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Research Article

Women and Land Rights in Western Shoa: In Case of Dano Woreda, 1941-1991

Mengesha Robso Wodajo 🕞

Department of History and Heritage Management, Bule Hora University, Ethiopia

Correspondence should be addressed to Mengesha Robso Wodajo; mengewaja@gmail.com

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The aim of this article is to examine Ethiopian women land ownership rights, particularly, Western Shoa Oromo of Dano Districts in different regimes of Ethiopia, and women's place in the society in reference to their indigenous Gada system. It is known that Ethiopian women were alienated from land holding and ownership rights under the feudal system, Derg regime, and EPDRF times of Ethiopia. Likewise, the paper also reduces the customary rights of Dano Oromo women in their plural and egalitarian Gada Democratic system, of Sique culture and Qallu institutions of the Oromo people of Ethiopia; the role and places that Gada system kept and assured for women are so appreciable and could be taken as role model and best example for other communities of Ethiopia in particular and Africa at large. It is known that, for long periods, Ethiopia was led by feudal system of Monarchial and Kingship governance that promotes patriarchy rule and rights both at home and outside of it even on position places through depriving women's all rounded rights supported with decree and proclamation, like Ethiopia's pillar of economy is agriculture, which is associated with land, and every sources of income of the people is driven from it; so, this resource should be distributed fairly without any sexual, religion, and color biases. However, at different times and regimes, "land in Ethiopia" was seen as a sole property of men, which means that more than 85% rural settler Ethiopian agrarian women household and maids were dependent on either their husbands, families, or good wills of local chiefs. This was the most exploitative and harsh system that stood against to human and democratic rights. But post of 1991, encouraging works has been started to treat women and men equally on every issue at any place and time; even as a form of affirmative action, Ethiopian women are now encouraging to get all advantage-related activities before their men counterparts. The paper employed descriptive research method with qualitative data of purposive sampling techniques from the study area through consulting primary and secondary sources. Of course, since the topic is new or not previously studied and absence of previously studied documents on the issue, I was challenged by searching of written documents and key informants. The findings exhibit that, for long years, "women do not have a right to land," but, in some extent, post of 1995, the government confirmed to assure all women to get access as to their men counter parts. But even if it is encouraging, still, more works should be done to empower them.

1. Introduction

Sources produced on Ethiopian history have taken the reservation side to indicate precisely when and how the Ethiopian feudalism and its social classes were started, for the reason that Ethiopian feudalism was developed slowly. Feudalism in highland Ethiopia appears to have developed much slower than in Medieval Europe, to last longer, and to mature less [1]. The development of feud elements (land) throughout Ethiopia had been not similar both in age and in maturity.

Some parts of Ethiopia were more feudal than others, while others were still quite egalitarians. When in the north, it has been developed only to the form of protofeudalism; among some societies of the south, it was totally absent. Many of the southern were under egalitarian system of administration until the expansion of the Christian kingdom to the region [2]. According to Hadera [3], he argued that, "in prerevolutionary Ethiopia, land was both an economic and political instrument. Consequently, access to land depended more on the political status of individuals and loyalty to the

crown and/or church, the latter being the main instrument for consolidation of state power. For instance, Article 130 (a) of the 1955 Revised Constitution of the Empire of Ethiopia emphasized that: "the natural resources of the Empire, including those beneath its waters, are state domain." Subarticle (b) also underlined that: The natural resources in the waters, forests, land, air, lakes, rivers, and ports of the Empire are sacred trust for the benefits of present and succeeding generations of the Ethiopian people [3-5]. The good and just emperor or king was responsible for preserving civil order; the *mekwanint* (nobility) was responsible for the fertility of the land, and the church (kahinat) is responsible for the spiritual well-being of the society. At the same time, the king rightfully predominated over the nobility as well as the clergy. There was also a class of Kahinat (church leaders) or clerks who sustained themselves by using a tikle (land grant) from lord or kings [1, 2, 6]. Haile Sellasie attempted to speed up and even propagate it to strengthen the state's capacity to consolidate itself. Fief in the form of rist, gult, rist gult, balabat, siso gult, samon gult, and madria were extended to the south by taking forms of feudal system that it had when it had been in the north. Land was given as incentive for aiding in the occupation of the periphery. In doing so, they developed more matured and defined feudal system in the south. Feudal social classes also began having a form in the south than in the north [2, 7, 8].

Similarly, as to Hadera [3], "the rist (hereditary land rights) was considered as a birthright, for both men and women, and it shows that, if anyone one had ancestors and was a free and legitimate member of the community, he/ she would grant such privileges. Having land rights was an expression of one's identity; under this system, the idea of selling land was regarded as illegitimate and shameful. On the other hand, a landholder had a hereditary right to share his/her ancestor's land, and these were subdivided among family members, and a share of each was then apportioned to claimants by lots to ensure fairness. As a result, land holdings for households were made up of several scattered parcels of land. However, their rist land was subject to payment of taxes, tributes, and a variety of personal services to the clergy or secular authorities that administered their communities under traditional land rights. The gult (land rights granted by the crown/emperor) which was contrasted with rist rights was introduced and extended over the same land, having the rights of governance including the right to tax, judge, and mobilized inhabitants for war [3, 9, 10]. The church leaders also often held a great power over the people much like the Mesafint, Mekwanent, and down to the structure of gultegna. Many church leaders were active in politics and government. In this way, the church was firmly entrenched in the spiritual and practical lives of the gabbars. The church also supported the lords to use the land as the lord used the church to bring the subjects under spiritual control. Such kind of symbiosis between the church and the lord kept them positioned over the *gabbars* [2, 3, 11].

Later on, the gult was abolished as the central government created a new standing army and introduced a series of administrative and tax reforms while rist rights continue to be practiced. Hadera [3] and Dejene [12] argued that

"in areas controlled and recontrolled by the feudal lords, locally called Abba Laffas, such as in Oromia, the majority of the farming population was tenant, whose customary rights were not recognized by the imperial regime. They worked as share cropping tenants of the land lords, who had acquired land grants as a result of the conquest. Tenants had little land security and would owe as much as three days labor in a week, with, other gifts and services to their landlords. In some cases, tenants were evicted from the land when commercial farms started to flourish. In due course, land grants held by the church and state elite in the conquered areas were transformed into free hold, and a substantial number of smallholders became beneficiaries [3, 12, 13]. The rigid structure of this feudal state consisted of the emperors, lords, and the mass consisted of different economic and social background. The structure first came about and remained for so long, because of the great size of the land the kings, or the emperors had under their control. The kings held this land by what they believed was "divine right," the right to rule granted by God, and then passed on through heredity ([14-16]; Mantel, 975). The land tenure system under the monarchy was feudal in character, emphasizing tribute, personal services, and family ties. As could be observed, from the practices mentioned above, there was no concern for women's rights of access to land."

The Fetha Nagast (the law of king) justified the position of slaves in Ethiopia as property is registered in the name of the husband, the husband is the head of the family, he guides family management, and he establishes a common residence to administer common property and others [2, 17, 18].

As Hadera [3] argued that "the Derg, who ousted the monarchy in 1974, introduced a radical nationwide program of nationalization of all rural land. It was motivated through the 1975 Proclamation which provided for public ownership of rural land. The Proclamation noted that, without differentiation of the sexes, any person who is willing to personally cultivate land shall be allotted rural lands sufficient for his maintenance and that of his family." This proclamation essentially allocated land only to those who were able to till it and totally denied the rights of the children, the elderly, and those women unable to plough land due to cultural constraints.

Although the government claimed that the program was intended to facilitate speedy development, its impact was heavy particularly on women and children [3, 19]. Derg's positive aspects of the land distribution process, which focused on households, have been criticized for being gender-biased and, therefore, failing to ensure equal land rights of women [12]. Unlike the 1987 theoretical Constitution of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PDRE), the 1995 FDRE Constitution declared women's right to equal access including land, and land is a common property of the nations, nationalities, and peoples of Ethiopia and shall not be subject to sale or to other means of exchange [3, 12, 20]. Article 4(4) of the Proclamation states that: The land administration law of the regions shall confirm the equal rights of women in respect of the use, administration, and control of land as well as in respect of transferring and bequeathing holding rights [3, 21, 22].

According to Mengesha [23]. The EPRDF/TPLF began its rule in a more promising vein in 1995. It allocated women their own departments and offices in the form of women's affairs and even drafted a policy framework of operations. However, as a result of the radical changes at the polity, these were obviously by-products, executed in a paternalistic and tokenism manner. Radical changes have never been envisaged by the regime. Its only aim is to exert maximum control. It is disappointing to admit that, somehow, women have been left behind [23]. The discussions below will emphasize the visibility of the issues of women's right in respect to possession of land, and other communal and official power/positions were not well studied in Dano district in particular and Ethiopia in general. Thus, this study would try to explain and documented geographically on the scope of the Dano wareda areas of Western Shoa, and in title, women's land holding right in the change and continuities of different regimes, their place in their social institutions like Gada system, as well as dimensional effects of alienating women from different position in their families, communities, and the state at large.

I believed the study will contribute something to fill the aforementioned gaps and initiate future writers and researchers to add more studies through using this study as pave opening and reference.

2. Research Methodology

To collect, analyze, and interpret the data obtained from the describe objectives of the study, qualitative research method was employed. The researcher tried to investigate the changes and continuities, challenges, and prospects of women land ownership rights on the study area. In this study, sources were consolidated from both primary (interview from the local elders, key informants, focus group discussion and archive materials, and field observation) and secondary (from book, article, magazine, local government reports, and other published and unpublished materials) sources of data.

Purposive sampling technique was used to gather relevant data for the study, and the researcher selected knowledgeable informants with balancing sex and age ratios. Data were analyzed mainly through qualitative method of analysis in accordance with the research questions and objective of the study.

3. Results and Discussions on the Topic

3.1. Geographical Background. Dano district is one of West Shoa zones which is located from the western direction of Oromia regional state. It is bordered by Jima zone in the western part, eastern Wollega in the north, Chalia woreda by eastern, and Nono woreda in the southern part. According to my informants, Ato Getachew Biru and Ato Ketela Obsu informed me that it is far from Ambo about 125 km, which is the capital town of West Shoa Zone, and 250 km from Addis Ababa, which is the capital city of Ethiopia (Informants: Getachewu, Ketela; [24]). It consists of 27 kebeles; from those, five of them are urban administration,

and the remaining are rural/country side/kebeles. Originally, the present day of Dano Woreda is established by three clans called, Doreni, Shoa, and Garjeda. The three clans were lived together, and their populations were dramatically increased and became large groups. Shoa clans are begun to expand towards the east and south part of the Woreda [1, 24].

Gar-jeda clans were distributed to the northern and western part of the woreda, and the Doreni clans were expanded towards the south western part. Those clans were ruled by a single person called kellecha. At that time, he was a rich, hero, and sought as the father of Aba Gada. Thus, the name of Dano was derived from a person named Degou. On the top of this oral tradition, the name of Dano refers to the present day of land dewo forest which is located in the western part of the woreda. Consequently, as same oral tradition, the name of Dano was also derived from the name of person whose name was Da'ano (Informants: Getachew, Ketela). Demographically, the exact number of Dano was unknown particularly during the Derg regime. But the area was densely populated with three largest ethnic groups. Among them, 53 percent were covered by Doreni Oromo clans, 33 percent were by Shoa Oromo, 10 percent by Gerjeda Oromo, 1.5 covered by Amhara people, and 2.5 Hararge Oromo clans. Generally, most of the people of Dano were living in country side [24].

Dano has diversified climatic condition with wide ranging attitude. This area mainly characterized by three climatic variations. These were mind land (Woina dega), arable highland (Dega), and lowland (Qolla). Among the total of Dano land, 55 percent of the land is midland (Woinadega), 25 percent of the land is arable highland, and the remaining of the land about 20 percent is lowland (Qolla) climatic zone. Moreover, the Woreda is also favorable for the production of food and cash crops like teff, wheat, barley, maize, sorghum, and coffee (Ibid).

3.2. Historical Background. Dano peoples have an attractive culture. They have an indigenous political legal system that attributes by age set which is called Gada. Gada system is the fundamental culture that reflects the identity of their society. Marriage is one of the distinctive cultures of Dano. They exercise different type of marriage system. The prominent one is *kadhimannaa* (it is family consent-based type), aseennaa (abduction), and the others. Their ways of practice also greatly varied. Like marriage system, material cultures were famous in Dano, which were produced from leather and cotton and identify the culture of Dano from other people. This material is called kuta which is the product of cotton and wears on the shoulder and served as holding children (Informants: Ketelo). Sigge is a tiny stick type of ritual as well as women's right indication and mostly used during ceremony and guest travel to people of special event home [25].

Siqqe is a tiny stick which was cut from the forest and well prepared and given to the daughter by her father. During one kind of celebration, women must hold their siqqe. At the time of marriage and after, they must handle their siqqe [26]. After marriage when she returned back to her father's home to share or to inherit property, she would have

handled this *siqqe*. If she comes without handling her *siqqe*, she cannot participate from her parents' prosperity. The Siqqe is a special stick which women depict as legally married will received on her wedding day. It is women's weapon, symbolizing the respect and the power that marriage has given to women in order to protect aright. If a woman have a *siqqe*, she had to be respected, and nobody should fight with her. If the woman is married based on *siqqe* like in the case of kadhimannaa, marriage based on agreement between two families, she had a full rights to enjoy her privileges under siqqe [25, 27].

On the other words, if her marriage is conducted in accordance to Gada system, the sique is handed over to Abba Gadaa by ritual leader of the Oromo society in the framework of the Gada system [27, 28].

3.2.1. Qallu Institution. Qallu is the traditional religious believers that practiced mainly by the elders of Dano peoples. This system was very familiar with the Oromo's people [29]. The indigenous belief of this area was called waqqeffannaa which has been defined as a believer in one God who has created everything and above all in his power. Waaqqeffannaa system is led by Qallu who is significant representative in the Gada institution [30].

In Dano people, qallu is perceived as a messenger of (Waqa) or God. Every time he appears, the people pay him homage and received his blessing. The responsibility of Qallu is serving as a facilitator of peace and stability among the peoples [29]. He gives blessing and prayers moving here and there in Dano villages. He also serves as an agent that promotes the culture, moral, and laws of the peoples. This was regarded as the leader and enforce of the Dano traditional believe as well as regulator of the social and cultural lives of the society [31].

3.3. Queens and Kings Administration System. Before the invention of Gada institution, according to the Dano traditions Dano peoples were ruled by five queens and kings for the long period of time. Traditionally, after Gada system took place due to bad governance and wide spread lawlessness under the queens and kings. The queens and kings administration system did not effectively maintained peace and stability [32].

In addition, there were population growth and territorial expansion but the queens and kings were not enabled to control over the people living within their enlarge territory. After the expansion of population were increased in Dano, the queens and kings form of government became necessary to delegate power to the clans and to introduce the Gada administration system. Among the queens of Dano, Akko Manoyyee was the famous queen that ruled Dano. She was the familiar and strong woman who enabled to rule Dano by using her empowered. At that time, the power and all things were on her hand as well as she ordered men to work in the house activities [27].

The works of women during that time and the present day are completely different according to my informants. That means the responsibilities of the men were in the house while women horded to filled activities. Dano women were aware of the potential legitimizing role of the myth and try to use it for their own empowerment in rituals and prayers. When drought occurs, women gathered under Mekkennisa, tree to pray [27, 33]. Uddooufata, Oyoyogaroye, Akko Manoyye, and other queens were asked by their Waqa Oromo supreme God for rains whereas the group prays directly to waqa. Later, Akko Manoyye was buried under Mekkennisa, the place of her and other queens, as story is claimed that women used Akko Manoyye as an intermediary between them and their *waqa* [34].

3.3.1. Gada System. Dano people, as common among all Oromo subgroup, were organized under an elaborate system of customary based socio-political institution known as Gada. Dano people practices the democratic system of Gadaa institution that addresses their judicial, legislative, and executive needs, and assured participation of individuals and communities at the grassroots [23]. According to Asebe [31], "Gadaa system is a very comprehensive institution of the Oromo people. No Oromo cultural and historical concepts would be understood without understanding the role of Gadaa system and the value attached to it by the community [31]." This Gada system has eight father and children grades for ritual and political purpose. Gada system is equal with democratic system that serve societies peace and security of the peoples. These forms of government have its own leader called Abba Gada, and Abba Dula the commander of army [35]. In addition, these women have great role in the activities of Gada system with the celebration of Gada. Abba Gada could be not celebrating without his wife.

For instance, Gada system is a form of administrative system in Dano societies from the ancient even up to the present day. This form of administration transfers from one grade to other grades at follow for eight years. Gada system has five classes and eight grades. The father of Gada or Abba Gada/Luba is as a great responsible to serve the societies for maintaining peace, stability, law, culture, and moral of the people like that of Qallu. The division of Gada into five ages is only to facilitate the processes of Gada administration system in simple way and transfer the power from one to others step by step in eight years each. The age of Gada grades had five and eight classes. Those are Folle ages, from 9 to 16 years old; their duties were stock around their areas. The second Gada grade was Qondala ages from 17 to 24 years old; their duties were taking livestock away from their areas and begin drowning water from wells. The third was kusa ages from 25 to 32; their duties were politically great significant center of Gada leaders emerged. The fourth grade was Raba ages from 33 to 40 year; their duties were an extension of kusa grade that prepared for the assumption of full authority which provides military service to maintain the property of the zone and solve problem with their neighbors. The last not the list grades were luba ages from 40 to 48 [35]. It is the most important and active in all stages in terms of politics to solve the problem of their people which brought the land dispute between clan to clan, Woreda to Woreda, and kebele to kebele among the Dano peoples and with other neighbor zones (Informants: Debesa, Meseret).

Gada system was the political system that has been ruled peoples as a form of democratic system. In each eight (8) years, the process of this system is transferred from one person to another person within eight years. When they reached at five Gada stages (luba) was elected. According to the rule and the responsibility, Abba Gada is responsible to maintaining peace and stability and the prosperities of the woreda by keeping their land boundary from the other particularly and brought sustainable development in their areas [35, 36].

3.3.2. Elders in Form of Jaarsummaa System. According to my informants, meseret and Ketela, one of the most mechanisms that people were ruled in the local area, was based on their agreement. When some problem was faced between two people in Dano, before their problem was reached in other organs like Abba Gada and the state, the elders were what kind of problem was created between them in both side in the form of *jaarsummaa* by local elders. Then, the other survived their problem to compromise them based on their interest (Informants: Meseret, Ketela). The authorities of the elders were derived from their position in the Gada system as the elders of the local tell us. And those who stand to solve and rule the local people were considered as to be the elders that elected from each of their communities. Therefore, the elders settled disputes among the groups and individuals and apply the law as well as dealing about the distribution of the sources and punishment and protection of the properties [25, 36]. Generally, elders were one form of administration that ruled by elders more than 60 years. The problems of the people were solved peacefully without huge payment and time. This was carried out under Odaa and close to Mokkonnisa trees. The elders had a full power to punish them based on the crime. So the elder's administration system was the most popular and respectable before 1991 even mi still continuing [27, 32].

3.4. Women and Land Right in Dano District during Emperor Haille Selassie (1941-1974). Land tenure (Qabiyyee-Lafu mmaa) is the way how individuals had been holding the land by using rules and customs. On the other word, land tenure was a set of rules that determines how land was used and disposed within the society. Also, land tenure was a legal system in which land was owned by individuals that separate its boundary towards four directions confirmed from the other person [2, 37]. In the land tenure, holding of the land could determine individuals, families, communities, or organization which recognized bate according to Ethiopian nation. The word land tenure was first coming from the French languages called tanner which means to hold. In the connection of this definition according to Ethiopian context, the term tenure was used to the relationship between tenant and land lord before the distribution of land by the Derg [1]. That means land belongs to lord because Ethiopia followed feudal system during the reign of Emperor Haile Selasse I [2, 21].

Ethiopia was under a monarchical government system for a long period of time. The imperial state was characterized by absolutism and landlordism. For instance, the economy was depending on rural agrarian described feudal. Land was owned by land lords, and its unit measure is called Qallad. Land is one of the most important elements to be considered in the context of urban and rural development and its source of all material wealth and main resource of human settlement. Land was acquired in different ways during the reign of Emperor Haila Sellassie I [2, 38]. Land lords owned lands by appointment. The soldiers went to war and when they returned back, they had got a lot of land called "Lafa duulaa" which means soldiers' land. The other type of land which was acquired by appointment is called as "Lafa dammaa" (honey land). This land was given to the gabbar peasant when he or she carried honey and its product to the central government palace. Another acquiring land in tenure system is through relative clan or blood. As a power transferred by clan in the system of Solomonic dynasty, land was also transferred from generation to generation by close relative among the royal family and the nobility [1, 37].

The land of Dano was not completely controlled by feudal system except gabbar. Their lands were divided in to two based on its usage highlands and lowlands. In both highlands and lowland areas, people were producers of cereal production in addition to raring animals. However, in the connection of the land during the reign of monarchy, gabbar system, gult, bala-gulti, rest-gult system, and simon land was not well developed in Dano, and particularly, simon land was not penetrated in this area, because they followed traditional religion called "Waaqeffannaa" (one supreme God) as well as "Qaalluu" (intermediately between God and person) and ruled by the administration system called Gada. Thus, the government was not forced to convert traditional religion Waaqeffannaa to other religious [17, 29].

In the lowland area, all of the Dano people were concentrated on the raring of animals, production of cash crops and cereals. Therefore, their life was depended on raring of animals, production of honey bees in addition to cash crops and cereals during and after 1974. The people who lived in lowland area mandated to provide animal production such as butter and honey for government instead of tax directly. Generally, during the reign of Emperor Haila Sellassie I, land was under the hand of feudal whether women and men; any person do not have ownership of land tenure. But at that time, human beings were providing service for feudal and only lived for their life. Therefore, the life situation of women as well as males were very difficult to survive their life because land was under the ownership of the few lords, particularly, the governor relatives and his royal family [24, 38].

3.5. Land Holding System during the Period of Derg (1974-1991). Derg come to power after the fall of the imperial regime of Haila Sellassie I. The army toppled the emperor on 12 September 1974. The military army which took over the power subsequently names itself the provisional military administrative council called the Derg which means committee or council [2, 37].

After the Derg came to the power in Ethiopia, land belongs to the state that means the feudal of relationship between land holders and state was ended. Once it controlled political power, the military government began to look ways of strengthening its political and economic power.

Immediately after he came to power, he focused the response of the question of the people land to the tiller, and his slogans started to work after few months [3].

At that time, land was the main point and played important role to consolidate the political power of Derg which got political support extremely from rural areas. As the first, the Derg seems to respond the socioeconomic demand ,not mass peoples to achieve and strengthen its political powers in both rural and urban area [1].

The land holding system of Dano deprived the right of women access to land under the government of Derg. The lives of Dano people were based on agrarian before the coming of military government. But as a Derg was crown to the power, the position of their living style was transformed from backward agrarian activities to modern agrarian activity as a result of villagization [2]. According to my informants Gidi and Gebisa, the livelihood of the community's shifted from backward agrarian to semimodernize crop production such as maize and barley as the first. The strategies of crop production especially maize and barley were adopted from their neighbor Shoa Oromo and Jibat as well as its seeds got from those zones. Women did not control the land from communities because they were dominated by males before and during the Derg reign, particularly, in Dano. Their ownership had been broken down by the household heads of their husbands or a male as whole which they developed negative attitudes towards social systems. Furthermore, women were suffering from accessing animal's wealth and land in the Dano area (H.S. [39]). Women also persistently loss power on making decision over production and livestock such as butter and cheese. These were totally controlled by the males. So, the women were facilitators and responsible in the livelihood properties that were protected from harm. Regarding the land tenure system, different proclamation was proclaimed in 1975 by the military regime (Ibid).

This government was introduced at the first modern land proclamation in Ethiopia history as soon as he come to power. The declaration which concerned about the land acquisition was made land rural as a public or government property especially the proclamation which speak about the land under the proclamation number 71/1997 [12].

This decree was focused about the land right which Ethiopian peoples were asked for a long period of time and got their responses at the first time in Ethiopian history. The proclamation was only focused on the rural land particularly for those present lives based on agriculture. The proclamation number 71/1995 bestowed for the public ownership of rural land was noted theoretically without the differentiation of sexes. Any persons who are willing to personally cultivate land shall be allotted rural land sufficient for his maintenance and for his family. According to this proclamation, any person who has interest could be taking the land [37, 38]. The 1977 villagization program of the Derg forcefully uprooted from their original place to other new without the interest of the peoples. The notion of government claimed that facility could render that speed development equivalent line with the others countries. But its impacts were very heavy for people especially women rather than

development. The major impact which women faced as a result of villagization was the long distance to farm land was very serious because of the far walking to their work with bearing her child on her back including breakfast and water. This villagization had also negatively affected on human access to land. In regarding villagization program, the land distribution process was focused on households. It criticized for gender biased, and failing to ensure equal land right to women [40]. According to this program, the person who accessed to land participate on daily team work in village to bring fast development and struggle to abolish against their stands for sovereignty of this country at the end. Also, they had been a pair of oxen in the team, within the plough and harvest material. A person who did not have fulfillment of these things could not access the land according to the villagization program in Dano area [39]. However, practically, the proclamation was nominal in the past not at Dano Woreda as a whole in the country. So, Dano women do not have any right to access the land that mandated to negative attitude towards the communities, dominance of males as traditionally, and government itself. According to my informants, the proclamation of the Derg in 1975 was only the proclamation of male not including Dano women. The reason behind it was women have had not the power empowered of her husband compound until she lived with him [38].

When the first land distribution process was conducted in Ethiopia at the first in 1975 by the military regime, it was distributed based on number of families and whole of his property. His wife belongs to his family unless women did not have land alone. If he had ten children including his wife and more than fifty horn cows, 20 and more than 20 goats, two and above mule and horse; each of these people can get 15 hectares according to Dano areas. If he had more than 10 children and properties, he can get 15 hectares. It indicated that land distributed based on the number of children and his properties. Land was distributed only for the male; that means male has full of power to access the land right. Suddenly, when the husband died from one family after the distribution of the land, his wife would not inherit the land according to Dano area. The land was inherited from one of his family elder's son including whole of his wealth. As a modern Ethiopian proclamation of Derg, women could be the owner of land right. The proclamation itself was nominal, and the traditional culture of Dano did not give land right for women's as well as they did not have the ownership of wealth as individual person (Informants: Workitu and Diribe Angasa).

Before and during the Derg, the history of Ethiopian women on the land right had not known as a tradition of our country. If she will be married, starting from her wedding, she accounted one of the members of her husband's families until her husband lived his life according to the Dano tradition. But when he died from unknown reason and natural, the women were not considered as the member of his families because they believed that she has a chance to remarry another person as well as the probability of live the area may be high. If she wants to return to her families and remarry based on their tradition and her interest, any person

could be forced for her to remarry other person without the first place [41].

In the marriage system, women do not have the right to access the land in Dano area. When one husband died from one family, his family, his land, and the whole wealth of that man will be transfer to his wife directly, and she do not have the power to take the land as Dano tradition. Immediately, after her husband died, her husband's families send famous elder and Abba Gada to her for inheriting one of the brothers of her husband depending on their interest. He takes the idea and agreement with them that the land and whole wealth of the first husband including his children were inherited by his brother. She could not remarry another person according to Dano area (Ibid; Informants: Diribe and Workitu).

If there was disagreement between her and husband's families, she had a full power to remarry other person but she had a great mandate to leave that area with short period of time. She do not have the right to inherit her husband's land and wealth. The transfer of land was only conducted within his relative community if he do not have a son and the elder son from his families was not stand in front of him to inherit his father land and wealth. However, his son had duties to exercise his father families without any superiority and inferiority created between them as well as the obligator to see them in one eye as their tradition. Totally, Dano tradition land should be transferred or inherited only from father to son [39, 41].

In another way, if she decides to marry another person, she could have leave that area without taking her property. This indicated that the women of Dano do not have any right on land as well as wealth prior and during the military regime. But, if she decided to live with her children, she had a full power to live with her families and generate her wealth to survive better life without husband; she will live lonely and acceptable in the community. Additionally, in the marriage system when one girl and boys meet together in the form of *kaadhimmannaa* (the agreement between two families), the boy's family gives some amount of land may be more than two hectare for their boy and he will marry girls based on his choice [38, 39].

When his wife arrived to his families, the boy's mother bestowed little cattle called a Rada as a gift instead of land. The girls touched the gift *Rada* (little cattle) by her *Sigge*, one of the spiritual stick next day of her wedding. Starting from that time, the little cows were considered as the owner property of the girl, and she could sue this gift until she lived with her husband and until her husband lived his life [38]. Although when disagreement occurred between his wife and him for the situation of life, they decided to divorce. Finally, according to Dano area, she returned to her family without holding to any wealth from her husband except Siqqee, because there was no separation of wealth and land, to women in Dano, prior and during the reign of Derg. Traditionally, Dano had customs and norms which were ruled by Gada system as well as Qallu institution (Informants: Ketela). Sometimes, they are afraid to sin and Waqa or God concerning to the advice of Abba Gada and Qallu. Her husband was calling famous elder from both sides including Abba Gada and Qallu, no less than ten elders in both direction with Abba Gada and Qallu [30].

In both sides, famous elders were seeing the issue of them which created disagreement between husband and wife in the form of jaarsummaa or negotiation to solve the problem. After seeing the issue and the problem was unsolved by elders, finally, they decided to divorce regarding the issue of their disagreement, and he gave some number of cows including her cows which she got from her mother during their wedding as a gift for her in front of elders both sides. Then, the elders as well as Abba Gada and qallu blessed him [36].

At the end, the women returned back to her family with the cows and her Siqqe which was continued even during the military regime in Dano. Dano women had no positions and ownership right on the land during the reign of Derg. They had only the responsibility to control the production of livestock, farms, cereals, and their products, such as milk and butter, making coffee, churning milk, collecting tree wood, fetching water, caring children and grow, and cleaning the house. This were her limited rights. Despite her partnership, Dano peoples believe that women had responsibility and right only in her house; also, they believe that was not given responsibility and right for them without their house. These activities were exercised only until the reign of military rule in Dano area on women, even at the whole of Ethiopian history [24].

3.6. Socioeconomic Predicaments of Land Tenure on Women

3.6.1. Social Impacts. In Ethiopian context, impacts on women were familiar towards the social status attitude throughout the country for the long period of time before 1991 [38]. These activities were considered as the birth which comes from the God and cultural ways in our country. Traditionally, women enjoy little independence decision-making on most individual and family issues, including the option to choose whether to give birth in healthy facility. Harmful traditional practice which brought from the negative image towards the social status affected Ethiopian women made by in equality with men as a person. Those harmful traditions such as female genital cutting or circumcision, early marriage and child bearing, gender based violence forced marriage (abduction and marriages without her permission), wife inheritance rape, and a high value for a large families are the huge impact on women of Ethiopia in the past, and the same is true in Dano area. However, women were affected in different ways in the area of Dano. The major one was social and economic impacts of land-related predicaments [24].

Socially, Dano is one of the Wareda of west Shoa zone in Oromia regional state which known dense population lived in this area. Among their population, more than half of their numbers are women. This Wareda is also known as for gender inequality. Traditionally, according to their culture, women are responsible for domestic work and looking after the children. This has to be the women's job. This view is continued in rural and urban areas as well as many people continued to practice those traditional roles. According to the tradition of Dano people, household is based on the

presence of women for all. Gender inequality in the study area was expanded as the result of negative towards social status. Women were affected by various problem such as maternal mortality for the person of early marriage desire for more children and lack of awareness to use family planning due to the absence of education at early male dominance, and the others were the main that hindered Dano women in terms of social [42].

The absence of the right to land equal with men brought great impact which made women got law status during the military government. On the top of this heavy work load without her capacity even starting from her early age, early marriage, and she has few opportunities to make and act their own decisions. Before and during the military government, the situation of women was unpleasant. Women's land right and access were not appropriate and challenge to a normal life [37].

Most of the time, early marriages were faced by disease; when she couches by disease, she could not work on her household and unacceptable in the societies as well as by her husband. In the case of this, her husband can be remarried with a second wife from the first girls to facilitate his satisfaction, and his property was transferred to the second wife. The second wife was interred in to huge problem as the result of early marriage. Land was the property of men, and women could not have any right on land during the Derg regime [42].

After a woman married to one man, she would have a power to work on the land for her husband and generate her wealth together until she lived within her husband. But the wealth was controlled by men.

Hence, landless of women's in Dano were common for many years and consequently degraded their social hierarchy males. The lowland of Dano women particularly engage in activities from making coffee to constructing house. Some of the main tasks include preparing food, churning milk, collecting fire wood, and fetching water, and they also perform other tasks such as caring children, making bad, milking cows, cleaning house, and goree (calves and goats). There were also extra domestic tasks such as moving grass to house, covering, and for fodder, going to the market to sell animal products and purchase food staff and others (H.S. [38, 39]). There was restricting division of labor between Dano women and men. Women were responsible only for preserving and managing fruits before and during the Derg regime. Dano women used deteriorated food and milk for family consumption because they did not have access to market. In some, women had little or no access to land during the Derg [43].

On the other hand, marketing is the basic social life for Dano women. To meet daily necessity for women, men may simply visit markets to relax without necessary buying or selling. When the villagization program was introduced in 1977 by Derg, the life of Dano people were improved from backward farming system to submodern and modern farming system. Agriculture introduced new formats to cooperation between neighbors and additional domestic and extra domestic tasks both men and women. Women began to prepare food and did agricultural works. They also harvest teff,

barley, with cattle, and dung, and boys remain throughout the year with routine domestic chores and agriculturerelated activities [2, 43].

However, the expansion of modern farming system increased the women's work burden. Impacts of gender bias during the process of transformation from backward cultivating system to modern farming system owning to villagization program had occurred in various issues. There was heavy gender bias between men and women, because women could not be able to own land right. In this area, they accept the responsibility of household and other works; women could not be the owner of land, and they will not inherit land by law.

Thus, the traditional land and the new policy of land did not include women and were dominated by males. That means women could not take advantage of wide land benefit with ownership and control over property [37, 38].

According to land holding system in this area during that time, women were prevented from land ownership and direct access to the land. The process of administrative land had been administrated within the strong gender biased. Usually, women denied their right to own property and inheritance. Furthermore, for the lack of an organized leader of land administrative system and bias, women were forced to lack land, decision-maker, and ownership. In Dano area, land and other wealth due to the prevalence of inheritance customs both productive resource and properties such as household and other goods were in the hands of men. In other words, for land and other properties, women do not have the power to control and inherit properties until the Derg regime [38]. Only men had full right of inheritance or family succession. Women had a little opportunity to improve their status life condition within the family and local communities. Women could not separate their wealth including land equal. This situation more affected Dano women especially in social terms. They were independent on male relatives for survival and do not have a chance to generate as well as support other persons. The policy of government by itself at that time affected women in both social and economic aspect which did not differ from the former on actually. Hence, it forced them to failed under her husband without affection bond interims of land right, inheritance, and ownership of other property [37, 43].

The rights to manage land and control the income from women were completely prohibited traditionally and new policy and not alleviate such problems. Women do not have the power or right out of her compound and order to other person as well as owner of her individual property [38]. In case of this pressure, Dano's women remain the owner of land right and other properties. As the elders of Dano, they do not have any right without her household and could not have her individual ownership. For these, attitudes for women were not asked to contribute their individual works, and their husbands were not permitted to give land for women. Therefore, due to such obstacles and absence of good governance, Dano's women were obliged to a life of land lessens [43].

3.6.2. Economic Impacts. According to Dano tradition, women did not had their own land or property. Such

traditions were commenced from the background of Ethiopian human prior Derg. Derg also encouraged the traditional negative image towards such social and economic background. Hence, due to the absence of women's land right in Dano, they will remain economically poor. Hence, the development was facilitating women to fail under the land of her husband in terms of economical and psychological. That means the work of males affected the women's psychological and moral. In the case of negative image of women, there were impacts over them starting from the lower of social and economic opportunities [3].

When the military governments come to power, Dano woreda's economy was transferred from traditional cultivating activities to modern agricultural activities as a result of villagization program. Gradually, they became weak for overload of work and married before they matured in body. If she could not be able to work domestic and extradomestic, their economy was too decline, and they were not acceptable for their husbands. Later, their husbands could be remarrying other women, and their wealth was transferred into the second woman [41].

The first woman failed under great problem for the absence of her wealth. So, early marriage was a great impact on women in Dano's community. In summary, women did not acquire land by their own right prior and during the Derg. For the absence of land rights, females were enforce to work only what were ordered. Thus, male dominance was the major problem of women's economy. They worked but not benefited from the economic products as well as not controlled the economy that generated from any products. The dominance of any wealth by males was affected psychologically of women's gender biased also impacted on the economic activity; women income was seriously affected and their morals as well [37, 38]. Due to the absence of land and gender prejudice, the women were forced to migrate from their normal place to the other places. According to my informants, most of the time, they migrated to neighbor regions such as Jima Zone, Kafa Zone, and Wollega Zone. Those migrates from their place to these area for the shortage of money, absence of land, lack of food, and proper money, forced to lead miserly life mostly. Some other also gradually married in these places and started new life (Informants: Meseret, Gebisa).

4. Conclusion and Implications

Dano woreda is one of the West Shoa zone in Oromia regional state which is located in the western direction and established by the three clans called *Garjeda*, *Dorani*, and *Shoa*, which formed the present day of *Dano* area. It was occupied by various climatic conditions such as midland, highland, and lowland. Their economic activities were based on agrarian farming system; this cultivating activity is the most basic livelihood of the residents. Similarly, different ethnic groups are lived in this area. More than 95% are Oromo peoples, and the remaining percent were Ethiopian nation and nationalities.

They have been an attractive culture and an indigenous political legal system called *Gada* system. This system was

the identity of Dano peoples, like Gada system; their marriage and wearing clothes were the popular. Dano was ruled by the queens and kings at different times. The famous queen of Dano was called Hujube Dano. Land tenure was the legal system in which land was owned by individual person (lords) that separates its boundary towards four directions from the other person. This study examines the status of women in Dano woreda rural communities with particular reference to the rights to land. The study covers 22 rural kebeles and 5 urban administrations; prior and during the reigns of Derg and feudalism, Dano women have had not access to land and ownership of wealth, because women were affected by different images such as male dominance, gender biased, work division, and negative attitude towards social status were more hindered for Dano women's prior and during the aforementioned regimes. But their responsibilities enabled them to control the animal and animal production such as butter, milk, and cheese. In summary, such activities more affected Dano women in terms of psychology and morals. Additionally, it has predicaments in both social and economic impacts.

However, post of 1995, the issues of women was included in the new drafted constitution of FDRE, like a right to equal access of education, land, health, security, life, freedom, marriage, religion, and other human and democratic rights. Even if some of the acknowledged rights of women were left on white paper, as compared to the former regimes, recently, Dano women in particular and Ethiopian women in general are enjoying various rights. The analysis of recent changes demonstrates that customary laws and institutions provided protections for women much better than statutory laws have delivered. Past academics constructed and perpetuated the image of this section of the society as essentially patriarchal. This position is misleading without considering the sociopolitical changes that have affected women. Colonialism and political incorporations into nation-states in Africa have strengthened gender gap among African societies. The Dano case shows how women lost much of their customary rights with the increasing loss of their cultural autonomy and property rights through times.

However, the case of *Dano* wareda women rights to land and properties indicates dual side implications for other people of Ethiopia and the state: (A) contrary to legal systems, the system of Gada gave due respect and attention to *Dano* Woreda women to threaten equally, it implies that government bodies should work hand in hand with customary rules to promoting gender equality; (B) as compared to other communities of the country, local communities of the study area women have several customary rights like system of *Siqee*; (C) post of 1991 movies are good and encouraging so the government should exert its maximum effort on empowering women through several mechanisms; and holistic and inclusive policies and rules should be drafted to incorporate those previously disadvantageous groups.

If the rights of women were handled in good manner, they would contribute a lot for the development of their families' economy and region, and the country itself would hit its long-term plan with in short periods of time. Even the systems of democracy would insure safely.

Acronyms

FDRE: Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

PA: Peasant Association. FHHS: Female headed households MOA: Ministry of Agriculture

FDRE: Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia PDRE: Peoples Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

Data Availability

All data and appropriate sources that are used in this study can be accessed on a request to the corresponding author of the manuscript.

Conflicts of Interest

The author declares that there are no conflicts of interest.

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