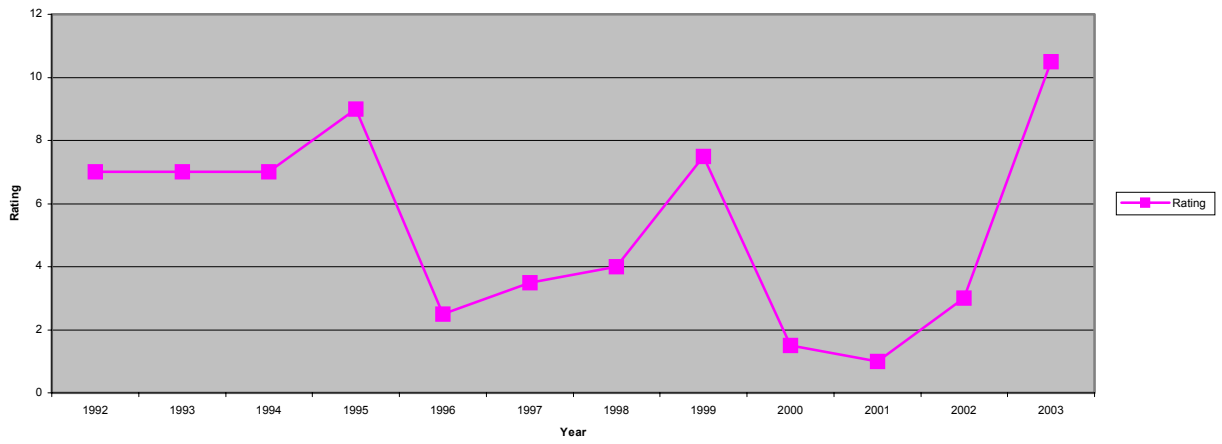
Ranking of years as follows:

- 2000: 4th – proportion affected 0
- 2001: 3rd – number affected 1080
- 2002: 2nd – number affected 1504
- 2003: 1st – number affected 5378

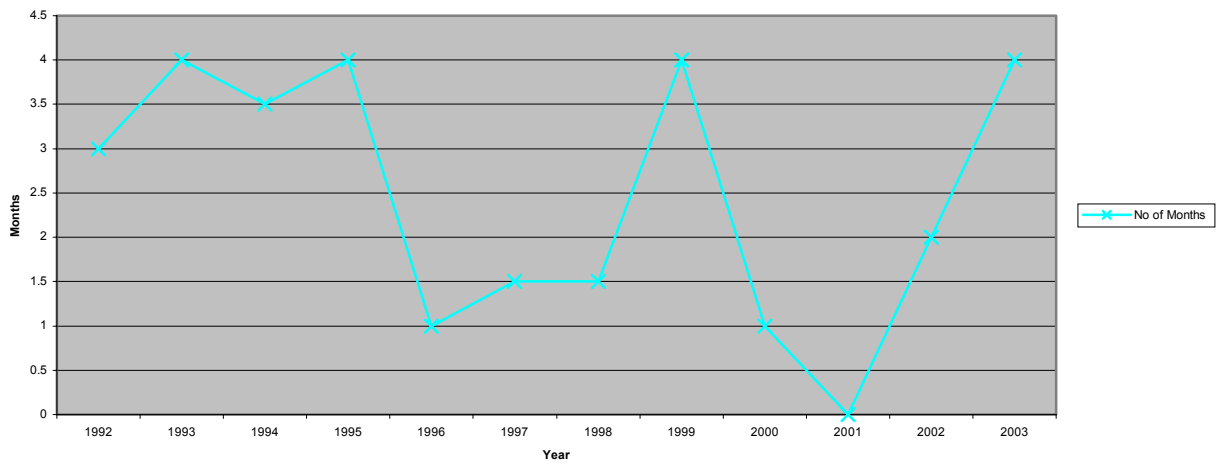
Gonde

Year	Rating	Proportion Affected	Number of Months
1992	good		
1993	good		
1994	good		
1995	very good		
1996	very good		
1997	good		
1998	one-third bad	55%	June-December
1999	one-quarter bad	40%	June-December
2000	excellent (price fell down)		
2001	-		
2002	satisfactory		
2003	-		

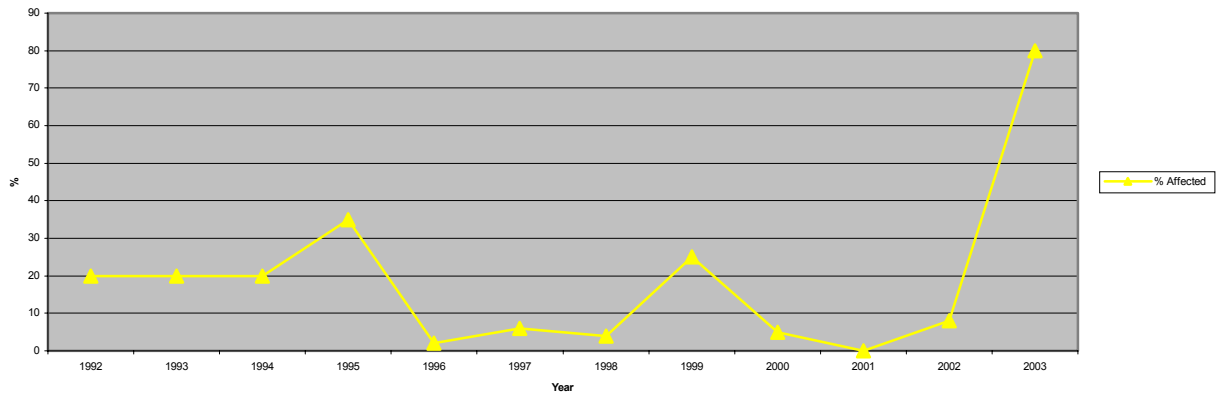
Bako



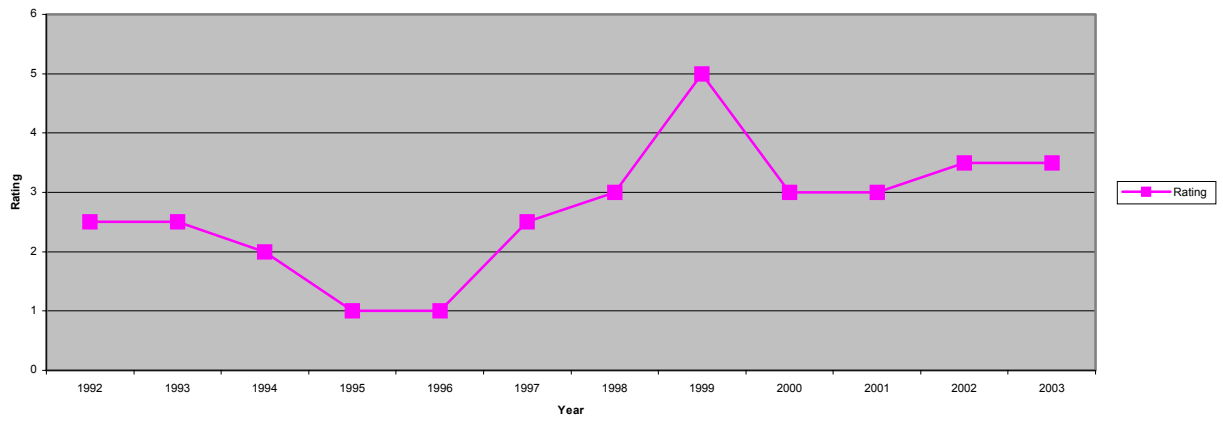
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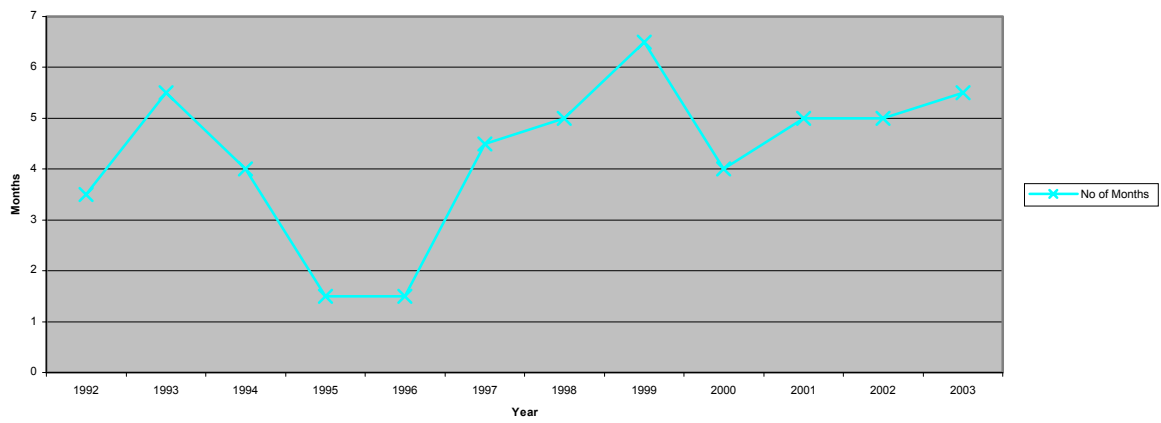
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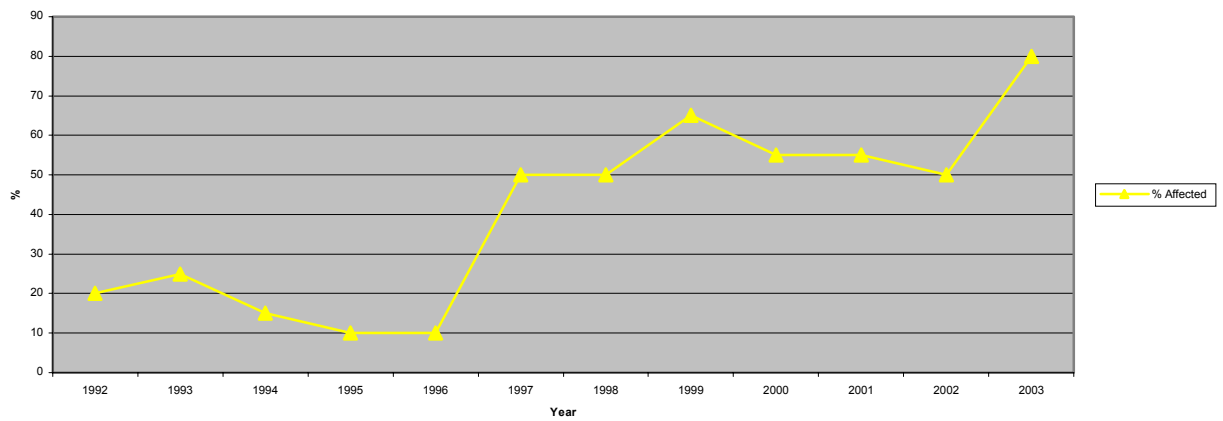
Somodo



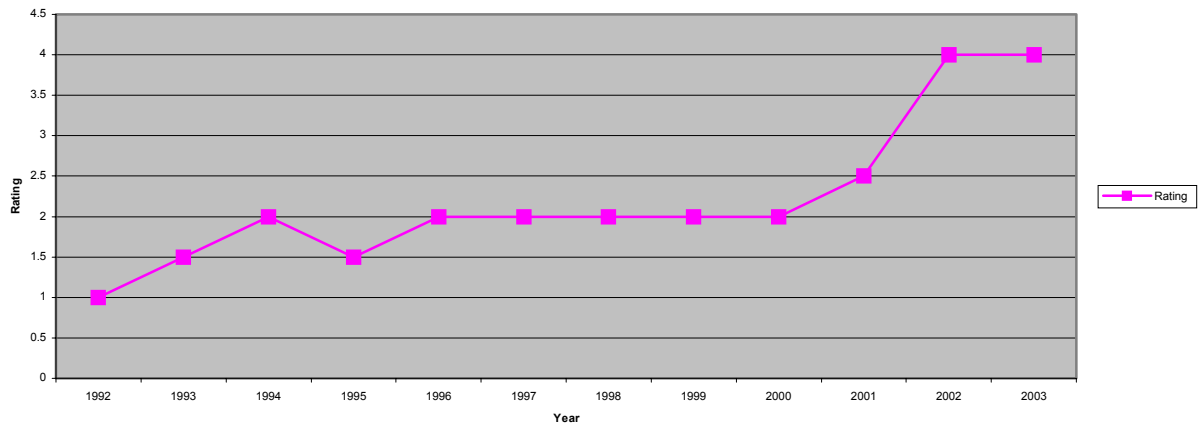
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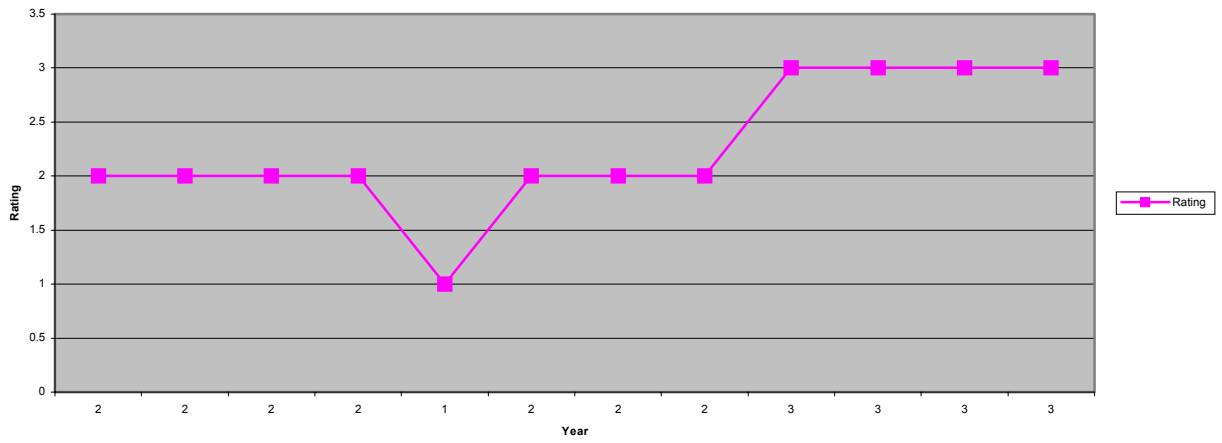
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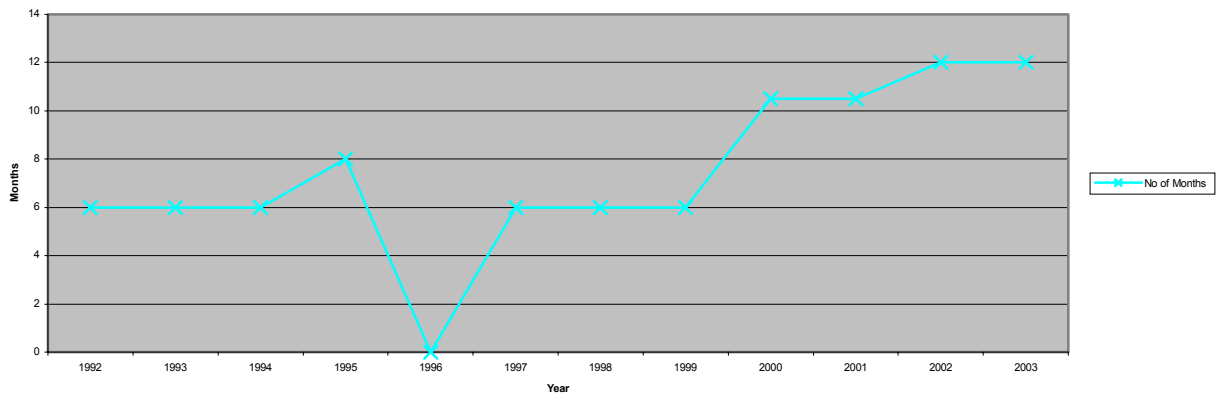
Kereyu



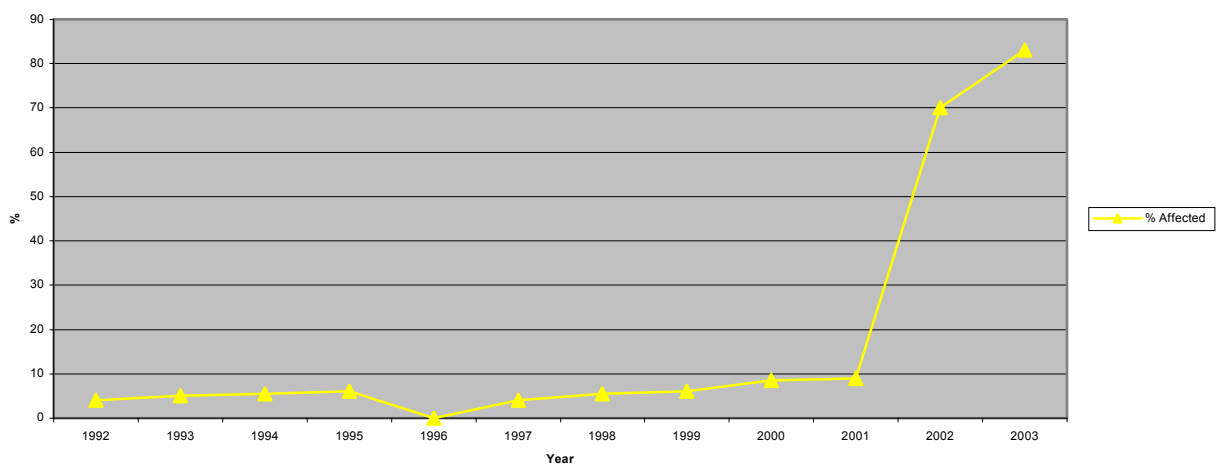
Korodegaga



Korodegaga

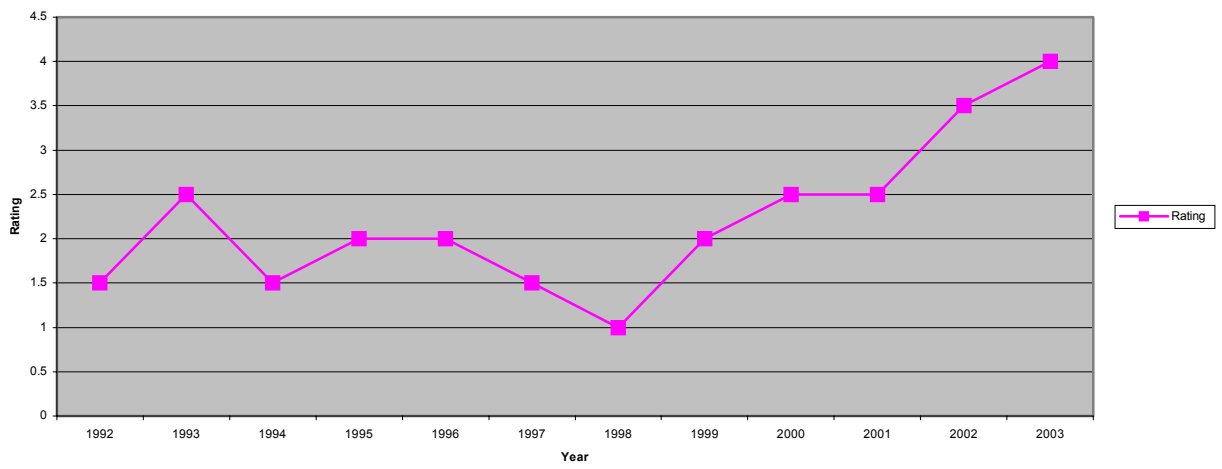


Korodegaga

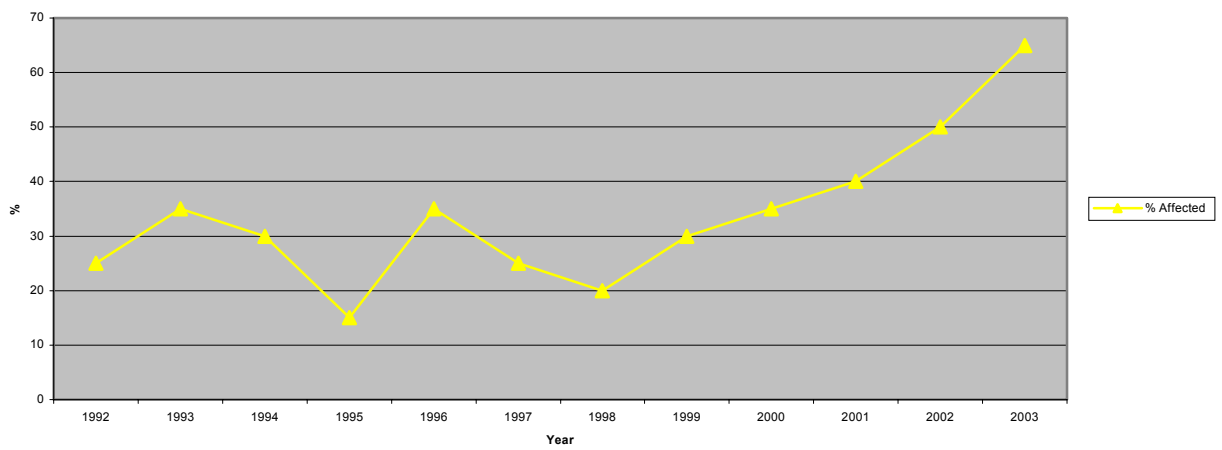


SNNP Region

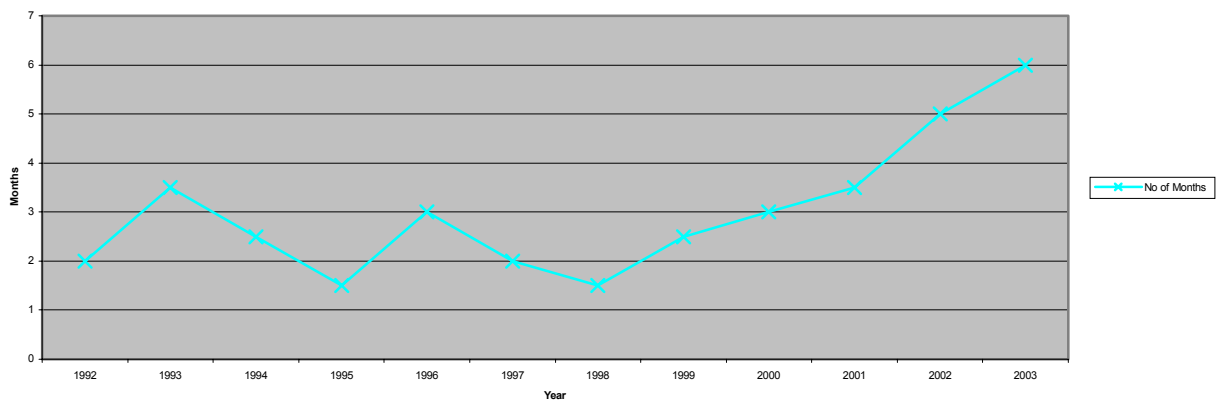
Adado



Adado

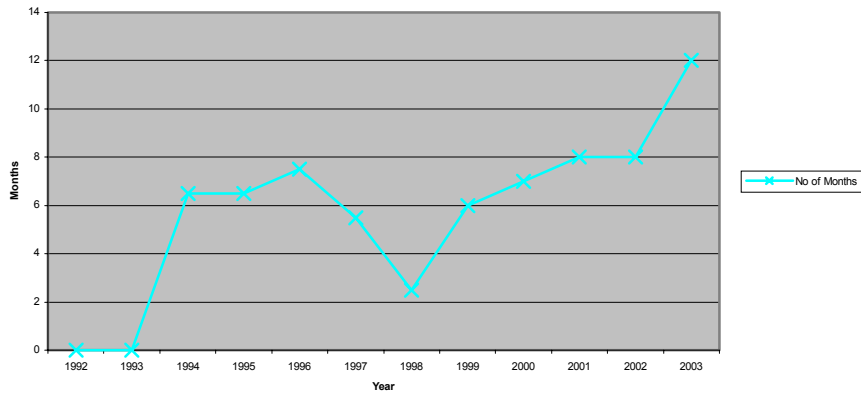


Adado

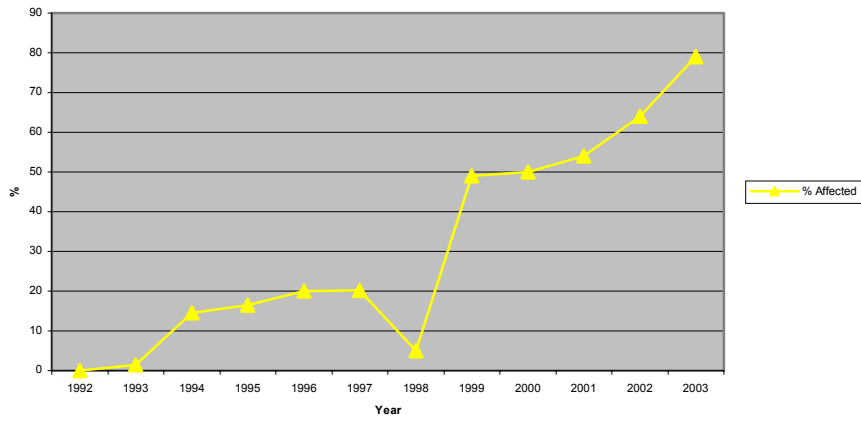


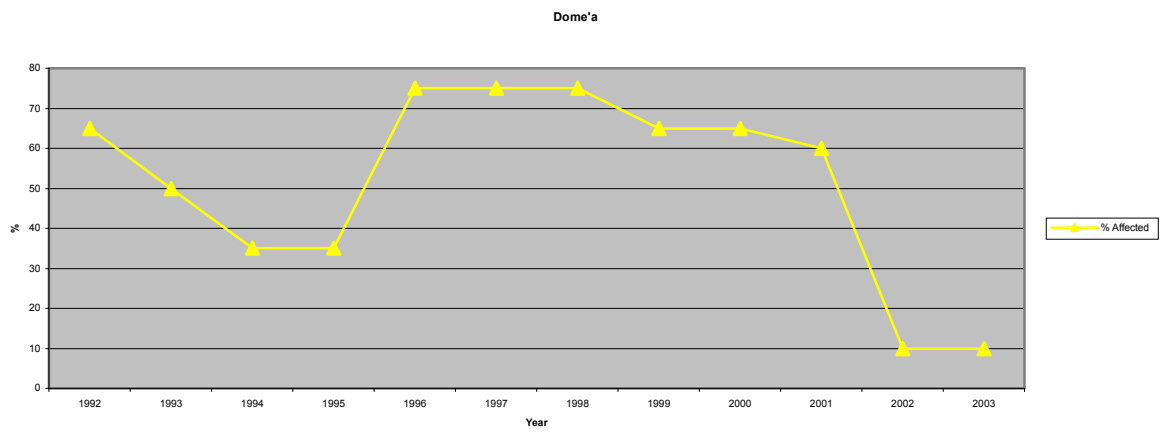
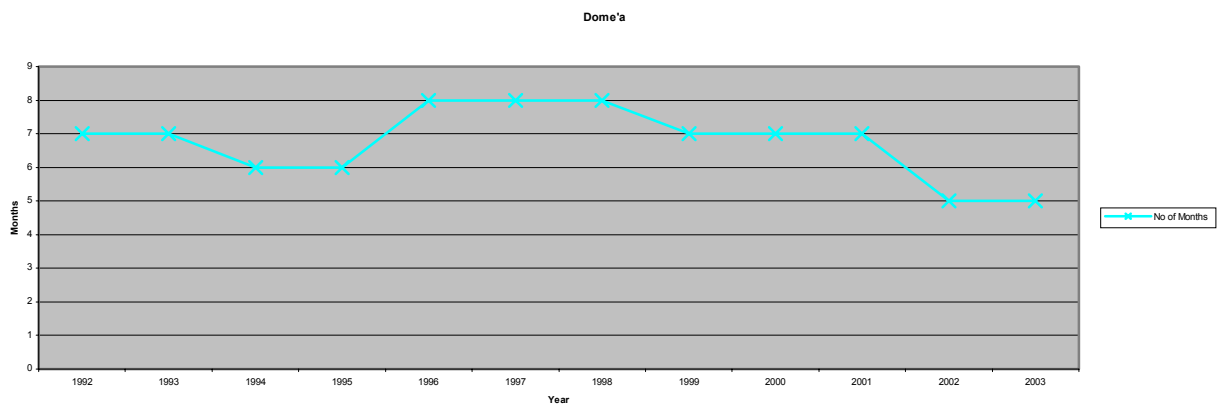
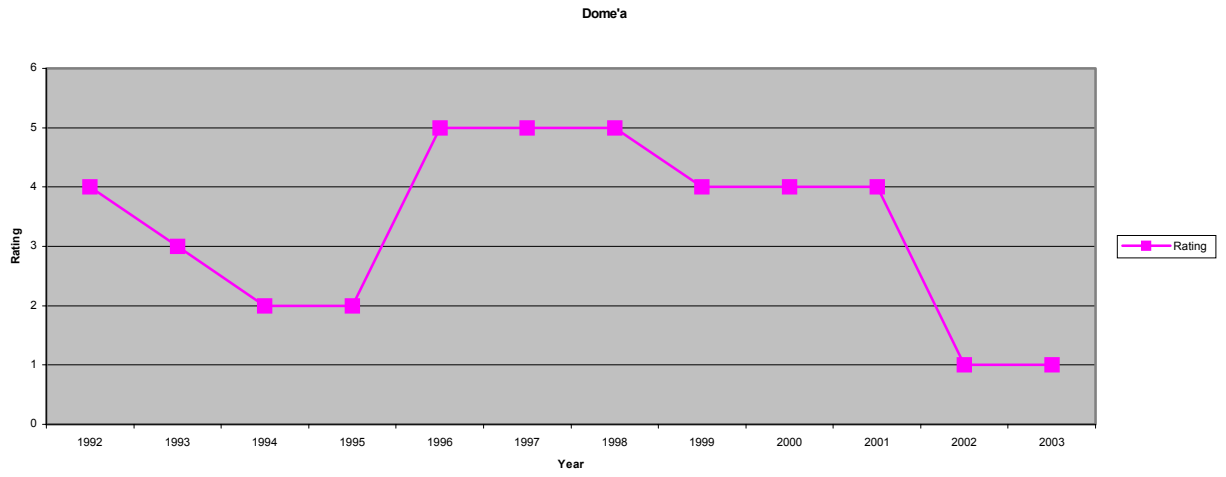
Imdibir: No data

Aze Deboa

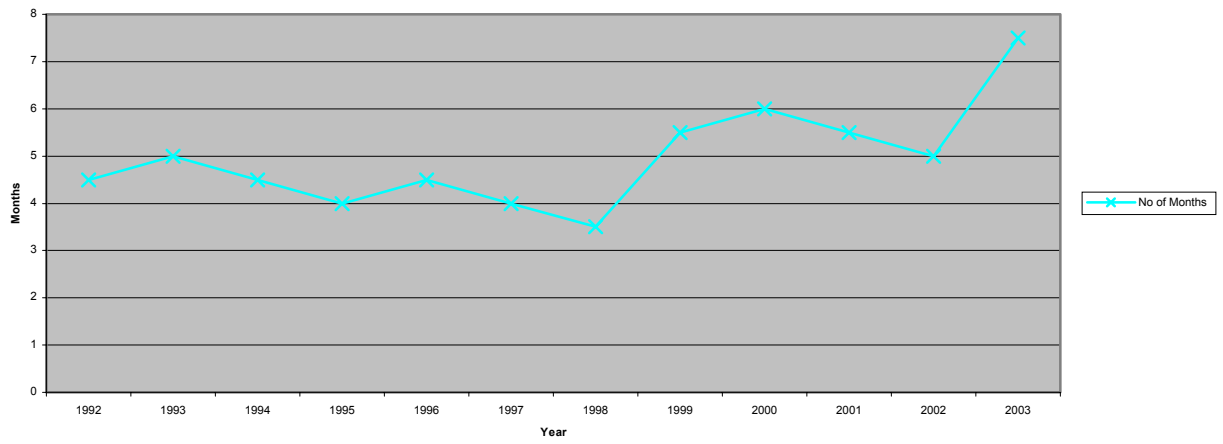


Aze Debo'a

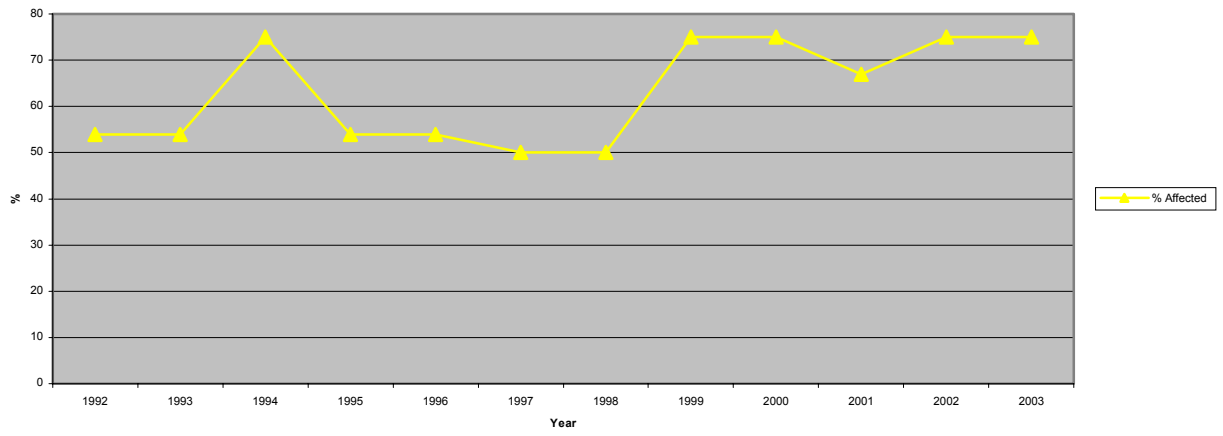




Gara Godo



Gara Godo



Tsamako

