



Ethiopian Society of Sociologists, Social Workers and Anthropologists

(ESSWA)

HANDBOOK

**An Inventory of Folklore Genres Pertaining to Parenting and Children
Socialization among the Ethiopian Communities: Contributions to ESSWA's
Brand of a Parenting Skill Training Manual**

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CHAPTER ONE

An Inventory of Folklore Genres Pertaining to Parenting and Children Socialization among the Ethiopian Communities

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1. Introduction

Socialization is a common practice in all societies. According to Ampofo & Boating (cited in Adjel, 2014), socialization is the process by which values are communicated and cultured as an enduring process. Similar view was forwarded by Assimeng (cited in Adjel, 2014) who states socialization as an established practice and technique through which children are brought up, to become active participants in the society. Assimeng further argues that socialization begins right from the birth and persists throughout the life of an individual. At all stages, the society tries to instill certain behavior which is believed to be useful for the society persisting. In this sense of the term, socialization is simply the process of securing and equipping skills which enables members of the society successfully operate within that society or culture. This entails learning of the cultural values, shared expectations, and the do's and don'ts of the community.

Maccoby (1992) also states that socialization entails making children an adult with required habits, skills, values, and motives and avoid deviant behavior which the society considers as disruptive and irresponsible in their social interactions. It is a process of shaping children in lines with the collectively approved behavior and enabling them to shoulder societal responsibilities including rearing children in their turn.

In the process of child Socialization, adults, particularly parents are considered as socializes and children as are recipients. However, the current situation indicates there have been various external influences which directly or indirectly play roles in child socialization. In this general framework, ESSSWA initiated a context-specific socialization and parenting styles among different Ethiopian cultural groups.

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This hand book is, thus, a compiled version of inventories of folklore genres associated with child socialization among the seven Ethiopian communities. In terms of geographical coverage the inventories were from four major regions in the country: Amahra, Oromia National Regional State, Southern Nation Nationalities and Peoples Regional State (SNNPRS) and Tigray National Regional State. From Amhara National Regional State the inventories were made in Gojam Zone particularly in Debre Markos, Burie and Woreta towns and their surroundings. Another study was conducted in South Wollo and North Shewa Zones. In Oromia National Regional State three research sites—West Arsi, East Wollega and South West Shoa zones were included. The research team from Tigray National Regional State collected its data from South-North and East-West of Tigray. The studies from SNNPRS included the Konso, Gamo, Sidama and Ngangatom cultural groups.

The hand book is organized into six chapters. The first chapter introduces the hand book and its scope. It also states the objectives of the study. This part provides a context for the investigation or the context in which this hand book makes sense. Some relevant literatures are discussed to frame the discussion in the overall understanding of folklore and child socialization. The second through the fifth chapters present the empirical reports from the studied communities. Chapters are arranged based on the alphabetical order of the national regional states in which the studies were conducted. Accordingly chapter two is the study from Amhara National Regional State. This chapter has two parts for there are two independent works from this region. Chapter three is a study from Oromia National Regional State. Chapter four focuses on works from SNNPRS. This chapter has also two parts since there are two research reports from the region. Chapter five presents a report from Tigray National Regional State. The final chapter provides summary and conclusion of the entire works. It presents a compiled discussion of the issues addressed through the culture specific inventories of folklore genres. The chapter links riddles, proverbs, stories, legends, puzzles, plays, narratives and discourses with the economic, social, political, psychological, entertainment, scientific and environmental as well as ethical aspects of human lives. It shows how folklore genres are used or will be used in shaping and guiding children to be adequate adults.

2. Objectives

2.1. General objective

Thus, the main objective of this study is to collect and analyze some selected folklore genres from the perspectives of their role in parenting, childrearing and socialization among some selected Ethiopian communities.

2.2. Specific objectives of the study are:

- To collect context-specific oral narratives and children games as possible
- To assess the political, social, and economic implications of oral narratives and games
- To pinpoint their positive and negative implications in socialization process
- To make an inventory of folklores, proverbs and story-telling traditions that is associated with child socialization.
- To review existing books, short monologs, dialogues and other relevant literature for reference concerning the roles of folks, proverbs on child rearing practice.
- To contribute to the development of the final ESSSWA Branded Parenting Skill Training Manual
- Identify major barriers and opportunities in inculcating discipline, social norms and values in the socialization process of children in the study communities

3. Literature Review

3.1. Defining Folklore

Sims and Stephens (2011) stated that because folklore is inclusive of many things, it is defined neatly. However, these authors provided a working definition of folklore. They stated that folklore includes values, traditions, ways of thinking and performing, about people and the way people learn as well as their art. It plays important role in telling us who we are and to understand the world around us. They said that

Folklore is informally learned, unofficial knowledge about the world, ourselves, our communities, our beliefs, our cultures and our traditions, that is expressed creatively through words, music, customs, actions, behaviors and materials. It is

also the interactive, dynamic process of creating, communicating, and performing as we share that knowledge with other people. (p.8)

Citing Dundee, Sims and Stephens (2011,p.8) showed that folklore includes myths, legends, folktales, jokes, proverbs, riddles, chants, charms, blessings, curses, oaths, insults, retorts, taunts, teases, toasts, tongue-twisters, and greeting ... It also includes folk costume, folk dance, folk drama ... folksongs ... folk metaphors...and the like.

Sims and Stephens (2011) provided us three major categories of folklore, based on its particular characteristics and how it is expressed. These include: verbal folklore, material folklore and customary lore. The first refers to a kind of lore involving words, such as folk songs, myths, and folk tales. Material folklore refers to material culture, for instance, architectural structures or functional tools. The third one entails repeated customary action, a traditional way of doing something. This brief study entails discussion of some types of verbal folklore which in some cases involves performing arts and their socialization process.

3.2. Folklore and Socialization

There are several agents of socialization, which include: schools, neighborhood, religious organizations, peers and the Medias. In line with their missions, each institution attempts to indoctrinate members of the society to fit to the expected standard of role-player. Mechanisms which are employed in the socialization processes vary across socialization agents and specific cultural contexts (Adjel, 2014; Frønes, 2016). In sociological understanding, family is one of the most important agents of socialization. Ritzer (2015) mentions that child's parents, as well as other family members and friends are the first and most effective agents of socialization. However, it should be noticed that the process of socialization is an endless starting from birth to death (Zerihun, 2005).

Families instruct knowledge of basic historical and cultural relationships, and their institutional practices convey cultural patterns and values; they also influence socialization by relating to gender, class and ethnicity in various ways. The primary purpose of socialization is the attainment and internalization of common morals and collective normative patterns (Frønes, 2016). Frønes further shows primary socialization and secondary socialization. The former refers to the internalization of the central cultural elements of a society; family is the basic socialization agents for primary socialization. Primary socialization is an important aspect and it is the process

of learning language, identities, gender roles, cultural routines, norms and values (Ritzer, 2015). Family as primary socialization agent plays roles of shaping the norms, values and beliefs of the child at a time when it has little understanding of the world and its different phenomena. Our experiences in the family have an enduring influence on our life, shaping a basic sense of self, motivation, values, and beliefs. Parents often unconscious of what they are doing in their day-to-day interactions with their children. They guide their children through routine activities about society's expectations for them as males or females. But their impacts on child development could be positive or negative. Secondary socialization, on the other hand, refers to latter socialization process which is carried out by institutions and people in specific roles and positions.

In inculcating these capacities the different agents are using various mechanisms. For instance, folktale, story-telling, songs, actions, symbols and etc. are some of them. Thus, one of the tools of socializations is folklore. The prevalence of folklore is a universal phenomenon. Nonetheless, its functions are not similar in all societies. In Africa, folklore and storytelling are dominant and their socializing role is more important. Folklore has historically played a central medium of instruction and examination for many African communities. Many sub-Saharan Africans only recently developed a writing system, so they were primarily oral peoples and their literature forms are oral. In this regard, the study of sub-Saharan African folklore contributes to the study of their cultures and the understanding of their socialization process (Dejene, 2015).

Folktales communicate cultural values, norms, and beliefs into the members of the society beginning from their birth through subsequent years. The instruction entails moral values, gender roles, political games, livelihood, general knowledge, environmental matters, critical thinking, and the like. Especially, in oral society, folktales is one of the ways of ensuring that the individual is directed to fit into family and societal expectations in the specific cultural environment (Chigidi and Tembo, nd). Gorge et al (2014) also attested that the value of proverbs and storytelling narration on parenting practices saying that within the African traditional context proverbs and storytelling as a way of knowing are deeply embedded in the community's cultures, histories, indigenous cosmologies and worldviews. There are pertinent questions and issues about culture and the importance of local cultural knowledge such as indigenous proverbs,

folktales, stories and songs in informing and framing parenting practices. In this regard, Bukenya (1994) states that,

Oral literature imparts to the growing person useful cognitive, performative and effective skills which enable the person to live a rewarding life and to be a useful member of society. Oral literature should make the learners more keenly observant, more sensitively and sensibly responsive towards her or his own self, fellow human beings and the environment. Above all oral literature being a mode of communication should make the learner a more competent, more skillful and more concerned communicator especially through the oral mode.(p.1)

Folklore is a functioning practice of the people's culture. It is a mechanism via which the society expresses its hopes, fears and aspirations. This contributes why people opt for oral narratives in the socialization endeavors of younger members of society as a way of coaching cultural values. Oral narratives have both didactic values and serve a therapeutic purpose for its recipients. In doing so, oral narratives shape and prepare children for their future social roles. It contributes remarkably to survival of the relevant community in all aspects (Mota, 2009). According to Kelemu (2012) the social environment in which child socialization is carried out can determine their personality development and their contribution to the future development of their country. Unless children are properly socialized, there is the chance that their personal and societal development will be adversely affected (Kelemu, 2012).

As per many development psychologists' view, the first years of childhood is thought by many to be a unique period of human development in which parents assume special importance. According to Bornstein (2014), parents guide their young children from complete infantile dependency into the beginning stages of autonomy, and their styles of care giving can have both immediate and lasting effects on children's social functioning in areas from moral development, peer play to academic achievement. Ensuring the best possible outcome for children requires parents to face the challenge of balancing the maturity and disciplinary demands they make to integrate their children into the family and social system with by maintaining an atmosphere of warmth, responsiveness and support. When parent behavior and attitude during the preschool years do not reflect an appropriate balance on these spectra, children may face a multitude of adjustment issues. While teaching children about the values, traditions, and customs of their

society parents may use various mechanisms including sayings, proverbs, storytelling, and folks which have both positive and negative thoughts. A Study by Louise (1992) has proved that infancy is the period in which children absorb most of the words that they later use in their lives. So, telling stories, aphorisms and maxims even to infants should be an important part of a parent's socialization mechanism. When they grow up, these encourage and enhance the listening skills of children.

Games and play, which are part of folklore, combine education with entertainment. Games reflect the morals, requirements, and interests of their owners. Irrespective of the manner of reactions of the spectators, oral performance expresses beliefs and values of the folk group. It enables children to attain the knowledge, attitudes, values and behavior vital for effective membership in a society (Tucker, 2011; Sims and Stephens, 2011). In the meantime, even though oral narratives have common features, every cultural group has its traditions and needs to be studied by its own. Oral narratives mirror what people do, what they think, how they live and have lived, their values, their joys and their sorrows (Mota, 2009).

Important to the socialization role of folklore is the issue of its change and continuity. According to (Tucker, 2008) in the face of ever changing world and expansion of globalization, folklore is given to inevitable change. Folklore is exposed to erosion. Yet, folk tradition is surviving and still contributing to the socialization process with certain adjustments. According to this writer, one of the factors contributing to this effect is the changing of the rural life of the owners of the culture in different parts of the world.

3.3. Folklore and Gender Role Construction through Child Socialization

The concept of socialization features in explanations of gender difference, where emphasis is given to the process of how individuals learn to become masculine or feminine in their identities, appearance, values and behavior. The primary stage of socialization occurs during infancy and childhood, via interaction between adults (especially parents) and children. Socialization is, though, a life-long process. As individuals grow up and older, they continually encounter new situations and experiences and so learn new aspects of femininity or masculinity throughout their lives (Pilcher and Whelehan, 2004). In a given society, children learn how to be a man and a woman through the means of interactions with members of the community. Interaction plays a

role in socializing children. Most of the time, our cultural elements, such as norms, values, and the material elements such as clothes and playing materials, are strongly gender typed and gender segregated.

Child socialization begins in the family. Unlike the socialization process in the nuclear family which is taking place mainly by the mother and the father, in extended families, it is also practiced by other relatives (Guday, 2005). In the process of child socialization, parents teach children sex typing roles. For instance, “daughters are socialized to be ‘feminine’, ‘socially conscious’, ‘shy’, ‘timid’, ‘obedient’, and ‘submissive’, in preparation for an adult life. Sons are socialized to be ‘brave’, ‘clever’, ‘far-sighted’, and ‘self-sufficient’, in preparation for adult life, ahead of the household and bread-winner” (Bevan and Pankhurst, 1996; in Guday, 2005; Molvaer, 1995). Similarly, in the process of socialization, individual learns socially expected behaviors or roles appropriate to each sex for the preparation of adult position (Lipman, 1962).

Likewise, Bell (2008; in Hamieh and Usta, 2011) maintains that in socializing children with gender roles appropriate to each sexes, the family and parents are initial agents and latter peers and schools become crucial agents of socialization. Besides, Holmes (2009:2) notes that

“social institutions such as the family, the school, the workplace, and the media reach us that girls should act in certain ways, such as being caring and boys in different ways, such as being strong and independent. This process of teaching us how to behave is called socialization and it is highly gendered.”

Both women and men pass different socialization patterns and as they grow up each gender regarded to have different roles or social expectations (Anderson & Tylor, 2006). Women are socialized into being submissive, whereas men are socialized into being dominant (Sawyer, 1974:171; in Clatterbaugh, 1997). Holmes (2009) résumés that “everyday life- especially for children under five – is divided in to a ‘pink world’ for girls and a ‘blue world’ for boys. The pink world is one that encourages girls to be passive and emotional, and the blue world expects boys to be independent and active.”

Bem (1993; in Lee, 2005) describes gender roles as “the traits, expectations, and behavior associated with men and women and what it means to be masculine or feminine.” Social expectations towards men and women are learned through gender socialization using cultural

values and beliefs linked with masculinity and femininity to children and adolescents. Likewise, Weitzman (1979; in Lee, 2005) argues that “it is during our gender socialization that we learn to differentiate men and women and the behavior expected of them, to express gender role preferences appropriate to our own biological sex, and to behave according to appropriate gender role standards.”

Therefore, Masculinity and femininity is the product of socialization through attaching social expectations or roles to each sexes- male and female (Holmes, 2009). Further, Bourdieu (1998: 9) argues that masculinity is the result of a strict sexual division of labor, sex- typing activities assigned to each sex that makes the male-lines dominant. In Amhara society, for instance, beyond its culturally constructed meaning of ‘maleness’, the term *ወንድ*; “male” has the meaning of being ‘brave,’ “hero” and a symbol of “success.” In relation to this, Levine (2006) describes that, “the Amharic term for male, *ወንድነት* only indicates gender (e.g., *ወንድልጅ*; “male-child”), but also connotes strong emotional approval.” In light of this, the term “*ወንድነት*” for the Amhara society implies challenging the challengers or facing hardships. It also connotes the attainment of the quality of the soldier (Levine, 2006).

In the contrary, besides its culturally constructed expression of “femaleness,” the term *set* connotes being “weak” and sometimes is considered as an “insult.” Thus, masculinity is emanated from the way that sons are socialized in the family to be “strong”, “brave,” and “hero.” As a result, if men do not act like these, they are considered as *set* for this reason, Reminick (1973) describes that, “the ideology and expression of masculinity is the legacy of Ethiopia’s Amhara tradition and history.” Remnick (1973:126) states that: “the term having the most gravity for a man accused of cowardice is ‘*set*’, (woman). It is rarely uttered blatantly. Rather, it may be expressed by referring to a man in the feminine gender, or by associating a man with a woman’s task such as ‘he carries water’ in originally conceived metaphors of the wax-and-gold idiom.” Tasks involving tools rather than utensils, and tasks not bound to a fixed daily routine, are usually male occupations (Messing, 1957).

Correspondingly, in the study communities, masculinity and femininity are closely associated with sex typing tasks by which men and women are socialized since their early age. Men tasks demand strength and courage and they are highly valued, whereas women tasks are considered as that much not challenging, and are less valued. As a result, characterizing the man as feminine

means devaluing his dignity and respect, that initiates him to achieve his bravery by testing his masculinity through hardships and dangerous situations. Here, the main thing that undermines the man (considered as feminine) is his being associated with women who are considered as passive due to the fact that they are given tasks demanding “less energy and strength” and tasks which are “harmless”. As a result, Broverman, Vogel, Clarkson, and Rosencrantz (1972; in Powell and Butterfield, 1979) conclude that, historically, the idea which men and masculine characteristics are more highly valued than women and feminine characteristics has been pervasive.

3.4.Theoretical Framework

Finnegan (1992) scanned some major theoretical approaches in studying and analyzing folklore. For proponents of evolutionary theory, folklore is simple left over of the practices of early society. The structural functionalist approach recognizes folklore as part of the whole which contributes to the maintenance of social order and functioning of the society. Yet, according to Sims & Stephens (2005), this view is often criticized for disregarding social change.

Marxian approach the study of folklore from the view point of class struggle and considered it as a weapon often used by the dominant class to suppress the subordinate. On the other hand, Structuralism, which is dominant in the study of verbal arts, underscores the importance of the structure of the item studied, rather than specific meanings, history, and individual human actors. Yet structuralism received harsh criticism for it undermines local meanings, performances, contexts, or human interactions. Post-structuralism is another theoretical approach in the study of oral texts. Yet, it receives criticism for advocating absolute relativism. Feminists approach the study of folklore from gender perspective. Reciprocal ethnography theory advocates the study of folklore based on cultural contexts in which the oral texts is used (Finnegan, 1992; Sims & Stephens, 2005; Bronner, 2007).

Regardless of the prevalence of controversial theories, Finnegan (1992) shows that the current situation favors the use of wider approaches contrary to the former rigid theoretical boundaries. Similarly, Sims & Stephens (2011, p. 205) present that intersectionality is at the fore. These writers recommend the use of interpretive strategies based on text and social, political and physical milieu. Intersectionality approach would support this brief analysis of the current issue under discussion.

4. Methods and Materials

4.1. Data Sources and instruments

Data for this handbook were drawn from primary and secondary sources. First hand data were generated from the respective communities using different methods. As this is a context specific study it intended to collect stories, proverbs, riddles, games, plays, narratives, discourses, puzzles and the like from the target communities. The researchers commonly used qualitative approach to generate data from the field, with the exception of the data from Gojjam in Amhara National Regional State. The researchers who conducted an inventory of folklore genres among the Amhara in Gojam, particularly in Debre Markos, Burie and Woreta collected their data through mixed approach. They conducted survey coupled with in-depth interview and focus group discussion. In the course of this study, the researchers predominantly employed emic approach (the natives or insider's point of views in relation to child socialization through oral traditions). It is an essential approach to understand poetic and metaphoric meanings and messages which proverbs/sayings and tales are conveying. Messages of being obedient, gentle, submissive, dominant, subordinate, wise, patience that encourages/discourages children (boys and girls) from the context of the communities under study were captured.

In all cases the researchers collected qualitative data by using key informant interview, focus group discussion and observation. Interviews were conducted with a handful of informants' who were considered to be knowledgeable in the folklore of their respective communities. This method was mainly employed to collect information regarding folklore in terms of folktales, children's' play including game and riddle that are passed from generation to generation through words of mouth and or activities within the communities. Participants of the interviews were selected purposively. Even though, the participants are not the same across research sites, in general known personalities, oral historians, elders, custodians of the specific culture under study, children, adult men and women, ritual and religious leaders were recruited for the interviews. As the sayings are varied across gender both sexes were included. Parents and children also participated. This was helpful to get information on the current parental role in using children games and storytelling for shaping their children in their cultural context in the face of the expanding modern education and access to other cultures through different electronics

media. With this method, the researchers generated different positive and negative social norms, barriers to child socialization and proverbs and folktales related to child socialization.

Focus group discussions (FGD) were also used in collecting data from all the studied communities. Despite some variation across the specific cultural context of the study communities the participants of the FGD were religious leaders, knowledgeable peoples, community leaders and male and female children from each community. With this method the researchers were able to identify what are perceived as positive or negative disciplines in child socialization.

Coupled with key informant interview and FGD the researchers also used observation while children perform riddles, puzzles and some plays pertinent to child socialization. This was also helpful to access practical instances indicating whether or not oral stories are still living practices in the communities. For instance, researchers from Oromia reported that data were generated by using a sort of simulation of riddling and storytelling.

In addition to primary data the research teams used different secondary sources. Different documents published and unpublished documents, and other reports directly related to the topic were also analyzed. They researchers approached the nearby Culture and Tourism Offices to consult written documents/materials in relation to folklore and background information concerning the study population.

4.2.Methods of Data Analysis

After collecting the data, the researcher transcribed the primary data gathered in local languages of the respective communities and then translated literally and contextually. The transcribed and translated data were arranged by the teams of researchers thematically. The researchers identified consistent expressions of child socialization in relation to all aspects of life.

Data were analyzed using interpretive and descriptive approaches. The structure of oral texts is useful in analyzing certain universal elements in the specific cultures. Accordingly, to analyze the data, this study classified the collected texts based on their structure as well as the socialization roles they play. Oral texts entail gender, moral, politics, aesthetics, language, environment, general knowledge and logical skills and the like. Accordingly, the texts are categorized and analyzed.

This is purely qualitative research design guided by the ethnographic research analysis technique. Experiences and reflections of elders about folktales, folklores, stories and proverbs that are practiced in line with child socialization were directly quoted and narrated irrespective of their negative and positive connotations. As the principle of thematic analysis, similar experiences, explanations and folktale statements, proverbs and stories were categorized and written under their similar themes.

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CHAPTER TWO

An Inventory of Folklore Genres Pertaining to Parenting and Children Socialization among the Amhara

*Mezgebu Belay*⁴

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Executive Summary

This study deals with the role of oral traditions in socializing children in Amhara region with specific reference to South Wollo and North Shewa Zones. Since their early age, Amhara males and females in general and children in the study communities in particular are socialized according to gender stereotypes through the traditional verbal arts which associate certain activities and tasks with a certain gender. Tasks associated with men are highly valued because they demand strength and courage, whereas women's tasks are valued less because they are considered as to be 'harmless' and to demand 'less energy and strength'. Males are socialized to be brave, dominant, superior and courageous, while females are socialized to be shy, passive, submissive, etc. Children, equally boys and girls are less valued compared to adults. However, on one hand, there is a social expectation difference between boys and girls such as boys to be dominant and girls to be subordinate. On the other hand, parents need both sexes of their children become successful, obedient and courageous.

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⁵ Refers to Ethiopian Society of Sociologists, Social Workers and Anthropologists

1. Introduction

Ethiopian intangible classic heritage resides on oral traditions such as music, proverbs, poems and sayings, naming and all aspects of tradition which passed from generation to generation. Conventionally, northern and central part of Ethiopia has been regarded as having recorded and well documented history and culture but in reality with the exception of some institutions such as the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, the bulk of the tradition is found around and deep in the fabrics of the wider public in the form of oral traditions. The Amharas are among the major ethnic groups in the country endowed with different kinds of oral traditions. Covering a wide area of the country - Gondar, *Gojjam*, *Wällo* and Northern *Shäwa* - the *Amhara* National Regional State, in addition to the majority Amharas, serves as also a home to other ethnic groups like the *Agäws* of *Awı Zone* in *Gojjam* and *WagH_mra Zone* in *Wällo* and the *Oromos* of *Kämise Zone* in *Wällo* which contributes to the building up of diverse cultural legacies and oral traditions (Beakal, 2010). Among other importance of oral traditions they play a significant role in child rearing/socialization.

In the study areas people use oral traditions to enable children to easily equip with the roles they are expected in the society. For instance, women in Amhara society are traditionally supposed to carry out tasks such as child caring, pounding, grinding grain, and fetching water. Kitchen duties, spinning, or fetching fuel are left to young girls. Tasks, however, which are not bound to a fixed daily routine, are usually male occupations.

There are various oral traditions used for socializing boys and girls to grow up based on their expected roles. What they are expected can be “positive” or “negative”. For this reason, it is possible to say that their behavior is the result of the socialization processes through rewarding and degrading oral traditions.

The maxim ‘if an old man dies a library disappears’ rings true in Ethiopia and especially in the study area as much of the oral traditions of these areas are not recorded and documented. Thus there is an urgency of collecting, documenting and preserving the oral traditions that have been circulating in the communities of the study area for generations through and through.

The study therefore tries to explore and document how children in Amhara region are socialized through oral traditions. It tries to analyze how children are socialized through proverbs/ sayings,

war chants and songs, and idiomatic expressions through which children are praised/discouraged to conform to the norms of the society.

For instance, in the Amhara society, parents may appreciate their son to climb tree, look after cattle, plough, etc. and their daughter to learn how to cook food, clean house, wash clothes, look after little sisters or brothers, etc.. In this case, the parents are socializing the son to the public and restricted the daughter to domestic activities. As a result; children themselves begin to acquire their gender identity and internalize appropriate behavioral norms and characteristics and thereby unconsciously regulate their own behavior, in line with the masculine or feminine roles into which they are socialized. Remnick (1974) describes that, “the Amhara culture of child socialization is rich in poetry and legend providing a basis for the values on expressing aggressiveness, bravery, and toughness.” According to Levine (1965) “the Amhara peasants socialize their sons to be strong and to be active in fighting, and chant with passion, the inflaming material verse of ሽላላ/ቀረርቶ.”

2. Findings of the Study

2.1. Predetermination of Children’s Destiny and Ability as expressed through proverbs/sayings

Expression of predestination of children through various proverbs/sayings is common in the study areas. The saying/proverb “A child grows as predetermined for it” (Berhanu, 2006). Similarly, the following sayings show the popular recognition that early childhood experience has profound effects on later intellectual development “A tree is straightened while it is young,” Implying that trying to correct an adult, as to change the growth of an “adult” tree, is a futile exercise. A tree can be supple or bend easily only during an early stage of development. Other related sayings: “What is written on paper and what children register lasts long” (Berhanu, 2006).

The saying “May you be saved from the curse of aging (terminally ill) man and the hatred of a growing child.” Parents who are annoyed with their young children’s current trends in manners and attitude uttered: “Injera⁶ that is likely to satiate can be recognized on the griddle.”

⁶Staple food in Ethiopia (prepared from teff)

One knows whether the bread, even before it has finished baking, is likely to satiate him/her. Likewise, a person's character is evident when he is young and his future can be seen.

The following sayings also show how parents determine their children's maturity. For instance, the saying "Marry a girl only after you have seen, her mother". Likewise: "A child of fire is ash", i.e., "Tell me who your father/mother is and I will tell you who you are." Another one is capsulated like this: "butter's by-product is whey." These proverbs illustrate the parents' influence on their children's growth and development of their children is not limited.

2.2. Child Socialization and what they should do to be considered as a man

The following are proverbs show what boys should do to be considered as a man and the role of the society in praising and discouraging: 'Not all those who are hanging penis between their legs are worth to be men' The meaning attached to the above proverb embodies that masculinity is not just being born with a penis, rather testing the self with challenges such as fighting or passing with hardships and taking retaliation as a revenge of murders and hurts (such as insults, wounds, injustices, crimes, damages, harms, injuries, murders, etc.). In light of this context, it is possible to argue that manhood is not an ascribed status; rather it is a quality of men which can be achieved by passing challenges, hardships and protecting honors by taking vengeance up on the enemies. The following is also another proverbial expression about what males do to be a man.

The society considers that those who are called men are: acute in bludgeon fight, successful in spear fight, able in snapping a thread by rifle. To be a man means someone who wins in fighting, who wins in wrestling, which succeeds in chasing, and catching his rivals, who shoots and kill and who prevails upon his enemies

This expression shows that men to be considered as a man, they have to achieve qualities such as becoming successful in fights by bludgeon, spear, and rifle. This implies that men to be called as man (brave), they have to prove themselves in such activities which need skill and daring. Otherwise, they will not deserve the values attached with one's male sex. The following proverb also reveals what men should achieve to be a man.

The above proverb focuses on the strengths of men to be successful in beating, wrestling, running, shooting, and in harming one's enemy. All men are expected to achieve such qualities to prove their being manhood. However, those men who failed to do so are seldom considered as

masculine. The proverb below is also a warning to boys not to act as feminine failing to acquire masculinity from their fathers what is expected from men. If a male child is born and does not turn out to be like his father, Give him a spindle and let him spin like his mother! Similarly, there is a proverb which says ‘aborting is better than delivering useless man!’

This proverb conveys the message that unless boys act as their father (achieving masculine characteristics, behaviors and qualities that are possible mainly through efforts-passing hardships and challenges), they must act as feminine (performing women’s tasks-like spinning, disrespected task that make femininity dishonored and disgraced. Further, the following proverb indicates that, boys to be considered as a man, they have to pass the specified challenges.

Usually the study communities associate with men who are devoid of masculine behaviors (effeminate men, womanish men) who are unable to prove their masculinity. They don’t accept defeat. If a child (a son) is defeated, the family members or others maybe angry with him and say ‘May you die, why don’t you beat, aren’t you a male?’ Boys are socialized not to cry, if they cry parents punish them by saying ‘why do you cry like a woman?’. They are also told in the way that ‘don’t come to home being kicked by somebody, rather than kicking him/them’. Proverbs that demonstrates disgracefulness to men who failed to avenge their enemies should be discouraged. When the sons failed to take retaliation over their father’s enemies or killers the community members describe them as follows: ‘What son so-and-so has given birth? Even cow dung delivers worm!’

However, those who are coming at home kicking somebody else are rewarded as ‘what a male! He kicked and came!’ ‘A lion!’ – It is due to the fact that the lion is the symbol of bravery, fearlessness, daring, courageous, heroic, adventurous, gallant, valorous and etc. Brave! Male born!’ is another expression with the same connotation.

This ideology shows how much the man fulfills the qualities expected from men such as being active, being strong, being brave, being fearless, and others in doing activities that can measure one’s masculinity including taking retaliatory vengeance.

In addition, the next reward is commonly given for the one who has repeated his father’s best qualities such as daring, bravery, heroic, adventurous and fearlessness in taking retaliatory

vengeances over his or his relative's enemies. The saying, 'his father's substitute!' is an appreciation to those who take retaliation.

Perpetrators are also honored, appreciated and rewarded through the following heartwarming sayings: Brave! Hero! Daring, audacious! Courageous or fearless! Powerful! Strong! This motivates them to defend the social privilege they have by taking vengeance up on their enemies that enables them to be graced by the study community. Most of the expressions reflected towards the perpetrators are rewards, graces, appreciations, honors and the like, which triggers men who didn't avenge their enemies to share from the fruit of such socially valued rewards by taking retaliation as soon as possible. Therefore, to achieve such kind of socially valued rewards, which could be achieved exclusively by efforts, men are encouraged to take retaliatory vengeances over their enemies and to defend themselves from revenges.

In this connection, Remnick (1973) describes the meanings of such socializing mechanisms of children, mainly boys as follows:

One's brave qualities can also be expressed in mock fighting, an infant's temper tantrum, the ability to use veiled insult and the crying of ሽላላ the term ጅግና specifically refers to one being brave. The term ደፋር means one who will face anything. ሃይለኛ means 'strong' or 'powerful' in terms of physical exertion. ጠንካራ means 'tough' with an emphasis on the qualities of endurance. ቆራጥ is one who reaches decision quickly about balking at the challenges and without fear. Correspondingly, fathers in Ethiopia, socialize boys to become bravery, strength, power, success, and winning titles.

Helen (1992; in Jejaw, 2011) also states that "applying a feminine term to a male among Amhara is derogatory. Conversely, the use of a masculine term to a female is taken as praise." Though girls are not expected to come back home kicking somebody else who attempted to do something wrong over them, the family and the members of the community rewards them in different ways. For instance, when women rarely practice something like beating and killing a man, which is exclusively associated with masculine, they are encouraged (rewarded) in the way that 'she is a manly woman! She cracked him and came back'. In the contrary, the society punishes them when they don't like to initiate their husbands to take retaliatory vengeances.

When a girl is appreciated, masculine expression is used instead. For instance, a mother may advise her daughter using an expression like ‘my daughter, be male’. This is to tell a daughter that she has to be strong and courageous like a man.

There are also proverbs that show the societies’ view towards women in relation to their position of inferiority. It is familiar to hear men saying ‘if I didn’t win or take a revenge on him, I am woman’. In such context, they use their gender as a symbol of weakness. It is just like saying that, being a woman is similar to being unable to protect or defend oneself. When they succeed they are praised as ‘you are male-brave’. A mother may appreciate her daughter by saying ‘my daughter is male!’ for her success.

To sum up, in the study areas, boys who are not practicing and behaving accordance with characteristics of men are punished through various ways such as insults, ridicule and sarcasms. Whereas, though, it is not a must, they do according to the culture of the community, girls who are acting the expected roles and behaviors of boys are encouraged and rewarded rather than being punished. Therefore, boys who are acting like girls expected roles and behaviors are regarded as feminine which is very disgusting and embarrassing for them. Paradoxically, girls who are acting and behaving like boys expected characteristics are considered as mannish which is an honor and grace for them. Thus, boys are socialized not to act as girls (not to be feminine), rather to be masculine, whereas girls are socialized primarily to be feminine, but it doesn’t matter if they are also acting masculine.

2.3. Socialization through Proverbs that show negative images of Girls

The classification of negative and positive oral traditions used for socializing children in the study areas is based on both the emic perspective (informant’s point of view) and etic perspective (the researcher’s point of view).

2.3.1. Proverbs and Sayings that discourage participation of girls in leadership and decision making in the future

Disempowerment is a means of creating gender inequality between the sexes. It is a means of dominance and oppression over women. Inequality and dominance is expressed through preference to certain terms in the language (Yaregal, 2009). These include proverbs, idioms, and

literal expressions that reflect the dominant attitude of the society towards females. It is common to see females as subjects of Amharic proverbial and literal expressions, used by both men and women in their interactions.

In patriarchal society, the decision making role is left to men. They make all major socio-cultural affairs. But women are expected to abide by the decisions set by men. The following gender-based proverbs demonstrate this fact.

A country ruled by women is the same as the border grass grazed by sheep

A woman is to a larder as a man is to a court.

No matter how knowledgeable a woman is, it is only a man who could bring a wise finishing.

It is only the first impression of a woman that sounds good, but the last one is bad

A woman's wisdom is like a light in a pot.

The above proverbs demean women and indirectly prohibit them from taking part in social, political and economic spheres of the traditional community. The following poem also shows the interest of the study communities for boys rather than girls.

‘That intrigued hen which hatched lots and lots of chicks

What a pity all became females and there is not any a cock to crow.’

2.3.2. Proverbs that push women to be dependent on their husbands

Proverbs below indicate that women are dependent on men and portrayed as hosts and protectors of women.

Women are to men as food is to stomach.

A woman belongs to her husband; her life is dependent on her good conduct.

A husband may not be available when a bed is obtained.

2.3.3. Proverbs that belittle capabilities of girls in acquiring knowledge.

There are numerous deeply- entrenched social attitudes and proverbs that mock women's capabilities in education and this in turn stands as major obstacles to women compete their male counterparts in academic life. The following proverbs disparage women's personalities and

capabilities in order to justify the domination of men and women are portrayed as inefficient for learning.

Female hips can get bigger, but not their brains.

He who has his daughter got married becomes respected than one who has educated her.

A woman may give birth to a wise man but is never wise herself.

2.3.4. Proverbs that describe women as untrustworthy and adulterous

The following proverbs reflect that women are dishonest to their husbands and to the society. Women are also portrayed as opportunists.

A woman without a husband is like a ripped cereal on the road side.

Every one fights for the house of a widow.

Thrusting women is like holding cloud

2.3.5. Proverbs which portray women as destructors and foolish

In the proverbs below women are foolish compared to men and lower animals. They are also portrayed as destructors.

A woman is afraid of a hyena but draws out a beam from the wall of a fence.

If a woman has excess natala (local cloth made up of cotton), she attends a donkey funeral.

If a woman and a hen go out, they forget their houses.

2.3.6. Proverbs which consider women as beast of burden and different from men

Proverbs below declare that physical punishment of women is considered normal and/ or natural. Beating a sister, a wife or women in general is believed to be appropriate in order to correct their misbehavior.

A women and a donkey are reared through beating.

Women's saliva is thick.

There is no stranger for a woman and an ox.

2.3.7. Proverbs which describe women as intriguers, trouble makers, cruel and arrogant.

The following proverbs show that women are responsible for men's troubles in the society, they triggers men to make trouble and destruction.

Trouble from women and bolting from mules are common phenomena.

A fire lit by a woman never extinguishes.

A man sent by a woman is never afraid of a hyena.

2.3.8. Proverbs and oral poems that describe women as gluttonous and selfish

Proverbs below indicate that women are gluttonous and selfish who are interested to maximize their own benefit at the cost the others.

They ordered a woman to cook meat to judge her.

She ate the entire nursing food during her pregnancy.

She gets her daughter married at some other peoples' expense.

2.3.9. Proverbs which describe women as physically weak and naturally cowards.

A shy priest, a blind donkey and a courageous woman are all useless.

He claimed that he only wins his wife.

The above proverbs indicate that women cannot be brave because they are physically weak and naturally cowards. There are also other proverbs that discourage women:

Woman and horse eat what they are given to eat.'

Too many women spoil the cabbage.'

2.4. Proverbs indicating positive Images of women

Women are portrayed positively in a very few cases compared to the negative sayings towards them. And the positive images of women revolve only around conceiving, rearing children, taking care of spouses who play major roles in social activities (Yaregal, 2009). The following are some of the positive sayings and proverbs towards women:

2.4.1. Proverbs that glorify the contribution of women as house wives

The following proverbs portray women as very decisive segments of the husband, family and society. It seems to say that without women men cannot lead a complete life and a house is no more a house and they are equally strong and real partners of men.

A good woman is a crown for her husband.

He who is satisfied with woman is advised by Mary

Behind every successful man, there is a strong woman.

2.4.2. Proverbs that depict wisdom of women

The following proverbs indicate that a woman can serve as a counselor to a man.

Mala⁷ is to a woman as Girma⁸ is to a night.

Mala of women is like a thorn fence.

Whatever a woman says is a solution

2.4.3. Proverbs that appreciate women's skills in housework and their excellent home management

Proverbs and oral poems that appreciate women's skills in housework and their excellent home management

Marry the daughter looking at the mother.

These proverbs indicate that the society distinguishes one woman from the other woman based on their diligence or skill in food preparation, making local beer or local liquor, spinning and other domestic work. Some women are famous in such activities and whenever there is a preparation of some feast in the village like wedding, saint patron day associations, etc.

2.5. Proverbs that encourage preference to sons as opposed to girls

In Amharic, numerous proverbs express that giving birth to girls is less appreciated than giving birth to boys. In other words, there is strong preference to boys than to girls in the Amhara

⁷Literally refers to the wisest idea forwarded to solve a certain problem. In these proverbs the advice to be obtained from women is implied to be dignified and desirable.

⁸ Literally refers to scary

society. This puts girls at an inferior position right from the very beginning by asserting that males are preferred to females.

‘If one marries a woman and gets a baby-girl, where is the profit?’

‘One who gets a baby boy is honored; one who gets a baby girl becomes insane.’

‘It is better to abort than to give birth to a baby-girl.’

‘A man (lives) where he is appointed and a woman where she is married.’

‘A woman should not eat on the street (public).’

2.6. Being a role model as expressed through proverbs

Being a role model in the context of this study is being a person who serves as an example, for those whose behavior or activity is followed by others. A role model can be chosen by looking at a person’s confidence, ability, social status, and so on. According to the socializing system of the study people, men are believed to have qualities of a role model than women. There are proverbial expressions which relate to this (Aschalew 2012).

In connection with this, the word ‘ወንድ’ ‘male’ has the extra meaning of courage. For example, if someone is referred to as ‘ወንድሆነች’ ‘‘She/he becomes male’’, it means one has become courageous. On the other hand, if a man is represented as ‘ሴት’ ‘‘female’’ or ‘ሴታሴት’ ‘‘womanish’’ it is an insult. So, the masculine gender is appreciated more than the feminine one. Therefore, it is clear that the male gender or men are chosen for role model. The following are some common proverbs that influence boys to be a role model:

‘A child resembles his father as cheese looks like its whey.’

‘Whatever is done by a father is good for a child.’

‘If a son cannot be like his father give him a spindle and so that he weft (work) like his mother.’

These expressions strengthen the idea that a child takes his father as a role model. The proverbs advise children to be like their father and imitate whatever is done by them.

2.7. Child socialization through proverbs and sayings that shows discouraging parent-child attachment

Discouraging parent-child attachment in games or play is also expressed in Amharic proverbs/sayings. The following are some proverbs that show this fact: “do not play with children; otherwise they will pierce you with a splinter of stick.” Another saying declares: “Do not pamper children as you don’t expose your fresh wound to flies”) (Berhanu, 2006). Similarly, the saying ‘expressing lively amusement with children (laughing with children) is like racing with a dog’ The implication here is that if you show a dog your fear and run, it will chase and attack you. Likewise, if you continuously play with children and treat them indulgently they will be out of control and ill-mannered. A similar maxim declares: “do not hide or conceal you with a dog. Do not share secrets with children. ’Similar saying cautions ‘do not allow starvation (famine) and children to come too close to you.’

There are also sayings that give children inferior social and cognitive status as compared with adult males; for instance, ‘children and shoe are relegated to under the bed.’ When adult men are conversing in the main/living room, children are often sent away to their rooms. Another nearly identical saying, “when grownups discuss, children should go to the kitchen.” The implication here is that adults have to restrict their interactions with their children; secret discussions, including family matters to should be discussed in the absence of children. There are other sayings and proverbs that discourage children from engaging in discussion with their parents. For instance ‘an inquisitive child is like the last bit of a bar of soap.’ This is to mean that children request irrelevant and useless questions. Another proverb says “from a child seed (substance), from chaff cereal (grain),’ meaning that as you do not get cereal (grain) from chaff, you do not find important concerns among children. A similar saying, ‘row at a slower pace!’ discourages precocity and inquisitiveness in children.

The saying ‘a child can run but can never go further forward (imposition or time) than his father.’ Run in this case does not refer to the physical race, but refers to performance and endurance. The immaturity and unreliability of children’s ideas are expressed in the following: ‘the things of a child are only ‘two,’ one ripened the other raw’, or in other words the child is like ‘two fruits,’ one matured the other not’. Those parents who are suffering for the sake of

their children say ‘living for a child will reduce one to the same level.’ A similar saying, ‘no one (parent) is buried with a child’s ‘skin.’

2.8. Disciplining Children as expressed through proverbs/sayings

In Ethiopia, most parents are authoritarian in raising their children. Favored traits in children include being obedient, respectful, passive, dutiful, considerate, and polite. To encourage these traits and promote desirable behavior, most parents give corrective advice and also discipline behavior through reprimand and physical punishment. Hitting, pinching and spanking, shouting, ridiculing, and threatening are common phenomena. Direct expression of emotion is taboo. The enculturation is more targeted at inculcating emotional restraints (Levine, 1965).

Shyness is an index of good behavior and successful upbringing. The proverb ‘a child’s gentleness is demonstrated in its ‘bending of neck’ i.e., looking down.’ The values of “shyness,” self-restraint, reservation, respect, and obedience are characteristics of children in the study areas which are directly the result of Socialization. This is due to the fact that parents need their children are decent. There is a common “a parent who kills his/her naughty/indecent child will be sanctified unlike the one who raises such a child.” When a child does something wrong, very often it is the parents who bear the shame.

In connection with this a ‘Good Child according to informants is a child that respect his father and mother so as to be blessed with longer life and to be fruitful to his family. Other informants said that a ‘good child’ is the one who: ...grows up with good morals and one who carries out responsibility towards his/her family and relatives.

The following cases show the practical experiences of Parents in socializing their children:

Ato Mohammed prefers to be patient with his children and reason with them instead of beating them frequently. According to him,

“Children can get used to being beaten and yelled at. But if you remain patient and ask them to explain why they are doing things the wrong way it would be successful. This approach is hard like a stick. If I find something that is clearly wrong I beat them down. I convince him (my son) and he will bring the whip and get punished. My wife beats and

yells at them repeatedly. They are not as responsive to her. They are more afraid of me because I wait patiently and talk with them before I beat them.”

In contrary to Ato Mohammad, Jamaluses advice to encourage his children to succeed in their education. He says,

“I have to buckle up and closely follow up on my children’s learning. Often an uneducated parent wants to compensate by raising educated children. Unless I press hard on them, they may not want to learn well. They may experience failures too. I have to firmly hold onto this vision. Otherwise my children might miss the mark. I advise them and push hard.”

Similarly, Aregash socialize her children through regular advice. She says that,

“It’s wonderful when your child becomes like you. You can’t make your children obedient by advising them. It is God who gives you such a child. If it was through advice, I would have had such children. I advise and beg them a lot. I beg them day and night. I tell them ‘Please follow my advice and study hard. I am very sad that you don’t study hard. As I care for you, please encourage me by listening to my advice.’ I don’t have rest. I go to church and pray for them a lot. With all my endless effort, they would have turned to be good. But it didn’t happen.”

Worke, usually express her grievance due to their father’s exploitation against her by saying” one who cares lot for his child degrades himself to childhood” says someone. I am living with suffering just for you; now I am becoming bored. I say to them “Will I enwrap by your skin when I die”.

Children also explained how their parents use proverbs while they are socializing them as follow:

Askalech, who is a grade 8th student in Debre Berhan, said that since my childhood my father advice me to be successful in my education.

«My father advise me to be successful in my education while I am a child. Learn while you are a child, as flower blossom in October, if you learn harder while you are a child, you will have a better life; you will also make our life better; you will make us proud; you will make your younger learn; you will be exemplary for them.” As a result of listening my father’s advice I am always in the first rank since Grade 8.

Likewise Sinidu says:

I am good at my learning and I am ranked between 1st and 10th. I help my mom; when we come back from school, I rush to home and reached fast. I do not have friends other than friends in school. Our neighbors told my mom “you are lucky; you have such a nice daughter; she serves you well, you will be benefited from her.’ I’ve heard when my mother said by quoting others “who he/she gets respect because of his/her daughter; gets consulted with St. Merry.

In contrary Ayele said that

“I am growing up in a family who says ‘a son is a sign of respect for his family.’ If I fight with someone and get hurt, they say ‘You lady, are you feeding dough, why are you coming with such hurt what are you holding by your hand when others hurt you on your head?’ Due to this, when someone annoyed (insulted) me, I cannot tolerate them. I was in a jail two times for I beat others.

With regard to her brother’s behavior Senite says that:

“My brother couldn’t pass Grade 10. Now, he is jobless. He asks my mom and dad money. They replied him that they don’t have money and he has to work with them then he insulted them. Now, he is living in the town; I don’t know where he gets his food. I’ve heard when our neighbors say to my father “your son is becoming idle “A wise bear fool.”

2.9. Child Socialization through story telling

Across Africa people have passed on their folk tales, songs, myths and poetry from one generation to the next by word of mouth, with no written sources. The oral storytelling tradition was, and remains, important in Ethiopian society particularly among certain cultures such as the Amhara. In Amhara region, parents socialize children mainly to be strong and wise through different tales often in the name of animals. The following are some examples of tales used to socialize children in Amhara region:

2.9.1. The disadvantage of talkativeness

A long time ago, there was a tortoise living near a village. She always went to the nearby spring and told stories to women who went to the stream to fetch water. Due to this, women used to quarrel with their husbands for their delays in the stream listening to her stories. One day, while the tortoise was waiting for the coming of women, two birds perched at the bank of the stream to drink water. The tortoise approached the birds and said, “Good morning gentle birds! You know, you are lucky to fly to anywhere you like. You could visit places you’ve never seen before. But, poor me, I can’t fly. I can’t even escape from creeping or walking enemies who may kill me. I try to hide myself in my shell but they stone me, Oh, poor me!” She then went on saying, “I wish I could fly like you one day and die afterwards. Would you mind flying me?” The birds felt sorry for the poor tortoise. Thus, they held a short meeting to decide on her request and all agreed to fly her. One of the birds brought a rope. The birds then warned the tortoise: “You should hold the middle of the rope with your mouth. We hold the ends and will fly you. You should never open your mouth for talk.” The tortoise gladly accepted the offer and started flying. Then, the village children noticed her in the sky and one of them said, “Oh, look at the talkative tortoise flying with birds! I am sure she will fall soon.” The tortoise heard the boy and responded: “do you think I am a fool to talk now?” She immediately lost the grip, fell down and died.

2.9.2. Freedom

As it is understood from the history of the world, mankind sacrifices everything to get his freedom. Amhara is one of the nations of Ethiopia that pays a lot for the freedom of Ethiopia. The nation uses a fairytale to tell to what extent the coming generation should pay for getting its freedom:

Once upon a time, a dog and a fox met on the road. After they greeted, the fox asked the dog “Look how much I am not attractive but why are you becoming so gorgeous?” The dog replied “I guard my owner’s house, in turn, he feeds me very well.” Then the fox said “Why not I serve for your owner; let us go and ask him.” the dog agreed and started walking. While they are on their way the fox asked the dog, “what makes your neck’s hair bald?” The dog replied, “it is because my master held a rope around my neck.” Then the

fox responded, “Oh, I really don’t want to be tied by a rope for filling my belly. I prefer to live my own life.” Then the fox returned. This fairytale has a moral lesson that children should never negotiate to lose their freedom at any expense.

2.9.3. Impatience

The society nurtures their children through storytelling about the problems caused by impatient individuals on the society and on themselves. The following tale narrates how much impatient persons exposed themselves for danger:

In the early times, in a certain place a man was very hungry and boiled potato in a very small pot. For the pot was very small it boiled and got the potato ready for meal very fast. The man poured all the potatoes on a certain plate. The man was very excited for the small pot helped him to cook his potato very fast. However, just because the man lost his patience he swallowed a potato without peeling its cover. The potato was so hot and big then it plugged into his throat. For nobody was in the home who can help him out the plugged potato from his throat, he died due to the blockage of his respiration system.

One can understand from this tale that how much being impatient and being in a hurry costs one’s life. Although the man was very hungry, he would have been well if he had eaten the potato properly.

2.9.4. Being wise

On the early days, a fox was living in a certain place. Once upon a time, the fox was very hungry and jumped into somebody’s compound in search of food. Then he saw a rooster plucking food and said “Thanks my lord for you give me this food.” And he approached the rooster slowly. The rooster shocked when he saw the fox suddenly. But the fox cheated the rooster by saying “I love the way you shout. Could you shout once, please?” Then he caught the rooster. The rooster shouted for rescue but the fox ran away out of the compound by holding the rooster. Suddenly an idea came to the mind of the rooster. Then he said to the fox “Now I am yours; just let me be on the ground and tell the people following us that I am yours and they have to give up hope of getting me back.” The fox accepted the rooster’s idea and put the rooster on the ground. But

when the fox was about to talk, the rooster instantly joined his owners. On another day, the fox came to the rooster owner's compound to catch that rooster but the owners killed the fox.

2.9.5. The importance of patience

In the ancient time, the following was happened when God created hyena and tiger. When God was creating the hyena, the hyena was so impatient that it even told God "Make me this way. And again it said "Make me that way." Though God had tried to advice the hyena to be patient, the hyena could not listen to God's advice. As a result, God created hyena by using too much black color and too little gray color. He also created hyena's leg unequally; the front legs are shorter than the back legs. That is why a hyena bends to the front when it walks. Next, a tiger was waiting God patiently and God created it by using equal black and white colors. He also created a tiger as the fastest animal with a good sight. That is why a tiger is beautiful; it has an excellent vision; it can run faster than any wild animals. On the contrary, a hyena is the ugliest and the most impatient wild animal.

2.9.6. The disadvantage of Selfishness

In the ancient times, there was a monkey who throne himself as a king of his group. One day it gathered all the monkeys and shouted "Today onwards I'm your king; you have to say exactly what I've said. Anyone who can't say exactly following what I've said, shall be killed." It kept on frequently warning them "Accordingly, when I say "Go!" you've to say "Go!", when I say "Come!" you've to say "Come!" If I say "Sit down!" You must say "Sit down!" One day, when the king monkey was walking by leading the other monkey, it was caught by a trap. The king turned its face towards the other monkeys and said "I'm caught in a snare!" The others followed what it said and repeated "I'm caught in a snare!" Then the king said "Help me!" The other monkeys also repeated the same "Help me!" Then, the trap become tighter and tighter. "Oh, no I'm going to die!" The other monkeys responded according to the warning "Oh, no I'm going to die!" Finally, the king monkey died in the trap.

2.10. Major barriers in inculcating discipline, social norms and values in the socialization process of Ethiopian children

The major barriers hindering parents not to socialize children through the traditional ways of child rearing are:

Modern education: According to key informants children who are attending the modern education consider the traditional way of parenting and socialization as old fashioned, oppressive and irrelevant. For instance, one of my informants said that “My 6th grade son warned me that they are learnt and told by their teachers there is law that prohibits physical punishment over children even by parents”. While I am going to kick him when he misbehave, he says “Dad, you don’t have the right to punish me physically”.

Media: Currently, children listen to the radio and watch television about the rights of children so that they don’t want to accept parent’s advice and punishment. In relation to this Miss Ayenalem said that

“Not all children are mature. Some children don’t give attention to the advice of their parents. Others don’t give attention to the peer influences in the neighborhood. Since this neighborhood is very crowded and the children frequently spend time with each other, the bad kids influence the good ones. At times good kids are lured into bad habits through false promises and money. Because of the overcrowded nature of this neighborhood, an easy access to drug houses and movie places, it is very easy for the child to disobey their parents and follow their peers.”

Many of the oral traditions such as storytelling, riddling and proverbs are disappearing from time to time as a result of globalization-the thinking that indigenous knowledge are backward and only cultural traits coming from abroad through modern education and the media are modern and relevant. For this reason our children are becoming spoiled and they do not listen to what we tell them.

In connection with this Ato Mesfin said that “children are attracted to what they see in movies and TV. They try to be popular based on what they see on media. There are unhealthy and uncensored media influences that lure them to follow values that are not helpful.

The implication of the findings of this study is the role of socialization (child care and parenting) in shaping/molding children's behavior and personality. Oral traditions such as proverbs, sayings and storytelling are vehicles of both positive (encouraging) and negative (discouraging) messages through which parents, grandparents, friends, neighbors, etc. are inculcating the fate and ideal behavior of their children. These involve the social, economic, political, psychological aspects of their lives.

2.11. Gender and oral tradition

Through oral traditions parents indoctrinate masculinity and ideal femininity into children's mind. Oral traditions, like proverbs, sayings and stories the community teaches the ideal behavior of females and males. In this regard, masculinity and femininity are not simply the results of being born male or female, rather they are achieved based on one's performances. This is evidenced by the saying 'all those who are hanging penis between their legs are not worth to be called man.' A male person to be real man needs to be brave, fighter ready to pass through challenges, hardships, vengeful and protecting honors of his family and his own. Otherwise he is often called 'set' woman. Similarly, parents' of a female who is courageous, brave and self-reliant often say 'my daughter is male!' In this regard, the custom segregates between the roles of male and female. These oral traditions mainly promote patriarchal system; the precedence of male role over female's. Therefore, boys who are behaving like girls are with feminine behavior which is very nauseating for them. To the contrary if girls are acting and behaving like boys they are considered male which is source of integrity and respect for them.

They are practiced in the form of praising and degrading children to conform to the cultural values and norms. As a result the future behavior of children such as naughtiness, gentleness, loyalty, trustfulness, passiveness, courageousness, passiveness, etc. are the result of socialization supported by different proverbs and sayings. However, the study shows that story telling is disappearing from time to time. This is due to the influence of globalization and the change in the life style of people. In fact, globalization is becoming a barrier to socialize children not only in tales but also in other traditional ways in a sense that the old is backward. The study also revealed that child socialization takes place through oral traditions in order to teach children mainly to be wise, strong, obedient, patient, etc.

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PART II

Norms of Child socialization in Amhara National Regional State: Three towns and their rural settings in focus

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Abstract

This study explored local perspectives on norms of child socialization in three towns (Debre markos, Burie and Woreta) of Amhara National Regional State, Ethiopia, and their rural settings. It specifically focused to unravel folktales, traditions, norms and values in the process of child

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socialization and their impacts on child development. Moreover, it explored the expectations of parents and children from one another. The study employed eleven focus group discussions, six in-depth interviews, and survey with 67, 7 and 30 participants respectively totaling 104. The participants were drawn from parents, children, elderly, religious leaders, and experts from governmental and non-governmental organizations directly or indirectly working on child issues using purposive and convenience sampling. Thematic and content analysis were employed to present the findings.

The study found that parents have generally poor parenting skills focusing on psycho-social development of children. Inter alia, this was resulted from absence of any formal parenting training; little or no time allotment to play, care and support to their children and limits to be responsive to their children's questions and parenting requirements demanding socio-economic and technological dynamism in this age of globalization. This problem, however, is less on mothers and urban parents as compared to fathers and rural parents respectively.

Moreover, leaving psycho-social issues aside, rural parents in particular solely focused on providing basic needs such as clothes, food and housing as the pinnacle in child parenting resulting in ethical, behavioral and moral deviation and mistreatment of children. Only two of focus group discussants have expressed the presence of scheduled, open and regular parent child discussions. On the extreme side, some parents discipline their children in variety of ways ranging from insults, undisclosed follow ups and biting to, fumigation. Many children who participated in this study are also found to be disobedient to their parents unless they are provided with material incentives of their interest. The role of media based drama and films such as kana were found to contribute immense negative impact on child socialization. Therefore, provision of regular trainings to both parents and children are found to be the key solution.

1. Introduction

Socialization is the process by which a child acquires skills, attitudes, and behaviors that are required for successful adaptation to a family and the larger society (Darling and Steinberg, 1993, cited in Dame, 2014). The way children feel, behave and think is the outcome of socialization process. In the process, different actors such as the family, peers, religious, educational, economic and political institutions play significant roles at different times of which, the family represents the first social institution in which children's lives are shaped and

determined. Though parents expect responsive and mature behaviors from their children, they have also different attitudes toward their children for which some are supportive and accepting while others are neglectful (Maccoby and Martin, 1983, cited in Kassa, 2014). Parenting is the first sociological environment in nurturing children to help them (children) recognize the societal expectations, norms, values, and beliefs. However, being influenced by traditions, levels of education, folktales, and the socio-cultural systems and religious values and beliefs of the society in general, parents may fail to socialize their children in ways which can promote children's overall development. There can also be instances where the role of positive norms of socialization failed to be capitalized due to pressure from negative norms. This in turn will affect children's socialization process in general and their overall psycho-social development in particular. Cognizant of these issues, this study attempted to uncover the practice of child socialization in general in lieu of folktales, expectations of parents and children from one another and reasons for this.

2. Statement of the problem

Children have needs and rights of survival; care and safety; protection and engagement are primarily the roles of parents and the society. To this effect, parents employ different techniques in socializing children such as acceptance of children's behavior; using corporal punishment when they misbehave; protectiveness, responsibility, responsiveness, reward, understanding, permissiveness, encouragement, emotional stability, control and patience. All these actions and expectations have been found out to influence children's behaviors (George and Rajan, 2012, cited in Kassa, 2014). However, studies on children in Ethiopia largely focus on children's academic achievement than the impacts of socialization. Dusek, for example, stated that parental values and their beliefs about appropriate child rearing practices contribute for their educational success (1997, cited in Dame, 2014). Vanas *et al* (undated, cited in Dame, 2014) also found that an imbalance between parent child structure and inappropriate response results in children behavioral problems and ineffectiveness in education. Likewise, Tilahun (2002) stated that parental follow up and controlling directly and indirectly through mental adjustment influenced children's academic achievement. Similarly, Markos (1996, cited in Tilahun, 2002) indicates that parental rearing style and academic achievement of children's have significant relationship. This study attempts to reorient from a relatively overdone issue of the nexus between parental control

and discipline with children's academic success to the role of norms of child socialization to their overall psycho-social development which has been ignored by previous researchers.

3. Theoretical framework

LeVine's (1988) model of parental strategies has been used as a theoretical framework to guide this research since the primary purposes of the present study were to explore positive and negative norms and expectations of parents and children in the process of child socialization, this model was believed to serve as a guide to the study. Basically, LeVine's model assumes that parental strategy is adaptive to the socioeconomic (agrarian and urban settings), demographic conditions (occupational status, educational level) and cultural factors (Dame, 2014). The central idea of the model rests on the concept of parental investment strategies for allocating time, attention, and domestic resources to the raising of children. The model proposed separate parental strategies for both agrarian and urban-industrial societies. Accordingly, the model suggests that the optimal parental strategy for agrarian societies is quantitative: it emphasizes high fertility, the child's economic utility, as well as obedience and conformity in childrearing as its primary goal.

In contrast, the model assumes that the optimal parental strategy for urban-industrial societies is qualitative: it emphasizes the child's acquisition of skills, low fertility, and independence in childrearing as its primary goal (LeVine, 1988). The empirical validity of this theoretical model is partly confirmed by the works of Kagitcibasi (1996; 2002) and Hoffman (1988) though it is not discussed here.

4. Result and Discussion

4.1.Introduction

Since this study basically relies on in-depth investigation of positive and negative norms, story-telling narratives and value systems surrounding child socialization, the qualitative approach, qualitative data and qualitative analysis were the main foci of attention. In addition, for survey, respondents selected on the basis of availability sampling were also asked to give a score out of 100. Then five categorized scale ranging from 90-100 for a 'very high', 80-89 for 'high', 70-79 for 'medium', 60-69 for moderate and a score of 59 and below for 'low' were used for analysis. Hence, non-sequential mixed qualitative– quantitative analysis has been followed.

4.2. Background information of research participants

A total of 104 purposively recruited interviewees (N=7) and focus group discussants (N=67), and conveniently selected 30 respondents involving both sexes and all age groups from urban and rural vicinities of each of the study sites took part in this study. The details of each group of participants were described as follows.

Interviewees were recruited from four child protection experts of governmental organization (Bureau of labor and social affairs) and three child focal persons of non- governmental organizations (Hiwot Berhan project of compassion international Ethiopia in Woreta; Facilitator for change and Tesfa social development organizations in Debre Markos). Therefore, as there are no active non-governmental organizations working on child issues in Burie town, in-depth interviews with child focal persons of such organizations was conducted only in Woreta and Debre Markos towns with one and two experts respectively.

Eleven focus group discussions have also been conducted (four focus group discussions in each site with the exception of Debre Markos town where one focus group discussion with parents have been left because of data saturation). Religious leaders and the elderly were included in focus group discussions. Spatially, while 36 focus group discussants.

4.3. Positive' and 'negative' social norms in socialization of children

To investigate and examine positive and negative social norms that contributed for negative and positive socialization of children, data were collected through in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and survey in all the research sites from children, parents, religious leaders, experts of non-governmental and governmental organizations and the elderly. Then, these data were analyzed thematically based on the objectives. For the sake of simplicity, an attempt has been made to discuss it separately as follows.

4.3.1. 'Positive' social norms practiced in the study sites

There are various instances in which social norms that contribute to positive socialization of children have been practiced in the study sites. The results of data collected from all participants of this research pertinent to this objective were presented as follows. In the first place, at least theoretically, all parents need their children to lead a life better than their own. Consequently, all

the acts of child disciplining are thought not to harm their children but to make them possess all rounded ethics of living, working, communicating and wearing. However, a closer look at child socialization processes practically practiced by most parents is found in short of basic scientific positive child development principles pursuant to the needs and aspirations of children and the demands of time.

One general manifestation of this is that, in all the research sites, participants of this study faced more difficulties to mention positive social norms than the negative ones though there are differences in the depth and breadth of these across rural-urban and child- parent dichotomies. This indicates that there is gap in the knowledge and practice of positive and negative norms of child socialization and their positive and negative impacts for children. In addition, many parents have highlighted the impossibility of disciplining their children in ways they ought to.

Secondly, positive social norms in the process of child socialization are found to be practiced by mothers than fathers and urban parents than the rural ones. This has been confirmed both by male and female parent and child discussants; interviewees and respondents. All the participants expressed their feeling that their respective mothers have better roles in child socialization in general and provision of care, love and time for their children. Moreover, the role of child socialization mainly by rural parents is considered to be the task of mothers than their husbands. Indeed, in Debre Markos, some husbands do not totally care whether their children are grown or not; they consider it to be the sole task of their wives. This is particularly true for parents who lead poorer life than others.

Generally, in all focus group discussions with children, discussants have indicated the existence of some parents who make appropriate control of their children; give time to communicate and discuss with them; ask their problems; ask what their children do daily; help in developing study plans; encourage and provide prize for best performers.

According to child discussants, these are issues in which all parents should have been practiced. However, this is not capitalized as it should have been; it is limited practice of some educated and urban parents. In congruence to this, survey results on the role of parents indicated that 73.33% of the respondents have rated stating the role played by mothers in child socialization process is higher than their respective husbands.

Thirdly, all the participants of this study have the view that there is increasing tendency of parents to be open, clear and respectful of children's ideas. However, many have reasoned this not as result of a smooth interaction among parents and children but growing aggressiveness of children which ranged from confrontation of parents to leaving them to other places when their ideas are rejected. Parents are always scared that their children will leave them. They have also mentioned the role of media, education and government focus on child rights as additional factors that loosened parents' obedience to their children's thoughts.

Fourthly, an attempt has also been made to collect context specific sayings in three of the research sites. The findings generally show a limited number of those associated with positive child development. Such sayings as a child and plant is the same, don't be hated by a growing child, cursed by a dying monk and hit by a passing rain, satisfying food is known from oven; a born relative is like a rope, the one who was born will born' are found to have positive impacts on child development. The proverb 'a child is like a plant' is used to mean that the growth of plant is determined by the care given to it. A plant with better care will grow better, faster and be fruitful than the one which received less or no care. When a plant is cared well, it will grow well and being straight; it will also provide special fruit in the needed time. The same works for the growth of a child.

The proverb 'don't be hated by a growing child, cursed by a dying monk and hit by a passing rain' is to mean that if one hurts a child, the child will hate throughout his/her lifetime. In other words, children will never forget what is happened to them. This saying warns on the impacts of harming children on the doers. In addition, one should not be in conflict with the one who is going to die and that while there is place to protect the passing rain, one should not be hurt.

'Satisfying food is known from oven' is another proverb used to mean that the potential of the child is known at its early age. The saying 'if born let it be relative if done let it be rope' is tantamount to saying a child not only grows in his/her fate but has also some merit to their parents. The proverb 'father's credit is to a child as nose's dirt is for hand'. This saying has been used to express the care parents should take for their children emphasizing that they should not have a loan which transcends to their children. The saying 'let children have enough food but not leave without restraint'. In one way or another, this saying characterizes all societies and rural societies in particular, in which data has been collected. According to participants of this study,

communities in all research sites believe in strict discipline as a requirement to shape children's personalities. It underscores that unless children lack food to eat the rest is either secondary or unnecessary.

'As the child grows, the house will be repaired.' By this saying, it means that children come with their own fate which may contribute to new occasion, development or change in the wealth of the house. For example, if one gets lottery after the birth of one of his children, parents and the community attribute this as the chance brought by the new child. The saying 'a child's hand is forceps' shows how children can support their parents or adults. This is used to mean that 'children have unique quality of finding small things which are invisible for older ones. This is related to their higher concentration as compared to youth. The proverb 'a child has the capacity of providing a lot of merits upon development' is another with positive implication. The saying is related with one of the plant species called *semereta*. It is a kind of plant which gives much fruits. Similarly, in Debre Markos town where this saying is said to have found, children are considered like this plant, *semereta*, as they grow and provide a lot of advantages from being child. In regards to norms of socialization to be enhanced by parents, data collected from parents of Debre Markos town and its rural setting revealed that children are the products of parents. Hence, parents should talk and do things which do not negatively affect the mind of children as children first learn everything from parents and the family. In addition, parents should be positive and treat their children so. The statement made by one of the discussants is worth mentioning here:

When parents are ok, their children will also because when parents appreciate their children upon their accomplishment of good things and when they advise and punish when they participate in wrong doing with care and love, children will like it.

4.3.2. Negative' social norms practiced in the study sites

As is the case with positive social norms that contribute for positive socialization of children, there are various instances in which social norms that contribute to negative socialization of children being practiced in the study sites. The results of data collected from all participants of this research pertinent to this sub-objective are presented as follows.

In the first place, the role of mother and father in child socialization has been assessed. Data

collected in focus group discussions and interviews from all research sites revealed significant imbalance between their roles specifically showing high role of mothers and low role of fathers (extending from almost no role mainly among uneducated ones to some degree of influence among the educated). This has also been confirmed by survey results in which 73.33% of the respondents have indicated as the role of father is lower than that of mother. Relatedly, feminization of child bearing and rearing as well as little knowledge of the impact of absence of adequate fatherly role were found to be the main reasons.

Secondly, parents are found to have limits in the skills of child socialization. For the survey question administered to be rated by respondents to understand whether parents have basic child socialization skills, 83.33% of the respondents have rated that they have skill gaps in child socialization process. Interviewed experts from governmental and non- governmental organizations have also unambiguously stated this to be true. This has also been variously confirmed during focus group discussions in all sites and among all groups of discussants. Generally, many child discussants have raised parenting skill gaps of parents by elucidating their inappropriateness to manage sharing of life supporting materials, handling of conflicts and disagreements both within their own children and children of different parents. More specifically, in front of his older brother, one of the child discussants in Debre Markos uttered out how his father failed to manage them as follows:

My father does not know how to raise us. He always insults and hits me, but not my older brother despite our equal involvement in deeds which my father considered wrong. He does not know advising and guiding us. So how can we be shaped in his expectations? Does an older or younger son be punished first for 'wrong' deeds which we have equally been participating?

The problem becomes more severe for children raised by step mothers due to divorce, separation or death of first wife. Discussant children have highlighted that step mothers denial and deliberate delay of basic necessities, disrespect for such children's education and the use of fumigation as disciplining which is not applied for their biological children. Furthermore, there are other instances in which child discussants have stressed. For instance, some parents do not consider prize as incentive for child behavioral development though they hate oppression of children. One of this is the story of a girl in Woreta town presented by a female child discussant as follows:

A friend of mine goes to her family neighbors to see television. But her father always warns her not to go. In addition, he also frightens her to kill if he found her talking a male at any time in any place leading the child to lead anxious life. She always frightens to communicate her friends leading the possibility of being outcaste. She may leave their family and society.

Thirdly, moreover, parent discussants from Workmeda (rural area of Fogera district) have the view that children pass from one grade level to the next not by education but by their fate. In addition, they argued that currently, children are better cared, dressed and fed, and hence lead happier life except some instances of child marriage which may cause strain. One of the discussants in Debre Markos also raised a story of parenting practices showing how parents unequally treat their children and taken as justification for other parents. The story is presented as follows:

There were two neighbors of which one is educated and the other is not. The educated one has three children from which one is educated and the other is not. Being scared of uneducated two of his children, the father has been thinking of what to do since he has only land, cattle and gold. He knows that one of the children is interested and knows keeping cows; the other can do and is interested in ploughing and the third is student and can do business. Cognizant of this, he decided to share his assets to children and bought three sanduks³. He put in gold in one; soil in the other and animal dung in the third and gave one of each to three of them being closed. Upon his death, children took one of the Sanduks in which their names were written on it. When the farmer opens his sanduk, he found full of soil; when the educated opens his sanduk, he found full of gold and when the cattle keeper opens his sanduk, he found full of animal dung. The two farmers become angry and quarreled with their educated brother when he refused upon their request to share gold. To solve their cases, they requested an elderly to negotiate them. The elderly arbitrator said that they have to respect father's promise as their father has been educated since he decided to give gold for the educated who can do business while informing the farmer to plough the land because of his being uneducated and rich experience and the cattle herder has rich experience to engage in what he knows well. He added that your educated father shared this among you while the uneducated one in your neighbor neither

taught his children nor shared his assets to them. This shows the bright future of being educated.

Furthermore, rural parents in particular are found to directly associate meeting basic needs such as food, clothing and shelter for children as the key for their overall development and failed to know the role of social, psychological and emotional support for their children. This has also been confirmed by child discussants from rural areas whose expectations of their parents have been limited to meeting basic material needs. No rural child discussant has raised his/her need of parents to play and provide social and emotional support to them though they frequently raised their limits in providing advice. It is also found that there is either confusion or failure to take new and time demanding actions in socializing children among the parents. Almost all rural parents, uneducated urban parents and still some educated parents are still implementing the ways of child development in which they themselves have been grown up in their childhoods. This is strongly related with their belief that children of the distant past (their generation) have better overall ethics' and morality than the current generation. They justify this in variety of ways as follows:

When the needs of children of the current generation found unfulfilled, even a single thing, they will suicide themselves by taking in killer medicine or hanging themselves; they have also increasingly become thieves. Therefore, contemporary children's overall ethics does not correspond with their educational achievements and parents fulfillment of basic necessities to them.

However, few discussants have raised the difficulty of comparing the ethics of different generations as they are exposed to varying social, economic and technological environments, discoveries and innovations having significant impacts. They have also added the importance of recognizing at least few ethical students of contemporary Ethiopia and the increasing number of orphans who do not receive adequate and timely care and support to be ethical.

With respect to traditions, stories and child rearing practices, participants have revealed the existence of different context specific sayings which have significant negative impacts on the social interaction and psychological well-being of children. The following are some of the stories which are common to rural and urban areas where data for this study has been collected: 'What

parents spoiled is better than what children did well’, ‘a child cannot be out of being child’, ‘a child runs up to bakery’, ‘children should grow by licking their mucus’, ‘a child grows by his/her fate’, ‘a child and face do not feel cold’, ‘well-fed poor-man’s son smells like ash.’ A poor man’s name is rich’, ‘a child never say well-fed as an elderly never say healthy’.

A close look at these sayings shows that they have negative implications for child socialization in general and children’s psycho-social development in particular. It is suffice to mention one saying, ‘there is no Gojjame senior and Harare fresh’ by students who came from Harar where one of the current researcher’s has been accustomed with while pursuing his Bachelor of Arts degree in Addis Ababa University. The saying is the result of unchanging character of students who joined Addis Ababa University from Gojjam irrespective of the years they have stayed. This is partly the result of the ways they have been socialized.

For instance the saying ‘what parents spoiled is better than what children did well’ is used to degrade children’s tasks to mean that ‘what non-children do wrongly is better than what children do nicely’. This is tantamount to say ‘what children do is useless’. Similarly, another saying, ‘a child cannot be out of being child’ is used to indicate the immaturity of children’s thoughts, behavior and deeds. In other words, it is used to mean that what they do reflects their being childish. The saying, ‘a child runs till it arrives at bakery’ is also used to indicate the incapability of children as compared to others. Parents and communities in research sites are found to use the saying, ‘children and face never feel cold’. The participants indicated that when some parents do not want to invest on their children to keep their safety, they can use such sayings. In this relation, the saying, ‘a child grows at its fate’, is used to mean that children do not need much treatment. For example, when parents are told to use family planning in their child birth, they say that children will grow up with their fate. In addition, they ascertain this by giving examples of children who were grown up with almost no treatment and in poorer families than their own.

The saying, ‘well-fed poor-man’s son smells like ash’ is also used to mean that when children of the poor grow up economically, they start to disrespect others. This is found the most commonly spoken saying in Woreta town. Relatedly, in the same community, the saying, ‘a poor man’s name is Rich’, is used to reflect that many poor people give one of their male children the name ‘Habtamu’ which reflects the English synonym of ‘rich’. Even though this naming is being used positively from parents’ perspective, there is negative connotation among the community. That is

why it is presented as one of the negative social norms in child socialization process.

The saying, ‘running to scape a dog and laugh with children are the same.’ This is also used to mean that as the dog bites if one runs to escape from it, laughing with children exposes the well grown to be disrespected. In addition to some of the above saying, parents from Workmeda have also provided the following sayings which have their own negative implications in child development. One of these is the saying ‘care takers are dull and parents are smart’. This is used to mean that any guardian except their biological parents is useless when children grow up. In other words, with whomever children were raised; they want their biological parents when they grownups. This is degrading for step parents. It is suffice to present one of the barren women who expressed her bad feelings while she attempts to play the role of step mother:

I do not have children because I am infertile. But I want to raise others children like my own. Having this in mind, I heard abandonment of a child along the bushed area near road side of our village. I went there and get the child as some few have also been looking it. I pick it and took to the concerned bodies to allow me raise it. They approved my request and here is my son (she carried on her back). However, from the community, I hear a lot of things, insults and gossip, concerning my taking care of this lonely child which I do not want to state in front of my neighbors who know well what I am being said. To my knowledge alone, there are many people who want to be step mothers, but they are afraid to be insulted, gossiped and the like. Government should do something to solve this problem and enable many mothers take motherly role for many abandoned children in our town.

The saying ‘smarts arrange marriage of innocents ‘this is to mean that while some neighbors are marrying their children, other parents work for free to them instead of marrying their own children and receive reciprocal contribution from those they have supported. This saying partly contributes for child marriage. Participants in Debre Markos have also stated the saying, ‘even a dung gives birth to worm, bring up is more important’ is used to indicate the easy or meaningless task of childbearing and the burden of child rearing. This saying is found to degrade children’s morale as children consider themselves as not better than worms. This saying is applicable when parents give birth without plans one after another and when an illegitimate child is born. Another saying, ‘a woman’s child’ is used to explain children of lazy parents or a father living in distant

places without helping his child's development.

Similarly, urban FGD discussants in Burie town have also presented the following sayings which have negative implications in child socialization. One of these is, 'the child should be disciplined during childhood as the timber is fixed while moist.' Though appropriate child disciplining is essential, this saying contributes to harsh child disciplining less responsive to children's rights mainly among rural uneducated parents and the wider rural community at large. The second is, 'as a child likes leftover food, give him/her supernatant liquid.' This saying in the first place posits children as consumers of leftover food and drinks. Thirdly, the saying, 'children do not utter well-fed as elderly never say healthy' also consider children as restless to have food. Fourth saying is, 'grand-child first destroys the food and gradually leaves grand-parents for hyena'.

This is generally used to express the bad consequences of raising one's grand-child. The fifth saying, 'if you gossip somebody being in house, a child will secretly see you' is used to explain the challenges of communicating many things in front of children. Further, many child participants almost in all FGDs have also highlighted the problem of parents to fail to selectively use speeches in front of children.

The sixth saying, 'one having a child become a child' is also used to express the negative impacts of children on parents' thoughts and actions. The seventh, 'whatever a child knows, it does not leave to excrete in the house' is used to insult children who do not comply to the parents orders regarding toilet use. The eight is 'do not negotiate with a child and as you do not take something from your enemy'. This is also used to express the costs of dealing with children. Ninth is, 'don't show your teeth to a child as you never expose your wound to a fly'. This is used to express the bad consequences of approaching children very close. The saying 'a child will always be a child' is also similar with some of the above sayings in expressing the immaturity of children.

'A child teaches her mother how to labor for giving birth', is used to express the hurdles that children pose to the family starting from their birth. 'Unless one raps, children will not be fair' is also used as a way of disciplining children but let's them to be victims of negative child socialization. 'As child grows, the house collapses' indicates that children are causes for multiple household problems.

In addition, data has been collected to understand children's views on what parents should rectify as far as their socialization of children is concerned. The results from child participants of this study revealed that in the first place, parents should generally show good ethics to their children and mold them to grow in that manner. These include development by work; the role of child interaction with other children; the role of learning; and fulfilling what children demand such as clothes and educational materials. For example, many parents do not allow children aged five to go out from home and play with neighboring children believing that doing so will harm children. However, this is hated by almost all children of Woreta town since children believe that their engagement in play with neighboring children has its own positive advantage.

However, there may be instances where some children may go to harmful places while telling their parents to go to school. In such cases, participant children believe that there should be strict control by parents. Parents should, for example, know whether and what their children learn daily both from their students and teachers. Apart from this, children aged 14 and above are so-called adult or those who reached grade 8th and above are said to have least foci to their education; they may also hit their family. Therefore, participant children believe that children should be grown in socially, psychologically and morally nurturing environments.

When parents control over their children is high, it is believed that children will enhance family's happiness' if children are controlled starting from their early childhood. On the contrary to this, if they are not as such controlled in their early childhoods, they will develop their own behavior which may contradict with those of community norms. For example, when parents talk once, children will talk three or four times. There is one incidence presented by a discussant as follows:

Parents of a child do not control their son. As a result, he created difficulty to girls by harassing them. From being advised, he stood as one to be dismissed from the school. When parents are called by the school administration to know the case, his mother went and cried saying, I will control him if the school administration let him to give the final chance to my son to learn. While talking this, her child said her mother, I could not have been such kind of child if you disciplined me while I am egg, and this is to mean if you have controlled me since my early childhoods.

For the question, what do research participants mean when they say 'parents should control their

children,' raised for clarity, the following is synthesized from their discussion. They mean not unreasonable suppression of children by parent but doing all the things which inculcate ethics for their children; ensuring the safety of children's daily destinations; assisting them to decide in choosing their good friends rather than those with different behaviors, practices (for example, even if children may go with wrong doer friends, parents should provide advice and other peaceful and child friendly activities that enhance their distance and forget those friends than kicking, insulting and related measures. Parents should also reduce the gaps in the treatment and control provided by father and mother. While usually fathers try to control, mothers do not resulting in the use of such insult, 'child is the product of guardian 'by father to his wife. By extension, since mothers do not control their children, children like them than their fathers. Therefore, in, the first place, the difference among parents to treat children should be solved; they should also know what should and should not be spoken in front of children since some children are also hurt by what parents discuss.

Parents should also avoid hatred, for example, in naming their children in such names as 'Demelash and Ashebir' as this will let children to take part in some deviant and criminal acts being triggered by their names and the story of why their parents named them so and so. Moreover, there are instances where parents of different children conflict because of their children's disagreement. This is wrong for two reasons: in the first place, parents should participate in negotiating than conflicting on child issues. Secondly, since children's conflict lasts short, parents should not interfere as their interference may result in loss of the life.

Data has been also collected to know the perception of research participants as to whether rural or urban children have better ethics. Almost all participants of this research replied that rural children have better ethics than the urbanites. This is from what they see when rural children come to urban areas being out of family control. As part of negative social norms that contribute for negative child socialization, data collected from children as to what parents should avoid in the process of child socialization revealed that parents should avoid talking 'bad things' in front of their children. Those things may include parental nagging with one another reflective of their disagreement; parental difference to take action on their children for wrong doings; discriminatory treatment of children upon conflicting issues; avoiding tearing posted papers for advertisement and use it for toilet or to throw away since they may have something which

children can learn.

Moreover, many male students have strong view that they should learn up to grade eight and shift to have driving license; there also many children who smoke cigarette, dress in socially unacceptable ways. Therefore, parents should be strict in shaping their children's overall development by advising, following and encouraging children to avoid misperception and lead the right track to success. Parents should know that children will be largely shaped by their efforts and work restlessly to realize this. Most importantly, in trying to solve such problems of their children, husband and wife should take care to avoid conflict and disagreement as this may result in many other problems beyond them.

Children also mentioned the significant instigating role of teacher smokers and chewers who advice and teach their students to abstain from engaging in such acts while they themselves who are expected to be models cannot withdraw from it. Such acts of teachers have significant influence on students and should be prohibited.

Generally, significant numbers of discussants have suggested that for such acts as chewing khat, smoking cigarette, respecting parents' orders and advices, children of distant past are better than children of the time since few years. However, some who argued that 'children are the products of their parents' and in the variation of the social dynamics expressed the difficulty of comparing different cohorts and generation of children in lieu of the above criteria. They have the belief that what matters children's ethics is not the time they are in but context and timely meaningful parenting practices to be developed and put in practice.

4.4. Other social norms that influence on children's development

In the above discussion, an attempt was made to focus on social norms and sayings having direct impact on children's thoughts and social development. However, this section focuses on social norms and folktales practiced by the wider community but having their own impact on child development. It focuses on two broad aspects roughly categorized under religious and socio-cultural issues.

Firstly, an attempt has been made to uncover whether parents mention achievements of some Ethiopians who have significant impact in shaping history, economy and politics to shed light on future direction and vision of their children. It is found that while comparing ethics, and

successes of some other children in their vicinities are frequently mentioned by many parents to their own children to instigate them in that direction, the sayings and the deeds of well-known historians, educationalists, politicians and economists have been ignored for reasons in which some parents themselves do not know this well on the one hand and fail to correctly know the impacts of such sayings and deeds in positive child socialization practices. Some of the common sayings related to this mentioned by many parents include the following:

Look the son of Kebede. He is academically clever; he studies hard; regularly assists parents; do not quarrel with anyone; receives and accomplishes parents 'orders and regularly attends class.

However, there are myriad of cultural and religious sayings and folktales that can impact positively on children's social development. If we take issues related to religion, 'May the Glory God give me not what I want but what I deserve to get' to mean that they prefer everything if they get from their Lords since people have unlimited wants and needs of both useful and useless which may take them to be ethically and morally wrong. In addition, people seem to be stressed and found themselves in anxiety, they use the saying 'May the Almighty God take me out of all exams' for prayer.

Similarly, to advise the youth from leaving their creators and engage in deviant and criminal acts, communities in the study areas use the saying, 'think the creator during periods of brevity'. The studied communities have also been teaching the importance of patience for everything stating, 'everything passes with patience' and the irrelevance of gossip stating, 'gossip is the recreational center of the workless.' To describe absence of eternal power of human beings and their lives being determined by God's benevolence, the studied communities use the saying, 'the one who rely should rely on God' and 'all who seem stood should take care from failing'. Using these sayings, the public advice others to participate in good deeds within a short period of earthly life they stay.

The studied communities have also been using different cultural sayings that can promote positive child development. For example, to reduce the possibility of children's forgetfulness of their own culture in favor of the westerners, they use, 'we become cultural droppers and fashion hangers' and 'leave westerners culture and start to wear long skirt and make your trouser up'. These sayings are used to teach both males and females who knowingly or unknowingly wear

their clothes in socially and culturally unacceptable ways.

In addition to this, they also use the sayings like ‘thinking bad will benumb one, thinking good makes one bright’ ‘one should differentiate whom to follow’, ‘eyebrow and jealous person will not grow’. These are sayings which are thought to mold good mannered social and psychological development of children. Furthermore, by indicating a key role of mothers, there are sayings which enhance positive thinking and respect of children on their mothers. These include, mother is the heaven for a child, dress well while your mother is alive and run ahead of sun set’ a child without mother is like a house without steeple’.

There are also positive sayings which enhance children’s positive outlooks towards their mother’s in particular and women in general. These include sayings such as ‘a good wife is Gold for her husband’ ‘a house without woman is like a land without oxen’, ‘knowledgeable woman’s house has beauty’, ‘a woman is trouble shooter’, ‘woman’s advice is like the thorn of fence’, ‘it is impossible to ischium from a donkey and dispute from a woman’.

Nevertheless, there are various folktales and sayings which have negative impacts on children’s social and psychological development pertaining to their understanding of women. These include sayings like ‘educated woman and a broken donkey are useless.’, ‘whatever a female learns, her mind will not be broaden as her west’, ‘a woman and bottle have stomach than mind’, ‘females and money are inseparable’, ‘females could have loved monkey if they could get money from a tree’ These all undermine women and practiced trans generationally.

4.5.Parent-child expectations in the socialization process

Data has also been collected from children and parents to examine their respective expectations from one another. The results generally show that while children of both rural and urban areas have almost similar expectations from their respective parents, parents of urban and rural areas have also almost similar expectations from their respective children with insignificant variations based on rural and urban contexts and their levels of education. Detail issues of such concern are presented as follows.

4.5.1. The expectations of parents from their children

As indicated above, there are much similar expectations of children from their parents regardless

of their urban or rural backgrounds. An attempt has been made to present the details of these from the data collected from six sites in the following paragraphs and concluded with some points of variation in the expectations of rural and urban children from their parents.

Parents of workmeda expressed a number of expectations from their children. One of these is that they need their children to be educated and provide professional services than being farmers like them. They also need to be assisted by their children during free time. Moreover, they need their children to be ethical, hard worker to change their own life and their country, honest and transparent, respectful of God, and parents and their orders, non-thieves. To this effect, if parents educate and care for children, they will in turn benefit their parents.

Furthermore, when parent discussants from workmeda repeatedly expressed the importance of material support as basic tool for children's overall development, the moderator raised one question, 'if parents provide basic needs support to their children such as food, cloth, shoes, and all the necessities for education, can this contribute for children to be grown ethically?' all the discussants answered this to have positive correlation as follows:

If we (parents) fulfill material necessities including modern technologies demanded by our children, it is good for children's morale; they will become happy; they will efficiently and effectively follow their education and become successful. This is all what our children demand and parents need to provide.

However, there is generally poor experience of advising their children. While only few of the educated approach to and advise their children, many do not; this is precisely true among almost all the uneducated parents. Parents also confirmed that children bring good character from their peers (mainly from children of the Awramba community) which parents do not sometimes know. Similarly, data collected from teachers as parent discussants of 'Edget Behibret Junior General School' revealed that though educated, they themselves fail to approach their own children to at least a degree expected by parents themselves because of the tradition they themselves have grown up.

4.5.2. The expectations of children from their parents

As indicated above, there are much similar expectations of children from their parents regardless of their urban or rural backgrounds. An attempt has been made to present the details of these from the data collected from six sites in the following paragraphs and concluded with some

points of variation in the expectations of rural and urban children from their parents.

In the first place, all child focus group discussants have directly and indirectly reflected the importance of parents care and love for their children if they want to have ethical children. They strongly mentioned that when parents give love and care for their children, children will do the same for the parents and other people of all ages; on the contrary, when parents fail to give love and care for their children, children also treat and act in ways which parents do whomever they are interacting with. And this starts from their home. For example, if a parent interacts with a child with disrespect, the child interacts with his/her parent with disrespect, dishonestly and carelessly. On the contrary, when a father or mother interacts with his/her child with love and care the child does the same for his/her father or mother. They will also do love, care and honesty in their day to day interaction with anyone. It gives meaning to present the slaying of one of the discussants as concluding remark as follows:

We children need love from our parents. The manifestation of this is the common saying, ‘showing smiling face with tasteless food is better than ugly face with delicious food’ (ከፍትህፍቱራቱ) to our society. Whatever our parents are poor economically, they should give us love. It is when they provide this first that their provision of other basic necessities satisfies us though this also requires our being obedient to their advices and orders.

Another issue of strong importance for children’s expectations from their parents is in the time allotted by parents to their children. All child focus group discussants want their parents to give time for them. They strongly reflected that this does not mean that parents should take their children to known hotels and restaurants but taking to places affordable within the limits of parents’ economic capacities or even taking children just to walk with them if they are poor. This will enhance children’s and parents understanding, care and love of one another which contributes for positive interaction. Failing to do so has its contributions to take parent child interaction in negative ways. Child discussants in all the research sites have strongly mentioned the tradition of most parents to disregard giving time to their children and failing to go beyond fulfilling basic needs, such as food and cloth, for their children. Children have also stated that many parents fail to know and understand that their children can get love from parents.

4.6. Major barriers in child socialization process

The study found that absence of adequate scientific knowledge of parenting and child disciplining; the impact of negative folktales and sayings in child socialization; presumption of the fulfillment of material basic necessities (such as food, clothing and housing) for children as an end in itself and little or no attempts by parents and families for psycho-social development of children (which could have been manifested in the form of open discussion; recognition of children's knowledge, interests and visions; giving adequate time to share advice and hear their voices); the influence of media (especially Kana) and technology (such as guns as toy) on children; the influence of teachers who insult, smoke and chew khat in the schools and surrounding neighborhoods; the expansion of pool and table tense houses which let urban children with extreme freedom; other increasing and unfulfilled demands of children. In addition, the limited number of non-governmental organizations working on child issues has also failed to make primary foci on tackling negative norms of child socialization.

Training manual developed also lacks model practical examples of local realities to enable trainers comprehend the depth and extent of the problem and ways to solve it. Paucity of child recreational centers (such as football and running fields; protected places with different toys and sport instruments for playing) in each kebeles of the studied towns are also reported to have impacted on children by pushing them pool and table tense houses.

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CHAPTER THREE

An Inventory of Folklore Genres Pertaining to Parenting and Children Socialization among the Oromo

Dejene Gemechu Chala,¹³ Lenin Kuto Hamado,¹⁴ Megersa Regassa Tolassa¹⁵

1. Introduction

This work focuses on the role and processes of folklore and storytelling in socialization of children among the Oromo. The Oromo are the largest ethnic group in Ethiopia (Central Statistical Authority [CSA], 2007). They occupy a land that extends from northeastern Ethiopia to east central Kenya and from the Sudan in the west and Ethiopian Somali National Regional State in the east. The Oromo consist of many groups, which branch out from the Borana and the Barentu, the two principal moieties (Mohammed, 1994; Huntingford, 1955; Gemetchu, 1993). *Gadaa* and *qaalluu* institutions are among the major Oromo institutions.

Qaalluu is a religious institution of the Oromo that believes in one supreme creator called *Waaqa* Who is believed to be omnipotent, omnipresent, and omniscient, and communicates with human being from above. *Gadaa* is a political system that has been guiding the political and economic as well as the social life of the Oromo since long ago (Bassi, 2005; Mohammed, 1994; Hinnant, 1977; Legesse, 1973, 2006; Van de Loo, 1991). The two institutions play central role in child rearing. The Oromo concept of *safuu*, moral value is shaped in the framework of these two basic institutions. According to Gemetchu (1993), *Safuu* is a moral category directs Oromo concept of wrong and right, and respect and distance. The Oromo have customarily transmitted knowledge, attitudes, and values from generation to generation verbally. This has been the case, for the use of written material is a recent phenomenon. They use different oral texts in socialization undertakings.

Widespread introduction of written material in Oromo language (Afaan Oromoo) has been since 1991 official adoption of Latin alphabet. Until very recently and still now the Oromo folklore is

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the basis to educate their successors so as to enable them to gain the socially desired and approved behavior and skills, tradition, religion, arts, worldview, and epistemology. In this regard, Sumner (1994) discusses Oromo oral literature in three volumes. Tesema (2002) presents Oromo traditional songs. Shongolo (2002) focuses on prayer among the Borana Oromo. Bitima (2002) depicts Oromo poems and riddles. Shongolo and Schlee (2007) focus on proverbs among the Borana Oromo. Dejene (2014, 2015) discuss riddles and puzzles among the Waliso Oromo. Both articles by Dejene are directly relevant to children's education and socialization. Dejene shows how the Waliso Oromo transmit environmental, moral, political, social, aesthetical and linguistic knowledge and skills through riddles. In his 2015 article, Dejene shows that through puzzles the Oromo teach mathematics, logic, cultural values, and gender roles. However, countless folklore genres such as oral narratives and games which are directly relevant to socialization of children are still untapped.

Lastly, since the Oromo oral texts were collected in Afaan Oromo, the issue of translation is pertinent. Even if oral texts are common phenomena, they are better understood in their respective cultural and natural contexts. In this particular instance, the techniques of translating the texts from source language–Afaan Oromo into target language–English are important point to be mentioned. Rendy (2013) discusses a comprehensive theory of translation by Newmark (1988). According to Rendy, Newmark divides translation into source language oriented and target language oriented. For our purpose, we used source language oriented translation for the intention of the research is to understand the socialization role of oral texts among the Oromo, rather than searching for equivalent in other cultures. Specifically, faithful translation was employed in favor of conveying as accurate the cultural meaning of the source language as possible.

2. Folklore and Socialization: Data Presentation and Discussion

2.1.Introduction

Folklore has several genres which include: communication of games, songs, stories, rituals, taunts, and other traditional content from one individual to another and from one generation to the next (Tucker, 2011). As data from the key informant interview indicated, in terms of mode of communication folklore elements are communicated to children in three major styles. The first includes storytelling when adults are telling the story to children with the purpose of inculcating

a certain behavior or contributing to the overall growth, development and self-fulfillment of the children. The stories, which are being told, can be what usually known as legend (a true history with possible exaggeration) or myths. According to Mota (2009), legend is believed to be true and often deals with the secular performances of past brave man, rulers and monarchs.

In this regard, children are active listeners and admirers of the achievements, performance, patience, talent, honesty, heroism, beliefs, the sacred world, the moral standard, personal devotion and commitments and the like. Children have the chance to probe questions and clarifications. The second style is communications among the children through games, plays, and folktales. Still this style enables children physical, intellectual, moral and linguistic development. The third style is when adults communicate among themselves in the presence of children. As one of our key informants stated there is a saying ‘‘*abaluun kun bullukkoo abbaa/ akaakayyuu jalatti guddate*’ meaning this person was educated under the shade of his/her grandfather (KI4).’ The saying implies that adults intentionally arrange forums for storytelling where children are given chance to hear from adults who are discussing among themselves. Such oral communications take place in the evening by moonlight where elderly people from the vicinity come together and chat. Children protect themselves from chilly under the blanket of their fathers and/or grandfathers to hear the discussion. In this case, children are passive in terms of participation. They are listeners without any intervention. In case the adults are discussing something which is not appropriate for children to hear the latter are denied the attendance and are send home (KI 1, 12, 7).

Data from all the three sites and different sources show that grandfathers/ mothers often spent their late age with their grandsons and daughters (KI2, KI10, FGD1, FGD2 and FGD3). As one of our informant from Waliso Oromo stated in Oromo culture there is a system of dividing successive generations into two—*obo* and *cora* in male line. If the grand father is in *obo* category the father is *cora* and the grand son is *obo*. This means, always the grandson and grandfather/ mother are in the same category (KI5).

As a result, the relationship between grandfather or grandmother and grandchildren is important for socialization. These two generations consider themselves as peers and freely joke and talk. This is true, particularly for grandmothers who are intimate and free to talk to her grandchildren, including sexual matters. Grandmothers hold a reverent position, but approachable and friendly

for all children around. She intentionally, tells stories to children or supervises while they are telling to each other. What, how and when they are telling stories to each other should be in line with the existing custom. It is also expected to serve the purpose of entertaining as well as imparting the basic moral and mores of the society.

For the sake of convenience and simplicity this report categorizes some of the texts from the field into two major sections. The first category refers to folktales either told among children or by adults to children. The second kind refers to games and plays which are purely verbal as well as physical.

2.2.Folktales

Folktales involve the participation of adults or older children who pass on the tradition to the younger ones. The storytellers usually use verbal aesthetics or expressive media resources providing a mechanism for socialization and collective artistry within a specific socio-cultural environment. The following are some of the examples collected from the field.

2.2.1. The Unwise Decision and Cleaver Revision: the Rats and Cats

There was a rich farmer who had several granaries for his harvest. Yet, he suffered from rats which destructed his crop. He decided to rare a cat and protect his crop. The cat reduced the number of rats and gave relief to the farmer. However, the rats organized a meeting to discuss on how to tackle cats' attack against rats. After thorough discussion, one of the rats proposed an innovative idea. It suggested that it would be good if they tie a bell on the neck of the cat so that as the cat approaches to the rats, the bell rings and signals the coming of the cats. Thus, the rats escape. The idea got acceptance unequivocally and received applause. Yet, an older rat asked a question 'who is going to tie the bell on the neck of the cat?'(KI12)

This oral narrative indicates that the assembly of rats decided something impossible to implement. None of the participants was aware of the basic fallacy in their decision until they were told by the old rat which posed critical question, and revealed that the decision was impossible to execute for it was fallacious. The story advised the kids to be critical of their decisions and the need for consulting elders.

2.2.2. Wrong Friendship: Bee and Baboons

Once upon a time bee and baboons became friends. They invited each other turn by turn. One day a bee invited a band of baboons to its residence. They served the baboons honey. The guests enjoyed as much honey as they can. In addition, the bee entertained their guests by singing and dancing. The band of baboons were surprised by the hospitality of the bee and decided to do the same. The elder baboon asked the queen of the bee what the name of the food they ate and how it is prepared. The queen replied that it is honey and prepared by the participation of all members. They eat flowers of different kinds and drink water. They collect and mix their excrement (muck) and urine; that is it.

Once they go back home the chief of the band ordered every baboon to urinate and excrete at a specific place. The baboons collected and established a pile of excrement mixed with urine. When the chief of the band felt that the pile is enough, the bee was invited at the residence of the baboons. The guests were served from the heap of the excrement mixed with urine. The guests saw it was with intolerable bad smell and taste. The bee took the act as an insult and defaming. Being seriously offended, the bee began attacking the baboons. Every baboon run to tree to escape, but they could not as the bee were chasing and beating them even on the trees. The ape was observing the drama and commented that ‘you, baboons you made a mistake in choosing friends, do not be mistaken again in running away from bee’s attack. Now dive into water! Swim water!

This story was narrated by one of our key informant from East Wollega Zone (KI6). This informant also supported the story by the following proverb: “she who visited non-friends received no welcome”.

The above folktale has several messages which intend to guide children in their real life. This instructs how a wrong ways of selecting, engaging and entertaining friends ends in unbearable results. Unnecessary relations between individuals with quite different interests and behavior adversely affect the survival of either of the two parties or both. Ape as a third party, comments that primarily the friendship between the two is basically wrong. The second mistake was that the baboons’ attempted escaping the bee by running into trees. The ape thus, provided a humble advice to monkeys to dive into water body. The interpretation is thus, to be careful in selection of companion and in redressing any problem as a result of wrong friendship. The whole story

revolves around the mismatch between the baboons and bee because of their basic differences in their behavior and life style.

2.2.3. Reckless Decision, Effective Utilization of an Opportunity: Dog and Donkey

There were donkey and dog belonged to the same family. They jotted down several issues of complaint. They complained this and that. Finally, they agreed to run away from the enslavement they faced with their owner. They travelled long distance to run away. Both felt serious hungry. The donkey decided to graze as they came across a rich pasture. The dog had nothing to eat. The donkey continued grazing to its fullest. The dog still stayed without anything to eat. Until mid-night the donkey kept on grazing. As it saturated it wanted to bray and informed the dog it was about to bray. The dog warned the donkey that braying is dangerous for it would invite hyena to their place. The donkey insisted and brayed. The hyena which was roaming around, but far away from the place of the dog and monkey heard the braying of the donkey and identified the direction, but could not identify the exact place. The donkey which still continued eating the grass repeated braying, refusing the advice of the dog. The second braying helped the hyena to approach the dog and the donkey, but still it did not reach the specific place. For the third time, the donkey still wanted to bray. The dog strongly advised the donkey not to do so. However, the latter insisted and brayed. This time, the hyena identified the place and jumped at the braying donkey. The dog was helplessly hungry and slept at the edge of the forest. After a while, the hyena observed that there was a dog around and asked why it was there and where it was from. The dog said it was there to support the hyena—the master in slaughtering the prey. The hyena allowed the dog to do the job. The hungry dog cautiously picked and ate the heart of the donkey. The dog presented every part of the meat of the prey before the hyena, but the heart. As the hyena asked where about the heart of the donkey, the dog said that ‘it did not have any heart; that was why it brayed in mid-night being in forest (KI 14).

The proverbs, “she who refuses advice never refuse death” and ‘if not saturated one never jump, if not jump one would not be broken” are commonly used in relation to this story. They are used to guide children to take care of their decisions and carefully listen others’ advice.

The above folktale conveys several important messages. Primarily it questions the fairness of the decision of the dog and donkey. Secondly, once they decided to flee, it indicates how

carelessness caused danger against the actor. The donkey, being saturated with the rich grass was unable to control itself from braying which endangered its life. The other implication is that the dog which was put in risky situation by the decision of the donkey used the opportunity positively. The whole story indicates that the two animals have seemingly common goals, opportunities and challenges. In the meantime, they also differ in many respects and were not supposed to flee together.

2.2.4. Dishonesty Ends in Penalty: The Leopard and Bush Buck

Two friends, a leopard and a bush buck were living together in peace for long. However, one day the leopard asked its friend ‘what if someone is dishonest to its friend?’ The bush buck responded that ‘something bad would happen to its subsequent generations.’ The leopard decided to be disloyal to the bush buck as far as the punishment is upon the next generations. It directly jumped to the bush buck’s head to kill it. Unfortunately, the horn of the bush buck which is too sharp penetrated into the stomach of the leopard and caused it to die. Just before its final rest the leopard asked its friend ‘you said to me that if someone is disloyal, the punishment is against its generations and the actor is safe. Why did you lie me?’ The bush buck responded ‘who knows, your father or forefathers might be disloyal to their friends, you suffered the consequences’. The proverb ‘the community harvests the fruits of whatever is done by their leader, descendants harvest whatever is done by their forefathers’ supports the above story (KI3).

The above folktale indicates how deceitful friend bears the consequences of its dishonesty. The innocent bush buck did not even intentionally kill its friend. The death of the fraudulent leopard was executed by the supreme deity from above. Thus, it also shows how the supreme deity is in favor of fair-mindedness and uprightness. It also shows how evils done by forefathers damage their descendants.

2.2.5. Truth is the Winner: The Ferocious Leopard and the Smart Ape

Once upon a time there was a leopard roaming around a particular village. It repeatedly killed goats and sheep of the farmers of the village. They organized themselves and decided to retaliate against the leopard. The villagers started chasing this wild beast. The leopard was running out of the village and met someone on its way and begged the person to hide it in the sack he was carrying. The person agreed out of altruism, hid the leopard in his sack, carrying and continued

his journey. When the hunters asked the person whether he saw a leopard on his way or not he responded he did not. Hopelessly, the hunters went back. After a certain distance, the man opened the sack and asked the leopard to go out of it. The leopard went out and declared that it was hungry and about to eat the person himself. That man was surprised and asked the leopard for mercy, but the leopard insisted to eat him. The person asked the leopard to present the case to the council of wild animals. The leopard agreed because it was confident that every wild animal would decide in favor of the leopard. All the wild animals, which were gathered, decided in favor of the leopard; yet an ape did not arrive on time. Before the final decision an ape was expected to come. It appeared among the congregation lately and asked for excuse. To decide the case, it asked how the leopard was hidden in the sack. The leopard entered the sack and showed how that happened. The ape again asked how the person tied the sack to hide the leopard. The man showed the way that happened. At this point, the ape said ‘you fool man now you have your stick in your hand and the means at your disposal.’ The man started biting the leopard in the sack and killed it (KI10). The proverbs “truth may be skinny, but never break”, the ‘fake way which let you go would never let you comeback” and ‘dishonesty harms; truth safes” (KI7, KI15, KI14) are relevant to this folktale.

2.2.6. Wedding of Progenies: The Myth of Creation of Dandi Crater Lake

On the top of Dandi Mountain there is a flat land and at the middle of it there is one of the crater lakes in Ethiopia, called Dandi Crater Lake. The story behind the creation of the lake is prominent among the Oromo around Dandi and far beyond. As the story goes, it was formed once upon a time on the occasion of a wedding ceremony. The wedding was arranged because of a marriage between a man and his sister. On the ceremony, people were dancing and enjoying the feast. As they were jumping and dancing a little water emerged from the ground. Since they were in the state of over amusement, the attendants of the ceremony did not want to quite dancing. They continued dancing, saying that ‘let the water first cover their ankle.’ As it came up and covered their ankle they waited till it reaches their knee. The water grew and covered their knee and they continued dancing saying that let it first reach their buttock. It grew up still, but they did not give up dancing. They said let it reach their chest. After that an old woman who did not know the secret of the marriage asked who married whom. She was informed that the marriage was between a man and a woman from the same father and mother. At this moment the

water was above the neck of everybody. The old woman was in deep scare and said ‘O! *Waaqaa* let you save me! Let you save me!’ (*Waaqa nabarari! Waaqa nabaraari!*). The force of the water threw her at the side on the land. She lost one of her eyes, ears, hands. But she was saved to tell the story. The remaining were all lost in the water.

The story guides on strict prohibition of incest taboo. Marriage between a brother and a sister is totally forbidden and punishable both by the society and the *Waaqa* from above. Any breach of incest taboo results in such a devastating punishment from the supreme deity—*Waaqa* (*KII*, 2, 4, 5).

The myth of the creation of Dandi Crater Lake underlines how violation of moral values, such as incest taboo ends in punishment from above. Despite the scientific explanation of the origin of Dandi Crater Lake the society provided a myth of its origin from the perspective of their moral values. As indicated by Mota (2007), myths are prose narratives which are believed to be truthful accounts of what happened in distant past with the intervention of the supernatural power.

2.2.7. Patriarchy: The Myth of Akko Manoye

One of the prominent myths often told is the rule of Akko Manoye, the dictator. Once up on a time in history there was a woman named Akko Manoye. She was a queen, but a dictator. She demanded people in her constituency to perform things which are unbearable and sometimes impossible. In response, people received a consultation from experienced and smart individuals and were able to survive her requests. Understanding the way people challenged her challenges, she ordered to kill every short and elderly people whom she suspected the sources of the advice to withstand her challenges. Every elderly individual was killed, but one who asked them to save him in favor of themselves. Thinking that there was no one to advise the people as it used to be she ordered them to construct a hut in the air. The people consulted the elderly man whom they hid. He advised them to ask her to fix the place of the central pillar, as the custom of the Oromo demands the owner of the house is the first person to hit the place of the pillar. She said that “there is still either a short man or elderly person”. She ordered further killing of the elders and short persons. Once again she ordered them to bring her a unique animal to mount, which has not been mounted by anyone on the Earth. The elderly who was kept in secret was consulted. He advised them to trap a zebra, tie the queen on the back of the zebra and release for free. The wild zebra was trapped and loaded with the queen. Once released the zebra galloped into the forest

and put to an end the whole story (KI1, KI13, and KI6). The proverbs, “the rule of women is in kitchen” and “women’s rule keeps the cattle kraal closed throughout the day’ are in favor of the above story. In Arsi another proverb directly refers to the story of Akko Manoye is “O! Look how injustice punishes!’ said a person who mounted a zebra’. This indicates that Ako-Manoye recognized the injustice she did and the punishment she suffered (KI11, 12, 16).

The myth of Akko Manoye is common all over the region. The myth indicates how women are unable to rule properly. Data from all the three sites indicated that people from different regions and localities claim that Akko Manoye was from their particular area. In some case, for instance among the Arsi informants refer to a certain clan of Akko Manoye and some practices pertinent to her. In other cases, for instance, the Borana indicate the graveyard of Akko Manoye. This indicates that Akko Manoye was an ideal woman drawn to indicate that women are incapable of ruling and must be denied political power.

2.2.8. The Cleaver Women

Once up on a time there were two individuals who were competing and challenging each other by raising difficult questions. They agreed that anyone who misses correct answer to the challenging question they ask each other should be punished as per the decision of the challenger. To the contrary, anyone who is successful in responding the question can also take any measure he wants against the challenger. One day one of them asked his wife what a challenging question he can ask his friend to win. She advised him to ask his opponent ‘where is the center of the earth?’ and ‘who is the best moral person?’

Next day, he met his competitor and asked the two questions he got from his wife. The respondent was totally put in panic for he knew the intention of his opponent. He worried too much and went home with feeling of a loser. He refused eating and drinking; not communicating with his wife as well as his children. His wife repeatedly asked the reason behind. But he was not willing to disclose it. Yet, his wife insisted to know what happened to him. Finally, he told her the whole story including the risk ahead of him. She told him that she can rescue him, because she knows the answer. He did not believe, because for him his wife could not do what even he was not able to do. Anyways, he asked her the answer for the two questions. She told him that the center of the earth is where the opponents would stand tomorrow. She said ‘just hit the land where you would stand and tell him it is the center of the earth’. For the second question she told

him that the best moral person is the one who knows forgiveness. She advised him that hold your knife in your hand; tell him that you are the winner and you can kill him, but the best moral person is the one who knows mercy. Tell him that you never kill him, because you are the best moral person who knows clemency (KI7).

This folktale shows how women are smart enough in challenging and addressing challenges. The point is not only what questions the first woman coined and the answer the second woman provided; rather the way the conflict was put to an end. The story acknowledges the role of women in peace-making and maintaining social order. This story advises men to hear from women for solving different and difficult problems of humanities.

2.3. Games and Plays

Under the category of games and plays there are different types.

2.3.1. Riddles

- My father is the tallest, my mother is the shortest, my bread is the sweetest and my dogs are bravest.
- The ox on the goat, the goat on the donkey
- What is a tree more important than all trees, a beast more powerful than all beasts and a seed more important than all seeds?
- Three things come together, one stays on the earth, the second penetrates in to the soil, and the third hibernates; what are they?
- What are the six wonders?

The above few examples of riddles reveal how analogy and things are expressed mysteriously in terms of forms, functions, facts, colors, size, status, co-existence, cause and effect, etc. (see also Dejene 2015). Riddles use to communicate particular cultural values and environmental knowledge. Children are also taught language skills which encourage the artistic and aesthetic value of the language of communication.

2.3.2. Forebears Counting

One of the basic instructions given to children is forbearers counting. Any child as it starts wording is asked its name and its body part. The question ‘*ati kaneenyuti?*’– ‘who is your father’ comes next. Counting forebears continues till the child masters names of several generations

back. This, according to key informants as well as focus group discussants, serves two main purposes: primarily it orients children family names through male line and in case the a child is being lost it would serve to trace its family. Secondly, the child knows starting from early childhood to which family, lineage and clan it belongs and this has further implication in other social obligations as well as marriage arrangements. Someone has different obligations at different social categories. Marriage is strictly forbidden between persons who have blood relations at a certain genealogical distance (KI 1, 2, 5, 8, 11 and FGD 1, 2, 3). Bartels (1983) shows that marriage of a woman descended from an ancestor less than the seventh ascending generations on the father line and five on the mother line is incest among the Macha Oromo. If such a forbidden marriage occurs, it results in serious penalties from the creator (*Waaqa*). A child born to such a union would be unhealthy, lame, blind, moron, and would not grow up. The couple would be infected with leprosy or suffer early death (see also the story of the creation of Dandi Crater Lake).

2.3.3. Riddles for Statistics

2.3.4. Neighbors Counting

Child who are exposed to counting the forbearers several generations back are supposed to take statistics of their neighbors in terms of sex and social status. Children enumerate members of the target households in terms of sex, number and social statuses. This is partly written by Dejene (2015) under the title ‘Census Through Riddle.’ Counting the neighbors is done through verbal game which is a variety of riddle, called *hiibbantee*. The riddle covers a precisely defined territory agreed upon by the contenders for specific riddling session. It involves a sort of dialogue between a challenger and a respondent. For instance, for a household who has two girls, two boys, a grandmother, a husband and his wife the riddle goes as follows:

Challenger: *Hiibbantee*

Respondent: *Tee*

Challenger: *raadaa, raadaa, jibichaa, jibichaa dullacha* (sex is specified), *haadha-warraa, abbaa-warraa*

Raadaa (heifer) refers to a girl and *jibicha* (young bull) represents a boy, *dullacha* (old cow or ox) is for old lady (grandmother), *hadha-warra* (wife) and *abbaa-warra* (husband) stand for the wife and her husband respectively (CI 5).

The process allows children in every household to do demographic survey within a feasible geographical proximity to their living quarters. Accordingly, every household is both the subject of riddle (*hibbantee*) and the actor of keeping data on the current numerical and population characteristics of certain households.

Hibbantee is not simply for recreation. It is culture bounded and plays significant role in both transmitting cultural values and providing up-to-date information on population characteristics with certain social, political and economic benefits. It helps to keep update social and natural events, which is directly relevant in affecting population size of some villages and vicinities. It enables to collect data on some attributes of a population along sex and social statuses like motherhood and fatherhood. Further, *hiibbantee* is one of the ways of disseminating information about certain social events like marriage and adoption, natural events like death and birth. *Hiibbantee* has also aesthetical, cultural, linguistic and educational values. The way it is structured involves figure of speech or symbolism, for instance, girls and boys are considered as heifer and bull respectively. It educates how to use figure of speech in speaking and writing.

2.3.5. Relatives Counting

Similar, but different version of enumerating family names is prevalent among the Arsi. Children ask each other in the form of riddle, the names of some of their close relatives turn by turn. The play goes as follows:

Challenger	Respondent
What is near the fire	Sunsumman (Trivet)
What is on sussumman?	Pan
What is on pan?	Bread
Who would eat	Chala (personal name)
Who would eat	Chaltu
Who would eat	Tolasa
Who would eat	Badhaso
Who would eat	Toltu
Who would eat	Sora
Who would eat	Salbana
Who would eat	Dadhi

.....

What do you eat?

.....

Honey (KI16, FGD3)

This play basically indicates how children learn and enumerate names of their close relatives. In the play the challenger tries to test how many names the respondent is able to reckon in a state of being hurried by the challenger. The respondent has to call names as rapid as the challenger probes. However, the challenger should ask the respondent to enumerate a least eight names of his/her relatives. Eight is the standard, and if the challenger asks the respondent ‘what do you eat?’ before the latter enumerates eight names, the challenger misses the game. If the respondent is unable to enumerate at least eight names correctly the respondent misses the game.

For this game three issues are basic: at least eight names, the names should be correct and eight is the turning point.

Basically it helps children to know their relatives including their names. This is helpful for discharging other social, political and moral responsibilities in their future life. Secondly, it puts eight as a demarcation, which is a single term of office in the *gadaa* system. It gives power of interrogating the respondent for eight times and if the challenger goes beyond eight, he or she is ridiculed as if he or she invaded the territory of others beyond his or her *gadaa* period. Eight years as term of office in *gadaa* system is directly part of the game. The game obviously contributes to enhance language skill and alertness of the participants. Its role of entertaining the participating children is also clear.

2.4.Puzzles

2.4.1. Purchasing Twenty Animals with Twenty Birr

There is a man that wants to buy a total of twenty pack animals of necessarily three types, donkey, horse and mule with a total of twenty birr. The cost of a mule, a horse and a donkey is 4 birr, 0.50 cents and 0.25 cents respectively. How many mules, horses and donkeys can he buy? The problem is framed in the cultural and geographical context. All the three pack animals are available and in terms of price a mule is the most expensive, followed by a horse and a donkey is the cheapest one (KI 1,4,5)(See also Dejene, 2015).

Children used to play and still try to solve this word problem through trial and error. After trial and error for sometimes even some days, they could answer it. They also use pebbles, grains and

marks alternatively for counting, adding up and multiplying. In line with the modern mathematics, one can solve this problem using system of equation as follows:

$$M + H + D = 20$$

$$4M + 0.5H + 0.25D = 20$$

This puzzle is framed around mathematical concept, which entails addition, subtraction and multiplication. These simple mathematical computations are important. From mathematical perspective, the puzzle involves three variables word problem, which requires scientific system of computation. On the other hand, these mathematical concepts are applied in a market context of buying three different pack animals with remarkable price differences. Over the area, mule is the most expensive; followed by a horse whereas donkey is the cheapest. This is implicitly introduced through the game. Secondly, the puzzle shows how someone has to maximize addressing all his/her basic interests within his/her economic capacity. In solving this word problem children use only try and error. Thus, they should stay in maximum tolerance. According to our informant from South West Shewa Zone, solution may not even appear after several days. Children take rest or interrupt the game and postpone it to the next session. This indirectly socializes children to be aware of the value of tolerance in their future life. Above all, the puzzle is for entertainment (see Dejene, 2015).

2.4.2. The Six Cannibals:

There were three father cannibals. Each cannibal had a son. Six of them traveled together. The father cannibals do not hurt one another, but eat each other's son whenever the later are found in the absence of their respective fathers. The son cannibals also do not hurt each other. When they travelled together they came across a lake that could be crossed only by boat. The boat could accommodate only two persons at a time. All were able to operate the boat. They used the single boat and safely crossed the lake. How did they do it? (KI1, 3; Dejene, 2015). Data from the field indicated that children answer this question through simple, but logical trial and error.

This puzzle emanated from the mentally created four-eyed cannibals. Regardless of whether such a creature is existent or not the game intends to draw a safety rule or avoiding risky combinations while crossing the river. In terms of mathematical concepts it entails the principle of probability, which can be addressed only through try and error. Solving this word problem takes several

days, even weeks. Normally according to our informants this game is played by relatively matured children. It serves as a mental exercise whereby children use try and error several rounds. It enhances logical and problem solving skills.

On the other hand, the idea of cannibalism is also part of the game in which any adult cannibal is believed to harm even a young cannibal, leave alone the non-cannibals ones. The game still threatens children not to breach any advice of the adults, like playing under risky situation without the supervision of the adults for they might be taken away by the cannibals.

2.4.3. Sharing Bars of Salt

There is a man who has five wives. He is a merchant of bars of salt. He has fifteen donkeys to transport, with different loading capacity that ranges from a bar of salt to fifteen bars of salt. His donkeys are coded with number one through fifteen. The code also indicates the carrying capacity of a donkey. Accordingly, the first donkey carries a single bar; the second carries two bars... number nine carries nine bars... number fifteen carries fifteen bars of salt. The merchant after back home with full load wants to share the donkeys and the bars of salt equally among his five wives. The sharing must be done before unloading the donkeys. How could he do this? (KI5)

This word problem entails several issues: primarily, it attempts to teach mathematics in which the participants learn addition and division. They are supposed to add to know the total number of bars of salt in the hands of the family. It also requires division of the bars of salt among the five women equally. Mathematically, this takes us to what is termed as arithmetic series, which help us to know an accurate number of bars of salt. Even though modern mathematical formulas can be applied in solving the problem, children at home use simple try and error in providing solution. Obviously, this enhances the logical and critical thinking of the children. Further, from cultural point of view, the puzzle is shaped around polygamous marriage in which the husband has to be fair to his wives. The issue of fairness is deeper for it implies both quality and quantity of the materials gained or offered. Equal share of the donkey does not do any justice unless otherwise the loading capacity of each is considered. Here, we see how polygamous marriage is introduced via game. This verbal game is played by both boys and girls alike. The game does not question polygamy, but prescribes fair treatment.

2.5. Folk Drama

2.5.1. The Affluent Owner of Sheep

The play called *abbahoola* (owner of sheep), which is a sort of folk drama (mime) entails both physical and verbal communication among children at a specific place. The play is common among the Arsi Oromo. It is usually played out door early in the evening. Among the participating children one is given the role of affluent sheep owner, the other plays the role of poor person, some others are considered as sheep, dogs and shepherds. They try to represent the character they are given to play in their cloth, communication, behavior and symbols. The poor comes to the residence of the affluent and requests for help. He declares that he drank traditional medicine for tapeworm and felt tired. He had nothing to eat to recover. His report goes as follows:

Hello my lord, the owner of the sheep

I took medicine for tapeworm

I am too tired

I slaughtered an ant

I slaughtered lice

I slaughtered a flea

I slaughtered a rat

I slaughtered a lizard

I slaughtered...

None of these helped me

Would you please give me a sheep? (KI12, 13)

The owner gives him one of his lean sheep. The beggar goes home, slaughters and enjoys the meat with his family. Once again, he visits the premises of the rich and requests for another sheep. This time the rich person gives the beggar one of his leanest sheep as a symbol that he is not happy of the request. The poor man takes it home and eats with his family. He decides to do the same for third the time. The response of the rich is quite different this round. He instructed the shepherds to let the dogs chase the beggar. The beggar who wrongly limps starts running fast

to escape the dogs and the shepherds. Yet, he is caught and is seriously injured, bitten by the dogs. Finally, he says ‘his poverty causes him suffer.’

This children’s play involves role performance which is so important in the socialization process. Children perform the character of the poor and the rich both physically and verbally. It enables children to imitate the imagined behavior of the affluent and the poor in their language and physical dressing as well as gesture. It also shows the degree of negative implications of poverty. The person reported that he tried to recover by eating things like lizard and flea which are not only edible, but also totally unsightly. These negative implications are dramatized by children in such a way that nobody wants to be poor and bear those consequences. On the other hand, being an affluent is positively represented in which the person is well dressed, confident and self-reliant. Further, the issue is dramatized in such a way that the rich is offering support to the poor, which is positive. In the mean time, the folk drama underscores that any unjustified series of begging is not acceptable. The poor who was admitted and offered a sheep at his first begging continued the same act successively; and he was punished and ashamed finally.

2.5.2. Heemo’s Mother(Haadha Heemo)

This play is common among Arsi Oromo. It is framed around the cultural way of announcing the death of one’s family member. The custom does not allow someone directly informs the death of one’s close relative, even remote relatives and neighbors. This is a play in which children practice how to be humble in treating someone whose son passed away. The play is shaped around a story of someone, Heemo who left for war front; and whose death is already reported to the nearby relatives. One of the relatives attempts to humbly inform the mother of Heemo about the death of her son. The play goes as follows:

The Visitor: I am calling you, why do not you respond?

The Heemo’s mother: Children are crying, the grinder is chopping, the he goat is roaring, the lazy man is gaming; that is why I was not hearing.

The Visitor: Is Heemo at home?

The mother: no he is not, he went to war front

The visitor: Do you have any information about him?

The mother: No I heard nothing.

The visitor: Heemo.....keeps quite with hesitation and intention to say something more

The mother: What happened to my Heemo?

The visitor: No.....he stops talking showing a sign of sadness

The mother: My son, Heemo! Starts shouting...She composes a prose

Heemo, who is good speaker!

Heemo, needs supporter! (KI 1, 7, 9, 16)

The mother narrates all qualities of Heemo and weeps in a grief. Others also join her and show their condolence. This play is directly related to the custom of showing condolence to families who are in deep grief and a humble way of reporting death of someone to immediate family members. It is unethical to tell someone boldly about the death of his or her close relatives. Children are socialized to this custom of the society via play. A child who represents the visitor tries to inform the death of Heemo to Heemo's mother carefully that she is not put into a sudden panic. The play is a rehearsal of the potential practices of their actual life. Weeping in grief and narrating the goodness of the deceased person are also parts of the actual practices which children rehearse at their early age.

2.6. Discourse Narratives

Let us go to War Front

Supplicant (sender)

Let us go to war front

Why you did not you eat?

Why you did not you beat her?

Which part of her body?

What did you get from her breast?

Where is the finger's ring?

What did you get from *Waaqa*?

What grazes the straight grass?

Did you slaughter Gode's heifer?

Why you did not give me the meat?

Did you chase the hawk?

Where did you chase it?

Was Hangar River flooded or not

How did you cross the river?

Is it not only you, a frog can do the same

Respondent

I have not eaten

They did not give me

I have beaten her

Under her breast

Finger's ring

I sacrificed it for *Waaqa* (God)

Straight grass

Gode's heifer

I have slaughtered it

I put it on black tree for you and a hawk
Yes, I did
Beyond Hangar River
Not only frog, hippopotamus also
lives in water
It is not only hippopotamus, but also
spear has a wide ear.
It is not only spear, but also, ash is white
Not only ash, but also girls are sent out
(KI 7)

It was flooded
By contracting and stretching my legs
Frog lives in water

The hippopotamus has wide ears

A spear has white edge
Ash is thrown outside

The above play develops skills of children to listen to each other and have a conversation. This is achieved primarily from the very mode of delivery of the game. It entails communication and careful listening. The first asks questions and the second listens to the questions and responds to it. The questions and answers are presented according to their order. If one misses the order, the other corrects. So, in this practice they develop their memorization, cognitive, conversation, listening, speaking and communicative skill.

The other lesson children get from the above play is that they understand a lot about their religion, environment, culture and norm of the community. The first one is about going to battle field (*duula*). War is one of the possible phenomena which children may encounter in their future life. Religion is also part of the play in which children learn the world view of their society; they talk sacrificial for *Waaqa* and his heavenly gifts, the grass. They also mention names and some physical features of several creatures like the hawk, frog and hippopotamus. They learn one of the big water bodies around them like Angar River in Wollega. The cultural practice of sending girls into another family through marriage is part of the game, which children are supposed to be aware of from their early age.

2.7. Play to Tolerate

A play between at least two children called *Jimmaa Jimmitee* is common all over the country. Data drawn from all the three research sites revealed that children play it in slightly different version. Yet, the basic elements and procedures are all the same. In the play, one of the children request for the commencement of the play by saying *Jimmaa Jimmitee*. The receiver responds 'Jim', connotatively means 'I will never speak.' The play involves competition of making someone laugh or speak, whereas the receiver attempts to remain quiet in spite of all attempts from the other side. The sender appears as a mocker and comedian trying all his/her best to cause the receiver laughs. However, in the rule of the game physical contact like tickling is forbidden. Similarly, the receiver is not allowed to close his/her eyes and ears. It is also impossible to hide oneself. Once they agreed upon the rule, the sender jots down anything inedible things, like dog, donkey, rat, snake, and the like and he declares that if the receiver laughs before his cock crows coming from Jimma, he/she eats all those things.

The sender	The receiver
Jimmaa Jimmitee	Jim
One who eats dog	Jim
One who eats rat	Jim
One who eats ant	Jim
One who eats excrement	Jim (KI2, 7, 15)

Then after, the sender attempts to cause laughter or speak in any means. It is up to the receiver to resist. Otherwise he/she is said to be eater of those inedible dirty things. If the receiver makes any sound the sender is the winner. If not, the sender has to admit that the receiver is the winner within reasonable time gap. He/she has to make a crow of his/her cock coming from Jimma.

This play has basic socialization impacts on the participating children. Primarily, it is one way of practicing comedy. It enhances the artistic skill of children in amusing their audiences. Apart from physical contact, they do anything to amuse their spectators. At that moment, other who are not part of the game possibly laugh and enjoy the act of the mocker. To the contrary, the game enables the participants develop ability to control their emotional and immediate reactions. It also trains children develop skill to withstand anything which would cause them being ridiculed. They learn appreciating something without talking or any other emotional expression like laughing.

2.8.Arrab-Qareeyii (Tongue Twister)

Tongue twister is a type of play practiced by children to develop their speaking skill. Tongue twisters are words, phrases and sentences that are difficult to say. The family encourages or trains their children to practice it so that it helps them to speak fluently. One example of tongue twister in Oromo is: *Badhaadhaan dhadhaadhaan badhaadhaadha* (FGD 3, KI 4, 7, 9). It means Badhadhaa (personal name) is rich by butter. Children are encouraged to say this sentence from their memory repeatedly as fast as they can. This sentence consist only three types of syllables, *ba*, *dha* and *dhaan* which are almost similar in terms of their phonogram. This makes them difficult to say correctly when practiced hastily and repeatedly. The children practice such kind of sentence in group as a play so that it helps them to increase their fluency in the target language.

3. Folklore: Change and Continuity

The Oromo folklore is still a living art which is rich in providing basics for understanding of the cumulative knowledge of the forefathers. The Oromo still pass on their knowledge and general cultural heritage to new generation. Folklore is the vehicle through which they socialize the younger members of society as an approach of inculcating cultural values. Yet, it is subject to change. As Tucker (2008) shows folklore is constantly changing along with the changing cultural and technological contexts. Changes are in response to both internal dynamics and external pressures.

Primarily, folklore genres change in their structure and content along the changing life style of the people who own it. For instance, the riddle "three come together one stays on the earth, the second penetrates in to the soil, and the third hibernates" is meaningful only in the context of rural Ethiopia where people urinate and excrete in the forest because there is no toilet culture. With the introduction of toilet in the rural setting this riddle is no more in the stock.

Secondly, there is also change in actors who are responsible in the socialization process of younger members of society through folklore. Parents were agents of primary socialization. All sorts of folklore genres were purposively used as a way of inculcating cultural values. However, data from the field show that the role of parents is dramatically relegated. This happened in the face of ever expanding modern education.

Coupled with the change in life style, parents perceive that the parental role of educating children is taken away by the schools. Further, parents consider that students need to read and do their assignments as well as, especially girls have to support their mothers during their leisure time, instead of riddling and telling stories which are simple waste of time. Parents disregard the instructional roles of riddles and tales.

To the contrary, some folkloric genres with their educational as well as entertainment roles have gradually been accommodated into school activities. According to our information from children, currently folklore genres are often used by school teachers compared to parents (CI 1, 4, 7). School teachers often use riddles and tales in class as an icebreaker and ways of conveying certain knowledge, skill and attitude in the teaching-learning process. This shows that currently

school teachers come in to play as one of the agents of socialization through folklore. With this, there is also change in the settings of riddles and tales. One of the changes is the riddling session. Riddling session was in the evening. But currently school teachers use daytime riddling. At school children are free to riddle as far as they have time and permission by their teachers. The former fear of daytime riddling as dangerous is no more important to control children from riddling.

The introduction of modern devices, such as mobile phone and radio and easy access to these devices has negatively affected the role of folklore in socialization process. Currently children have other options of entertainment. They watch videos and enjoy music and songs composed by others instead of riddling. They use calculators in steady of use try and errors in answering some word problems. Form field data only few of them know some challenging word problems which some of us used to play in our early age (KI 2, 6, 12). These changes as well as continuities of folkloric elements are normal phenomenon. The work of Tucker (2008) confirms that in the face of ever dynamic world and expansion of globalization folklore is given to unavoidable change.

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CHAPTER FOUR

PART I

An Inventory of Folklore Genres Pertaining to Parenting and Socialization of Children among the Gamo and the Konso Peoples of South Ethiopia

Kansite Gellebo¹⁶, Temechegn Gutu¹⁷

1. Short Introduction of the Study Communities

1.1. Brief introduction about the Gamo

The Gamo ethnic groups are predominantly living in nine districts and one-city administration of Gamo Gofa Zone of Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State. To name the districts: Arba Minch Town, Kucha, Boroda, Mirab Abaya, Chench, Dita, Daramalo, Arba Minch Zuria, Bonke, and Kamba districts (SNNPR Council of Nationalities, 2008 E.C; Temesgen, 2011).

According to the CSA (2007), the total population of Gamo people is estimated to be 1,107,163. Of whom 141,233 were urban inhabitants (CSA, 2007).

According to Bureau (2012) the Gamo geographical space can be divided into highland (*geze*) and lowland (*bazo*). The highlanders' livelihood is predominantly based on the production of cereals like barley, wheat, *enset*, and bean whereas lowlanders' are based on the production of banana, maize, and sorghum. Moreover, the SNNPR Bureau of Economy and finance (2007) mentioned that mixed agriculture is the main economic activities supporting the livelihood of the Gamo people.

To come to Gamo social organizations they are classified into two ancestral moieties namely Maalla and Dogala (Bosha, 2013; Gamo Gofa Culture and Information Department, 2004 E.C; SNNPR Council of Nationalities, 2008) with more than 200 clans.

Historically the Gamo highland is a home for total people of some forty *dereta* (communities) which represents self-administrative area having their own community, territory and indigenous

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administration system (Bureau, 2012; Gamo Gofa Culture and Information Department, 2004 E.C. Olmestead, 1975; Temesgen, 2011). Although they shared similar views with the above authors about the features of *dere*, other researchers have stated that the number of Gamo *Dereta* was about 42 (SNNPR Council of Nationalities, 2008 E.C, G/G/Z Culture and Information department, 2004 E.C).

Freeman (2004) also argued that there are three essential features of typical *dere*. These are; every *dere* should have *kawo* [hereditary ruler], have its initiates such as *halaqa*, *huduga*, or *maga* (all are titles acquired through initiation) and have its own assembly place called *dubusha*, where *dulata* (assembly) meets to discuss communal matters.

This study focuses upon traditional parenting and child socialization. Even though socialization is universal the pattern of child rearing/ parenting is not universal. Cross-cultural data revealed that there were different parenting traditions cross-culturally (Shaffer and Kipp, 2007). On top of this, the current study aimed at identifying folktales and story-telling traditions and their impacts on child socialization among the Gamo and Konso of South-west Ethiopia.

1.2. Brief introduction about the Konso

Konso people are a Cushitic speaking ethnic group who live in the administrative territory of Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State. It is one of the 5 *woredas* and 8 ethnic groups that are found in Segen Area peoples' zone. The *woreda* has 43 *kebeles* of 41 are rural and 2 are towns.

The population of Konso *woreda* is estimated to be 275,535 out of which 132,613 (48.13%) are males and 142,922 (51.87%) are female with annual growth rate of 2.9% (SAPZ: DFED projection report: 2017). The report also affirmed that 95% of the *woreda* population lives in the rural areas and the remaining 5% of the population lives in the urban.

Their language is called Afaa Xonso which belongs to the East Cushitic family (Ongaye, 2013). Geographically, Konso people live in the Great Rift Valley of Ethiopia in a semi-arid mountainous landscape of medium hills (Demeulenaere, 2002; Förch, 2003; Menfese, 2010; Watson, 1998, 2009).

Due to the inhospitality of natural environment and susceptibility of soil to erosion, Konso people developed sophisticated indigenous knowledge of contouring the hills with stone terraces which are steep against the hills (Meron, 2012; Wubalem, 2014). Konso terracing system witnessed man-nature interaction in the struggle for survival. Farming is based on an elaborate system of terracing, soil and water conservation practices, irrigation, and multiple cropping systems with the integration of livestock and forestry and crop biodiversity (Wubalem, 2014).

Farming as a major source of livelihood is characterized by an intensive form of hoe culture characterized by mixed farming which includes extensive stone terraces, intercropping, the use of animal manure and drought-resistant crops, including sorghum, millet, tubers (yam and taro), maize and the Konso cabbage tree (*Moringa oleifera*), and cattle, sheep and goats (Kloos et al, 1989). In addition to farming and livestock rearing, craft work, daily labor and trade plays pivotal role in the survival strategies for the Konso community (Yohannis and Kansite, 2013).

The Konso are organized into nine exogamous clans: Keertitta, Arkaamayta, Sawdatta, Paasanta, Tookmaleeta, Eelayta, Ifalayta, Tikissayta and Mahalayta. Each clan has its own chief locally known as Poqalla (Hallpike, 1972; 2008; Ongaye, 2013; Shako, 1994).

Konso villages are densely populated and many of them are surrounded by dry-stone wall. The wall is like a fort and as explained by Hallpike 'had defensive role' (Hallpike, 1972; 2008; Kloos et al, 1989).

2. Folktales in child socialization

In any society, family orientation plays a great role in instilling social norms in children. So, family as a primary agent of socialization should teach their children what to do and what not to do, with whom to establish or not establish friendship, with whom to stay and where to stay. The same is true in Gamo and Konso societies. The following Gamo story indicates this context.

Wrong Friendship: Young Leopard and Baby Duiker

One day a young leopard and a baby duiker met by chance. They liked each other very much and played happily together. At the evening, they departed and went to their respective habitat. The little leopard told its mother, 'mom, today I played with a little duiker. We had a very good time

together!’ ‘Great!’ said the mother, ‘they make up the best of our food. They make us grow in number. Next time bring your friend here.’

The little duiker also told the same story to its mother, who was shocked by the news and warned it’s young never to play with the young leopard again. ‘You see,’ it said ‘they kill us and eat us. They make us decrease in number.’ Next morning the young leopard came to the playground and called the young duiker, ‘come, come and let’s play.’ The young duiker responded, ‘oh, my dear, my mother gave me the same advice as yours.’ (Source: Initiative for Living Community Action, 2015)

This folktale has positive influences on child socialization. It instructs children to be critical in selecting friends. Wrong friendship possibly endangers the life of all or either of the friends. The following section of the paper deals with the different positive and negative social norms in child socialization among the Gaamo and the Konso people.

2.1.Positive Social Norms in Child Socialization among the Gamo and the Konso People

2.1.1. Truth-Telling

Truth is called *tuma* in Gamo language and *dukaata* in Konso language. Among the Gamo and the Konso communities truthfulness is a basic social value that every individual member is expected to internalize and implement in their everyday life. Hence, families and community members have the duty of teaching their children the culture of truthfulness. As a result, truthfulness is one of the positive social norms that contribute to positive socialization of children in both communities. For instance, among the Konso there is a proverb which says “*dukaatiyo karrana eyye kalta*” which is literally translated as “truth is my cow which always prevails”. This implies that the local culture equates truth with productive cow which continues to yield another cow.

2.1.2. Respectfulness

In both communities we identified that respectfulness is the other important social norm. Elders and seniors are respected in all social arenas. In addition to this, neighbors and relatives are also respected in every social interaction. Hence, the families teach their children to respect seniors, elders, neighbors and relatives. So, children who comply with this norm get reward in the form of blessing from the communities whereas those who don’t obey these norms are punished in the

form of curse or any other psycho-physical punishment in the form of beating and warning. In both communities respectfulness is exhibited in one or some or all of the following ways.

- ✓ Giving greetings for elders/ seniors with two hands by bowing their head
- ✓ Giving space for elders/ seniors to seat first
- ✓ Removing hut during greeting with seniors or elders
- ✓ Giving priority for seniors and elders on the road
- ✓ Using polite words during greeting and discussion with seniors and elders
- ✓ Don't responding to the elders and seniors during corrective measures
- ✓ Giving priority for seniors and elders during food time
- ✓ Honoring fathers and mothers
- ✓ Serving as messengers for seniors
- ✓ Washing seniors' and guests' foot and hands
- ✓ Harvesting *moringa* leaves for women
- ✓ Kissing the knee of male elders and navel of women elders while greeting

Among the Gamo, the local peoples uses folktales to inculcate respectfulness in children. The following story in Gamotho (Gamo language) and its English translation shows the negative consequences of not obeying this norm.

A Bad Son

There was a son who disappointed and hurt his father greatly. He ridiculed him in front of people. He used to make him stay the whole day and night on a tower on his sorghum farm, watching over it. One day the father was tired and slept on the tower when a gang of baboons went into the sorghum field. When the old man woke up, the baboons were all over the sorghum, breaking it. Just as the father was chasing them away, the son arrived to visit the farm. Seeing the damage the baboons had inflicted, he said “what the hell were you doing when the baboons got into the farm? You will pay for this.” Then he pulled his weak old father down seven terraces and threw him over a high cliff. Some years latter this wicked son got old and was made to watch over a sorghum farm by his son. As he was doing the job day and night from the tower, he got tired and slept. The baboons inflicted similar damage on the farm. When his son visited it, it was a complete loss. “Were you dead?” the son shouted. Then he pulled the father down the nine

terraces and was about to throw him over a cliff when the father spoke, ‘let me say a few words and then you will throw me. I used to despise and mistreat my father. He was doing a similar job as I do now. He slept, baboons damaged the farm and I pulled him down seven terraces and threw him over a cliff. You have added two terraces. Your son may increase the terraces, so heed your manners.’ The son was shocked when he learnt the story. He begged God for mercy, washed his father, changed his father’s clothes and took him home. From that day onwards, old people in their family were given due respect and none was made to watch over farms. (Source: Initiative for Living Community Action, 2015)

2.1.3. Hardworking

The data from both communities revealed that hard-working is an important social value. Every individual is expected to be a hard-worker. Particularly, Konso people are referred to be hard-working people for being able to survive in a harsh environment. Similarly, the Gamo also survive in a mountainous region conserving their natural environment wonderfully. Therefore, among both communities, children are taught to be hard-workers in cultivation, keeping livestock, and today in schools.

There are proverbs in Gamo language which are used to inculcate the culture of hardworking in children. For instance,

*Kushey ixxin goyiday gacoy ixxin
tuxxees*

The one who is hardworking gets
enough food

Odappe oothoy bonchcho

Working too much is better than
speaking too many

2.1.4. Obeying Social Norms and Values

There are rules and regulations in both communities which community members are expected to obey. For example, among the Gamo people, there is the custom of *gome*, for instance, a transgression of a social norm or sin that leads to pollution of the wrongdoer and can cause misfortune, disease and natural calamities. Similarly, Konso people have the culture that forbids individuals from violating social norms and values. Failure to obey these rules is believed to have a bad consequence on the individual and may be to the community at large.

As a result, families and communities socialize children to observe social norms and values. Some of such norms are:

- ✓ Not lying
- ✓ Not to steal
- ✓ Respecting sacred-places of the community
- ✓ Respecting elders and seniors
- ✓ And other points which have been identified under respectfulness.

2.1.5. Good shepherd

Herding cattle is a supplementary livelihood among both communities. Primarily it is the responsibility of children to watch after the livestock. Thus, children while watching after the livestock, they must protect them from destructing crops on the agricultural field and not to be lost in the wild. Therefore, children should be good shepherds when given such responsibility.

2.2.Negative Social Norms in Child Socialization among the Gamo and the Konso communities

Below are some of the negative social norms among the Gamo and the Konso. The studied communities have folktales, proverbs and story-telling about negative social norms. Hence, brief explanation is made below.

2.2.1. Theft

Informants from both communities explained that theft is bad and is extremely hated. The thief is called *kayso* among the Gamo and *kera* among the Konso. When somebody is caught stealing the punishment from the community member is very serious. For instance, among the Konso the thief is made to carry what he/she has stolen and move in public places to be harassed. When they advise their children they say “the hands of the thief are cut”. This makes children dislike theft and distance themselves from stealing. It is more offensive to be insulted as thief among both communities. Even in the context where individuals got the lost property of others, they should keep it in a public place reserved for this purpose.

2.2.2. Lying

As it is mentioned above under the positive social norms, the cultures of both communities encourage truthfulness. As a result lying is not tolerated. Among the Konso for example is a proverb “*dharta mura kera*”-lying is a hiding place for the thief. When a person hides truth, both communities have the culture of oath making. Among the Gamo oath is called *chaqo* and in Konso it is known as *xaxa*. When an individual denies telling the truth, she/he is made to put an oath on his/herself. It is believed that when a liar takes an oath, it would bring disaster against the person or his/her relatives. Therefore, one should be careful in taking an oath. Among both communities there are public places designed for oath making purpose. The Gamo *dubusha* and the Konso *Moora* serve this function.

Sometimes, the family can also influence their child to be liar. The following story in Gamo reflects the situation where father tries to cover his wrong-doing by deceiving his child.

Thief of Milk

A father, a mother and a small boy lived together. One day the father stole and drank milk from the kitchen. The angry mother demanded ‘who drank the milk?’ ‘The boy may have done so,’ responded the father. The mother hit the boy for the immoral deed. Another time, while the mother was collecting grass for the cows in the backyard, she heard clattering of dishes in the house and asked the boy, ‘what is the sound I heard. Go and check.’ When the little boy entered the kitchen, to deceive the boy, the father barked like Borko, their dog. The boy told his mother, it is our dog Borko barking but the face looks like dad.’

(Source: Initiative for Living Community Action, 2015)

This story indicates that there are some immoral adults. Meanwhile it also shows the wrong deeds of adults can be exposed by children.

2.2.3. Laziness

The culture of both the Gamo and the Konso encourage hardworking. It encourages every individual member to be self-reliant. People understand that only hardworking can make a person self-reliant. People in these communities are cognizant that laziness makes a person poor which in turn produces the desire of theft and beginning. The Gamo proverb: *Laafa na7ay laata*

naagees “Lazy boy waits for the death of his father to inherit his father’s property” clearly demonstrates the reality. In addition to this, there is a proverb “*Azalla na7a kittanappe adussa mithithi keha*” which mean that “it is better to use long stick rather than commanding lazy child”. Among the Konso, lazy person is associated with porridge and mud which implies softness and impotence to perform assigned tasks. These proverbs are used to encourage hardworking people and by default encourages children to be hardworking.

2.2.4. Envy

Jealousy towards someone’s property (possession) is taken as negative discipline among the Gamo and Konso communities. Elders from those communities stated that envy leads a person to theft (stealing someone’s property) without permission. As a result every individual is expected to use what belongs to him rather than looking at others. The culture of both communities inculcates children not to be jealousy towards someone’s property. So, this culture makes individuals to strive to be self-sufficient.

2.2.5. Disrespect for elders, seniors, relatives and neighbors

As we have discussed above under the positive norms, respect for elders, seniors, relatives and neighbors is a positive social norm among both communities. The respect is expected to be reflected in everyday interaction. However, when an individual dares to act in an opposite manner, verbal and physical punishment would follow. Therefore, the social controlling mechanisms are exhibited in one or the following entire manners:

- ✓ Giving verbal warnings
- ✓ Gossiping
- ✓ Flogging
- ✓ Cursing

2.2.6. Disobedience

In both communities especially children are expected to discharge the responsibilities they are given. However, failure to obey the commandment or being defiant is the considered as negative social norms. Among both communities children should not refuse (even verbally) to perform what they are instructed to do. When children reject what they are charged will be resulted in:

- ✓ Oral warning,
- ✓ Beating/whipping
- ✓ Cursing
- ✓ Discarding their exercise books and text books
- ✓ Refusing food
- ✓ Chasing from home and;
- ✓ Denying to buy new clothes

The following Konso story indicates the consequence of disobedience.

Dog and Donkey

In the past Dog and Donkey were living at somebody's home. Because that family with which they were living was not giving them very much food, they were hungry. On a certain day they discussed this together and said: 'let us go away rather than suffer from hunger.' So they left.

They went and travelled long distance. When the sun set, they tried to find a place to sleep. They saw an old cattle enclosure and they stayed in it. Because inside the enclosure lots of running grass had grown, Donkey was very happy. It ate and ate and when she was full, she told the dog: 'My friend, it is my habit to bray, let me bray once.' Dog told the donkey: 'the place where we are is not safe. You bray! Keep silent!' But the donkey said: 'I can't but bray,' and it brayed. Then the hyenas heard that braying of Donkey and started to run.

After a while she said: 'let me bray again.' Dog was angry and said: 'why don't you just leave it! 'Why are braying again!' But the donkey did not accept the advice of the dog and there was a second braying. This time, the hyenas knew the direction of the place where the donkey was braying and rushed towards it.

After a short while she said for the third time: 'I will bray,' and she brayed. Because at that time the hyenas were near, they caught the donkey and killed her.

After that the dog was very afraid. They saw the dog hidden under the thicket and said: 'you dog, what you are doing here? Are you able to cut up meat? If you can, some here and cut up this donkey for us.' And Dog started to do the work.

While the dog was cutting up the parts, it put the heart of the donkey into its mouth because it was very hungry; it swallowed the meat to send the hunger away. When the dog gave the cadaver over to the hyenas, the heart was gone and the hyenas said: ‘you, dog! How is it that the heart is not there?’ The dog replied: “does this donkey have a heart? If it had had a heart, would it have brayed like that, so you could arrive?’

This shows that upon one, who cannot control himself latter on problems will fall. (Source: Korra Garra, 2003).

2.2.7. Partiality in Treating of children

Those children who grow up with step mothers are not equally treated with the biological children of the women. Also, families among the study communities do not give special care for caregivers and other non-biological children in the household. The impartiality is reflected in assigning heavy tasks, food is not equally served among the children, and clothes are not equally offered to them. Even though they properly perform what they are instructed to do, they are not positively rewarded. In case where they commit a mistake they may faces serious physical punishment and psychological harassments too.

The following folktales among the Konso and the Gamo respectively reveal the condition of such children and the consequences of such acts.

The Result of Good-doing and Bad-doing

Once there was a man who married his first wife, but she died after she gave birth to two children. He married another wife and she also gave birth to boys and a girl. The second wife disliked her step-children whose mother died.

One day she sent her daughter and one of her step-daughter together to collect firewood. She instructed both saying: ‘when you come back, a goat will be slaughtered and wheat will be cooked for anyone whose wood says ‘bam’; a dog will be slaughtered and ashes will be cooked to anyone with wood that says ‘tik’. And she called her daughter separately and told her: ‘collect only a small amount of firewood but while you bundle it, tie a stone into the bundle.’

When the two daughters went to collect firewood, the one whose mother had died collected a lot of wood and came home with a very heavy bundle. The daughter of the second wife collected

only a little bit of firewood. But because in it she had tied a stone, her wood gave a sound ‘bam’ when she unloaded it. Then the family slaughtered her a goat and cooked her wheat. The wood of the other girl was a big bundle, but when she was unloading it, it gave a sound ‘tik’ and then the family slaughtered her a dog and cooked her ashes.

Then the girl was annoyed and disappointed and wept to God and said: ‘God, God, God, God! Drop me a rope and take me to the sky!’ And God dropped her a rope she climbed up to the sky.

When midnight came, father started to say: ‘Kuyye, Kuyye, Kuyye, Kuyye, my eldest daughter, Kuyye, Kuyye. What happened to you? Why did you go away from me to be with God?’ And she said: ‘Father, father, father, father, don’t you know that you slaughtered a dog and cooked ashes for me? Open your mouth and I will throw fresh butter into it.’ And he opened his mouth. She had put a razorblade into the fresh butter and when she dropped it into his mouth, it slit his throat and he died. And she asked her stepmother too and did the same and killed her.

But it is said that her sister (the daughter of her stepmother), to whom the father had slaughtered a goat, had given her meat of that goat secretly. When the first daughter said: ‘open your mouth and I will drop fresh butter into it,’ she opened her mouth. And she really dropped fresh butter into her open mouth.

Yes, therefore, whenever someone does bad things he will receive vengeance, whereas someone who does well will be rewarded.

(Source: Korra Garra, 2003)

Balintse and Her Childern

In a village there lived a woman called Balintse. She was named this because she was known for cheating and disseminating lies. She had seven children. Five of them were very beautiful and the mother favored these more than the other two. One day God sent a woman messenger to see if Balintse’s children were all right. When the messenger knocked at her door and called her name, Balintse feared the guest for an evil-eyed woman that had come to destroy her children. She saw the woman through a hole in the door and convinced herself that the woman was evil-eyed. She hid the five beautiful children in a big pot at the back of the house and opened the door. ‘Balintse’, I came to see your children’, said the messenger. ‘Yes, I was right’ thought

Balintse. ‘This woman came to destroy my kids. I know that evil-eyed people do not attack ugly children. So, I will show her the two ugly kids.’ The messenger asked back, ‘Are your children only these two?’ Balintse quickly responded, ‘Yes, Good,’ said the messenger, ‘God bless those I saw. Let the rest be rats, frogs, lizards, spiders!’

After the messenger had left, Balintse went to the pot to get back the children she had hidden. However, when she opened the lid, rats, frogs, lizards and spiders began to jump out of the pot and hurried to the walls and the terrace. So, Balintse was left with only two of her children, the ugly ones.

(Source: Initiative for Living Community Action, 2015)

3. Barriers to child socialization among the Gamo and the Konso

3.1. Peer pressure and Migration

Migration is one of the factors which enables or hinders children to have good disciplines in the community. It is a major factor in labor out migration both in Konso and Gamo areas. The common destination of Konso migrants are Moyale, Shakiso, and Yabello. Their livelihood is based on daily laborer, mining and other related activities. These migrant children come back home with properties like mobile phone, tape, clothes and some money. Children at home being attracted by their situation decided to migrate to those towns.

In Gamo children migrate to Arba Minch and other urban areas of the country. They are predominantly engaged in weaving (the famous activity in the local area), daily laborer and tenancy. When they are coming back home, they bring new clothes for themselves and families, mobile phone, and some money. In this condition children at home are influenced in two ways. First they are being attracted by their situation. Second, those returnees initiate others to go and experience urban life. The families of migrated children view their children adaptation to urban life as positive and used them as translator when coming to hospitals, courts, markets, etc. The cumulative effect of the view of the family, children at home and returnees’ promises and initiation contributed to the process of labor out migration. Finally, it weakens the local values, customs, norms, rules, and knowledge.

Additionally, upon their return, most of the returnees do not comply and obey the local values, and norms. On top of this, children FGD participants in Arba Minch town stated that rural life is backward. As a result, they prefer to stay in Arba Minch to lead the life they think to be better.

There are proverbs and common sayings among the study communities which are used to teach children about the influence of peer pressure in child migration. For instance, the following proverb is commonly used among the Konso.

Man is less respected outside his country

In addition to this, there are proverbs in Gamo culture which is used to indicate the impact of migration and peer-pressure on children.

Don't spend your time with bad friends

3.2. Divorce

It is obvious that disagreement between spouses leads to the separation of the family. Therefore, among the communities, children up-brought in the hassling family most of the time develop bad behavior. In case the spouses separate, children would stay with either their mother/father or relatives. Such children grow-up without or with less follow-up. In this case, the children will have negative attitude towards either of their parents and develop anti-social behavior. Among the Konso it is common to refer towards the children up-brought by women only as '*hella ahawwa*' - 'children of mothers.' This implies that the children, who grow-up with mother, have unacceptable behavior.

3.3. Absence of role model in the family

These days both communities are experiencing social change that negatively affects the life of the community. Elders from both communities argue that there has to be a role model person in the community whose life ways must be copied from. However, their old social values are being eroded and the new generation is acting very differently. They also stated that it is difficult to find a role model person. Our key informants among the Konso and the Gamo expressed their fear that this trend is creating an inter-generational gap.

3.4. Impact of modernization

As it was stated above, the negative impact of modernization and urbanization is visible in every place. Social values are eroded from time to time. The new generations do not properly understand their indigenous values and customs. The people stated that even many of the educated children in both communities are labeling their culture as backward. Therefore, children are being exposed to alien culture and act in contrary to the local custom.

3.5. Dependence on caregivers:

The rapid expansion of modernization and high involvement of mothers in labor market leads to dependence on care givers for their children. These care givers are not permanent and their nature is characterized by high turnover. So children losses the opportunity of copying patterned behavior whereby they can learn the expected social norms and values. Additionally, children face lack of follow-up in their everyday life. This in turn weakens the established social norms and values which define the positive and negative disciplines of the specific society. Additionally, there is also a perception that child can grow itself under the protection of God. Among the Gamo there is a proverb which says “*Na7ay be qaadan dicco*” which mean that “the child can grow fortunately”.

4. Positive and Negative Disciplines in Child Socialization

Every society has a specific culture context of inculcating positive and negative social norms in their children.

4.1. Positive disciplines

4.1.1. Being role model:

In a family the behavior of elder children has a significant influence on younger children. In both culture there is a perception that children develop the character of their family members who are older than them. This is to mean that the first born children’s behavior is influenced by his/her parents and the juniors are influenced by the elder/s in their family. Among the Konso, there is a proverb related with this situation;

If the big donkey rolls on the ground,
the small one will do the same way

4.1.2. Helping them to learn weaving skill:

Weaving is a well-respected skill among the Gamo, especially among the Dorze community. Hence, there is a perception that children's ability to learn this skill determines their future. As a result every family in the stated community has the duty to teach their children to be a good weaver. So, teaching one's own child to weave is perceived as making their life better and sustainable.

4.1.3. Letting them to know how to become good shepherd:

Being good shepherd is one of the positive social norms in both communities. In these communities it is a responsibility of children to look after a livestock. Hence they are expected to be brave and careful in looking after the livestock. This is associated with hard working culture and commitment in their culture. As a result herders are very respected by the community members.

4.1.4. Reward/ blessing:

In both communities elders, seniors, relatives and neighbors are respected. Therefore showing respect for these social groups is expected from children. Upon discharging these responsibilities children get a reward of different kind. For instance, they may get blessing from elders, get gifts like food, fruits, milk and etc.

Among the Gamo there are blessing words for children upon discharging these responsibilities. For instance:

Let God bless you

Similarly, there are blessing words for children among the Konso. For instance,

Let God make you grow up

Let God water you

Let your sleeping mat not be enough for you

This blessing has a connotative meaning of wishing someone to be a father/mother of many children.

4.1.5. Having a trust from the community:

The child who consistently showed good behavior will get trust among the public. As a result, the community gives priority for them in giving responsibility. For instance, they are preferred as

messengers. In addition to this, when something is stolen, they will get protection from the community and never suspected. There is a saying that '*enna faya/ enna dhukata*' which mean that truthful child. It is used to refer to the child who speaks truth in the community.

4.1.6. Avoidance of Begging:

Informants from both communities stated that begging is a disgusting behavior. It is called *waaso* in Gamo and *qinsa* in Konso. When a person begs particularly on the streets it is an offence for his/her relatives. Hence, the communities teach their children to refrain from begging and being a hard-worker.

4.1.7. Wisdom

Families in both communities teach their children through stories about how to be wise. Specially, such stories emphasis on how one should escape from hardship in life. The following Gamo and Konso folktales respectively show how the family uses stories to teach their children such wisdom.

A Goat and a Sheep

Once upon a time, a goat and a sheep went from a highland to a low land to eat salty lake side soil. On their way they came across a lion. The lion asked, 'ladies, where are you from and where are you going?' 'You mean us?' The goat asked back. 'Yes' said the lion, eager to hear the poor goat and sheep to pieces. 'Oh,' said the goat, 'the king ordered us to bring big animals like you alive.' Frightened by this news, the lion ran away murmuring, 'So am I the only big animal in the country?' In such a way, the sheep and the goat reached their destination, enjoyed the salty soil and returned. On their way back, it got dark and for safety they climbed up an oak tree. In the middle of the night, a lot of predators gathered under the tree. In the meantime the sheep was bursting with urine. She consulted her friend, the goat, about the problem. The goat advised the sheep to turn upside down and urinate so that the urine should go into her hair. In doing so, sheep fell down in the middle of the predators. The goat shouted wildly, 'Great girl! Catch the big ones! Don't let a single one go! Catch! Catch them!' Without knowing what was happening, the predator's field to save their lives, and the sheep and goat arrived at their village safely.

(Source: Initiative for Living Community Action, 2015)

The judgment of ape

It is said that long ago, hyena and lion competed. Hyena said: 'I am better looking.' Lion too said: 'I am better looking.' And they argued. Because both were saying the same, they thought that another person should give judgment about who is the better looking one. Together they went to ape. And they said: 'who between two of us is best-looking?' ape thought and said: 'if I tell one 'you are good-looking' but tell the other 'you are bad looking', will later retaliate towards me and kill me; I should make a plan. 'And it told hyena and lion: 'Both of you, turn your back to me. I will poke the person who is best-looking in the back with a finger. The person whom I poke in the back, is best-looking. A person looks like his parents and should go and live at his house straight-away.'

Under this instruction to both the ape poked both to indicate that it is best-looking, but everybody looks like his parents and he should live peacefully in his house.' And each of them considered that it was selected', and remained at his house.

This judgment of ape was wisdom. All people look like their parents.

(Source: Korra Garra, 2003)

4.2.Negative disciplines

4.2.1. Letting child to develop the culture of revenge:

In urban areas like Arba Minch (the capital of Gamo-Gofa zone) as well as in rural area there are trends of teaching children to develop the culture of revenge. For instance, when the child fought with his/her age mates and are beaten, parents often discourage the child. Rather than teaching their children not to fight, they sometimes demoralize their children or some cases teach them to revenge. What parents commonly say is 'what are you doing when s/he hits you'? 'Don't you have hands'? 'Is there no stone'? And other discouraging and prompting statements. Moreover, there is a tradition that even within a family itself when elder sister/ brother hit the younger one, parents let them to spit saliva on their hands and hits back the elder ones. In this way, they inculcate the culture of revenge in the minds of children. Concerning this, we have identified a song among the Konso that instigates children for revenge:

The daughter of Shello, (sound)

Hit the one who hit you, (sound)

Punch the one who punched you (sound)

This oral traditions drawn from Gamo and Konso are used to socialize children to meet the required behavior in their respective cultural framework. They try to inculcate the ideal behavior in every aspect of their lives.

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Part II

An Inventory of Folklore Genres Pertaining to Parenting and Children Socialization among the Sidama and Nyangatom of Southern Ethiopia

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1. Introduction

This paper is intended to provide a brief account of folklore and its role in the socialization of children among the Sidama and Nyangatom of southern Ethiopia²¹. In particular, it collects various genres/forms of folklore from these communities and explores its importance in the socialization of children. Although the notion of folklore is too broad in scope, encompassing a wide range of collective stories, group activities, wisdom, and performances often put under the rubric of culture. In this paper special emphasis is given to stories, which are passed from generation to generation orally and shape the behavior of children by transferring societal knowledge/wisdom.

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²¹The focus of the paper, the Sidama and Nyangatom, are two among 56 different groups that are found in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region of Ethiopia.

The paper is a contribution of the southern chapter as part of the larger systematic effort of the Ethiopian Society of Sociologists, Social Workers and Anthropologists (ESSSWA) to document folklores of different societies across the country and make a comparative analysis of its impact on child development/socialization. A combination of data collection techniques such as interview, review of previous documents produced by amateur researchers were used. In addition, an attempt has also been made to make a review of publications in relation to folklore so as to further depict the roles folklore play in the socialization of children.

The paper has six major parts. Part one provides brief ethnography of the communities against the backdrop of the regional state. Part two states the methods of data collection employed in the study. Part three provides a brief outline of studies in relation to folklore among the two sampled groups. Part four offers method of data collection. Part five provides the various forms of folklore from the Sidama and Nyangatom and attempts to show their relevance in shaping the behaviors of children through socialization. This part also includes brief account of children's play. Part six offers a concluding remark.

1.1. Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State: An overview

The Southern Nations, Nationalities and People's Regional State (SNNPRS) is one of the nine administrative regional states in Ethiopia. The region is located in the southern and southwestern part of the country. Geographically, it is located between 4°.43"-8°.58" north, latitude and 34°.88"-39°.14" east, longitude. And in the south SNNPR is bordered with Kenya, in the southwest with South Sudan, in northwest with Gambella Peoples Regional State and it is surrounded in the north, northwest, and eastern parts by Oromia National Regional State (BoFED, Annual Statistical Abstract 2014/2015).

The total area of the region is estimated to be 109,015 Km², covering about 10% of the country. According to the latest countrywide national population and housing census, the region is with a population size of 18,954,361, accounts for 20% of Ethiopia's total. And with an average population density of 176 persons per km², SNNPRS becomes one of the most populous regions in the country.²²Sidama, Gamo-gofa, Wolayta, Guraghe, Hadya, Keffa, and Gedeo zones in

²²According to the CSA result of the national population and housing census (in 1999 E.C), the total population size of the region was 14,945,992. Based on this, and an average annual growth estimation rate of 2.9 %, the region's population size was projected to increase 18,954,361 in 2014/2015. From this figure, 87% them reside in rural areas,

which the largest population reside totally account for 68.6% of the total population of the region. Sidama, Gamogofa and Wolayita constitute 19.4%, 10.7% and 10.1% of the population respectively. While Basketo, Yem & Konta special *woreda* are areas where the lowest population reside (BoFED, 2014/15).

SNNPRS is home to a large number of different nations, nationalities and peoples. Often considered an abode of multi-nations and nationalities. SNNPRS comprises about 56 ethnic groups with their own distinct geographical location, language, cultures, and social identities. These varied ethnic groups are classified into four major different linguistic groups: Omotic, Cushtic, Nilo-Sahara and Semitic super language families. Omotic and Cushtic groups are the most populous and diversified ones comprising the largest area coverage in the region respectively. Currently, based on ethnic and linguistic categories, SNNPRS is divided into 14 zones-sub-divided in to 131 *woreda* and 4 special *woreda* and 22 town administrations. Besides, there are around 399 urban and 3735 rural *kebele* in the region (BoFED, 2014/15).

The diversity of the region is also reflected in its agro-ecology. The region has very diverse agro ecological zones ranging from hot arid and semi-arid climate (*Kolla* and *kefil-Bereha*) in the southern most parts, such as in the flat plain of Debub Omo Zone to a tropical humid (*Dega* and *Kefil-wurch*) in the highlands of the north and northwest. Whereas, in between semi-arid and tropic humid conditions, there is a tropical sub-humid (*Woina Dega*) type of climate. This comprises around 34% of the climatic condition of the region, which is moderate and suitable for human settlement and crop production.

A large part of the region, about 57.4%, lies under *Kolla* and *kefil-Bereha* type of agro-ecology; while 8.6% of the region falls under the climatic condition of *Dega* and *Wurch*. Due to the varied agro-climatic condition, the region is endowed with diverse species of fauna, flora, a vast range of natural resources and a fertile land conducive for the production of different commercial and food crops.

whereas 13% of the population live in urban areas. Likewise, by the year 2014/2015 regarding population distribution, only 7 zones will have a population size between 1 and 3.6 million which constitutes about 68.6 % of the region population.

Having this general background information of the SNNPR, where both Sidama and Nyangatom are located, in what follows we will provide a description of both groups in relation to specific location/ topography, socio-political organization, economic activities, rituals, ... etc.

1.2. The Sidama:

The Sidama are located in the northeastern part of the SNNPRS. The boundaries of the Sidama are Oromia National Regional State in the north, east and southeast, Gedeo zone in the south, and the Wolayta zone in the west. Its traditional religion is ascribed to a monotheist religion- believe in a 'Magano, kalaqakaliiqa'- a creator, supreme deity (Kifle, 2007). The Sidama are predominantly agriculturalists and there are some pocket areas in the lowlands where they practice pastoralism (Hamer, 1987). The production of enset (*Ensete ventricosum*) is a very important element of the Sidama economy.

The Sidama are divided into exogamous Patri-clans, each headed by a largely symbolic chief called *Mote*. Moreover, according to Hamer (1987), Patri-lineages have politico-ritual functions, with the elders often being important in settling disputes and making policy concerning closely related kinsmen. And in crisis situations such as drought or widespread dissension among relatives, the elders call all of them together to sacrifice an animal in honor of the apical lineage ancestor.

Fichche is the most celebrated Sidama cultural holiday which represents the Sidama New Year. The *Fichche* is based on the lunar system. The Sidama elders (astrologists) observe the movement of the stars in the sky and decide the date for the New Year and the *Fichche* celebration. The Sidama New Year is therefore unique in that it does not have a fixed date. It rotates every year following the movements of the stars. The Sidama has 13 months a year. And each of the months is divided equally into 28 days while the 13th month has 29 days. This is because the Sidama week has only 4 days and hence each month has 7 weeks instead of the conventional 4 weeks. The names of the 4 days in Sidama week are called: Dikko, Deela, Qawadoo and Qawalanka to be followed by *Dikko* completing the cycle of a 4-day week.

1.3. The Nyangatom

The Nyangatom, estimated to be 20, 252 people, occupy a vast territory of around 4,200km² in the Lower Omo Valley, close to the South Sudanese border. Including the transhumance belt

which connects Kibish with Moruankipi their territorial limit stretches 120km from east to west and 10-20km from north to south. To the north and northwest of Nyangatom are found the Mursi and Surma people and the eastern part is occupied by the Hamar and Karra. The southwest and the western neighbors are the Turkana (Northwestern Kenya) and the Toposa (Southeastern South Sudan), and the Dassenetch are the southern neighbors (CSA, 2007; Tornay 1981: 141).

As a region lying in a relatively low altitude and consisting of the Turkana depression in the Rift Valley, the Lower Omo Valley is characterized by scarcity of resources and the environment is precarious. In general, the altitude is less than 500m above sea level (the Kuraz/Korath Range rising up to 740m above sea level and the Mursi Mountains being exceptions). Together with the high average temperature, and low rainfall (under 350-400mm/year) two seasons can be identified. The wet season is from March-June and the hot season from July-January. The Omo River and its tributary the Mako (inside Mursi land) are the only permanent sources of water, although temporary water sources such as the Kibish are available for use. Given these features, neither Nyangatom nor the rest of the peoples living in the region can be said to be pastoralists alone since their subsistence consists of a combination of keeping herds (cattle, goats, sheep, and donkey), dry farming and flood retreat cultivation (sorghum, maize, tobacco, calabash, and beans), and some form of fishing, hunting, and gathering at times of food shortage and famine (Jicha and Brown, 2013; Tornay, 1981).

The territorial sections (also known as *ekitala pl. ngiteala*) are a key socio-political feature of Nyangatom. Currently there are seven named territorial sections. These are Ngilingakol, Ngisakol, Ngikapung, Ngikor (Ngitokoramman), Ngukumama, Ngibunie and Ngiyarich (Murle).²³

2. Folklore among the Sidama and Nyangatom

Although a large number of studies have been conducted on the Sidama and the Nyangatom, the subject of folklore and its role in child socialization has been a neglected topic (Ambaye, 2016; Elias, 2016; Gebre, 2012; Hamer, 1987, 2003; Tornay, 1979, 1981, 1993, 1998, 2009). Perhaps

²³These territorial sections are still in use by Nyangatom communities. However, the current administrative structure of Ethiopia recognizes 20 different *Kebele*(the smallest administrative unit). For further explanation see Elias (2016).

an important contribution that we have about folklore is the finding of John Hamer in relation to the Sidama.

John Hammer in his studies of the Sidama people claimed that folktales often had an impact on the production and circulation of wealth. Based on his extensive study conducted in the 1960s, Hamer described the place inhabited by the Sidama and the main family occupations are cultivation and preparation of crops such as *enset* (false banana) and maize and cattle rearing. In the 1960s, while researching the various aspects of Sidama culture, Hamer collected more than eighty tales which fall into two broad categories. First, were tales that were said to have originated as mothers attempted to distract children during the long meal process so that they forgot their hunger. Second, are those often told by men in groups, had an oral dimension and were used to settle a dispute or make a point (Papworth, 2011).

Although Hammer's work on folktales is valuable to our understanding of Sidama culture, in this paper we go beyond what John Hamer concluded six decades before. Our field research shows that folklore in its various forms such as stories; games and riddles play an important role in the socialization of children both among the Sidama and the Nyangatom people. In both cases, stories that are told by parents and grandparent could be used to socialize children and teach the social norms of the society in the form of entertainment.

2.1.Folklore from the field

This section presents a collection of various genres of folklore and children's play collected from the Sidama and Nyangatom. The first part provides four different forms of folktale/ oral stories of the Sidama. The stories are presented as they were told by our informants coupled with a brief analysis of their meaning and importance in the socialization of children. This is followed by children's game/ play collected from Sidama.

Likewise, the second section is devoted to the presentation of the folktales and children's play collected from the Nyangatom. Two different folktales/stories are presented in detail as narrated by informants together with a brief analysis of their social meaning and relevance for the socialization of children. Children's game/play is also included.

2.2. Sidama's Folktale:

2.2.1. Story of three animals: a dog, a donkey and a goat

Long ago a dog, a donkey and a goat decided to flee from their village and boarded a bus. The bus fare was five birr for each. When the conductor came to them the dog has paid 10 birr and the donkey paid 5 birr. Whereas the goat decided to resume her journey by hiding since it did not have money. All three of them had continued their trip until they reached the last stop and get down. Starting from this time, a dog barks when it sees a bus saying "bring back my change"; and goats, retreat from a bus for fear of not being asked by the conductor to pay 5 birr. A donkey, however, has always gone long side a bus happily and calmly since she paid its own five birr.

The story of the three animals could be considered a folktale (folklore), told in an indeterminate time frame and having a moral underpinning. In Sidama culture, children are often socialized to the norms and values of the society when they are told by elders about the story of the three animals and their experience along the road in a bus. Stories such as these might be narrated to children in various social settings including within the family or outside the home. The story teaches children the value of respecting the societal norms/values. It also teaches them avoiding cheating and be respectful of the norms of their own community. In the story, the donkey was portrayed as someone who obeys the rules (societal rules); whereas the goat was depicted as untrustworthy and deceiver who couldn't fulfill what is expected of her. The story is useful to teach moral ideals to children and inability/failure to discharge once responsibility will lead to ultimate exclusion and wandering just like the goat. The story is also used to provide a local explanation of the characteristics of these three domestic animals. In the meantime, the story shows how the society is innovative enough in creating and changing folktales in line with the social, technological and environmental changes. For obvious reason, this folktale was invented recently with the coming of bus and bus transportation.

2.2.2. The Cleaver Girl and Furious Wilds: Story of Kinama

A long time ago there was a young girl named Kinama. Kinama had many sheep and always took them for grazing where there was good pasture. But one day a leopard came to eat her sheep and asked her: "where will you go today to herd your sheep?" She

responded to the leopard: “today I am going to the Gwada village”. The leopard went to Gwada village and wandered all day long without finding Kinama and her sheep. Then the next day the leopard asked Kinama: “where will you take your sheep tomorrow?” Kinama said: “I will go to the Masne Mountain”; and instead of going to Masne Mountain she went to the other grazing forest. And again the next day she used same trick to deceive the leopard.

This went on until the leopard decided to enter Kinama’s house. He entered Kinama’s house and climbed on the top of the fire place so that she could not see him. When she entered her house, the leopard saw the fattest sheep and asked Kinama “What do you expect me to do? Shall I jump down and kill you or shall I jump down on your fattest sheep Wobo and eat him?” Kinama responded, ‘why do you jump on me? Please jump on my sheep Wobo and eat him’. So the leopard killed Wobo and started to prepare himself to eat the meat. Kinama said: ‘I don’t have water for cooking, would you please accompany me to the river?’ The leopard agreed to go with her to the river. When she arrived to the river, Kinama picked up a big white stone and returned back to her place. She asked the leopard to help him by roasting the meat. Then she covered the stone with a white fat meat and put it on the fire until it become very hot. Then she asked the leopard ‘let me feed you, before the fat melts down by the big fire’. Then the leopard agreed and opened his mouth very wide and Kinama put the very hot stone into his mouth and killed the leopard. After sometime a hyena, who is another enemy of Kinama’s sheep, came to her house and asked kinama ‘What are you doing?’” She replayed: ‘I am eating meat’. Then, the hyena asked Kinama to give him bones, then she gave him the bones two times and she said ‘listen to me hyena, what will you do if a leopard appeared here? ‘If he appeared I would run and disappear for good.’ While the hyena was busy eating the bones, she stitched its tail with the tail of the dead leopard and she told the Hyena: ‘the leopard is behind you!’ ”The hyena turned his face and saw the leopard. And it thought that the leopard is behind him, so he was terrified by this and run away dragging the corpse of the leopard with him and disappeared from Kinama’s village for good. Finally, due to her plan, Kinama managed to get rid of her two enemies and lived peacefully.

The story of Kianma is one of the most widely known folktales among the Sidama. It has a moral value as it teaches smartness and being patient when living with others. It also shows how to protect oneself from the might of powerful enemies without getting into a one-to-one or physical fight. Kinama was portrayed as a physically weak young woman herding sheep and trying to protect herself from the powerful and superior enemies like leopard and hyena. It portrays more important is mental intelligence rather than physical strength to succeed.

Perhaps we may also tend to think that women are considered wise having accumulated knowledge (skill) to defend and protect themselves, their children and their belongings. These kinds of stories are often told to children by elders (usually parents and grandparents) to impart values such as wiseness and the need to be strategic/systematic when facing others who are more powerful than them.

2.2.3. Smart people can survive: The Lion and rabbit

Once up on a time there were a lion and a rabbit. The lion was a king of the animals and has four wives living in four different houses. The lion slaughtered a cow and ordered a rabbit to deliver the meat to his four wives. But while delivering, a rabbit was stealing and gave only small portion of the meat to the four wives of the lion. Then after, the lion went to his four wives and asked for the meat they were given by the rabbit. Each of his wives showed him what they received from the rabbit. The lion was very angry by the rabbit and said “I will catch and punish the rabbit.” He finished eating the meat and went to river to drink water. The rabbit heard the rumor and it smeared a black ash over its body and went to the river to drink water. The lion saw this black smeared animal and asked “have you seen a rabbit?” The rabbit responded: ‘I don’t know, you can ask its friends who knows it very well’, the rabbit drank the water and returned back safely for the lion did not identify it.

The next day the rabbit covered itself with dried *Enset* (false banana) leaf and came to the river to drink water. Once again, the lion asked ‘have you seen a rabbit this week?’ The rabbit gave the same answer and while preparing to drink the water. Unexpected windblown and removed the dried *enset* cover from the rabbit and the lion identified the rabbit. Then he caught it, tied its forelegs and took it to the tree trunk and returned to

bring a whipping stick. In between, a hyena arrived and asked ‘rabbit why you are tied like this?’ The rabbit responded by saying: “I didn’t do anything wrong. You know our lord is very kind and he wanted me to eat a lot, but I refused because my stomach is not big enough’

With this conversation the hyena decided to take the rabbit's place and then freed the rabbit and tied himself up over the tree. Then, when the lion returned to punish the rabbit he found the hyena in its place. The lion asked ‘what are you doing here?’, ‘I come here to eat and drink’ the hyena responded. The lion understood the trick and left the hyena and decided to kill the rabbit. The lion run after the rabbit and try to catch it and kill it, but the rabbit run and run and hid itself in a hole and laughing at the lion.

The above story indicates nothing is impossible for those who are wise and creative enough. Just like the story of Kinama and her wit in defeating big and more powerful enemies, the story of the rabbit and the lion is often told to children by elders (parents and grandparents) to enable them develop skill so as to protect themselves whenever they face danger.

2.2.4. The Paragon of Virtue: The Shield of Kindness

Once there was a man with three sons. He looked after them very well and brought them up to being fine young men. And the good old men in those days were able to foresee their death. Therefore, when he realized that his days were numbered and he was going to die, he called his three sons and he divided up all his wealth the cattle, the land, the *enset* (false banana) among his sons and gave them his blessings. The only thing he kept for himself was his shield.

Now the shield in Sidama culture is very special. It’s the family heirloom, handed down from generation to generation. But it doesn’t go to the eldest son, but to the son whom the father thinks will be the greatest man among his sons. So this man didn’t give his shield to any of his sons.

He said, ‘Look, my sons, I’m going to give you some time and I want you to go away and do a good, kind deed, because kindness in our culture has great value. Then come back and tell me what kind of deed you did and whoever has done the kindest deed will get the heirloom shield.’ So they all wanted the shield and went to do their good deeds.

They came back, and the first said, “Dad, I did something very kind. Be the judge. There was a small crawling infant and he fell into a creek. His mother was beside herself with terror and sorrow. I risked my own life. I jumped into the creek and saved the child.”

His father said, ‘That’s not really kindness. That’s just being humane. Saving a small child is humanity. I’d expect it of anybody.’

The second son said, ‘Father, a lonely traveler came and he was going to go along the road, and he said, ‘Please take care of my money.’ He gave me 100 silver dollars. And he went away. I could have stolen all that money but I kept it safe for him and when he came back I returned his 100 dollars. He wanted to give me 10 silver dollars, but I said, ‘No, this money’s yours. I only kept it for you. So I won’t accept a reward.’ Isn’t that kindness?’

The old man said, ‘no, I’m afraid. It simply shows that you don’t have a love for money. It’s a good quality, but it’s not kindness.’

The third son, called Kayam, said, ‘ok, let me tell you what I did. I was walking along the road, and all of a sudden I saw our great enemy, that we’ve had a feud with for such a long time. He was sleeping at the edge of a cliff. I could have gone and pushed him over. Or all I had to do was wake him up, and when he saw me, because our two families have been feuding for so long, he would have turned over and fallen off the cliff. But I woke him very gently and took him to a flat field where he could sleep without danger. I let him sleep there and went away.’

His father said, “yes, my son. That’s real kindness. Because he’s not only your enemy, he’s the enemy of the whole family. But you have saved his life. So I’ll give you the shield.’

Once again from this story of Sidama, we learn the ways children are acquainted with the moral virtue of kindness in their society. In particular, the story encourages children to understand not only the value of being and doing well every day to others, but also the need not to think of vengeance. As the story of the three sons shows, the first two were engaged in good things as they saved the life of a child and decided not to steal money or refuse to take commission for a good work respectively. Yet, both of them were considered insufficient to be awarded with the

shield of kindness in Sidama culture. Instead, it was the third act, which is forgiving the enemy and wishing him good that was considered a type of kindness deserving the respect of inheriting the shield.

2.2.5. Children’s Play

Riddle/ guessing game (Hibo-Hibebe)

Question (Hibo)

Answer (Hibebe)

‘Top corpse, bottom corpse, and middle alive’	‘a bed, a blanket and a person’
‘That doesn’t disturb river and forest’	‘a cloud’
‘Two foolish have a namesake’	‘flour and ashes’
‘It has four legs, but never crossed a river’	‘a bed’
‘When alive it eats grass, when deceased it eats grain’	‘a sack made out of cow skin’
‘A daughter who always beats her mother’	‘matchstick’
‘It has thousands eyes, but not leg’	‘ <i>injera</i> ’ (a flat bread)
‘Our father's horse doesn't plough unless we hold its tail’	‘scissor’
‘No one can reach to a sorghum that is planted inside a hole’	‘a child inside a womb’
‘A rude mother always pees on her children’	‘coffee pot and cups’

This play (riddle) of Sidama covers different issues including nature, the physical and cultural settings where children get to know while growing up. It provides them a knowledge/wisdom how to memorize and understand their social surrounding and nature through entertainment. In addition to entertainment, it fosters children’s critical thinking as they are always expected to participate actively in the riddles through question and answer. In particular, children are expected to answer the questions raised by the riddle in terms of trial and error. If the respondent (the child who is being asked) doesn’t puzzle out the correct answer, the challenger is expected to give some illusive sentence or referring analogues to something else, which helps the child to try to identify the answer. If the child can’t provide the answer, the challenger is expected to tell the correct answer to his/her question.

Outdoor games

According to our Sidama informants', there are different outdoor games plays by children. Some of these games are: circle game (*hakoshawle*), let us fight (*abona abo*), hide and seek (*kukyato*), and hopscotch (*lekilekancho*).

Circlegame (*Haqo Shawle*)

This game is played by two girls holding hands and spinning around by making a circle and saying the following poems. They will continue playing until one of the players/girl gets tired.

Sidama	English Translation
Haqoshawle (3times)	let us make a circle
Masha Marete	you are Mare's daughter
ShubaQarete	you are Qarete's daughter
Beta Gekete	you are Gekete's daughter
Atinekete	you belong to us

Let us fight (*Abo naAbo*)

This is played by a group of girls together. The game needs a pair of girls to sit on the ground face to face crossing their arms and touching the ground with their palms. Usually they start playing from the right arm and goes to the left hand direction. This game will continue until one partner changes her arm to the wrong direction of her opposite. The game is accompanied by the following song.

The first girl	The second girl	English Translation
<i>Abo ganamo</i>	hama	Let's fight
<i>Laluqalmo</i>	hama	Let our cattle give birth
<i>Lalekebada</i>	hama	Inside our cattle
<i>Demudlachi</i>	hama	light skin skinny
<i>Diqeharoni</i>	hama	let someone take him
<i>Deresumncho</i>	hama	the richest person
<i>Amara goda</i>	hama	shield the Amhara
<i>Qawelogume</i>	hama	put on his rifles

<i>Blachidyeno</i>	hama	<i>Balcha</i> came
<i>Dago matare</i>	hama	make the road clear it
<i>Mataraholtu</i>	hama	let's refuse to make the road

Game with eucalyptus seed (Qocha)

This is also a game only played by girls. The two girls sit face to face and start playing the game with five eucalyptus (*qocha*) seeds. The first player tosses one seed in the air, and quickly picks the other four seeds from the ground to have all the seeds at her hand. The Qocha game has different round, the first *qocha*, the second *qocha*, the third *qocha*, etc. They should play until the 6th round and completed the game; or the game should be played until the winner is identified. If the first girl fails the game, she invites another girl to take her turn.

Board game (Doko)

This game is played with eucalyptus or other natural seeds sitting in double row with six holes dug on the ground. Each hole consists of four seeds and each pair of player needs a total of 48 seeds. Then two boys play turn by turn as they are capturing as many seeds as they can/ possible. The game usually ends when a player has captured 25 or more seeds at the end.

In summary, all these stories and plays have educational as well as entertainment roles. The ways they are shaped and communicated entail the prevailing cultural values, economic lives and natural environments of the Sidama. The messages they attempt to convey are all cemented in the cultural values. Best example in this case is the shield of kindness.

2.3. The Nyangatom:

2.3.1. War decree of wild animals and the wit of squirrel (Boye Akunguk)

Long ago wild animals have declared war and prepared a military parade before going to the battle. Lion, tiger, rabbit, mouse, etc. were included as part of the parade. All of them get themselves ready to fight with their enemies on the other side by making a queue in their category. From these animals squirrel was known for its wit. And the parade was arranged by lizard. The war was conducted based on the instructions of the lizard and they emerged victorious. The squirrel was watching the fight from a distance and identifying losers and winners by sitting on top of a tree. Then the squirrel fall down on a

thorn and bleed itself when others were returning back to their village with cattle they stolen from their enemies. This time, the squirrel said I stayed behind and defeated the enemy after you stolen cattle. Now allow me to be your leader at the front and get you ready a water vessel for you to drink. The squirrel prepared vessels from wood and filled them with water close to a river. But, the squirrel prepared one vessel with a small hole at the back and kept it for itself. Then the squirrel told the rest of the animals that it prepared them a water vessel just like it helped them stole cattle and asked them to drink water by keeping their cattle under a shade. They drank too much water and reached a stage where they couldn't move easily. Finally, the squirrel shouted to other animals and warned them it is hearing the voice of enemies approaching from the other side. And the squirrel ran away from the place, whereas others were unable to follow it and burst into death.

In Nyangatom it is not uncommon to find different folktales involving squirrel. Most of these stories are often told to children in various occasions with the ultimate aim of enabling them develop skills/experiences how to cope with difficult circumstances such as fighting with enemies.

2.3.2. A man who lies his wife (Ekile Ako)

Long ago there were a husband and a wife who spend their time in the farm. They used to go to their field early in the morning and get back home late in the evening. Once up on a time when they were doing their usual job, the husband shouted "yes" as if he was called by someone else and left her on the field. He told his wife that his friends are calling him because they need him to slaughter the ox they borrowed from him. However, the moment he left the farm he changed his direction and went home to drink fresh milk from the gourd. He then returned to the field. Similarly, after few days he makes the same sound by saying "yes" while working in the farm with his wife. He gives the reason that his friends are calling him so that he would slaughter the ox they got from other people. He left his wife in the farm and did the same thing at home. In the course of time, his wife became suspicious and decided to consult a wizard to know what exactly her husband was doing. The wizard advised her to put red clay (*emugnan*) on the neck of the milk gourd before her husband return home from the farm and see the result. The wife did exactly as she was told by the wizard and put red clay on the neck of the gourd. And

she left for the farm with her husband. Not knowing the trap she was set in, the husband did the same trick by saying "yes" as if he was called by his friends and left his wife in the farm. Soon he changed his direction and went home only to drink the fresh milk from the gourd. However, the gourd stuck to his mouth because of the red clay, while he was drinking the fresh milk. Not knowing what to do and unable to remove the gourd, he decided to cover his mouth with a skin. Later on around dusk, his wife returned from the field and asked her children about the place of their father. Her children responded by saying he is at home covering himself with a skin because the gourd is stuck to his mouth. The wife acted as if she didn't believe her children by saying your father wouldn't do this. Having said this, she went inside the house and found her husband trying to hide himself from her sight.

The story of the lying husband is widely known and commonly told among the Nyangatom. The story has at least three moral connotations. First, it shows that deception, treachery and/or lying are not expected from a spouse and this kind of lying/act might teach children improper behavior. Second, it is important not to touch what someone has kept in the house, while it is possible to get what someone wants to get by asking women. Third, it shows the wiseness/wit of women in Nyangatom culture.

2.3.3. Children's play

Hitting the target

This game is played only by boys. First they collect a good stick and sharpen it at one end. And then they prepare the ring/circle from bark of a tree. Then it is played in two groups. One group is expected to throw a sharpened stick (javelin) and the other group holds the circular ring. The group that holds the ring throws it forward while the other group trying to insert in the middle of the ring by throwing the sharpened stick. The objective of the game is to get the center of the ring while it is in moving. It helps children to enhance their physical strength as well as skill of hitting a targeted point. It develops sense of competition among children to win the game. Meanwhile it is also for entertainment.

Generally, the above games collected from the two groups in southern Ethiopia are mainly played by children. These games are important to the socialization of children by making them actively involved in their surroundings. The games are essential to the growth and socialization

of children since they impart certain skills and values in terms of focus (concentration), counting numbers and discipline and hard work towards achieving a certain aim or goal. It is also important to note that the outdoor games are valuable for the physical exercises for children.

3. Concluding remarks

So far we have shown a number of folktales and children's play both from the Sidama and the Nyangatom of southern Ethiopia. As we have outlined in the introduction section, folklore encompasses a wide variety of issues including myths, performances, and activities that are often used by a certain group to identify themselves.

Though, it is one of the oldest and well-established disciplines in the humanities, the subject, scope and the relationship of folklore with other social sciences has for long been debated. This has resulted in a wide variety of genres of folklore and theoretical frameworks in the study of folklore (Dundes 1965, Krappe1962).

In this study, however, we decided to focus on the functions of folklore as it helps us to substantiate our primary data collected from the Sidama and the Nyangatom. As Holden (2018) argues, one of the most important functions of folklore is that it serves as a "kind of education for listening and a lesson in concentration." He further claims that:

By educating our children with folkloristic stories, we teach them the value of alternatives. We teach that there are many ways to approach a problem, and that a situation has many dimensions, some of them more apparent than others—and some of them, apparent only after additional experience in living (Holden, 2018)

By the same token, all the folktales and children's play that we collected and analyzed in this paper are in one way or another useful to teach children the value of alternatives/options and many ways of approaching a problem.

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CHAPTER FIVE

An Inventory of Folklore Genres Pertaining to Parenting and Children Socialization among the Tigrains, Northern Ethiopian

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1. Introduction

This specific project is intended to collect the folktales, stories, proverbs and sayings being told by parents for children across Tigray region which impacted either positively or negatively child socialization process. As humans are culturally nurtured animals, the roles of such cultural and traditional sentiments are second to none on later personality of the prospective child (Berhanu, 2006). It is therefore, having this ultimate goal that the ESSSWA's Brand of a Parenting Skill Training Manual, has to anchor the negative and positive sayings and storytelling commonly used in Tigray region. As per the review we conducted, to date there is no context specific study conducted to collect proverbs, sayings and folklores in which it tries to examine their impact on child socialization and rearing practices. Consequently, this assessment is considered a relevant attempt to document the experiences and could serve as a spring board for other interested researchers to deepen their knowledge on the issue under investigation.

2. Brief Method

As this is a context specific study in which its intent is to collect traditional and cultural folks, proverbs and stories, systematically selected old aged people, children, community gate keepers

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and religious leaders were approached. As the sayings are varied across gender both sexes were included. Guided with professionally designed items Key informant interview (KII), IDI and focus group discussion (FGD) were made with selected participants. The spoken and written Tigrigna is varied from South-North and East- West of Tigra. Hence, Zonal representation was taken into account in which the assessment was made on Raya Tigrigna(Raya), Enderta Tigrigna (Mekelle Zuria), Agame Tigrigna (Adigrat Zuria), Maeklay Tigrigna (Axum Zuria, the working Language in the region) and Eritrean Tigrigna (Shire Zuria Tigrigna). More specifically, information was collected from 53 research participants KIIs, FGDs and IDIs across all the zones that represent the varied spoken and written Tigrigna of the region. To substantiate the primary data, a review of relevant and available sources, books, poems and monologues was made.

2.1. Analysis Approach

This is purely qualitative research design guided by the ethnographic research analysis technique. Experiences and reflections of elders about folktales, folklores, stories and proverbs that are practiced in line with child socialization were directly quoted and narrated irrespective of their negative and positive connotations. As the principle of thematic analysis, similar experiences, explanations and folktale statements, proverbs and stories were categorized and written under their similar themes.

2.2. Language

As the intent of the study is to produce a context specific ESSSWA Branded Parenting Skill Training Manual, experiences, stories and proverbs were collected and documented through the local language Tigrigna in line with its English translated version. Effort was made to consult professional Tigrigna translators to compile the final document.

Information obtained from IDI, KII and FGD were analyzed and interpreted qualitatively. The qualitative analysis was guided by the steps in the works of Kruger (1994) and Tuckett (2005). Accordingly, the data set from the interviews and focus group discussions were classified into themes, transcribed and presented in narrative forms through the following steps such as pre-coding (data transcription was done repeatedly until the intended main points of the interview are achieved, significant quotes and statements of informants were highlighted), coding (the pre-coded statements or ideas were summarized and structured into meaningful experiences),

categorizing (bringing texts to meaningful units), themes (concepts that explain how ideas were connected) and write up (generating meaning out of the themes developed). Based on the thematic analysis three major themes were identified directly derived from the experiences, data and reflections collected from participants aiming at addressing the leading research objectives. Under each major themes there are other sub-themes. These are:

- Folklores, proverbs and story-telling traditions of Tigrigna and their impact on psychological development of the child (Both positive and negative).
- Folklores, proverbs and story-telling traditions of Tigrigna and their impact on socialization of the child (Social development, both positive and negative).
- The link between folklores, proverbs and story-telling traditions of Tigrigna with child socialization and rearing practices

Theme I.

3. Folklores, proverbs and story-telling traditions of Tigrigna and their impact on the psychological development of the child

Proverbs, folktales and storytelling are the most widely and commonly used in the people's long-standing tradition of oral arts. They are instrumental to the transmission of knowledge, culture and communal beliefs from generation to generation. Thus, in this study an attempt has been made to examine briefly the nature of child socialization in relation to Tigrigna proverbs, folklores and proverbial expressions.

3.1. Proverbs, folklores and storytelling that impact child's psychological development negatively

Children can be told anything. It is always struck by seeing how grown-up people understand children, how little parents even understand their own children. Nothing should be concealed from children on the pretext that they are little and that it is too early for them to understand. What a miserable and unfortunate idea! And how readily the children detect that their fathers, mothers and care givers consider them too little to understand anything, though they understand everything. Families and parents do not often know that a child can give exceedingly good advice even in the most difficult case. As a result of this, they would be **trinucleated by three** things of their environment, care givers and their nature of development in which some of them directly brought them negative psychological pains. Some of the folklores even undermine the development of the child.

Individual predestination is a strong component of belief among Christian Tigrins thus leading parents to believe themselves to be ineffective in altering the course of their children's growth and development. The saying/proverb "*beidilu yeabi*" means literally "*a child grows as predetermined by God.*" A similar saying "*qolean teklen tetsediqu meibay Ayabin*" is translated as "*as a child and seedling begin to have a form of its own life they will in anyway grow.*"

There are also proverbs/sayings that can be considered as discouraging the involvement of parents and the child in games or play. It is not an exaggeration to say that Ethiopian children distract themselves with ordinary objects found within their home environment, and thus "play" is not considered an arena for parent-child interaction. Various sayings illustrate these practices and beliefs as in the following: "*Mes qolea ya beleas bedaharu tselei*" ("When you eat with a child you end up quarrelling"). Another saying declares: "*Neqoleanya getse nehamemaneyakusli ayereyewon*" ("As you do not expose a wound for a fly you do not show a smile for a child"). Similarly, "*nkelbi entehadimka neqolea enteshika*" means literally expressing lively amusement with children (laughing with children) is like racing with a dog." The message here is that if you show a dog your fear and run, it will chase and attack you. Likewise, if you continuously play with children and treat them indulgently, they will be out of control and ill-mannered. A similar maxim declares: "*Hinkuk ya qoleas akha abueu metswotiu*" which literally translated means "a spoiled child plays with his father's genital". It is to mean if a child is treated over indulgently by his parents, he will want to seek to do things even too difficult to be thought. Put differently, this saying dictates that parents should keep their children at a reasonable distance from them. It is always difficult to find reasonably equivalent translations of the original, because meanings, context, and "tacit linguistic contracts" made by particular language groups are not easily conveyed into another language group as these attempts at translation demonstrate

Other traditional sayings give children similar inferior social and cognitive status as compared with adult. The saying "*qolea eka aterka qortem*" attests to this. This is literally translated as means "*play with your bean as you are a child.*" In other words, when adults hold discussions on issues which they feel that they are not relevant for children they are often kept away. The saying "*qoleasia yegoyi emo abueu aykedemn*" which literally means "*regardless of how fast a child can run he cannot beat his father*" shows to what extent society perceives children as socially less important and cognitively undeveloped. There are also some sayings which clearly express

the immaturity and unreliability of children's ideas. The saying "*mes qolea aymker seytan ayzker*" translated as "as you shall never pray to Satan, you shouldn't consult a child." Meaning, you cannot pray to Satan to help you in time of difficulty or misfortune, same does consulting a child on social matters. The implication here is that adults have to restrict their interactions with their children whether during play, family chores, and other important issues or discussions. Family matters are rarely discussed with or in front of children, and these further limits parent-child engagement. Parents persist in minimizing activities and engagements that attract their children, deeming them as unworthy of adult attention. Thus, children's play is largely unsupervised and constitutes their major experience, defining the goals to which they aspire and the contingencies affecting their learning of skills. Our observations suggest that children's activities (games) are ignored by adults either because of indifference, disdain, or passivity, or because children do not solicit parental interest or participation, knowing the futility of such an effort.

Other similar proverbs that increase psychological pressure on child development include "*wedi hawisya hamokshti*" (A fire begot an ash), i.e., "Tell me who your father/mother is and I will tell you who you are. As Jeffery Deaver said it "you put a certain amount of effort into stitching a jacket or dress and you get the garment you expect. There's no mystery. But you put a thousand times more effort into raising your child and the result is the opposite of what you hope and dream for. This seemed so unfair."

Another commonly observed saying which can have a detrimental effect on the psychological development of a child is "*tselaei aboka tselaei geber, fotawi aboka fotawi geber*", which is literally translated as a friend to your father is your friend and an enemy to your father is your enemy. This proverb illustrates the strong bond between parents and children, and parents' influence on the growth and development of their children by either not to follow or respect what they have been made by their families.

A more extreme version of the same message is expressed in yet another proverb: "*Beqoleakya tselotes wesdeni malet*" ("for a child becoming a religious devotee is calling death upon himself"). This saying shows that society does not want children to be capable of doing what is supposed to be adults' domain or responsibility. In effect, such perception could negatively affect children's aspiration to learn new things and their early learning for they are not allowed to know and do what adults are expected to do. A similar saying, "*Kes elka ebe*" ("Grow at a

slower pace! Do not be in hurry to act like an adult”) discourages precocity and inquisitiveness in children.

Overall, these sayings were heard frequently among the population we worked with. It is difficult to confirm that verbal expression of sayings consciously guides family action; however, there are additional factors that limit parent-child interaction.

3.2. Proverbs, folklores and storytelling that impact child’s psychological development positively

Although our focus group participants were young children in either pre-school or primary grades, we took also every opportunity to observe the interaction between parents and younger children if their interactions with their parents and the sayings and folklores of their community positively impact their psychological development. The language of daily communication is rich with traditional sayings, proverbs, and spoken and cultural metaphors. Folktales and stories are told in a less straightforward fashion, differ from the language of child rearing in quality and quantity, and are full of hyperbole, word play, and hidden meanings. Stories are ambiguous and usually “fabrications,” rarely identifying specific characters or events. The proverb ‘whoever started a journey early morning and whoever have a child in his early years is much benefited’ is an instance of this. Similarly, ‘a child is the pillar of marriage’ which means as having child among two couples is considered as pillar and base of the marriage’, literary means the one who has a child and the one who plants a tree contents eventually. ” ‘A child is a wealth’ is another relevant proverb. There is also a proverb which says ‘every child is born with his own fate’. The basic implication of the above proverbs intends to convey the message that the utilitarian value of children, which is deeply rooted in traditional Ethiopian societies in general and Tigrina culture in particular, considering children as an asset/necessity to survival in times of old age, appears to fall away in the current society’s provision of both social security and economic positions as the one Tigrina music portrayed ‘having strong familial backup makes you proud’ and ‘no one could not be proud unless he has strong familial backup’. All these songs still appreciated the value of children in family and having child makes you strong and undefeated.

The following proverbs are those heard in the course of our day-to-day interaction with the people. ‘Have a child at young age’ which means literally a child is a wealth. This implies that

the utilitarian concept of having as many children as possible for economic production of the family and symbolic status as prolific parents of many children have taken on the weight of life.

4. Folklores, proverbs and story-telling traditions of Tigrigna and their impact on socialization/social development of the Child

4.1. Sayings and proverbs that negatively impact child socialization

There are also sayings suggesting that children's behavior can be predicted by who the parents are and with whom they keep company. Unlike the previous sayings, which signify the predestined fate of children, proverbs in this group claim that parents' personalities determine how children will develop. Among the saying which show the importance of socializers in shaping children's behavior include 'the calf which spent the day grazing with a donkey learned to fart like a donkey,' This convey the message that one acquires the habits of the people with whom he or she associates with. The proverb, 'tell me your friend and I will tell you who you are' also conveys the same message. This implies the person who spent long and frequent time with you would probably influence you and you have the chance to be cultivated in his/her way.

'A child who is not yours is even difficult to hug him' is a proverb that tells us giving an excessive care and support for child could make him flamboyant and childish. Likewise, the saying 'a child who grew up with the care of his grandmother becomes spoiled' carries the same message. Another saying is, 'let not your caregiver grow'. It implies if you are grown in a stupid family, you may not have the chance to learn good things in life like what the Congo people say 'an immoral father cannot advise his children well'. Other similar proverbs like 'while a child cares for what his family speak, and adult's cares for their business' attests that children usually learn what they are spoken by their family even while adult people talk about their business. That is why it is said 'a piece of paper and a child receive what you put upon them or the way we talk to our children becomes their inner voice'. Another saying with similar message include 'a blessed child is from God' which implies the value of caregivers and families in child socialization is minor unless God blessed the child.

4.2. Sayings and proverbs that positively impact child socialization/social development

Generally, most parents are authoritarian in raising their children. Favored traits in children include being obedient, respectful, passive, dutiful, considerate, and polite. To encourage these traits and promote desirable behavior, most parents give their children corrective advice and also,

they discipline their behavior through reprimand and physical punishment. Hitting, and spanking, shouting, ridiculing, and threatening are common phenomena. Although there are changes, a typical parent-child interaction is filled with language directed at achieving this socially defined appropriate behavior from the perspective of the adults.

The following sayings show the popular recognition that early childhood experience has profound effects on later intellectual development. For example, the saying ‘it is easier to straighten a leather when it is fresh, and it is easier to discipline a child when is he too young’ implies that trying to correct an adult, as to change the growth of a tree, is a futile exercise. A tree can be bended easily only during an early stage of development. The same applies to children like the Tanzanian proverb “work the clay while it is still wet”. Other related sayings: ‘let not a growing child hates you’ and this implies that what is written on paper and what children learn and know in their early childhood is long lasting, so do not let growing children to develop hate towards you. Our stand also reflects that early childhood experience is important and children should not be overprotected. They shouldn’t become indulgent. To live to the fullest, children should be guided as a friend; they should be given advice and reproach when they make mistakes, and should be rewarded when they do well. By doing so, they should be shown every aspect of life. Everything depends on the upbringing or socialization of the child. Parents must tell their children that and shouldn’t prohibit them from things that they think about, dream about, and things that they want to be in the future.

As summery it is difficult to make conclusive statements about the process of change and stability in parents’ concepts of development and maturity. As seen, there are contradictory proverbs/sayings addressing the same subject. However, this is a normal situation existent in any language, that two proverbs can evaluate the same phenomena from the opposite sides. This subsection clearly illustrates this paradox. Parents strongly believe that their close and day-to-day supervision, care, and attention of their children is critical to the children’s cognitive, affective, and behavioral well-being. At the same time, they emphasize the role of the school as one main agent responsible for educating and socializing their children.

5. The Link between Folklores, proverbs and story-telling traditions of Tigrigna with child socialization and rearing practices

Some of the folktales, proverbs and stories trying to describe how child bearing and rearing practices are demanding and challenging, despite having child at the end makes one family happy and blessed. One old father told us during the interview period that “even before I had children I knew that being a parent was going to be challenging as well as rewarding”. As per the explanation of this participant child rearing is very challenging in which care givers or parents are spend their time with total consciousness and dedication that is why it is said to be “*qoleasya aebyom tezhbuka*” (It is good to have child ones he/she become old enough). Other still trying to indicate rearing practice and bearing child is time consuming and needs sacrifice of one’s time and pleasure and trying to be skep-goat for other behalf. Several other unrelated proverbs suggest that raising children is a taxing task; for instance, “*wulud newuludu*” (a child is living for his/her future child), “*qolea koyna qolea hazela*” translated as “living for a child will reduce one to the same level.” The implication is that enormous attention to children, or obsession with one’s own children, can debilitate one both mentally and physically. A similar saying, “*keywoldena nebelae*,” literally means “let’s eat and enjoy before we have children.” This is quite awkward to translate. The point, however, is that one does not need to engage oneself deeply in the daily life of one’s child; one does not need to be obsessed with a child’s life progress.

To explain how child rearing is very demanding and exhaustive task one traditional Tigrigna song says:

There are two devils in life, the one is aging and the other is death

Bearing a child is pleasant when the child is free of tonsil

The basic implication of this song is life without aging and death and bearing child without any health problem to the child are very important things but impossible to avoid. Other similar sayings on the demanding nature of child rearing include “*qolea meaz yefuto af entewtsei, qolea meaz ytselae gujo entewose*” as literary to mean “a child is loved when he starts to speak, a child is disliked when he wants to be married”. This implies bearing a child can be interesting when the child starts to speak and call you ‘baba’ and ‘mama’ but when the child starts to lead independent life and wants you to help him economically, it is painful and difficult to regulate. At this time, you may not love the child like the way you loved him.

6. Traditions and Stories told to Children about Histories of Known personalities and their Contribution

Families and old people try to teach children about the greatness of old Abyssinia and the contributions of famous people through various stories and traditional narratives. The main intent behind these stories and traditions are, to let the children learn and preserve such unfolding heroic works of great people in the past. One of the examples is the history of Ras Alula and his heroic deeds.

Ethiopia has long colorful history and known for its warriors against foreign invasions of Mahdist, Turkish, Egyptians and Italians across various periods. Ethiopian never be colonized and defeated in neither of the above battles. Behind all the success of Ethiopia, there have been famous individuals and Ras Alula Engda was among these heroes. Ras Alula Engeda was born from his father 'Bashay' Engeda Qubin and his mother w/ro Gareda Negiden around Tembin special place called "Menewe". This place is known for its special forest coverage and its banana production. It is 59 k/M from Mekelle to North West of Tigray. Concerning the actual birth date of Ras Alula there is no commonly agreed censuses among history writers. For example, in some books it is written Alula was born 1836 E.C and one British writer named AB Wild claims as he had had a personal relation with Alula and said in 1876 E.C Alula was aged around 40 years. Other scholars named Gorden and sought he was personal contact with Alula said in 1971 E.C Alula was aged between 30-35 years old. Finally, one book written by Arehile states Alula was born 1839 E.C. Anyways, this will be taken as drawback of Ethiopian historians to figure out the actual birthdate of our great first black African general Alula. In his childhood experience Alula was known for his jokes and playmaker of his mates and act as leader of his colleagues in all field games. He was also very famous and telling stories and folktales of past stories and great peoples in his age. First, Alula attended religious education in church close to his birth place named St. Michael, ones his aged was early twenties he asked the governor of his localities recruit him for military service. Being military as that time was treated as the most demanding job and even considered difficult to be given the title by the local authorities. However, Alula's childhood experiences and the way he challenged the local authorities convinced everyone that Alula was the right person for any military mission. Following his inquiry, he was given the chance to meet Emperor Yohannes IV and immediately he was nominated to be the Capitan of Emperor's palace. Emperor Yohannes was confident of Alula's military tactic and his

achievement motivation and he gave him the leading role on the war fought between Emperor Yohannes and Emperor Tekele G/orgies. Following the war Emperor Tekele G/orgies was defeated and fallen under control of Ras Alula. At that time Alula was given the title “Yeshih Aleka”. Right on wards Alula become a war specialist and tactical military leader and when the foreign invaders come to Ethiopia, the first question was “will Alula be lead the war”. After the war between Ethiopia and Egyptians was ended up with the success of Ethiopia, Alula was given the crown “Ras”. Similarly, Alula led the war in Dogali, Kumatet, Gurae against Turkish. The Turkish government send the title ‘Pasha’ to Alula it is to mean Brave General. Besides, Alula defeat Mahdiist in Metema, Italians in Adwa.

Ras Alula was died at the battle made between him and Ras Hagos in February 07/1889 aged at 60 and his funeral ceremony was celebrated in monastery of Endaba Gerima. Alula was participated in over 20 fronts both in local and foreign arranged wars. Alula was not only war technician but he was also diplomat and advisor to Emperor Yohannes. He died but his brave performance and golden history remains our colorful history and symbol of success at international and national events.

Among the commonly spoken verbal stories of Tigrigna one is about the historical achievement of Ras Alula Abanega that every child has to know. Ones his death was declared number of Scabs and tips were told. Example,

Mase, mase, mase
Alula Abanega wedi waero
Tselaeka quetka Teqbro
Jegnenetaka alem zemeskro
Fetwi haqi fetwi Tsediki
Enkelam zeybleka Thun Senki
Beal tehum germa kme tsehay berki
Taroka tetsahifu alo bekelem wworki.

This translated as Alula you were great man and unless people come to you, you never go to them but if they touch you, you can burring and bounce them back to the hell. You are honest and usually live for truth, your history is going to be remain goldish. Besides, another scab say:

Ta’lian Sehati Lay E’grun Bi’ze’re’ga
Be’b’ret M’Ta’du Be’Sehati Ade’ga

An'ger'gi'bo Ko'law Alula Abba Nega
Tew Te'me'ker Ta'lian Yi'sha'lal Mi'kir
Sehati Lay Ho'neh Me'riet B't'ko'fir
Hua'la Yi'hon'li'hal lan'tew Me'ka'bir
Yi'chi Ager Ethiopia Ye'bez'biz Ager
Mi'nim At'Ka'ta En'de'Aras Ne'bir

This is Amharic Scab which is translated as although the Italian sat foot at Sehati, Alula roasted him by his metal oven (metaphoric); Italians, You better listen to our advice! You may dig trenches but that may very well be your graveyard. This country Ethiopia, the land of Bezbiz [Emperor Yohannes], is just like a tiger defending its children without compromise whatsoever. “Some of the stories told to children are about the Alula’s scarification made in Massawa (current Eritrea). It is about how Alula was brave and hero for his people and what achievements did bring to the old Abyssinia and his death was total loss to the people.

Mase, mase, mase,

Alula We'red Nab M'tswa'e
Si'gir Bahri Ze'lo Ay'n'Qe'd'wo
Kir'dad Be'Qu'lu A'lo Ab M'tswa'e
Key'Bez'he Kelo Qe'r'did'do M'ha'wo

Roughly translated, it means: “Alula, we don’t like strangers who come beyond the sea; you should descend to Massawa and eradicate the bad weed before it is too late.”

Other stories are told to children about the co-existence of the Christian and Muslim in the ancient period as the two regions were come to practice in the place of great Abyssinia. This include about the history of Al-Negashi. Village of Negash is anonymous with Islam as it is the place were the first mosque was constructed in Ethiopia. It also serves as enduring reminder of the warm welcome extended by the Ethiopian king of Negash king of the time when those Muslims including the family of the prophet Mohammed fled from persecution in their own land found refuge in Ethiopia during the early years of the Seventh century. Since then, Negash has been a place of great historical and religious significance in a sense that it is a symbol of peaceful coexistence between Muslim and Christian religions.

The oral story of Queen Saba, King Solomon and Menelik was one of the stories which were told to children. As the story goes, in the ancient time of Axum there was a lady named” Makeda”.

She was known for her strong belief of Christianity. However, most people of her time believed in one Idol, which was very big Anaconda that eats a person per day. But Makeda was not happy of this practice and trying to convince the people not to give their children for the Anaconda. The people were agreed with her idea. Then she designed a strategy to kill the anaconda by sending a blow of fire to the anaconda. As per her plan the anaconda was killed. After this, the people were happy of Makeda and they made her their queen and allowed her establish kingdom over their land. Then after she was named “Queen Sheba”. Queen Sheba was a great fun of King Solomon of Israeli. One day she called her people and ordered them to prepare all necessary things as she planned to go to Israeli to see King Solomon. After long march she arrived Israeli and got very hot and colorful reception from King Solomon. She told him, she is great admirer of his artistic and abilities to manage problems in life. King Solomon was fall in love with her and asked her sex but Queen Shaba was not agreed with his idea because she was virgin and if she lost her virginity she will no longer queen in the Axum kingdom. But King Solomon devised another mechanism to get her, that is, he ordered people to prepare a food with much salt. He also say remove any water from the bed room of Queen Shaba. Then in the middle of the night Queen Shaba was thirsty to drink water but she was unable to find it. She knows there was a water in King Solomon’s bed room, and she went to him and got water and drink it. King Solomon asked her, ‘what are you doing in bed room and you broke one agreement between me and you, that was, we agreed not to come to our bed rooms but you come, so, you will be punished for this and will sleep with me?. She said ‘if I broke an agreement, yes I have to be punished and agreed to sleep with him.’ At that time Queen Shaba gave her virginity to King Solomon. It was on this moment that King Menelik was conceived. After this Queen Shaba planned to get back to Axum and the journey was too long and King Menelik was born in the current place of Eritrea special area named “May Bela”. King Menelik the first was very strong child but was abused by his mates as his father was not known by that time. Ones he grown and become mature he asked his mother saying ‘who is my father and where my father is?’ Queen Shaba told him, his father is King Solomon of Israeli. He decided to go to Israeli to see his father. After this, Menelik arrived Israeli to visit his father. However, King Solomon wanted to test if Menelik was wise to identify the king without being told by anyone or not. King Solomon ordered people around him that no one should tell Menelik anything about the king, instead let Menelik himself identify his father. Accordingly, Menelik came to King Solomon and greeted him as well as told him that the king is

his father. King Solomon was surprised. But King Solomon faced new challenges from the Israeli people for Menelik was black. The Israeli considered themselves as special people in the world. They opposed Menelik to stay in their country and let him go back to his country. King Solomon also ordered every Israeli to send his first child to another country. Menelik came back to Ethiopia and became King Menelik the first.

7. Summary

Our major trust in this section has been to outline the principal characteristics of the “indigenous Tigrian point of view,” a pattern under constant transformation, with regard to child development, modalities of parent-child interaction, and characteristic features of the interaction as expressed and embedded in proverbs, sayings, and maxims, and in the cultural practices of everyday interaction between caregivers and children. As per our findings, there are positive stories, proverbs and maxims usually pronounced intending to enhance the social, psychological and cognitive development of children. Some other also tried to indicate as children are the future of the society where every societal traditions, values and customs must be learned by them to pass to the next generation.

Apart from the above major findings we propose and strongly recommend the traditions, folklore, storytelling and proverbs must be presented in a way that enhances the psychological, social and cognitive development of children. No intelligent radical can fail to realize the need of the rational education of the young children. The rearing of the child must become a process of liberation by methods which shall not impose ready-made ideas, but which should aid the child's natural self-unfoldment. The purpose of such an education is not to force the child's adaptation to accepted concepts but to give free play to his [and her] originality, initiative, and individuality. Only by freeing education from compulsion and restraint can we create the environment for the manifestation of the spontaneous interest and inner incentives on the part of the child. Only thus can we supply rational conditions favorable to the development of the child's natural tendencies and his latent emotional and mental faculties. Such methods of education, essentially aiding the child's imitative quality and ardor for knowledge, will develop a generation of healthy intellectual independence.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

Discussion and Conclusion

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1. Introduction

The former sections present some folklore genres. In line with what Sims and Stephens (2011) provide, the examples above are all part of folklore and mainly under the category of verbal folklore, some of which also involve customary lore. The paper thus, attempts to show how folklore is utilized as a tool of socialization process. Literatures indicate that folklore is one of the ways of socializations with the aim of preparing children for their future life (Dejene, 2015, Chigidi and Tembo nd; Bukenya 1994; Mota 2009).

Socialization is the process through which a younger generation learns the role of the adult which it shoulders in their future life. This process is commenced as of the time of birth and continues throughout one's life. At all steps societies provide institutional and cultural setup in which socialization is executed. Society always expects its responsibilities towards its members and expects its members to behave in accepted manner towards others. Accepted manners range from simple toilet habit to important political and social responsibilities, which entails accepted values, goals and aspirations within a given cultural contexts.

The examples from different Ethiopian communities, presented in the former part reveal that folklore is the storehouse of the people's world view and ways of socialization. This corroborates with the work of Adjel(2014) and Frønes(2016) who states that socialization is the process by which values are communicated and cultured as an enduring process. Today's children are potential adults, mothers and fathers with several functional and anticipated roles to play along which they are trained ahead of time. The texts above are presented and interpreted based on what Finnegan (1992) and Sims & Stephens (2005 p. 199) describe as intersectionality. Interpretive strategies based on text and social, political and physical context supports the discussion.

Within this framework, the following section tries to pull the major issues together for leading the reader from the very specific results to more general implications based on the findings of

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these works. It tries to relate with the work of others as well as the real situation on the ground. For this purpose the section presents the main points into ten major themes: folklore and Child care, folklore and child-parent interactions, folklore and gender, folklore and environment, folklore and morality, folklore and mathematics, folklore and language, folklore and parent-child interactions, folklore and politics, and folklore and economy. However, none of them are exclusive to each other.

2. Folklore and Child Care

The study societies convey message related to child care through various oral traditions. The sayings indicate both the principles guiding child care and its practices. There are some proverbs indicating the role of the parents in socialization processes. Example from Chapter Two—Part II reads ‘if the big donkey rolls on the ground, the small one will do the same.’ This is to indicate that the behavior of parents is important in shaping the behavior of their children. This can be negative or positive impact.

For instance, from the very name giving as it is indicated in Chapter Two—Part II parents name their children either Demalash or Ashebir, which means avenger and disturber respectively. These names by themselves have their own connotation and messages on the life of a child. He is given a sort of mission of being revengeful or vindictive from the very outset. In line with this, parents recognize that the early age of a child is most important to shape it. To discipline children is more likely successful at early stage and not otherwise. The proverb ‘a tree is straightened while it is young,’ ‘unless being beaten, children will not be fair’ ‘what is written on paper and what children register lasts long’, ‘the bread that is likely to satiate can be recognized on the oven (See Chapter Two—Part I and II, Chapter Five).

On the other hand, there is a belief that there is a predetermined destiny and development of a child. This is evidenced by the proverb ‘a child grows as predetermined for it or at its fate’ (see Chapter Five, Chapter Two—Part I and II). The two concepts—the idea of shaping children at early stage and the idea of a predetermined fate of children seem to be contradictories at face value. However, the first indicates that parents should exert all possible efforts to shape their children’s behavior to play the human role in the development of children. It recognizes that there is something that human beings can contribute. The second idea, on the other hand, shows that there are still aspects of child development beyond human reach either to shape or change.

As a result, a sense of negligence and avoidance towards children is revealed in folkloric communications. For instance ‘children and shoe are relegated to under the bed’. ‘‘Children do not utter well-fed as elderly never say healthy’, ‘children and face never feel cold’ are typical examples (see Chapter Two—Part I and II, Chapter Five).

3. Folklore and Child-Parent Interactions

Societies use proverbs, riddles, stories, sayings and the like to depict the expected standard of child-parent interactions. Some of these folkloric elements suggest limited child-parent interactions and others advise parents to have close contact with their children. Through these communications the society impacts both positively and negatively the psychological and social development of children. For instance, the saying, ‘a child is like a seedling’, ‘don’t be hated by a growing child, cursed by a dying monk and hit by a passing rain’ is commonly reported (See Chapter Two—part I and II; Chapter Five).

The first proverb is used to mean that the growth of a plant is determined by the care given to it. A plant with better care will grow better, faster and be fruitful than the one which received less or no care. When a plant is cared well, it will grow straight. The same works for the growth of a child. This clearly indicates parents should take care of their children. Similarly, the proverb, ‘don’t be hated by a growing child...’ is to communicate that if one hurts a child, the child will hate him/her throughout his/her lifetime. One should be friendly to children.

To the contrary, friendly interaction with children is also presented negatively. For instance, the proverb ‘if you show your face to children, they would show you their anuses’, conveys the need for distancing oneself from children. In this context showing face to children means, being polite and approach them non-aggressively or with good face. Yet, the proverb, warns parents not to do so as the consequences are misbehaving of children. The proverb, thus, encourages parents to distance themselves from their children (see hand book Chapter Three). The proverb, ‘don’t show your teeth to a child as you never expose your wound to a fly’ has the same negative connotation (see hand book Chapter Two—Part II). The proverbs, ‘when you eat with a child, you end up quarrelling’ and ‘lively amusement with children (laughing with children) is like racing with a dog’ are proverbs that suggest limited interactions between children and parents (Chapter Five). When adult men are conversing in the main/living room, children are often sent away to their rooms. Another nearly identical saying, ‘when grownups discuss, children should go to the

kitchen.’ The implication here is that adults have to restrict their interactions with their children; secret discussions, including family matters to should be discussed in the absence of children (Chapter Two– Part I and II).

There are also sayings that give children inferior social and cognitive status as compared with adults. The proverb ‘an inquisitive child is like the last bit of a bar of soap’ is an example. The last bit of a bar of soap does not serve the purpose any soap is expected to serve. This is to mean that children request irrelevant and useless questions. That is why parents or adults discourage precocity and inquisitiveness in children by ‘advising’ them saying ‘grow at a slower pace!’

Sometimes the sayings and proverbs entail comparison between adults and children and indicate the inferior position of the latter. For instance, ‘a child can run but can never go further forward (imposition or time) than his father.’ Run in this case does not refer to the physical race, but refers to performance and endurance. Similarly, the immaturity and unreliability of children’s ideas is also expressed in the proverb ‘what a child has are only two, one is ripened the other raw.’ The proverb ‘what parents spoiled is better than what children did well’. These proverbs have negative implications of on the psychological development of children as well as on parent-child interactions (see Chapter Two–Part I and II; Chapter Five).

4. Folklore and Gender

Data from the field indicated that one of the major themes addressed in folklore is gender role socialization. Young boys and girls are oriented and inculcated the anticipated gender roles from their early ages in using different folklore genres. Folklore provides what is commonly termed as anticipatory socialization, in which children rehearse their future position as a man or a woman, as a husband or a wife. For instance, the myth of Akko Manoye (chapter three), which promotes patriarchal system, the riddle (Chapter three) about the sharing of the bars of salt and the discourse narrative (chapter three) under the title ‘Let us go to War Front’ are few examples from Oromia NRS. The commonly told story of Akko Manoye seems to be a tool in disempowering women or denying women political power. It is one of the devices to persuade silence and to keep women soft. Similarly, the riddle under (5.4.3) does not only target the mathematical skill it teaches. It indirectly informs polygamy as a marriage system. It also shows that family resource is in the hands of the husband, who is, of course, supposed to be fair with all his five wives. In the narrative (5.6.1) we see the sender who declared that he did not eat food for the reason that

he was denied. And he hit somebody, a woman for being denied food. This is clear from the next question ‘which part of her?’ The riddle ‘the mother is dancing out door; the daughter is entertaining the guests in door’ tends to depict that the mother and the daughter, rather than the father and his son, are responsible to do the house chores. Thus, through these folkloric gender socialization children are socialized to know what is meant to be male and female. These plays and folktales inform them how to act masculine or feminine based on their sex. Gender stereotypes are still prevalent in children’s literature.

Further there are some folklore elements with negative implications in child socialization. We have long list of proverbs and sayings pertinent to negative image of girls and women. Some of the examples drawn from Amhara region, Chapter Two – Part I are: ‘not all those who are hanging penis between their legs are worth to be men’. This implies that masculinity is not just being born with a biologically fit sexual organ- penis, rather it is acquired through braveness, facing challenges. Anyone who fails to prove his masculinity through testing the self with challenges, such as fighting or passing with hardships and taking retaliation as a revenge of murders and hurts is considered female. Femaleness in this case is attached to weakness and submissiveness. Several proverbs show that women are not entitled to leadership and decision making position, dependent on their husbands, less able to acquire knowledge, untrustworthy, destructors and foolish, burdens on males, trouble makers, cruel and arrogant, physically weak and naturally cowards (see Chapter Two-part one of the handbook).

The following proverbs from Oromia NRS are additional and typical examples: ‘Children never fear God, but stick’, ‘if I were slapped when I lost my shoe I would never lose my coat, said children. ‘These proverbs encourage parents hitting and slapping children (See Chapter Three of this volume).

In the meantime, the above works also indicate how parents instruct their children how women are good in generating innovative ideas and plying important role in all aspects of human lives. The tale under (Chapter Three) clearly indicates how the two wives produced a smart idea which both husbands were not able to do. The innovative idea of the second woman changed the competitive and conflictual environment into the state of forgiveness and peace.

Supporting evidence come from Chapter Two - Part I of this volume. There are ample proverbs that glorify the role of women. Some of the examples are ‘a good woman is a crown for her

husband.’, ‘he who is satisfied with woman is advised by Mary’, ‘behind every successful man there is a strong woman’, ‘wiseness is to a woman as scary is to a night’ , ‘whatever a woman says is a solution.’ The proverbs Even though these proverbs refer to women they are directly related to girls who are always exposed to these proverbs and are potential women and mothers.

5. Folklore and Morality

Socialization inculcates basic moral values. Through folklore moral issues are communicated to children so that they identify behaviors which receive collective approval or disapproval of the society in which they live. Ethical concerns involve all aspects of the life of the society. An individual learns to control his/her impulses and projects a disciplined behavior in line with the prescribed ethical principles. Socialization helps to control human behavior with the aim of maintaining social order and internalization of social norms and values.

The society has normative and ethical standards that guide their actions. Through the oral narratives, the owners of the cultures convey their wisdom, beliefs, traditions, customs, and norms of different kinds to the young. For instance, there are guiding principles to decide whom, when and how one should marry. The ethical way of entertaining friends, marriage partner, colleagues, relatives, elders, the entire humanities, and beyond including the environment are part of this moral values. The communities use different folklore genres to socialize children into these basic disciplines in their aspiration and actions.

For instances, Oral story from Chapter Four- Part II which refers to the Paragon of Virtue: The Shield of Kindness is one of the typical examples. As the story indicates the father of three sons tested among them to know is actually kind and deserves the best of his gift—the shield of kindness. Comparing all the performances of his sons who actually did good things he finally awarded the shield for the one who forgives his enemies.

In Chapter Four—Part I and II the story of the dishonest man who drink milk hiding himself from the sight of his wife and son also communicates how such a behavior is hated. The story of bad son in Chapter Four—Part I of this volume indicates the adverse effect of denying respect to one’s own parents. The story of the king of monkeys, in Chapter Two—Part I, selfishness led it to death is another and similar example.

The examples from Chapter Three are more appealing. The myth of the creation of Dandi Crater Lake (4.2.6), the friendship between the leopard and bush Buck (4.2.4) and the play about Heemo's mother (5.5.2) are few examples pertinent to moral issues. Through the myth of creation of Dandi Crater Lake a moral value related to marriage system, which forbids marriage between relatives was communicated. The tale intends to instruct the children who are potential husbands and wives to take care of incestuous marriage in fear of collective disapproval of the society and severe punishment of the supreme deity. The myth mainly focused on the spirituality in which His supervision over human deeds is appreciated. It targets prevention of taboos and fundamental principles in order to preserve social norms of the society.

Equally important is, the tale of the leopard and the bush buck, in which deceitfulness is said to be against the actor who is a fraudulent. This fictional tale involves the presentation of abstract concepts implicitly. The narrative shows the view of the community about dishonesty in specific cultural beliefs and behaviors of the studied population.

The children play 'Heemo's mother' also involves moral issues, but from different direction. It is still immoral to announce the death of someone's son thoughtlessly. Being aware of the serious grief one is put in, the custom requires a very compassionate and considerate approach of announcing the matter. Children are exposed to rehearse this custom in the form of drama, which demands high level of moral disposition.

6. Folklore and Natural and Social Environment

Children are socialized to understand and appreciate social and natural environments. There is no single folklore genre which exclusively serves this purpose. Instead one finds an element of environmental and social knowledge and views in riddle, folktales, myths, legends and plays. Riddles of various sorts serve the purpose of coaching children both technical training as well as communicating all ways of information on the natural and social environments. A kind of riddle under Chapter Four—Part II and Chapter Three (E) are some of the example. For instance, 'when alive it eats grass, when deceased it eats grain' the answer is 'a sack made up of goat or cow skin'. The riddle 'what are the six wonders?' basically calls up on the attention of the children to observe some natural wonders, to which the society might not provide enough scientific explanations. The answers for the riddle are 'the sky, which is intact without a pillar, the snake running without legs, the earth stretched without the stretcher, the ever fat Solanaceous

fruits without rain, a sharp thorn without being sharpen and the ever groaning emu bird without being sick.

The answers for the riddle ‘what is a tree more important than all trees, a beast more powerful than all beasts and a seed more important than all seeds?’ are cotton plant, ant and sperm. None of these are physically important compared to others in the same category. Particularly, cotton plant is one of the weakest and an ant is an insect and incomparable with big games like elephant and lion. Through riddle children are able to dig into certain salient features of objects and phenomena and appreciate similarities and differences among these features. The discourse ‘let us go to War Front’ in Chapter Three attempts to compare and contrast several things in their color, purpose, habitation, physical character. For instance, it associates frog with hippopotamus referring to their habitat. The way frog stretches its leg is compared with human leg.

The riddles of relatives counting and neighbors counting, in Chapter Three are also important in socialization process. Any member of the society has certain rights and responsibilities. Demanding and discharging certain right requires the knowledge of the social, political structures and participants. Neighborhood is a territorial unit in which residents have both rights and duties. Clan is a descent (actual or perceived) based social category in which members are supposed to have solidarity, and along which they determine rights and responsibilities.

In this regard, the point is not about the answer to a particular riddle, rather the intention behind is to build a personality of the young generation to be vigilant and critical observer of his/her social and natural environment. Unique and amazing natural phenomena like snake running fast, but without legs and an ant which wins almost all beasts. The social and political units which provide general framework for our actions as active citizens are also at the forefront in the processes of socialization. Apart for entertaining the participating children personality building is among the basic objectives. This personality is believed to be important for future social success of the young people. Parents in this context are expected to introduce their children into the world of established facts, shape behaviors and enhance their knowledge to achieve the expected standard of personality. Parents, as agents of socialization take blames for any problem in the processes. The work of Adjel (2014) and Frønes (2016) also show family is the most important agent of socialization.

7. Mathematical and Logical Thinking in Folklore

Mathematics was considered as a neutral and culture-free discipline. Without disregarding the universality of mathematical truths, the view of mathematics as culture free has been challenged. Some suggest that it is essential to contextualize mathematical practices in different cultural groups. Mathematics should be considered as a cultural construct and thus it is a product of cultural development (Rosa and Orey 2011). Bishop (1988) stated that “...a mathematical education is no education at all if it does not have anything to contribute to value development.”

It is in this context what is presented in Chapter Three is pertinent. The Oromo folklore presents mathematical concepts. For instance, ‘purchasing twenty animals with twenty Birr’ directly entails mathematical skills of computing numbers. It enhances the logical and critical thinking skills of the children of the participants. The puzzle of the six cannibals requires children to think critically to avoid any risky association of the river crossing groups. These and other similar puzzles are important in enhancing mathematical knowledge from simple arithmetic or geometric knowledge to complex logical and computational skills. Support for this comes from Abrahams and Dundes (1972) who argued that providing solution for puzzles demands certain kind of logical skills, critical thinking and mathematical computation. It is also important orientation on handling conflicting interests in a way that is acceptable by all parties involved. This body of knowledge empowers children to handle abstractions, solve problems and develop a positive attitude toward problem solving. This in turn helps the learners prepare themselves for other challenges; developing fortitude and self-confidence in their life (see Dejene, 2015).

8. Folklore and Politics

As one of the aspects of human life, politics is also part of the socialization endeavors which the societies communicate through folklore. For instance, the stories of the heroic deeds of Ras Alula which is pertinent to the political history of Ethiopia and the legendary account of Queen Sheba and her relations with King Solomon are part of this (see Chapter Five). In Chapter Two—Part I there is a story of the king of monkeys, which was selfish and dictatorial in its rule. The story shows how the king which was unfriendly to its subjects failed miserably.

In Chapter Three we find the stories related to politics. The stories directly or indirectly introduce the *gadaa* system which is the guiding political system of the Oromo. In the *gadaa*

system leaders are elective and serve for only a limited term of office—eight years. In the meantime, the system is democratic in which leaders are accountable to the people and work only in the interest of the people. Two best examples can be picked how the Oromo communicate these principles via folklore. The first is the children’s play and/or riddle of counting relatives under (5.3.2) and the second is the myth of Akko Manoye. The first one seems to help children count names of their close relatives for the purpose of enhancing clan solidarity and other social relations. Yet, the standard number of names asked and responded for a single round is eight. Eight is the term of office for a *gadaa*. Anyone extends his/her question beyond is acting beyond his/her term of office. The concept of the term of office is introduced through this play. The political principle of handing over power to the candidates is communicated through this riddle. The second example is the myth of Akko Manoyein relation to a dictatorial ruler. In addition to its gender implications, the myth also introduces dictatorial rulers who are against the interests of their constituency cannot live long.

The folktale ‘Truth is the Winner: The Ferocious Leopard and the Smart Ape’ has also communicates how the leopard which has upper hand over most of the wild animals is able to dictate the decision of those animals in favor of itself. It represents not only ethically wrong deed, but also politically a dictatorial and selfish rule over its constituency. However, there are always intelligent people who are able to challenge such a dictator and inconsiderate ruler. The ape represents smart persons who do not rely on their physical or political power but brainpower. The ape collapsed the decision of the whole fearful animals and reversed the intention of the ferocious leopard with very safe and systematic manner. The ape gives a solution to the problem at hand and put the life of the leopard to an end. Such a personality is anticipated and required in political life as well.

9. Folklore and Tolerance, prudence and Alertness

Via folklore genres the Oromo build anticipated personalities. The intended personalities are diverse in nature. To pick some few examples, the stories in Chapter Two—Part I which deal with the creation of tiger and hyena is best example. During the creation the creator – God created the hyena with tall front legs and short back legs; the black color dominated the white one and the hyena remained too ugly, because it was intolerant to be well done. To the opposite, the tiger was tolerant and created with beautiful appearance. In Chapter Four—Part I, the story of

the war decree of wild animals and the wit of squirrel among the (Nyangatom) represents the smartness and safe decision of the decision maker. In Chapter Four—Part II there is a story of smart goat and dull sheep in which the former save the lives of both. All alert children to be cautious and prudent as well as tolerant in their day-to day activities.

“The Unwise Decision and Cleaver Revision: the Rats and Cats’ in Chapter Three shows how naïve and even wrong decision is possibly passed by the mass and yet can be revised by mature and experienced member of the group. The tale under ‘Wrong Friendship: Bee and Baboons’ is also inculcates the idea that someone has to be cautious in selecting friends and interacting with. Through the character of baboons, adults teach young people that direct copying of other deed does not work always. Rather, the folktale advises for careful observation and attentive examination.

The same is true for the tale under ‘Reckless Decision, Effective Utilization of an Opportunity: Dog and Donkey’. This is more stringent in questioning hasty decision, but advises to transform the negative consequences of the decision into opportunity. The children’s play under Jimmaa Jimmitee is the best example in which children learn to control their emotions. Even though children control their emotion of laughter under this particular play the intention is to socialize children able to endure any kind of emotional reactions such as sorrowfulness, frustration cheerfulness, nervousness, astonishment, revulsion and the like. Despite the fact that emotions are biological in nature the society try to shape them through socialization within a particular cultural context. Cultures guide members of a given society how to express their emotions. Whether a certain way of expressing emotions is good or bad, whether someone has to control his/her emotions or express gallantly is dependent on the socialization process he/she passed through.

In the meantime, children are also instructed to take care of choosing friends. For instance the proverb ‘a calf which spent the day with a donkey learned to fart like a donkey’

10. Folklore and Economy

The different folklore genres presented in Chapter Three shows the values attached to labor are also a topic of socialization in Oromo society. Basically from the very outset, children riddle and/or tale folktales only in the evening. Apart from the content of the folklore genres, the

culturally prescribed riddling session is important in socialization processes related to the value of hardworking. The threat that the daytime riddling is dangerous is systematically designed to control the possible interference of plays with the children's expected chores. It is to encourage people to concentrate on work during the daytime and avoid any distraction of storytelling or riddles. The system values labor and discourages idleness. The children's folk drama 'The Affluent Owner of Sheep' is directly relevant in inculcating into the mind of children about the world of poor vis-à-vis the world of the haves. The poor beggar is represented in an extremely disgraceful way in which he eats an ant, a lizard and the like. The opposite is true for the rich person. The whole drama targets developing personality which is totally unbearable to poverty.

Similar socializations endeavors are prevalent among other societies studied. For instance, the saying 'working too much is better than speaking too much' is common among the Amhara society (Chapter Two—Part I). 'Lazy boy waits for the death of his father to inherit his father's property' is a saying among the Konso and Gamo ethnic groups. Both sayings encourage children to be hard worker.

11. Folklore and Language

Developing language skills and entertainment are among the common purposes which any folklore genres serve. Since they are oral in nature folklore genres develop the listening, speaking and understanding skills of the participating children. Typical example is the 'Tongue Twister' which is directly designed to support the speaking skill of children. In all games when there are senders and respondents attentive listening and fluent speaking are required. Socialization of children necessarily entails language skill for language is basic in shared way of living.

12. Conclusion

To wind up, the current situation is not in favor of socializing children through folklore and storytelling. Relatively young generation complains that they are not good in folklore and storytelling. The tendency of losing this wisdom of using indigenous way of inculcating cultural values increases with the natural loss of the older people. As far as the view of the parents is concerned it is also frustrating for they do not take this wisdom as something important endeavor in building the personality of the new generation. Finally, to save the cumulative knowledge in

folklore a thorough collection and analysis of different genres is recommended. Secondly, curriculum designers and schools better pay attention to local knowledge which also supports the effective teaching and learning.

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