

Peasantry and Self-Reliance in Eritrea: State Management of Labour and Land

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Abstract

In the aftermath of thirty years of war for independence, the Eritrean state has pursued self-reliance strategy of development that relies on national resources, human and natural. It has disregarded international capital due to the risks it comprises. Instead it has put land and labour, the two major national resources, under full management of the state. Focusing on the current peasantry mode of production, the objective of this article is to analyse the impacts of self-reliance strategy on rural agriculture. Using qualitative data gathered between January and April 2017 through ethnographic fieldwork and interviews, the article concludes that state management of labour and land exhibits mixed outcomes. To begin with, the land policy has circumvented the development of land market; two, it has saved peasants from capitalist dispossession; three, it has eradicated the historical inequality created by the imbalanced land ownership. On the other hand, the labour policy has drained labour from agriculture; and secondly, it has increased rural-urban and international migrations. In a nutshell, the policy has introduced new non-capitalist social configurations in the rural area, and has converted the state into a major force of depeasantization of rural labour.

Key Words: Eritrea, Labour, Land, Peasant, and Self-Reliance

Introduction

Eritrea became independent in 1991. This process leading to independence took thirty years of armed struggle and peasants played a central role both voluntarily and involuntarily. Needless to say, the process creamed-off peasants' resources, labour and their meagre capital. The war left

peasants in economic destitution characterized by frequent drought, famine, malnutrition and total collapse of social services. Soon, the Eritrean state initiated a number of projects altogether with an intention to reward peasant with something that equates to their contribution to the struggle for independence. In realizing such

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objective, the state chose to guide its interventionist approach by the strategy of self-reliance that worked out very well during the armed struggle.

However, studies have found mixed results. Self-reliance in Eritrea, according to Andebrhan, led to a rationing economy and political isolation. It produced a government with “gross incompetence, and wasteful management of...human and material resources.”¹ For Hepner and O’Kane, self-reliance that brought an independent Eritrea in 1991, has delivered nothing except endless optimism; it has failed to realize socio-economic progress, it could not even “lead to [the basic] freedom [and] prosperity.”² For Tronvoll, the policy was nothing but a shield for the state to repress the society from which the optimism of early 1990s has vanished dramatically. It failed to deliver the development project in Eritrea.³ Another study by the Chatham House concluded that the self-reliance strategy has saved the country from economic collapse but increased isolation as it defies the logic of the so-called Washington Consensus. Internally, it has imposed restriction on enterprises, tightened state control of the economy, and excluded donor contribution.⁴

Insofar as self-reliance practice in Eritrea is concerned, development literature largely treats the outcome of self-reliance at the general level. Such generalization does not only carry the danger to undermine the other side of the policy but it is also

unclear as to whether the failure to be found at the policy level or at implementation. This article attempts to understand how the principle of self-reliance has been applied at the practical level and in particular how it works out with the peasantry. To what extent does the mobilization of labour and land from peasants, guided by the self-reliance strategy, lead to reliance on national resources? What techniques does government apply to generate and extract surplus from peasants? And finally what does this practice add to our understanding of self-reliance as we know it? Guided by these questions, the article focuses on labour and land, the two important factors of production of rural agriculture, these indeed are the determinant elements in peasantry economic structure, to evaluate the practicality of self-reliance in rural development.

Production of this paper has depended on three sources: fieldwork observation, interviews in different forms, and secondary sources. The paper does not assume that the application of these sources automatically guarantees the reliability of the outcome because all of them have inherent limitations. Oral sources, which rely on memory, lack consistency, although the researcher has made efforts such as cross-checking group interviews through personal observations to overcome the limitation. Yet, it is unrealistic to assume that such efforts would completely eliminate all limitations on the source. Hence, it fully recognizes

the Achilles' heel of some of the sources.

Constructing the Concept of Self-Reliance

Since self-reliance is a multi-aspect concept, it is easy to create a misunderstanding when it is explained in general terms. Hence, in order to avoid such risk, the article focuses on the economic aspect of self-reliance. Yet within this one aspect, it is hard to come up with one universal concept other than being a reactive strategy of underdevelopment. Galtung argues that self-reliance is not a new phenomenon. As a strategy of survival of small communities, it is as old as humanity. However, under the modern state, he defines, self-reliance as a way of organizing the economy by heavily relying on local capacity.⁵ Based on experience from the Arab world, for Sayigh, self-reliance is a development strategy by which decisions and actions of a society depend on maximum utilization of their resources.⁶ In one way or the other, from these two generally accepted conceptualization, it is clearly understood that self-reliance is a reaction or response made to some historical phenomenon characterized by the centre-periphery, and industrial-nonindustrial, dichotomy in development.

Self-reliance has a number of definitions in different contexts. The Arusha Declaration of 1967 in Tanzania, the Cocoyoc Declaration of 1974 By UNCTAD in Mexico, and the Marrakesh Declaration of

1977 are typical responses from non-industrial societies guided by the principle of self-reliance to centre versus periphery relationship. In the Arusha (1967) Declaration, independence is equated with self-reliance. It is a stage of economic development achieved without relying on foreign resources either in form of gifts, loans or investment, but depending on national/local resources. The Cocoyoc Declaration of 1974 refuses to equate self-reliance with autarky, instead, self-reliance is a strategy of ensuring basic needs by autonomously making decisions and setting goals that are primarily based on national resources, human and natural. To achieve such a feat, it advocates for temporary detachment from the centre. In the Marrakesh Declaration of 1977, self-reliance is conceptualized as a mechanism of self-defence of the existing dominant economic relationship. It is understood as an instrument of peaceful cooperation in which the obstacles to a fairer distribution of wealth are removed. While Arusha and Cocoyoc want to use self-reliance both as a mechanism of boosting national capacity by detaching themselves from the centre, the Marrakesh Declaration prefers to apply self-reliance as an alternative mechanism to the existing unbalanced interdependence between centre and periphery without getting them detached.

Even though not in a similar way, Eritrea's concept of self-reliance was a reaction to some historical conditions that took place during the

armed struggle between 1961 and 1991. Eritrea's major document called the *National Charter*, which contains the dream, vision and program of state building under the leadership of the major political organization called the People's Front for Democracy and Justice (PFDJ), formerly known as Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) explains self-reliance as follows:

Politically, it means to follow an independent line and give priority to internal conditions; economically, [it means] to rely on internal capabilities and develop internal capacities; and culturally, [it means] to have self-confidence and develop one's own cultural heritage... Although we [the people of Eritrea] need outside expertise and experts, we have to rely on our own abilities and experts, and give priority to developing our own capabilities and expertise.⁷

The charter further elaborates the application of self-reliance in the economy. The economic development strategy must be based on self-reliance and the full participation of our people. "This must happen by developing Eritrea's human and natural resources and make them the basis of our country's economic development and should primarily depend and rely on them."⁸ It acknowledges the importance of foreign aid. "... [O]utside assistance and investment are needed...but to benefit from outside assistance or investment, we have to have internal capabilities. And our own resources

can develop only through self-reliance and full public participation."⁹

Needless to say, it is unrealistic to imagine that this concept is solely a product of a single experience of Eritrean armed struggle as we have already pointed out other cases such as Tanzania. It shares tenets of a number of ideologies; for example, socialism. This is because it was born during the global era of the anti-imperialism struggle of 1950s and 1960s characterized as pan-Africanism, African socialism, negritude, Marxism, leftist or Marxist-Leninist sentiments; all influenced one another. According to Elliot J. Berg (1964), socialism was the fashion amongst leaders of the countries of tropical Africa such as Tanzania, Guinea, and Ghana, among others. However, there was no uniform conceptual and practical interpretation. Notions of self-reliance in Eritrea have affinity to Nyerere's notion of "African socialism" that argued strongly that Africans, historically, lived a socialist way of life. Nyerere used Marxist principles to attempt to eradicate structures, built under colonialism that allowed the exploitation of man by man and tried to restore the old 'socialism' by modernizing it.¹⁰

Using the historical origin and meaning of self-reliance built out of it, as an entry point, it is now important to assess the practicality of this principle in the development project of Eritrea since 1991. The article will revisit the practicality of policies implemented under the

guidance of self-reliance in relation to the agrarian section of society in the country. It makes an attempt to see how the principle affects rural development in five districts of country. What is so far gleaned from records and observations is that using self-reliance both as an end and a means of survival in the era of neoliberalism, Eritrea has gone a long way in setting the rules of engagement. The article intends to provide insights on Eritrea's course of self-reliance developmentalism on peasants hoping that this experience can enrich debate on new role of the state in development in sub-Saharan Africa.

Self-reliance in Practice

The independence of Eritrea corresponded with the end of the Cold War during which all alternative models to neoliberalism seemed to be outdated and many attempts had failed to galvanise support. The euphoria of neoliberal principles coined as "the end of history" in 1990s suffocated all alternative approaches. Despite global realities, Eritrea deployed a lot of efforts to disregard them and decided to pursue policies that would boost the growth of national capacity. Since then, it has tried to substitute international assistance by mobilizing the national resource at hand.

This approach has generated a great deal of disagreement and friction with the agents of neoliberalism such as IMF and World Bank. Neoliberalism views successful and failed developmental states

according to the nature and degree of the state's economic intervention. Conventionally, neoliberal economic thinkers such as F.A.Hayek (1944) and Milton Friedman (2002) relate success stories of development as a result of minimal state intervention, which is a manifestation of the free market economy. Alice H. Amsden (1989) and Dani Rodrik (1995) argue differently, perhaps to the contrary, that development is in fact the result of heavy and painstaking state intervention. Although "official history of capitalism" in North America and Western Europe tries to tell that development is only possible through free trade, reality is nothing more than a proactive role of the state through protectionism, subsidies, and investment on Research and Development.¹¹ Similarly, while the neoliberal theorists claim that developmental states of sub-Saharan Africa failed due to excessive state intervention, Robinson (2009) attributed the failure to a lack of adequate systematic state intervention.

Having this reality globally and a damaged economy locally due to protracted war, in 1991, the state of Eritrea stood at very difficult crossroads regarding which way to take. Eritrea's vibrant economy of 1960s that once equated to the economy of Ethiopia, Somalia and Djibouti combined, was completely destroyed by 1993.¹² Industries inherited from the colonial period were barely operational and those still functioning were technologically out

dated. Above all, employment was almost none, the market was too small and weak; on top of that, basic needs such as food, and social services such as health and education were very scarce. Social service institutions in operation were very poor by all accounts, unevenly distributed, and very congested.¹³

While the facts on the grounds are frustrating, the Eritrean state has avoided considering international assistance as *deus ex machina*. Yet it went ahead to plan an ambitious development project with meagre domestic capital. Ideally, two sources seemed to be available. One source was domestic through which the state intended to extract capital by mobilizing all forms of national resources – human, natural as well as financial capital. The second source was international aid, loans, and to some extent Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), which all together have been categorized as risky and unsustainable. Of all possible sources, the Eritrean state opted domestic sources; the extraction of capital by mobilizing national resources. Labour and land appeared to be easiest market commodities from which capital could be extracted relatively quickly. It was from this understanding, among other things, that in 1993, the state issued a law where it enjoys the right of full ownership of land with the right of every citizen to use it and enjoy its fruits.¹⁴ In 1995, it again launched the National Service Program under which every citizen is obliged to go to serve the state in

whatever capacity one may contribute for a year and half leaving everything private behind.¹⁵

Embarking on these two major policies, the state took a bold position. It decided not to accept any aid or loan unless it dropped its preconditions and left the state to be the owner of its development project. In 1993, the Eritrean President Isaias Afwerki stated in his first address to the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA), Eritrea needed international assistance that ensures a strong base for future self-reliance.¹⁶ This policy was made clear by the delegation of Eritrea in 1994 in Paris at a donors meeting. One spirit of the ideology is clear, any program aiming to support Eritrea's priorities and designed in partnership is always acceptable and endorsed by government. The Eritrean government welcomes international aid that addresses specific needs which cannot be met internally; "if it is not, time and time again, the government will choose to go alone, often at high cost."¹⁷ Unless foreign aid is self-limited, it services the interest of the donor not the recipient.¹⁸

Eritrea's pursuance of the strategy of self-reliance has deprived the international financial institutions – World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) – of unrestricted involvement in national projects. According to its major economic plan outlined in the Macro Policy document in 1994, development of Eritrea shall be the responsibility of no one but the people of Eritrea

under the guidance of the national government; no external force or agent can do that unless it has to be some sort of domination. Hence, national development falls under the sole ownership of the national government. Any agent interested in funding any development project, should acknowledge that its role is secondary. The responsibility of the funder is to watch where and how the provided resources are invested; to ensure that resources are not wasted.¹⁹

It is essential to see how this stand has been implemented on the ground in the last two decades. As previously stated, capital necessary for the reconstruction and development of economy was meant to come from internal sources, mainly the peasantry because demographically it forms the largest segment of the population, secondly, historically the state has always depended on this class since its formation as modern political entity during colonialism. Hence, at this particular time, again, the state chose to extract surplus from labour and land, the two important forces of production in the hands of the peasantry. For this purpose while land was converted into state property, labour withdrew from the market and has been mobilized to serve state projects for a specific duration. To see the practical impact of these policies, as manifestation of the self-reliance principle, let us explore their effects in five districts of the peasantry in Eritrea—Emni-Hayli, May-Ayni, Tserona, Serejeqa, and Geleb.

Historically, there were different forms of land ownership. In Serejeqa

district, there were two forms of land ownership, *beteka* and *wareda*. While the former is private property, the latter is public (village) property. In May-Ayni and Tserona districts, land was owned in the forms of *resti*, *shebenna* and *meret-worki*. In Emni-Hayli district, land was owned privately, in the forms of *tsilmi* and *meret-worki*. Similarly, in Geleb district, land belonged to individual household either in the form of *tsilmi* or *meret-worki*.²⁰ Generally, there were two forms of land ownership, private and public (village). Different districts name private ownership of land differently: *beteka* in Serejeqa district, *resti* in May-Ayni and Tserona districts, *tsilmi* in Emni-Hayli and Geleb districts. *Rsti*, *tsilmi* and *beteka* were all family private properties usually owned through occupancy by a founder or founders of the village. Under such ownership, every member of the family had the right to receive a share, even a child born out of solemn marriage. The second form of private land ownership was *meret-worki*, bought land. It was a sold version of *rsti* or *tsilmi* thereby any peasant was entitled to have it so long his economic power allowed it.

The second form of land ownership was *shebenna* or *wareda*. Plainly, it was public (village) land. The name changed into *gibri* when it was distributed among the households. In this system, an individual who resided in the village known as *rstegna* or *makelay alet*, was automatically entitled to receive a parcel of land which was not exchangeable in any form unless for temporary reasons. His

right was usufruct. In this category of land ownership, land was subject to redistribution every seven years. The rationale behind this was first to balance the economic inequality, which might be caused by this type of ownership, and second to give land to newly established families in the village. In this system, a peasant enjoyed absolute equality in terms of ownership, as land was shared at equal size to every household. The third form of landholding was rental land called *tibzxo*. Usually, such form of landholding did not necessarily imply the social or economic status of the peasant, nor his political position. It was purely commercial. *Tibzxo* was a consequence of different factors such as abundance of land, insufficient labour, deprivation of implements and/or oxen.

According to the old form of land ownership, there existed land market at a small scale. In Emni-Hayli, Gelebe and to some extent Tserona districts, commercial exchange of land was an ordinary practice. Such ownership of land was a source of inequalities among peasant communities of Emni-Hayli and Geleb districts in particular. Tensions and conflicts on land stemming from the inequalities of ownership had been common features of many peasant districts. When the state claimed its ownership in 1993, the land market was automatically removed. Peasants began to have an equal share. "This is very good for us as it makes every one owner of land. We have lived unfairly for centuries, because our fathers did

not occupy enough land... But now, things are settled."²¹ Even though it is unrealistic to claim a complete elimination of inequality, as there are other forms of inequality other than land; the new forms of land ownership adjust the historical inequality caused by imbalanced ownership of land that existed for centuries in the peasantry regions. Above all, state ownership of land saved peasants from eviction and dispossession, the danger of capitalist land market through which the ownership of land can be transferred from peasantry to large capital-intensive investors. This can be seen both as positive and negative. Considering the land privatization policy of neoliberalism in many developing countries, the land market became the major tool of deprivation that peasants have suffered as they sell their land for short-term profits. Such danger does not exist in the districts under study, the entire peasantry regions of Eritrea for that matter.

The side effect of state ownership of land in the peasantry region is that, to some extent, it reduces sense of belonging, "... we do not now care much on the land comparing the way we used to because we do not know who is going to have it after some years."²² However, how does it affect the notion of capital accumulation, which self-reliance hopes to gain from the policy? The major intention of the state to claim land ownership was, economic, to introduce large-scale farming using public labour cheaply. So far, such projects are yet to come, let alone assessing

their practicality. Across all districts, peasants are practicing the “old” methods and scale of agriculture. Peasants continued to be the same in terms of productivity and agricultural techniques; it remains unchanged.

Another force of production in peasantry that the strategy of self-reliance significantly affects is labour. The state legislated National Service in 1994 with a dual-purpose. Basically, the intention of national service is extracting surplus; and accumulating capital nationally which could not be attained otherwise because global capital, according to the state, disregards domestic realities. Moreover, upon depeasantization of labour, the state intends to modernize it by providing employable skills. In so doing, it expects to get enough supply of labour at cheaper price to build the communication, transportation, and agricultural infrastructures.

True, the infrastructural foundation that brought success in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), was largely an outcome of labour mobilized under national service. So far, Eritrea has achieved not less than six out of the eight goals. The goals 4, 5, and 6 associated with the health sector were attained ahead of time.²³ The contribution of national service labour was enormous in terms of implementing projects; achievement of MDGs is a showcase of what the state can achieve through mobilization of labour under national service. However, such displacement of labour, in the long run, drains the

labour market and put agriculture in acute need.

Historically, peasantry agriculture used to rely on household labour. In the absence or shortage of labour at the household level could be solved in two ways: one was village labour in the form of *wefera*²⁴ and hired labour. Hiring labour took place in a number of ways and had two sources: the village and migrant workers from northern Ethiopia (Tigrai).²⁵ During this period, contracts took different forms. Normally, there existed a non-capitalist labour market. In Serejeka district, the common form of contract was *engdea*. It was a form of sharecropping, when a peasant who lacked oxen, entered into an agreement with a peasant who owned oxen to plough his land the land of the owner of the oxen.²⁶ In other districts, the system was similar but had different names. In May-Ayni and Tserona districts, it was called *meseles* and *engdea*,²⁷ and in Emni-Hayli district, it was called *grat ferqa*. *Meseles* was a form of contract that a poor peasant who lacked oxen and labour gave his land to someone who had oxen and labour then received one third of the product, whereas *bakli-edu* was a peasant who had labour and land but lacked oxen. He requested a pair of oxen or more from other peasant in exchange he ploughed the land of the owner of the oxen and his land every third day.

From among the peasant communities, except in Geleb, where there was a permanent class structure,

in all other peasants' districts, labour was free to earn the fruits of its toil and sweat. Every individual was free to sell his labour at will. There was no social or legal obligation that ordered to whom one could offer his labour. There was no permanent contract that defined class relations in society. Contracts were temporary, and could happen among peasants of different socio-economic classes. There was no claim of labour of one person or individual by any other person unsupported by contracts. All laws defined this relationship by contract where the rules of engagement between two independent agents were clearly set. In fact, they gave considerable attention to abuses that could occur between the two agents.

In the districts of Emni-Hayli, May-Ayni, and Serjeka among several external forces, the huge demand of labour by the state uproots labour from rural area. When labour moves out of a village under the national service program, the state's major way of capturing peasantry labour, the probability to return and continue to earn a living from agriculture is very narrow. The interlocutors' experiences indicate that, the young, after they finish schooling, stay in the national services for considerable duration. For example, of the 21 people interviewed, eighteen of them sent between two and five of their children to national service in different periods. Majority of them have never fully resettled in the village, some urbanized, and others have pursued international migration; only

very few have continued to stay in the village. Majority have transformed into wageworkers after receiving some training by the state. While in reality, peasants see this process as the major force of depeasantization of their labour, for the state, this is a project of modernizing rural society. However, at household level, it is translated into deprivation of labour and intervention in the private domain. This policy created unprecedented disequilibrium of labour supply and demand in agriculture at village level. This problem is aggravated when the depeasantized labour became dependent on the remaining labour for food supply, thus creating additional pressure on rural agriculture.

Having seen the above facts, let us now look at how self-reliance as originally conceived and interpreted in practice and what contribution it has to make in expanding the understanding of self-reliance in general. Conceptually, the two main characteristics of self-reliance, as stated in the theoretical debate, are political independence and reliance on national resources. Political independence is to reclaim sovereign political power whereby goals are set and decisions are made on the basis of internal dynamics without external intervention. In Eritrea, the ability to mobilize land and labor in a way that defies the existing global order reflects the nature of political independence that the government chose to pursue. In this respect, as a mode of thinking, self-reliance has moved a step further in terms of preserving

an independent line of thinking and decision-making on its economic policies. This is partly advantageous because it has enabled the country to focus on its priorities compatible to the timely challenges of society. And such freedom has allowed the state to make errors without fear of accounting to anybody. This has also insulated the state from the neoliberal restrictions and preconditions.

Nonetheless, the practicality of reliance on national resources is very challenging. The core challenge is lack of institutional capacity to efficiently administer the mobilized land and labour. This challenge is partly solved when the state decided to administer the land at national level, the other responsibilities remain at the village level or individual level. In fact, this has advantages for the state, as it does not have to concern much itself with land conflicts. Yet, its effect in producing surplus is invisible. In terms of labour aspect, the situation is different. The continuous demand for labour has deprived agriculture of its core resource and, secondly, it inflates the state labour beyond its absorbing capacity. When labour goes to the state, it has very limited space to move out of the assigned profession and this makes labour very rigid both in terms of mobility and flexibility. Such lack of mobility discourages creativity of labour because it is no longer the economic forces that determine its condition but rather government regulations. Attempting to give labour free mobility after two decades of uninterrupted

mobilization carries serious political and economic dangers for the state as well, because there is no national market to absorb it. This now has led to a situation that hinders the condition that would ordinarily lead to extraction of surplus either by market or by the state. Above all, agriculture, the fundamental source of surplus extraction, lacks the required labour in order to produce enough food.

In a nutshell, based on this experience, two things can be sorted out to further our understanding of self-reliance in general. First, achieving political aspect of self-reliance seems to be relatively easier than the economic aspect of it. For the last two decades, the Eritrean state has enjoyed political independence regardless of the cost of maintenance. In the long run, such political independence built to counter the global order has overwhelmed the internal outlook and become the standard method of viewing things nationally. The state has started to behave, internally, as it does towards the international order. Among many things, this has resulted into further intervention of the state in development projects, which endangers the mass participation that was originally considered as the anchor of self-reliance. Eventually, the interventionist nature of the state has replaced mass participation. This has led to a top-down self-reliance approach as the process puts state self-reliance first and community self-reliance second. In other words, self-reliance has instigated the state to advance its interventionist methods of work further into the economy.

Secondly, self-reliance has become a strategy for accumulation in a non-capitalist setting by maintaining peasants as the source of surplus extraction as in capitalism though through different processes. The situation in Eritrea has made agricultural labour less productive at household level by introducing structural changes to labour utilisation, consequently peasants blame any failure on the state. Moreover, accumulation from below has become impossible; and the state has also been unable to extract much from above. In short, agriculture seems to be very weak to play the crucial role that the state had envisaged in the development of the country and peasants are now powerless, they cannot change the policies that have made it impossible accumulating surplus from below.

Conclusion

As stated at the outset, this article is not on self-reliance as whole. It is dedicated to understanding one aspect of it, that is, economic, though it touches the political aspect when it is a direct concern of the economic angle. Having said this, the practice of self-reliance in Eritrea has been in place for more than two decades. Even though, it is a work in progress, two decade is not short. Nor is it long enough to provide a definite conclusion about the outcome. Hence, claiming Eritrea as a promising success story simply because of towing an independent line of thinking might be a major mistake because the principle has yet

to prove itself as a reliable approach to development though it can be seen as another start in Africa. Claiming to the contrary also carries similar risks. To count on self-reliance as the safest road could be an incorrect estimation of reality. However, it can be seen as another development experience where self-reliance in part or full version is used as means of survival in an economy largely built on internal dynamics in an atmosphere of war and sanction.

Notes

- ¹ Welde-Giorgis, 2014: 5-6
- ² O’Kane, 2009: 163
- ³ Tronvoll, 2009: 18
- ⁴ Chatham House, 2007: 5
- ⁵ Galtung, 1980: 20
- ⁶ Sayigh, 1991: 69
- ⁷ PFDJ, 1994: 7
- ⁸ PFDJ, 1994: 19
- ⁹ *Ibid*
- ¹⁰ Berg, 1964: 554
- ¹¹ Chang, 2007: 23-49
- ¹² Hailemariam, 2001: 109
- ¹³ See Macro Policy, 1994
- ¹⁴ See *Eritrean Gazette* 4(9)
- ¹⁵ See *Eritrean Gazette*, 5(11)
- ¹⁶ See Eritrean Development Fund 2010
- ¹⁷ Jamal, 2001: 13
- ¹⁸ Jamal, 2001: 13
- ¹⁹ Afwerki, 1997: 68-70
- ²⁰ See Codes and Bylaws of Eritrean Regions & Counties, law of Ftha Mehari and Interview Abraha Elais, may 2017, Asmara
- ²¹ According to the interlocutors from AdiMerkeja, Maileham, Qalibealtati, Membro, Mensae and woki etc., in pre-1994 period when land was owned privately called either resti or tselmi, the major source of deprivation was the size of land as well as size of household labor. The imbalanced ownership of land largely determines the economic power of a household. Nevertheless, all expressed that such difference failed to result in any permanent exploitative social class such as landlord and tenant relationship. Socio-economic relation resembles more to egalitarian system.
- ²² Qshi Meleake from Adi-Merkeja, April 2017
- ²³ WHO 2014; UNICEF 2014; UN 2015

²⁴ “Wefera refers to a labour network based on mutual help consisting of the members of a group who agree to pool their labour (manpower) in order to work on each other’s projects – farms, construction of houses, soil and water conservation, land clearance and irrigation canals in rotation, at deferent times. Wofera enables people who faced shortage of family labour or cash to hire labourers to overcome such bottlenecks in peak periods.” (GaimKibreab, 2008: 67).

²⁵ Historically migrant workers from Tigray, a region in the northern part of Ethiopia, began entering Eritrea during the Italian colonial period, when a huge section of the peasantry was conscripted by the colonial state. Between 1896 and 1941, the colonial army institution conscripted almost 60 per cent of the working labour of Eritrean population of that period when Italy decided to expand its North and East African colonies. Consequently, agriculture faced acute labour shortage. Hence agricultural migrant workers from Tigray began to cross the border and partly replaced the missed labour. (Tekie, Asmerom, Melake, Ghilazghi, 2017 & BMA, 1949).

²⁶ Interview, Tekie, Asmerom, Weldu, Embaye, Teklay, Qelta, Tekest and Letekidan, March 2017 in Dembezan, and Kibrom ,Meharizghi, Yemane, Tekie, and Teklemariam, March 2017, in Karneshim

²⁷ Any commercial exchange particularly of household and land involves two kinds of witnesses. These are elders and children. Whereas elders supervise the transaction and serve to witness if any conflict occurs during their lifetime, the children are future witness and this happens via a unique ceremony. The buyer of a land boils cereals and calls the children to eat and tells them the reason they are eating is that he is buying a house or land. In the future generation, these children will be old enough to witness in case of conflicts. In fact, the customary law considers the third generation as viable witness so long as he can remember hearing his father saying about the ceremony he had eaten in his childhood. Qeshi Sille Gebrezgabher, 18th May 2017, Asmara

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These general guidelines for the preparation of text should be followed in all circumstances.

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When referencing work in the body of a paper, you must always include (a) the author name, and (b) the year of publication. Example:

In her study of men in “women’s professions,” Kizito (1995) demonstrates that men are not disadvantaged by their gender minority status in the same way that women often are in predominantly male workplaces.

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Whenever you draw on a new idea, concept, or finding, you must use internal citations with author's names and years of publications. However, if you are discussing the same article or author in a series of sentences, you only need to provide a citation the first time.

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Do not use titles of books and articles in your paper, or the author’s first name. Rather, use the author’s last name and internal citations to give the year of the publication.

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INSTEAD of: Virginia Valian, in her 1999 book *Why So Slow: The Advancement of Women*, shows that women in professional occupations often advance more slowly than their men counterparts.

USE: Valian (1999) shows that women in professional occupations often advance more slowly than their men counterparts.

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MAWAZO uses the author/date style of references, but it also allows notes for substantive commentary (see below).

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Anderson, Maya. 1978. *Ever Heard of Hip Hop?* New York: Oxford University Press.

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. 2006. "Cigarette Use among High School Students – Uganda, 2005-1015." *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Reports* 75:724-726.

Clery, Paul D., Lawrence B. Zaborski, and John Z. Ayanian. 2004. "Sex Differences in Health over the Course of Midlife." Pp. 37-63 in *How Healthy Are We? A National Study of Well-being in Midlife*, edited by O.G. Brim, C.D. Ryff, and R.C. Kessler. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

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